

You Ain't Seen Nothing Yet: An Analysis of Depictions of Canadian National Identity in the Juno Awards 2014 Broadcast

Blair Wade

With changing dynamics of political communication merging education and information and giving rise to celebrity politics, entertainment media is now playing an integral role in creating a cultural context for individuals, especially young people, to become politically active. The Juno Awards 2014 broadcast presents an excellent opportunity for analysis of changing forms of political communication and celebrity politics in the Canadian context. This becomes especially true when recognizing the origins of the Juno Awards, with the creation of the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (CARAS) was designed to celebrate Canadian arts and culture on a national scale, but has evolved over the decades to become more focused on music promotion and commercial profitability than fair and equal artistic representation. For this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were combined to measure the most prominent features of Canadian national identity: multiculturalism, gender egalitarianism, the diffident and unpatriotic citizen, and Canada as a peacekeeping nation.

Research Topic

For almost 40 years Canada has gathered annually as a nation to celebrate our country's best and brightest in the music industry at the Juno Awards ceremony, and given the many new connections made between entertainment media and political communication, this event can speak largely to the social and political culture in Canada. We gather as a nation to recognize, praise, and showcase individuals as the hallmark of our country, and in doing so play a direct role in portraying an image of national identity. David Young speaks to this function, "While some music award shows have an international dimension . . . they are usually linked to particular countries and can therefore reveal much about nation states in relation to popular music."¹ The actual format of the shows plays a significant role in the political communication as well. Mark Duffett speaks to the presentation factor, which he describes as a spectacle, and describes it as "an undemocratic vehicle designed to convey particular social messages in a one way

¹ David Young, "The promotional state and Canada's Juno Awards," *Popular Music* 23, no. 3 (2004): 271.

system of communications . . . links dominant ideological messages to one type of collective visual pleasure.”² Analyzing these presentations therefore becomes of the utmost importance for determining the dominant and hegemonic views of an area. Of arguably equal importance is the way the Juno Awards in many ways conforms to a reality television format, which blurs the lines between objective, everyday perspectives, and heavily produced acts. Jade Boyd acknowledges such a phenomenon, “Reality-based programs, drawing from a tradition of documentary formatting, often present representations as though they are objective accounts of everyday life; however active viewers and scholars can interpret reality shows as cultural products or spectacles of performance.”³ The Juno Awards 2014 broadcast thus makes an excellent text to explore as a vehicle for constructing Canadian national identity.

Research Question

In what ways does the Juno Awards 2014 broadcast conform or subvert ideals of Canadian national identity relating to the following: multiculturalism and representation of ethno-racial minorities, gender egalitarianism, and the diffident citizen personality.

Literature Review

To accomplish this research project, previous literature on celebrity politics, the Juno Awards, and Canadian national identity will be used.

Throughout many generations, the fields of political science and pop culture have been thought to be working directly against each other, but in recent years research has proven that their relationship lies more on a continuum and each can act to reinforce the other. Entertainment media is now playing an integral role in creating a cultural context for individuals, especially young people, to become politically aware and active. John Street, Sanna Inthorn, and Martin Scott explain, “In talking about popular culture and its pleasures, young people connect their cultural life to the wider world of politics.”⁴ This is due in large part to changing dynamics of political communication, which are merging education and information and giving rise to celebrity politics. In this way, musicians such as in the Juno Awards and other celebrities attain authority and legitimacy by virtue of their social status to engage and represent new audiences and in many ways subvert traditional politics. John Street describes this relationship:

The capacity to claim to speak politically as a celebrity is determined by a number of conditions and structures, as well as by the affective bond which is created by the relationship between the celebrity and their admirers. In certain contexts and under particular conditions, performers can

² Mark Duffett, "Going down like a song: national identity, global commerce, and the Great Canadian Party," *Popular Music* 19, no. 1 (2000): 7.

³ Jade Boyd, "'Hey We're From Canada But We're Diverse, Right?': Neoliberalism, Multiculturalism, and Identity on So You Think You Can Dance Canada," *Cultural Studies in Media Communication* 29, no. 4 (2012): 261.

⁴ John Street, Sanna Inthorn, Martin Scott, "Playing at Politics? Popular Culture as Political Engagement," *Parliamentary Affairs* 65 (2012): 339.

lay claim to represent those who admire them. They give political voice to those who follow them, both by virtue of the political conditions and by means of their art.⁵

Theories of post-democracy have also been attributed to the rise of celebrity politics; in this line of thinking, traditional democratic institutions remain intact but politics becomes an overtly elite-run organization, which in this case includes celebrities. Seth Hague, John Street, and Heather Savigny apply this theory, "The citizen is a passive bystander witness only to politics as spectacle . . . politics becomes a variation on consumption in which brands, images, and celebrities become key."⁶ The medium of music, as is showcased in the Juno Awards, as a political vehicle becomes particularly interesting in this discussion because of the many roles it can play. Although there are varying views on the politics of music that are all supported in the literature, its power to act symbolically while also being able to organize and articulate issues enhances its status. Hague, Street, and Savigny outline this role, "Music is treated as an independent variable to the extent that it is more than illustrative or symbolic of political thoughts and acts; rather, it articulates and organizes them. Music is a reason why things are said or done."⁷ Popular culture, and specifically music, is henceforth a very present and valuable variable in political communications.

In the Canadian context, the Juno Awards provide an excellent example of the convergence of entertainment and political media. Not only can social and political messages be derived from the content as per any text, but the very structure of the award shows themselves is heavily political. Created in 1971 as an evolution of the RPM Gold Leaf Awards started by Walt Grealis in 1964, and named after Pierre Juneau in honour of his work with the Canadian Radio-television Telecommunications Commission and his pioneering of Canadian content regulations, the Juno Awards purposes to recognize great achievements in Canada's music industry.⁸ In consequence, the Canadian Music Awards Association, which later turned into what we now know as the Canadian Academy of Recording Arts and Science was created which serves to facilitate the awards.⁹ 1975 marked the first broadcast of the award show, as it premiered on the government-funded CBC. It becomes evident that Canada has a history of operating as a promotional state in the music industry, especially around the time the Junos first began. Young describes the promotional state as one that faces Anglo-American domination, and actively regulates to combat it.¹⁰ Young supports his claim, "Canadian content regulations, public broadcasting, and government funding are all components of Canada's promotional state that have had varying degrees of association with the Juno Awards over the years."¹¹ The politicization of the awards here becomes clear, as the government is explicitly making an effort to portray a certain image of Canada through the music awards and this broadcast. However, it is important to note that in recent years this state intervention has slowly diminished, especially with the rise of neoliberalism in Canada. Young stresses this update and notes privatization through the emergence of independent television programming, the growth of

⁵ John Street, "Celebrity Politicians: Popular Culture and Political Representation," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6 (2004): 448.

⁶ Seth Hague, John Street, and Heather Savigny, "The Voice of the People? Musicians as Political Actors," *Critical Politics* 4, no. 1 (2008): 8.

⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁸ David Young, "Ethno-racial minorities and the Juno Awards," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 31, no. 2 (2006): 190.

⁹ Ibid., 190.

¹⁰ Young, "The promotional state and Canada's Juno Awards," 271.

¹¹ David Young, "The CBC and the Juno Awards," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 30 (2005): 345.

corporate sponsorship relative to government funding, and the shift from public to private broadcasting as evidence.¹² As a result, the Juno Awards have a much greater job in ensuring that they are commercially viable to the public, and decisions about content must reflect that. Through past and present, the Juno Awards have had a stated interest in presenting a specific image of and to Canada, and as Duffett writes, "Power to choose who is included in the category of national music becomes a way to socially define the nation."¹³ The very structure and function of the Juno Awards increases the importance of analysis beyond the fact they are simply a form of entertainment media being consumed by the public in a certain Canadian cultural context.

As it stands, Canadian nationalism itself has proven to be an exceedingly challenging concept to define and study for a variety of reasons, not least of which are cultural diversity, regional divisiveness, and sparse population. However, for this reason it becomes ever more fascinating and important to explore. Nationalism itself describes the feelings of identity and belonging attached to a certain nation or state that is felt individually but in relation to others. Tracy Raney elaborates on this definition:

Nationalism is defined as a movement or belief of a group of people who form a political community with common institutions, a single code of rights and duties, and a definite social space with which members identify while national identity refers to a feeling of belonging, closeness, or attachment to a nation. National identity also holds both a collective and individual meaning: it can describe the shared myths, values, and aspirations of a national group and it can describe an individual's attachment to his/her nation.¹⁴

These ideas are developed through a variety of sources including familial and peer relationships, political actors and institutions, and the media in all its sources, including entertainment media such as The Juno Awards. In Canada, national identity has largely become structured around themes of equality and egalitarianism with values, ideals, and goals focused on acceptance of everyone regardless of such defining features as gender, culture, ethnicity, religious background, or sexual orientation. Raney argues that the Canadian federal government has been active in legislating social and economic policies to reflect this desire for a pan-Canadian, universal national identity and cites The Citizenship Act, The Canadian Bill of Rights, the inauguration of the maple leaf as the Canadian flag, and the development of social programs like Medicare as examples.¹⁵ As such, multiculturalism has become a huge hallmark of Canada. Susan Fast and Karen Pegley describe this feature as the ability for "ethnic groups living within Canada to maintain their cultural heritage and traditions."¹⁶ The value of gender equality has also set Canada as an international example. Randy Dyck demonstrates:

One striking example of the claim that Canada is more egalitarian than the United States is in the constitutional equality of women. In the United States a proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the constitution failed to pass, whereas at the same time, Canada adopted a strong guarantee of gender equality (including affirmative action) in the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms.¹⁷

¹² Young, "The promotional state and Canada's Juno Awards," 275.

¹³ Duffett, "Going down like a song," 6.

¹⁴ Tracey Raney, "As Canada As Possible...Under What Circumstances? Public Opinion on Nationality in Canada Outside Quebec," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43, no. 3 (2009): 7.

¹⁵ Ibid., 9.

¹⁶ Susan Fast and Karen Pegley, "Music and Canadian Nationhood Post 9/11: An Analysis of Music Without Borders Live," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 18, no. 1 (2006): 20.

¹⁷ Rand Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches* (Toronto, Ontario: Nelson Education, 2011), 260.

Despite such concerted efforts at unifying the nation, Canadian citizens have long been stereotyped as diffident, even unpatriotic citizens, known for their lack of grand displays of nationalism typical of many other nations. Keri Veblin identifies this contrasting issue:

While the ideals of democracy, tolerance, peacefulness, and cultural diversity that are set into the stone of Canadian law and flow through the currents of its dominant and minority cultures appear to elicit little debate, the manner in which Canadians show pride in their homeland and display national unity, while maintaining their unique and vibrant heritages, continues to be the focus of vigorous debate.¹⁸

These features of national identity (multiculturalism, gender equality, citizen diffidence) are what will be the main focus of this research project.

Methodology

For this research project, the communication text is the entire broadcast of the Juno Awards 2014; only the portion of the ceremony that was publicly broadcast will be coded, the rest of the gala will be omitted because it was not directly transmitted to the public and therefore not relevant to this study. Only individuals present at the award show will be codified; every name mentioned during the nomination process will not be included as it would exceed the scale and scope of this study. A study of representation of visible ethnic minorities, gender balance, and explicit patriotism will be qualitatively examined. These variables have been chosen because they will provide evidence to the claims of Canada's national identity being built around equal, universal, pan-Canadian citizenship, as well as the suggestion of Canada's modesty around grand displays of national pride. A brief quantitative analysis will also be performed to provide demographic information, and to compliment the quantitative analysis. For this quantitative analysis, individuals will simply be coded by gender and visible ethnicity (see Appendix I.) Each individual will only be coded once regardless of how often they make an appearance, and every member of a group will be coded excluding the appearance of chorus or ensemble groups in which case the entire group will be coded as a single individual.

Hypothesis

There are two main hypotheses guiding this project:

H1: The guests featured on the 2014 Juno Awards broadcast will not be representative of the multicultural and gender equality ideals of the Canadian state

H2: The guests featured on the 2014 Juno Awards broadcast will subvert the stereotype of the diffident, unpatriotic Canadian citizen and display more grandiose patriotic attitudes.

Support for these hypotheses comes from the history of underrepresentation of diversity at the Junos, the commercial imperative of the ceremony, and the current state of Canadian society. Previous analysis of the Juno Awards has revealed that they have experienced a traditional and pervasive lack of diversity, and instead remained focused on Anglo-centric cultural hegemony. Young speaks to such research, and notes that not only have ethno-racial minorities been absent due to the institutional practices and policies

¹⁸ Karin K. Veblin, "‘We Stand on Guard For Thee’: National Identity in Canadian Music Education," in *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education*, ed. Alexandra Kertz-Welzel and David G. Hebert (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 152.

of the Junos and CARAS, but they have often sought alternative venues for expression rather than work to become included within the existing framework.¹⁹ This reality is mirrored by the women of the music industry, who also face mass exclusion and discrimination. Janni Aragon explains, “Inequalities within mainstream politics and culture have caused some girls and women . . . to seek a space of their own to discuss political activities, political participation, and different forms of artistic expression.”²⁰ Secondly, the Juno Awards have always been largely guided by a commercial imperative. To support their programming, the promotional strategy of CARAS is inevitably to capture and satisfy a large audience, and this is often prioritized over showcasing a variety of acts. Young provides evidence for this conflict, “While noting that there is an effort to include a variety of other artists and provide some recognition for their music, two CARAS presidents have acknowledged that the primary goal is to satisfy a large audience by focusing the televised ceremony on mainstream performers and mainstream awards categories.”²¹ What constitutes as mainstream is an obvious normative judgement and one that quickly and easily reproduces hegemonic norms. Compounding this issue, the music industry has historically had a heavy hand in the awards ceremony. Young identifies this reality, “Although the Juno Awards helped the CBC fulfill some aspects of its public service mandate (by providing entertainment programming that focused on Canadian culture and talent from different regions of Canada) the programming was from the beginning a promotional vehicle designed to serve the commercial interests of the music industry.”²² Lastly, Canadian society is currently not truly living up to the values, ideals, and goals of equality and egalitarianism it has laid out nationally. Fast and Pegley pronounce this incongruence, “While many support Canada’s multicultural policy, they often overlook the complex ways in which hegemonic privilege underpins our cultural articulations.”²³ More strikingly, Canadian displays of patriotism have been strongly rising, almost rivalling that of its American counterparts. As it is doing so, it is abolishing the stereotype of the diffident, modest, and unpatriotic citizen. Gregory Millard, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright observe this change, “Canadians are in the throes, not simply of a change in the nature of their nationalism but a shift in its style of expression. It is not better understood as noisy and assertive, even bellicose, and surprisingly analogous to the American manner of patriotic expression with which it is traditionally contrasted.”²⁴ All of this evidence strongly suggests then that the Juno Awards 2014 broadcast will not conform to the ideals espoused in nationally constructed Canadian identity, but will fall as short as the rest of Canadian society.

Results

Both the qualitative and quantitative results of this study revealed very interesting, complex, and competing results of constructions of Canadian national identity in the Juno Awards 2014 broadcast. Overall, the awards ceremony failed to showcase multiculturalism and diversity, but provided unique

¹⁹ Young, “Ethno-racial minorities and the Juno Awards,” 184.

²⁰ Janni Aragon, “The ‘Lady’ revolution in the age of technology,” *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 4, no. 1 (2008): 78.

²¹ Young, “Ethno-racial minorities and the Juno Awards,” 192.

²² Young, “The CBC and the Juno Awards,” 352.

²³ Fast and Pegley, “Music and Canadian Nationhood Post 9/11,” 23.

²⁴ Gregory Millard, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright, “Here’s Where We Get Canadian: English Canadian Nationalism and Pop Culture,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 11.

gendered representations, and while no representations conforming to or subverting the diffident citizen stereotype appeared, the trope of Canadians as peacemakers became prominently present.

The analysis of representations of visible ethnic minorities at the Juno Awards 2014 ceremony was by far the most devastating. Comprising only 19% of the total guests featured on the broadcast, diversity was clearly lacking. The qualitative report proves no more promising. Even when the small amount of representation occurred, it did not occur with a celebration of cultural differences or a recognition of Canada's diversity; discussion on this topic was entirely absent from the showcase. This is additionally worrisome when the Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages, the Honourable Shelley Glover, made an appearance. Having her appear at the event suggests the cultural importance of the event, however she spoke only a few seconds worth of French which barely constitutes as diversity, and made no further acknowledgement of celebrating all that Canada is. Rather, she served to reinforce and reproduce the Anglo-centric culture norm that the Juno Awards rest on. Every year the Junos also feature an international artist, which again is a moment of potential for celebrating variety and diversity, however this year's musical guest was America's OneRepublic, a rock band fronted by the traditional identity of a white male. This demonstrates a caving to commercial ventures rather than cultural celebration. Most worrisome, however, was what was not shown on-screen. Due to time constraints, not every category of award is featured on-air, but many are re-capped throughout the show. On this year's recap were featured many non-mainstream categories which featured artists of colour and Aboriginal artists including Kardinal Offishal, Exco Lev and Kabaka Pyramid, and George Leech. To purposefully choose to exclude these artists demonstrates a clear effort to maintain an Anglo-centric hegemon by the Junos, and a Canadian society that is unwilling to truly adopt the democratic ideals it proclaims to hold. Fast and Pegley describe this issue from previous experience, "In an event during which the notion of Canada and Canadian identity was invoked, and celebrated over and over again, this marginalization. . . is very problematic."²⁵

The night had a few small moments of multiculturalism, however brief. Each host, Serena Ryder, Classified, and Johnny Ried, each came from a different genre (rock, rap, and country, respectively) each of which includes a different cultural context and variety. Arcade Fire also demonstrated some culture appreciation, sending a video from Chile where they were currently working and immersing themselves in Chilean traditions. Most notably, however, was the presence of Ottawa-based Aboriginal band, A Tribe Called Red, whose music is self-proclaimed as a mix of urban First Nations and contemporary powwow. The group has been heavily involved in Canadian politics, maintaining what Dan McPeake²⁶ describes as an "activism-through-music ideological spin." During this year's Juno's they appeared to play a performance, and also took home the Breakthrough Group of the Year Award. A Tribe Called Red also holds the title of being the first Native group to take home a Juno Award in a non-Native category.²⁷ However, all of these minor gains were not enough to hold the night up against their gross underrepresentation of multiculturalism.

Categorizing gender representation and balance provided some of the most nuanced findings of this study. While the numbers do not speak highly of the event, the qualitative aspect of the project provided much more fruitful and promising conclusions. Looking at the quantitative results, women

²⁵ Fast and Pegley, "Music and Canadian Nationhood Post 9/11," 22.

²⁶ Dan McPeake, "A Tribe Called Red's musical activism," *Vancouver Observer*, February 26th, 2014.
<http://www.vancouverobserver.com/culture/music/tribe-called-reds-musical-activism>.

²⁷ Ibid.

comprised only 28% of the guests featured on the broadcast. Worse yet, a cross-comparison of representation of gender and visible ethnic minorities reveals that only 0.03% of the entire population present consisted of women of visible ethnic minorities. This is a devastating blow for representation, especially considering the importance of intersectionality of race and gender. Yet, the qualitative results indicate that the representation was not as entirely exclusionary and discriminatory as the numbers would suggest.

To begin, there were several negative representations, some being more subtle than others. From the beginning, the show is outnumbered with 2/3 of the hosts being men, and a man narrator throughout. This conforms to the patriarchal stereotype of men being the main purveyors of knowledge and authority. Also noticed at the beginning, host Serena Ryder started off the show with a performance, only to have to share the stage halfway through as Classified collaborated. Immediately this becomes alarming, that a woman was not allowed to finish a performance without having to be joined by a male counterpart, however it was very artistically done and Ryder was allotted another full performance later in the show, leaving this detail to be minor in the grand scheme. Other issues that were more subtle but a repeating feature through the show were nostalgic references to past achievements of Canadian artists that predominantly referred to white, male musicians, reinforcing the existing norm. For example, Amanda Wilkonson of the Small Town Pistols provided a roll call of many great Canadian male musician top hits followed by the statement that they are “all amazing songs that are a huge part of our cultural identity.”²⁸ The exclusion of women in the category, deliberate or not, easily demonstrates the still lacking representation of women in Canadian music, and society as a whole, and potentially signifies that their work has not been important for our cultural identity. Lastly, the night was largely centered on Bachman Turner Overdrive, as the group was soon to be inducted into the Canadian Music Hall of Fame. Without negating their accomplishments and great successes and how much the group did very much deserve the recognition, to have this continual focus and recognition in the first place again uplifts the Anglo-centric, male, classic hegemony of the Canadian citizen that runs against the ideals the nation prides itself on. Whether we would see an individual or group with a visible minority identity achieve praise and recognition to the same caliber is yet to be determined. The night thus was not unproblematic in terms of gendered representation.

The Juno Awards 2014 were also full of unique and innovative gendered features, including LGBTQ representation, reversal of gendered stereotypes, and feminist activism. Calgary’s own sister duo, and openly lesbian activists, Tegan and Sara Quin dominated the evening with wins for Best Group, Best Album, and Best Single, as well as a performance and many backstage features. It was an obvious win for their artistic work, but also a win for the LGBTQ community they have been representing for years on and off stage. On helping LGBTQ youth specifically Tegan has said, “Well, that is my fight. It takes place on stage in front of thousands of people every day, making sure they know they have people like us. Or every time they see someone gay on television, or out there in a leadership role, or a powerful role, it’s gonna help.”²⁹ This year’s Juno’s were no exception as the group exclaimed on stage, “I don’t think very many people, certainly not us, thought two queer kids from northeast Calgary would get to here. And

²⁸ The Juno Awards, *The 2014 JUNO Gala Dinner and Awards- Full Broadcast*, March 31st, 2014, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D81-b2isTLY>.

²⁹ John Norris, "Tegan and Sara's Tegan Quin on Marriage Equality: Transcending Ignorance With Compassion," *Under The Radar*, October 29th, 2012.

here we are. So thank you very much, to each and every one of you, thank you very much.”³⁰ Tegan and Sara were showcased again in a backstage act with Serena Ryder where they discussed all of the great female artists from Canada’s past, and in jest discussed plans to form an all-girl supergroup. While it was an excellent recognition of the female talent Canada has produced, the exclusionary nature of this featurette and the fact this discussion cannot be part of the regular discourse remains problematic. The broadcast featured many gender reversals as well, including young boys prominently featured in Tegan and Sara’s dance group during their performance, the exclusive recognition and guest appearances of female Olympians such as Team Jenifer Jones and Dara Howell, the first female to win gold in slopestyle freestyle skiing, and as previously mentioned Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages: The Honourable Shelley Glover a female politician. Being able to view each gender in non-traditional roles shows moderate progress in gender equality and egalitarianism, and provides a positive model for the country. Lastly, guests of both genders played with gender reversal in their appearance: notably Serena Ryder and Tegan and Sara with their more masculine men’s wear style attire, and Matt May’s with his choice of accessorizing with eyeliner and heavier makeup. This feature was an interesting presentation of gender as performance, especially in a non-traditional manner, and a very unique finding in this study. Last but not least, the cancellation of performer Robin Thicke leaves an argument for gendered representation and the presence of feminist activism. His latest single ‘Blurred Lines’ spurred great international controversy as it has been said to contribute to rape culture, and as a result a petition circulated in Canada to have Thicke banned from the Junos. Although he officially cancelled due to health issues, speculation remains.³¹ In conclusion, while a full gender balance was not achieved in the Juno Awards 2014 broadcast to match Canadian national identity ideals of gender egalitarianism, there were many positive, unique, and modern gendered representations.

The last unit of analysis was to examine representations of patriotism throughout the Juno Awards broadcast. This result proved anomalous, as no signs of patriotism, either implicit and corresponding to the diffident citizen stereotype, or explicit and reflective of recent change were observed. What did occur, however, was the recurring presence of the peacekeeper trope in Canadian national identity. Fast and Pegley explain the peacekeeper trope as a “narrative of Canada as the international peacekeeper, the hero of the underdog, and the provider of basic human needs.”³² Finding this narrative within the Juno Awards was surprising given the fact it is only broadcast nationally, and does not have an international audience to whom this message might have more importance and resonance. Nonetheless, the narrative of Canada as a peacemaker was present with the many awards and recognitions that went out to various guests. For example, Sarah McLaughlin was praised for her work with the Sarah McLaughlin School of Music and Music Counts Canada which provides music education to underprivileged youth in the country, and Chantal Kreviazuk and Raine Maida received the Alan Waters Humanitarian Award.³³ However, the greatest example of this peacekeeper trope came from Serena Ryder in one of the most shocking events of the night. After receiving the award for Fan Choice, Justin Bieber received a resounding ‘boo’-ing from the entire stadium audience; Ryder did not accept that response. Next on stage to receive an award for Songwriter of the Year she had this to say:

³⁰ The Juno Awards, *The 2014 JUNO Gala Dinner and Awards- Full Broadcast*, March 31st, 2014, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D81-b2isTLY>.

³¹ CTV Staff, “Robin Thicke cancels Juno Awards performance” *CTV News*, March 30th, 2014, <http://www.ctvnews.ca/entertainment/robin-thicke-cancels-juno-awards-performance-1.1752620>.

³² Fast and Pegley, “Music and Canadian Nationhood Post 9/11,” 19.

³³ The Juno Awards, *The 2014 JUNO Gala Dinner and Awards*.

I did want to say I came from a really small town, Millbrook, Ontario. When I was growing up there, there was under 1000 people there and this has been a dream of mine my entire life and I really think that Justin Bieber is an amazing musician and that he deserved every bit of that award because he's been working his ass off his entire life and we need to support him. I think he's great. I'm not just trying to kiss ass. He's great. He's amazing.³⁴

It was an amazing display of grace, humility, and hospitality perfectly emblematic of the Canadian peacekeeper. The question of the diffident citizen stereotype thus remains unanswered through the Juno Awards 2014 broadcast; however the peacekeeper trope was an informative if unexpected finding.

Conclusion

The Juno Awards 2014 broadcast provided a both entertaining and informative venue to discover how Canadian politics, specifically Canadian national identity, is constructed through pop culture. Created as a way to recognize the talent of Canadian music and the ways in which they contribute to culture, while heavily influenced by both political institutions and commercial interests, the awards ceremony has also functioned to represent a certain image to the country. This made them an excellent unit of analysis as a vehicle for constructing Canadian national identity. Based off of previous literature on the ideal Canadian national identity that both Canadian citizens and the Canadian government try to construct, this research focused on displays of multiculturalism, gender equality, and patriotism. The hypothesis were grounded in previous research of these characteristics, especially in relation to entertainment media, and hypothesized that the Juno Awards would not be representative of the values of equality Canada aims to hold, but that they would be extremely and explicitly patriotic. In conclusion, the results indicated that while lacking in multicultural representation altogether, small steps have been made to represent non-mainstream artists; gender equality was not met but traditional gender stereotypes are changing; and while no patriotism was observed the peacekeeping narrative of Canada is a huge part of its identity. This study was not without its limitations, however. To replicate this study in the future the following changes should be made to make it more valuable and conclusive: a longitudinal approach that makes observes overall trends in the Juno Awards, regional representation of Canadian artists to observe the tensions Canada faces internally, a quantitative analysis of the time each demographic appeared on-screen, and an inclusion of the nominees in coding. This investigation of the Juno Awards construction of Canadian national identity continues to prove their significance as a political vehicle, and the changing state of Canadian society.

³⁴ Ibid.

Works Cited

- Aragon, Janni. "The 'Lady' revolution in the age of technology." *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics* 4, no. 1 (2008): 71-85.
- Boyd, Jade. "'Hey We're From Canada But We're Diverse, Right?': Neoliberalism, Multiculturalism, and Identity on So You Think You Can Dance Canada." *Cultural Studies in Media Communication* 29, no. 4 (2012): 259-274.
- CTV Staff. "Robin Thicke cancels Juno Awards performance." *CTV News*. March 30th, 2014.
<http://www.ctvnews.ca/entertainment/robin-thicke-cancels-juno-awards-performance-1.1752620>.
- Duffett, Mark. "Going down like a song: national identity, global commerce, and the Great Canadian Party." *Popular Music* 19, no. 1 (2000): 1-11.
- Dyck, Rand. *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*. 6. Toronto, Ontario: Nelson Education, 2011.
- Fast, Susan, and Karen Pegley. "Music and Canadian Nationhood Post 9/11: An Analysis of Music Without Borders Live." *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 18, no. 1 (2006): 18-39.
- Hague, Seth, John Street, and Heather Savigny. "The Voice of the People? Musicians as Political Actors." *Critical Politics* 4, no. 1 (2008): 5-24.
- McPeake, Dan. "A Tribe Called Red's musical activism." *Vancouver Observer*, February 26th, 2014.
<http://www.vancouverobserver.com/culture/music/tribe-called-reds-musical-activism>.
- Millard, Gregory, Sarah Riegel, and John Wright. "Here's Where We Get Canadian: English Canadian Nationalism and Pop Culture." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 32, no. 1 (2002): 11-34.
- Norris, John. "Tegan and Sara's Tegan Quin on Marriage Equality: Transcending Ignorance With Compassion." *Under The Radar*, October 29th, 2012.
http://www.undertheradarmag.com/interviews/tegan_and_sara_tegan_quin_marriage_equality/.
- Raney, Tracey. "As Canada As Possible...Under What Circumstances? Public Opinion on Nationality in Canada Outside Quebec." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43, no. 3 (2009): 5-29.
- Street, John. "Celebrity Politicians: Popular Culture and Political Representation." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6 (2004): 434-452.
- Street, John, Sanna Inthorn, Martin Scott. "Playing at Politics? Popular Culture as Political Engagement." *Parliamentary Affairs* 65 (2012): 338-358.
- The Juno Awards. *The 2014 JUNO Gala Dinner and Awards- Full Broadcast*. March 31st, 2014.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D8I-b2isTLY>.
- Veblin, Karin K. "We Stand on Guard For Thee': National Identity in Canadian Music Education". In *Patriotism and Nationalism in Music Education*, edited by Alexandra Kertz-Welzel and David G. Hebert, 141-157. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012. *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*, EBSCOhost (accessed June 10, 2014).

Young, David. "Ethno-racial minorities and the Juno Awards." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 31, no. 2 (2006): 183-210.

Young, David. "The CBC and the Juno Awards." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 30 (2005): 343-365.

Young, David. "The promotional state and Canada's Juno Awards." *Popular Music* 23, no. 3 (2004): 271-289.

Appendix I: Demographic Codebook For Quantitative Analysis

	Woman	Man	Total
Anglo-centric	49	21	70
Visible ethnic minority	13	3	16
Total	62	24	86