MORE THAN A MONOLITH: PODCASTING AUTHENTIC SELF-CONCEPTS AND CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS IN CANADA

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE

YORK UNIVERSITY

TORONTO, ONTARIO

December 2023

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores how podcasters from different racial and ethnic groups in Canada use podcasting to articulate their own identities and represent themselves and their communities through sound and language. Ten non-public podcasts were compared to ten publicly produced podcasts from the CBC between 2015 and 2020. In total, three episodes from each of the 20 podcasts were listened to for a total of 60 episodes. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to evaluate how podcasters linguistically self-express. Sound analysis helped examine how podcasters use voice, music, added FX, and archival audio to articulate their cultural identities. Interviews contextualized how podcasters conceived of their production, their motivations, and their podcast goals to represent community and revisit cultural histories in Canada.

The findings indicate that "history" and "true crime" podcasters in public and non-public models tend to critique institutionally produced myths about Canadian identity that have shaped colonial understandings of Canada today and the people who are products of its systems. On the other hand, "society and culture" podcasters from public and non-public models tend to support cross-national communication where members of non-hegemonic groups address various communities as heterogeneous collectives rather than monoliths. Findings also indicate that public (CBC) and non-public podcasts both encourage open self-expression and national criticism. Podcasts can promote voices that are difficult to access elsewhere and deepen what people can learn about infrequently taught or underrepresented historical experiences and modern cultural practices. Podcasters in this study often authored their sense of selves using local, multinational, and diasporic labels beyond a "Canadian" label and its cultural connotations. Podcasters explicitly talking about their race or ethnicity often contextualized how it influences, and is influenced by, their professional, political, and social experiences. Sonically, podcasters audibly self-represented using their regular speaking voices that reject standardized broadcasting voices.

Overall, this dissertation forwards that podcasts help critique Canadian history while celebrating non-settler histories and experiences that shape what podcasters believe to be their authentic selves exhibited in their vocalized values, attitudes, and beliefs. Thus, podcasts invite us to hear a diversity of peoples, perspectives, and cultures in public and non-public production spaces.

DEDICATION

To my parents, who have always prioritized their family before themselves, never complaining and always sacrificing to ensure the happiness of others. Also, to my partner, Karen, for her unrelentless encouragement and patience during my studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to offer my special thanks to my dissertation supervisor, Dr. Anne F. MacLennan, for her unwavering support and assistance at every stage of my research project. Dr. MacLennan's generosity with her time and efforts has made the dissertation process and my overall graduate experience insightful, especially during the pandemic when this study was researched and partially written in isolation. Furthermore, I am deeply grateful to Dr. MacLennan for her academic mentorship and collaboration. A special thanks to my committee members, Dr. Steve Bailey and Dr. Paul Moore, for their thoughtful instruction and suggestions to complete this work. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Tokunbo Ojo and Dr. Jan Hadlaw for their comments during the conception and construction of this dissertation's early phases. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Scott McLaren, Dr. David O. Dowling, and Dr. Jonathan Obar for dedicating time to reviewing my work despite their busy schedules.

This dissertation was not made possible without the creative work of so many great podcasters in Canada whose programs I had the pleasure of listening to throughout this study. Their passion for audio storytelling and their unfettered expressions are a clear indication of podcasting's power to connect with others around the world. I also had the pleasure of talking with podcasters who enthusiastically answered my questions and offered insights into their work, and for that I thank them. I especially want to note *Seat at the Table* cohost Martine St-Victor whose conversation inspired the title of this dissertation: *More than a Monolith*. Martine noted in her podcast and in our conversation that "the Black community is not a monolith," suggesting that everyone has their own worldviews, even within shared identity groups. I have adapted her comment to address the various podcasters in this dissertation whose voices are at certain times representing their community histories and at other times uniquely articulating their own perspectives and experiences. Listening to the stories of these podcasters was equally inspirational and educational for me, as I hope it will be for the readers of this work.

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"I think that it's a really exciting time [to be a podcaster] because we have had our stories told by others for so long and now, we're able to have the opportunity to tell our own stories and people want to listen to stories by us." – David A. Robertson, personal communication, August 4, 2021

During my conversation with Cree author and *Kiwew* (CBC) podcast host David A. Robertson, I asked him if podcasting is a beneficial tool for different voices to be heard. Referring to Indigenous communities specifically, Robertson replied that podcasting's online reach and relatively open access to production offers "us" a chance to tell our own stories in our own ways rather than having "others" speak for us. Robertson's emphasis on podcasting's openness for Indigenous authorship reflects my observation about podcasting's potential for cultural self-representation against historically limited, privileged, and often discriminatory media spaces within television and radio industries (Henry & Tator, 2009; Mahtani, 2001). Podcast scholars Martin Spinelli and Lance Dann (2019) similarly recognize that "to date the podcasting revolution has invited media change … and has provided a range of fresh, unusual, and previously unheard voices a platform from which they can be heard" (p. 229). In Canada, different cultures have used podcasting to share their experiences, stories, and perspectives, contributing to what Spinelli and Dann (2019) call the "podcast revolution" (p. 229).

However, podcasting's revolution did not begin during its inception in the early 2000s. Rather, podcasting was an extension of amateur blogging, a new digital audio medium with decentralized production for ordinary people to voice themselves in the hope of reaching other Internet users (Fox & Ciro, 2005). People recorded their voices without having to use standardized audio equipment, audio quality, or conversation formats. Podcasting therefore required minimal user expertise or technological sophistication outside a voice recorder and Internet access for online distribution. A year after podcasting received its moniker (Hammersley, 2004), Apple introduced a section for podcasts in iTunes 4.9 (Apple, 2005; Menduni, 2007). Podcasting reached mainstream heights in 2014 with the success of true crime podcast *Serial*, a few years after Apple had introduced its podcast-only app in 2012. Podcasting initially spurred as a sort of remediated online "radio" equivalent to music platforms like iTunes, Apple Music and Spotify. Today, podcasting is an established creative industry where ordinary

people orally extend their expressions and experiences online to a potentially large listenership using, at the very least, widely available digital tools like computers and smartphones (Berry 2016a; Cwynar, 2019; Spinelli & Dann, 2019; Sullivan, 2019).

Media like television and radio are restricted to limited airwaves and cable channels that require production and distribution licenses, close geographic proximity to audiences, and technical expertise. On the other hand, podcasts benefit from their (often) free production and availability online that allow people to cross what Lukasz Swiatek (2018) terms "knowledge" and "context" boundaries where individuals can "access new insights" (p. 173) from "diverse locations and socio-cultural backgrounds" (p. 174). People have created podcasts to author their experiences, and/or the experiences of their communities, that others can identify with or learn from across knowledge and context boundaries. In this way, Spinelli and Dann's (2019) notion that the "podcasting revolution has invited media change in human and empathetic directions" (p. 229) underscores podcasting's ascendence since the mid-2000s for people to empathetically engage with stories that other media have not equally shared. I believe podcasting can especially help people from different cultures author (hi)stories that inform their sense of selves today.

I also believe that podcast stories told by and about underrepresented cultures in Canada are particularly pressing given modern, public interrogations into the country's past. European settlers partially constructed Canada's history and the nation's formation through settler stories, which often framed non-settler groups as deviant, inferior, threatening, and less-than, or excluded them altogether (Fleras, 2011; Henry & Tator, 2009; Mahtani, 2001; Tukachinsky, 2015). As Robertson noted in our conversation, "people want to listen to stories *by* us." I view podcasting as one revolutionary space for these stories to be told publicly in the 21st century. Ordinary Internet users without professional media experience can express themselves openly online using the medium's minimal barriers to access and cheap monetary investment. In this way, podcasts possess educational potential for listeners to learn more about how a podcaster understands their world today that is partially framed by their racial or ethnic identifications related to the nation's past. Although there is no guarantee a podcast will be listened to at the time of its release because of the number of podcasts available, the recordings themselves capture otherwise ephemeral articulations that still exist online for future listening. This (future) empathetic listening can encourage people to hear about ideas, experiences, beliefs, and attitudes from traditionally underrepresented voices that contextualize both a podcaster's and a listener's

modern social position. Podcasters thus become authorities on their personal and ancestral existence that listeners can identify with or learn from.

1.1: RESEARCH AIMS

Podcasting's popularity spawned podcast studies, a growing field of academic research including Spinelli and Dann's (2019) analysis of podcasting's revolution and Swiatek's analysis of podcasting as an intimate and educational bridging medium. Over the past decade, attention has also been paid to podcasting's potential for traditionally underrepresented communities, including racial and ethnic groups, to express themselves outside largely exclusionary spaces of mass media production like mainstream radio and television. Photini Vrikki and Sarita Malik (2019) have studied the cultural representation of Black, Asian, and minority ethnic (BAME) groups in UK podcasting, observing that podcasters value independence and freedom to produce "self-defined narratives" (p. 286) that are often "limited by the surfeit of hegemonic representations" (p. 281). Sarah Florini's (2015, 2017) findings on the cultural representation of Black communities in the US suggest that podcasters can embrace informal topics through African American Vernacular English (AAVE) while creating alternative public spheres for Black social, political, and cultural life with listener input from audience emails, phone calls, and social media posts. Similarly, Kim Fox, David Dowling, and Kyle Miller (2020) have published "A Curriculum for Blackness: Podcasts as Discursive Cultural Guides, 2010-2020," which reviews "African-American podcasting's ascent [that] marks a potent articulation of Black identity and experience in media history" (p. 299). These scholars identify podcasting's potential for various cultures in the US and UK to self-represent online through controlled production spaces. However, this representative potential has not been studied in a Canadian context despite the country's unique cultural demographic in a colonial-settler nation.

My dissertation addresses this geographical gap in research by examining how podcasters across cultures in Canada who are non-White and non-settler use podcasts to express their sense of selves independently from, and related to, their cultural affiliations.[1] Mainstream media have

[1] I use Métis scholar Chelsea Vowel's definition of "settler" to refer to "the non-Indigenous peoples living in Canada who form the European-descended sociopolitical majority" (2016, p. 15). As Vowel (2016) states, "I feel it [settler] is the most accurate relation term and helps to keep the conversation more focused than the term *White* [original emphasis]" (p. 16). I use "settler" and "White" interchangeably since both terms refer to people with certain privileges based on racial and ethnic identifications.

represented various racial and ethnic communities in Canada homogeneously in a multicultural country considering itself post-racial and post-colonial (Eisenberg, 2019; Forbes, 2019; Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018; Haque, 2018; Kymlicka, 2010; Lopez, 2020a; McCoy, 2018; Song, 2017; Squires, 2014; Wenzel, 2017). Employing "post-racial" and "post-colonial" suggests that a country has surpassed racial division and colonial control through unification and that racism and colonization are "of the past" (Haque, 2018; Squires, 2014; Wenzel, 2017). However, Western nations still possess remnants of racial division and colonization socially, culturally, politically, and economically (Forbes, 2019, Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). In Canada, British and French colonial efforts eliminated almost all non-European stories, practices, and cultures while supplanting them with myths of the nation as inherently democratic and multicultural to justify its actions (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014; Coulthard, 2014; Francis, 1997; Hampton & DeMartini, 2017). These actions included the colonization over Indigenous nations through settlement and government-sanctioned systems like residential schooling aimed at assimilating Indigenous peoples to "Canadian" ways of life, which, until recently, were neglected or downplayed in discussions of Canada's history (MacDonald, 2019).

Neglecting non-settler stories discounts the veiled colonial efforts of Canada since, as Rosalind Hampton and Ashley DeMartini (2017) suggest, "The stories we are told and those we tell both frame and reflect our understandings of ourselves, of the world around us, and of our own place within it" (p. 247). Thus, various individual and cultural stories have resultantly been omitted from national consciousness since Canada's British and French colonial invention in 1867. This missing knowledge can help inform how non-settler groups define their identities and understand their experiences today within Canada from settler constructions of history. Based on podcasting's relatively low barriers to access, I was driven to learn about how self-controlled, non-public podcast spaces support critical and self-representative podcasting where ordinary citizens choose to talk about how their racial or cultural affiliations structure their sense of selves in Canada and are grounded in ancestral group experiences. I was also driven to learn how podcasters within a publicly-driven institution shared similar insights. Thus, I chose to also analyze podcasts produced by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Canada's public broadcaster that is mandated "to contribute to the development of a shared national consciousness and identity [and] to reflect the regional and cultural diversity of Canada" (Government of Canada, September 11, 2023, Mandate section).

It merits attention to distinguish podcasting's unregulated, online character related to legacy radio's regulated, terrestrial broadcasting.[2] I can quickly signal a few key differences between radio regulations and podcasting here. First, the Canadian government regulates the radio frequency spectrum because of limited airspace (Armstrong, 2010). However, the radio frequency spectrum does not apply to podcasting because of podcasting's digital inhabitancy. Second, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) provides radio licensing annually to outlets that comply with specific regulations, conditions, and policies. Licensees "must acquire a technical certificate from Industry Canada to ensure it will be in conformity with the department's frequency allotment plan" (Armstrong, 2010, p. 11). Yet podcasters do not require licensing or certification to produce programs. Third, broadcast regulations are used to ensure "diversity" of thematic programming that attempts to eliminate the saturation of programs belonging to single genres that are commercially profitable and thus, potentially more desirable to produce. Podcasts are not beholden to any topic or genre because of marketization. The CRTC (2008) did observe that "podcasts now share mainstream awareness in Canadian society" (Developments section). Robert Armstrong (2010) further states that because of podcasting's popularity, the CRTC "concluded that regulation [of digital audio services like podcasts] is not necessary to achieve the objectives of the Broadcasting Act" (p. 175). In other words, podcasts are believed to already fulfill the Broadcasting Act's goals and are therefore void of government interference.[3] Podcasts are only beholden to the policies and expectations of its producers rather than the legal imposition of the Canadian Broadcasting Act.

It is important to note that the Canadian Broadcasting Act does regulate the CBC's broadcasting content, including podcasts listened to in this dissertation. Part of the Act mandates that the CBC's content "be predominantly and distinctively Canadian," "actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural expression," "contribute to shared national consciousness and identity," "reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada," and "be made available

[2] Media regulation "is the authoritative establishment of the quantity, quality and type of messages that they [social institutions] can or are required to distribute in a given social order" (Schejter & Han, 2011, p. 243); According to Robert Armstrong (2010), "Regulations carry out the purposes of the general laws or expand on them but are limited in scope by these laws. Among other things, the Broadcasting Act empowers the CRTC [Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission] to make regulations with respect to Canadian Broadcasting" (p. 5).

[3] The CRTC announced that "podcasting services operating in Canada with $10 million or more in annual revenue in this country, will have to register with it before Nov. 28" (Heydari, 2023, n. pag.). This dissertation will not address this (potential) regulation since the policy and its implications are unclear and underdeveloped at the time of this writing.

throughout Canada by the most appropriate and efficient means" (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, n.d.). As I discuss in Chapter 4, a fraction of the CBC's podcasts was chosen for this dissertation because of the CBC's unique position to produce content that reflects Canada's racial and cultural demographics, as well as the expressions of those demographics. I believe the CBC's podcasts offer additional insights because of the broadcaster's mandate to represent the perspectives of a diverse demographic through "efficient means," which the podcasts listened to in this study constitute in both content and online availability. Furthermore, the CBC exists as an institutional space but is required to be directed at all people in Canada as "Canadians" (whatever that label means). I forward that this institutional yet publicly-representative dichotomy contributes to a new understanding of podcasting's potential because of the medium's purported equity that a government-funded national institution uses to encourage self-expressions while critiquing Canada's past, including its government and policies.

However, I am not seeking to conduct a comparison of CBC broadcasting and CBC podcasting. Instead, I am focused on analyzing the CBC's podcasts in isolation with non-public podcasts, in and of themselves. Furthermore, the task of further distinguishing podcasting from broadcasting is beyond the scope of this project. I am not claiming to do a policy analysis of regulation, unionization, distribution infrastructure and the multicultural act, nor the impact of its absence in podcasting. Rather, I am concerned with podcasting as a self-representative and openly dialogical tool and practice for relatively anyone to communicate to larger publics in their own ways, whether in corporate or independent production spaces. Furthermore, I am interested in podcasting's ability to educate people about potentially underrepresented perspectives articulating current experiences in Canada and their connections to cultural pasts. My foundational premise is that podcasting's online presence provides a potential alternative for non-European descendants and non-settlers to express their sense of selves grounded in their cultural affiliations across the country. Podcasts provide a potentially egalitarian mechanism for voicing cultural experiences while confronting myths perpetuated through media and education because the Internet has relatively low access barriers and requires low-cost production for online expression (Bottomley, 2020). Just as people can write a blog, people can also voice a

podcast or *audio*blog.[4] Based on these considerations, I attempt to answer the following four research questions:

1) How do podcasters linguistically self-represent cultural identity?
2) Does podcasting help augment Canadian history?
3) Do podcasters in Canada self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity?
4) How do podcasters use sound to represent identity and experience through voice, music, and additional audio?

My answers to these questions are grounded in my interviews with podcasters whose programs I discursively and sonically analyzed throughout the study. These podcasts were created in public and non-public production spaces in Canada between 2015-2020.

Growing podcast scholarship has focused on the sonic qualities of the medium such as voice, music, and actuality sound that help shape story and inform personal experiences (Brekke, 2020; Copeland, 2018; Hilmes, 2021; McHugh, 2012, 2022; Spinelli & Dann, 2019). I study sound in relation to the production of the voice, music, environmental and digital audio, and the repurposing of recorded voices that express subjective experiences and perspectives that are difficult to access in-person or are unavailable altogether. Scholarship has also addressed podcasting as a medium for expressing identity discursively through spoken word (Florini, 2017; Fox, Dowling, & Miller, 2020; Fox & Ebada, 2022; Llinares, 2018; Tran, 2019), as well as representing intersectional identities and revising historical narratives (Buozis, 2017; Cuffe, 2018; Florini, 2015; Symons, Duncan, & Sherry, 2022; Vrikki & Malik, 2019). I explore verbal representations of identity by listening to how podcasters articulate themselves and their experiences in the world through podcast narratives that coalesce intersectional self-concepts attributed to race, ethnicity, and nation. I also examine the ability for podcasters to redefine and resist discriminatory discursive formations, produced by dominant institutions, using podcasting's digital storytelling capabilities for creating or transforming knowledge online.

[4] Robert Godwin-Jones (2005) notes that "bloggers have been linking recorded audio files to their blogs, a process known as audioblogging. … What's new about podcasting as a form of audioblogging is the ability to subscribe to a site for automatic downloads of new MP 3 files" (p. 10).

Sound, identity, and representation as cultural concepts helped me investigate whether podcasting functions as a digitally democratized media space for cultures to vocally represent themselves and cultural experiences in Canada historically and contemporarily.

I argue in this dissertation that podcasts act as openly dialogical spaces for people in Canada to construct and control aural representations of their intersectional identities constituted by affiliations to race, ethnicity, and nationality. Self-representation resultantly creates collective, yet heterogeneous, podcast communities through shared engagement with digital audio narratives (Asen, 2000; Benhabib, 1992; Fraser, 1997; Squires, 2002). Nancy Fraser (1997) suggests that discursive spaces should "unbracket" identity markers to highlight subordinate practices rather than "bracket" or dismiss identity in a desire for neutrality. Podcasting has become a practice for people to express their intersectional identities that are accessible to all people in Canada across knowledge and context boundaries (Swiatek, 2018). This dissertation locates how podcasters in Canada are foregrounding their identities and facilitating learning beyond immediate context and knowledge boundaries through their digital audio narratives.

The podcasts analyzed in this study were hosted by people who identified as non-White or non-settler. These podcasts explored attitudes, prejudices, and socialization towards cultural issues and/or revisited historic, cultural narratives that informed each podcaster's self-concept. The selection was based on a stratified random sample of public and non-public podcasts between 2015-2020. This timeframe captures podcasting's "Second Age" (Bonini, 2015) that saw an increase in podcast production and the emergence of a variety of narrative structures and conversational formats building on the 2014 success of National Public Radio's (NPR) true crime podcast *Serial* (Berry, 2015; McHugh, 2022). This timeframe also signals podcasting's increasing popularity in Canada and the beginning of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC's) original podcast production (Clark & McLean, 2020). In 2021, "nearly 12 million Canadian adults (38% of the 18+ population) listened to podcasts" with 9 million listening monthly (The Podcast Exchange, 2021).

A comparison between production models can highlight how a podcast's organizational ties influences its narrative production. Thus, 10 programs that are independently or privately produced were selected for analysis in comparison to 10 programs publicly produced by the CBC. The CBC's podcasts were chosen as representative of public podcasting because of its paradoxical dualism of being a legacy media producer dominating the Canadian podcast industry

and a mandated democratic representative of Canada's whole population (Clark & McLean, 2020). Between 2015 and 2020, the CBC had 127 podcasts available on their website.[5] Analyzing these podcast models revealed that both public and non-public spaces encouraged self-expression and national criticism despite the CBC's role as a publicly funded corporation. Furthermore, as I discuss in Chapter 7, the research results indicate that cultures were represented heterogeneously podcaster-by-podcaster, even when the discussion topic was the same. Podcasters often used colonial terms in both public and non-public podcasts, but they were either spoken for historical context or as a form of "ownership" over a previously discriminatory label. Furthermore, differences in audio quality and language use were minimally noticeable across podcasts. Both public and non-public podcasts critically approached topics related to identity and Canadian history, and both sets of podcasters often inserted their ideas, values, and beliefs into their podcast conversations and narratives.

I used critical discourse analysis (CDA), sound analysis, and interviews to analyze these podcasts. CDA was a suitable method for analyzing podcasts because it allowed me to evaluate how podcasters used language in their programs to express themselves. CDA also helped me understand how podcasters linguistically articulated their cultural identities in Canada, and what meanings could be derived from these linguistic choices. I employed sound analysis because sound is podcasting's dominant mode of communication and works with language to produce meaning. Podcasters used the sounds of voices, music, the environment, and archives to affect a particular listening experience. I applied sound analysis to examine how the sounds we hear in podcasting can be used as a primary tool for articulating meaning and identity in tandem with, and beyond, linguistic expression. Podcasters in this study used sonic impersonation to distance themselves from sounds popularly applied to settler, White communities. Podcasts also used sound as a shared system of representation for audiences to understand podcaster experiences through culturally familiar audio complimenting or supplanting speech. Podcasting's digital capabilities allowed listeners to sensorially experience a podcaster's past even though listeners are unable to visually access voiced memories firsthand. Podcasters even contextualized unfamiliar sounds for listeners who may not have understood the podcaster's intended meaning transmitted in these aural signals.

[5] At the time of this writing (October 2023), the CBC has 171 podcasts listed on their website, which indicates the potential it hears in podcasting as a communication medium and practice.

Interviewing was the final method I used to contextualize how podcasters in Canada use the medium as a space for expressing themselves in relation to their communities. Interviews with podcasters whose content I analyzed in the first two methods offered additional opportunity for podcasters to discuss and reflect on their experiences podcasting, their motivations for podcasting, and how they use podcasts to self-conceptualize. Interviews also helped me situate the podcast content I heard from these podcasters by asking them questions about the episodes I analyzed. Method triangulation supported participants to voice and express themselves sonically and linguistically, whether through the episodes or interviews, rather than having me continually speak *for* them as a researcher.

1.2: RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

Many cultural groups have been occluded from Western, mainstream media spaces physically and ideologically and have therefore lacked opportunities to speak for themselves and their communities and transmit their representations nationally (Mahtani, 2001). Spinelli and Dann's (2019) research suggests that racially- and ethnically-conscious podcasts specifically remedy this occlusion by performing "experiential diversity," which is "a nexus of making, listening, sharing, social interaction, and group and individual identity formation. … In the shared act of personal podcast storytelling, difference is neither erased nor does it become a barrier to interpersonal connection" (p. 136). Analyzing whether podcasts offer a representative online space for people to literally be heard across the country can help people evaluate podcasting's communicative potential moving forward, especially with its increasing listenership and development into a creative industry (The Podcast Exchange, 2021; Vrikki & Malik, 2019). It is also important to examine if podcast production from popular, pre-podcast media outlets threaten the medium's flexible structure for communities in Canada to express themselves in their own ways based on standardized production sites and practices (Berry, 2016a; Murray, 2009). Studying podcast content and practices and the institutions that structure them provided deeper insight into podcasting's potential democratic function for cultures in Canada to express themselves and their stories against the dominant representations perpetually produced in mainstream media.

Studying podcast representations of cultural identities is important since dominant, mainstream media selectively choose which information to present that is too often removed

from culturally lived experiences (Chideya, 2018; Smith, 2015). While most radio and television production require technical expertise and licensing to reach local and national communities, basic podcasting minimally requires a microphone and Internet connection to cross geographic borders. In regions with developed infrastructure (Fox & Karianjahi, 2021), citizens themselves are becoming podcasters, transforming controlled radio broadcasting into digital, associational spaces of collaboration where podcasters can foreground dismissed issues and histories that inform their sense of selves (Benhabib, 1992; Rosen, 2006). Therefore, as Dario Llinares, Neil Fox, and Richard Berry (2018a) suggest, "the international, national and regional dynamics of podcasting is undoubtedly a theme requiring further scrutiny" (p. 8). This dissertation captures these dynamics in a Canadian context since, as I argue, podcasting offers a representative space online where people can discursively and sonically construct their cultural identities themselves rather than be spoken for by "others," as Robertson noted in our conversation.

Podcasters in this study used these self-controlled spaces to linguistically conceive their cultural identities through the naming of geographical and cultural labels outside or in addition to the "Canadian" label. As I will discuss in Chapter 5, the use of additional affiliations suggested that podcasters defined themselves culturally beyond a homogeneous Canadian label since other locative identities informed how they understand the world and their sociocultural positions within it. Indigenous podcasters specifically did not refer to themselves as "Canadians," but instead identified with national/tribal groups from specific regions (e.g., Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation) when introducing themselves and framing their perspectives. Naming national/tribal affiliation linguistically related to what other nations or cultures are not, including Canada. Podcasters can identify themselves how they want rather than be identified by others homogenously.

Podcasters also used the medium to self-control narratives about cultural histories including Indigenous land connection, residential schooling, intergenerational trauma, and Black history and education. As I will discuss in Chapter 6, these four themes represented multiple group histories that podcasters shared in their own ways to celebrate or acknowledge their ancestral existence in Canada. Based on these conversational themes, podcasters helped elaborate on and popularize more diverse experiences in Canadian history against the monolithic representations that settler institutions historically produced about British and French settler experiences in Canada as representing *the* Canadian history. Podcasters became authoritative

figures who produced educational texts as counter-regimes of Indigenous and Black representation through this storytelling process. Similarly, podcasters used the medium to author modern conceptions of how their racial or ethnic identities relate to other facets of their lives. In Chapter 7, I listened to podcasters dictating conversations about mental health, athletic pursuits, professional employment, and political views in their own ways. These conversations exhibited the nuances of race and ethnicity that contribute to one's sense of self. Podcasts helped articulate these nuances that create a heterogeneous collection of experiences, values, beliefs, and attitudes available to wide listening publics. These stories and perspectives might have been difficult to access if they were unavailable in these podcasts that are free to Internet users.

Overall, this dissertation implicitly argues alongside Llinares, Fox, and Berry (2018a) that podcasting should have its own disciplinary space rather than be analyzed as a repurposed digital tool for understanding already-established disciplines and bodies of knowledge. Thus, this dissertation contributes to the field of "podcast studies" in its investigation on how podcasting's narrative production in Canada digitally engages with various cultural representations and experiences, and how people's sense of selves related to their cultural affiliations linguistically and sonically inform these representations and experiences.

1.3: DISSERTATION OUTLINE

The dissertation continues in Chapter 2 with a review of podcast studies literature and a mapping of different theoretical approaches to the field. Chapter 3 outlines the key theoretical underpinnings of my research grounded in authenticity theory for evaluating how podcasters self-represent in relation to their cultural affiliations. Chapter 4 provides an outline of the dissertation's methods that I used to analyze linguistic and sonic podcast content across 20 programs and 60 episodes. Chapter 5 is the first discussion chapter addressing how podcasters used language to express their cultural affiliations in tandem with and beyond "Canadian" cultural identity. Chapter 6 surveys how podcasters can become authors of their own narratives and represent cultural histories that have been alternatively theorized or forgotten altogether in public Canadian discourse.

Chapter 7 transitions from podcasting as historical respeaking to podcasting as self-representative and celebratory in present day Canada in relation to and beyond racial or ethnic

community affiliations. This discussion focuses on how podcasters discursively conceive of their intersectional identities in relation to their communities and how podcasting offers a space for addressing community experiences grounded in the testimonies of individual podcasters. Chapter 8 similarly explores self-representation, but through podcasting's sonic qualities. This includes an exploration of how podcaster voices and audio media practices/techniques produce meaning for podcasters alongside the linguistic content of their programs and how sound can be used to transport listeners sensorially to inaccessible past experiences that informed each podcaster's sense of self and cultural affiliation. Chapter 9 concludes the dissertation with a review of my key findings, answers to my research questions, the main contributions of this dissertation to the fields of podcast studies, cultural studies, and Canadian studies, and potential areas for future research that extend this study's findings.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Podcast studies primarily publishes in academic journals like *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* and *Radio Journal* since 2006. The interdisciplinary field invites various approaches over decades from communication studies, cultural studies, sound studies, and literary studies globally. These approaches to podcast studies often focus on specific podcasting components as their analytic objects like production styles, distribution networks, listening practices, intimacy, economic viability, and audio technology. In podcast studies, there are four foundational texts that approach podcasting in these ways across geographical and temporal contexts: 1. *Podcasting: The Audio Media Revolution* (Spinelli & Dann, 2019); 2. *Podcasting: New Aural Cultures and Digital Media* (Llinares, Fox, & Berry, 2018b); 3. *Saving New Sounds: Podcast Preservation and Historiography* (Morris & Hoyt, 2021); and 4. *The Power of Podcasting: Telling Stories Through Sound* (McHugh, 2022). These texts conceive podcasting in multiple ways, its achievements as a medium, and its communicative potential.

Diverse scholarly approaches to podcasting are represented in these four foundational texts and in podcast studies journal articles. Podcast studies does not have definitively named "schools of thought," but the field possesses informal research clusters theorizing podcasting in distinct ways. These clusters approach podcasting as remediated radio, podcasting as its own distinct medium, podcasting as a form of digital storytelling, and podcasting as a tool for representing the self. Collectively, these clusters implicitly strive to identify podcasting's essence or "authenticity," the medium's defining characteristics that make it uniquely communicative and researchable.

2.1: RADIO STUDIES APPROACH

The radio studies approach to podcast studies theorizes podcasting as a digital remediation of radio broadcasting.[6] Simply put, radio and podcasting's production practices and genres are understood to mirror each other. American scholar Kris Markman (2015) suggested that podcasting embodies many of radio's stylistic conventions including hosting, music, and

[6] Remediation refers to when "one medium is itself incorporated or represented in another medium" (Bolter & Grusin, 1999, p. 45).

narrative storytelling. Thus, Markman (2015) theorized that podcasting is undisruptive. Podcasts remediate radio's content using a new delivery system since "the freedom of podcasting is the freedom to release a product out into the wilds of the Internet and watch what happens" (p. 242). American scholar Andrew Bottomley (2020) similarly argued that podcasts are "digitally downloadable radio programs available for personalized consumption – the audience being in control of what they listen to and when, where, and how they listen to it" (p. 104). Both Markman and Bottomley noted that the distinction between podcasting and radio is in distribution and listener agency, but not in production.

The radio studies approach to podcasting stems from the mid-2000s when users were unsure about digital audio media's direction. The term "podcasting" was rarely used, with radio historiographers viewing the medium as simply an additional platform for radio broadcasters to redistribute content. In 2013, American scholars Jason Loviglio and Michele Hilmes released an edited collection titled *Radio's New Wave* (2013b) acknowledging radio's transition from analog to its digital "remediation." Despite the book's reference to podcasting, each chapter similarly addressed digital audio as radio's "new wave" beginning in the new millennium. As a radio studies scholar, Hilmes (2013a) explicitly noted that:

> radio's first wave of adaptation to the digital, then, followed the precepts of "re-mediation" as articulated by Bolter and Grusin: digital platforms allowed radio stations and producers to do what they always had done, only in a different format, with more depth and permeance. (p. 48)

Loviglio and Hilmes (2013a) equated all forms of digital audio to radio, or what Hilmes (2013a) termed a "soundwork," which refers to "the entire complex of sound-based digital media that enters our experience through a variety of technologies and forms" (p. 43). Bottomley (2020) similarly noted that radio "is any nonmusic sound medium that is purposefully crafted *to be heard* [original emphasis] by an audience" (p. 3). The radio studies approach equates most screen (e.g., computer, phone, tablet) audio with radio despite both scholars using the term podcasting when referring to various online public radio programs.

Podcasting's conception as remediated radio equates both media's practices and audio modality, but the radio studies approach also emphasizes content producers. Bottomley (2020) noted that "the supposedly 'disruptive' practice of podcasting is in actuality replicating well-established institutional structures and economic models from broadcasting" (p. 25). In this way,

podcasting has also been equated to radio as an industry rather than possessing its own market. In a 2007 study of iTunes's platform, Italian scholar Enrico Menduni (2007) argued, "At the moment, podcasting does not operate as a more democratic medium. Just as it is valued and exploited by the recording industry, radio stations and even political or cultural organisations have adopted it" (p. 15). Menduni suggested that although anyone can upload audio content to iTunes, public and private legacy media dominate these platforms because of their popularity and institutional networking. Podcasting has been deemed remediated radio because many native radio networks like National Public Radio (NPR), the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) have redistributed and labelled their radio programs online as "podcasts."

Other scholars have also theorized podcasting as redistributed radio for popular broadcasters. Loviglio (2013) focused on NPR's public radio legacy and its standardized analogical and digital production. Specifically, Loviglio argued that NPR adapted to podcasting's digital landscape, repurposing radio with public-oriented content despite NPR's radio programming of neoliberal content during its online transition in the late-2000s. Although funding has largely changed, Loviglio suggested, access to content has enabled public radio corporations like NPR to thrive using their existing resources. Similarly, Simone Murray (2009) suggested that radio and podcasting's convergence has enabled legacy media to repackage the same content on multiple platforms to reach larger audiences. Loviglio and Murray, like other scholars within the radio studies approach, theorize podcasting simply as radio's new delivery tool rather than as an independent medium with its own production practices, listening habits, and story content.

Understanding podcasting and radio's relationship has been an academic pursuit since the mid-2000s, most notably from influential British podcast scholar Richard Berry. Berry's 2006 article "Will the iPod Kill the Radio Star?" addressed podcasting's emergence as remediated radio (noted in the article's subtitle "Profiling Podcasting *as* [emphasis added] Radio"). Berry suggested the distinction between podcasting and analog radio is in their delivery methods and listener agency, not the content itself. Podcast listeners choose what programs to listen to and are automatically delivered those programs via online subscription. Alternatively, radio listeners must seek out limited, scheduled radio content that stations dictate. Berry (2006) argued that radio and podcasting share an audio modality. However, podcasting offers an additional audience

"not normally found in mainstream radio" (p. 148) because of podcasting's online delivery and user selection, which radio stations now adapted. Jonathan Sterne et al. (2008) similarly suggested that podcasting refers more to a delivery method than a new medium. For Markman, Bottomley, Hilmes, Berry and Sterne et al., podcasting does not disrupt radio because radio networks have adapted to podcasting's digital distribution. Berry and Sterne et al. specifically identified that analog radio and podcasting share a modality but transmit audio differently. Radio broadcasters have adjusted to podcasting's online market, remediating their original radio production using their popularity and resources.

The radio studies approach blurs podcasting's definition or distinctive quality because scholars apply the term in different research contexts. For example, researchers like Berry (2006), Sterne et al. (2008), Hilmes (2013a), Markman (2015), and Bottomley (2020) defined podcasting as remediated radio content distributed through a new channel. The issue with using the term "podcasting" is that scholars are linguistically defining podcasting as not radio despite synonymizing the two conceptually. Radio is not synonymous with podcasting if radio is distributed over airwaves. Thus, scholarly definitions of "podcasting" create confusion because the term is applied to specific aspects of the medium rather than to the whole. Berry's (2006), Sterne et al.'s (2008), Hilmes's (2013a), Markman's (2015), and Bottomley's (2020) comparison between podcasting and radio's stylistic conventions and production practices may therefore be accurate. However, podcasting's online distribution and its material and immaterial relationships suggests another understanding of the medium, which invites a different scholarly approach outside the radio studies framework.

2.2: NEW APPROACH

Some scholars have conceptualized podcasting as more than just radio's new delivery mode. I term this the "new approach," which theorizes podcasting as a "new" medium outside of radio and locates podcast studies as a distinct scholarly field. American scholars Martin Spinelli and Lance Dann (2019) argued that podcasting needs its own analytic framework because of the various cultural connections it develops separately from radio. Berry (2018) similarly suggested more than a decade after his first article about podcasting as remediated radio that podcasting should be researched as its own medium because it facilitates distinct cultural practices. As

mentioned previously, Berry approached podcasting from a radio studies framework in 2006. However, Berry (2016b) reinvented his position years later when stating that podcasting has its own "practices, cultures, institutions and distribution systems" (p. 8). Furthermore, Berry (2016a) suggested that although podcasting "can be shared with listeners in a way that linear transmission systems cannot facilitate" (p. 665), podcasting will not outrightly replace radio. Rather, podcasting will grow parallel to radio. Berry bridges the radio studies approach and "new" approach to podcasting because he acknowledged the shared audio modality but recognized podcasting's unique cultural practices worthy of individual study.

The new approach studies podcasting separately from radio because each medium facilitates different cultural practices. Spinelli and Dann (2019) suggested that using radio studies as an analytic framework for podcasting is insufficient because podcasting is not an extended or remediated radio form. Rather, a podcast "is a relationship invited through an audio text between people involved in making and listening to that text and beyond" (Spinelli & Dann, 2019, p. 13). Spinelli and Dann studied programs and networks like *Radiolab*, *Welcome to the Night Vale*, *Radiotopia*, *Blood Culture*, *Serial*, and the BBC to identify the relationship between production, consumption, and distribution. They analyzed elements of digital storytelling, intimacy, distribution, listening, and production helping build relationships between podcasters and their listening communities. The new approach conceptualizes podcasting distinctly from radio despite radio broadcasters redistributing and adapting their programming online.

Podcasting's global industry includes diverse programming and user choice. Berry (2016a) analyzed podcasting's success and its established online inhabitancy, maintaining that "podcasting gains value over traditional linear broadcasters because it can accommodate the extremes of diversity" (p. 664). Listeners can select podcasts rather than be constrained by radio's scheduling. Thus, a podcast is its own distinct medium and not remediated radio. Berry (2016b) argued in his comparison between podcasts and radio over a ten-year span that equating the two can hinder podcast production since podcasters may feel forced to emulate standardized radio production involving a live format and editorial hierarchy. If podcasters view themselves as radio practitioners, Berry suggested, it could transform podcasting into a cheap radio imitation rather than a distinct medium grounded in distinct online production and consumption practices. Berry recognized the cultural development through podcasting that incites niche communities

through, and beyond, audio texts. Berry's "new" approach aligns with Spinelli and Dann's (2019) observation about podcasting's unique facilitation of community engagement.

Podcasting has also been defined globally. British scholars Dario Llinares, Neil Fox, and Richard Berry's (2018b) edited collection recognized podcasting's unique ability to create global auditory cultures. In their introduction, Llinares, Fox, and Berry (2018a) defined podcasting as "a collection of cultural work and practice that spans journalism, performance art, comedy, drama, documentary, criticism and education" (p. 5). Furthermore, podcasting "instigates a self-reflectivity regarding one's identity as a mediated and mediating subject" (Llinares, Fox, & Berry, 2018a, p. 2). Like Spinelli and Dann (2019), Llinares, Fox, and Berry (2018a) understood podcasting's potential for people to verbalize their sense of selves. Self-reflection incites a relationship with listeners who identify with, or learn from, a podcaster's sense of self. Berry (2016b) also recognized that community interaction is foundational to podcasting's success. Podcasters and listeners can engage and share their opinions through online platforms like Twitter and Reddit outside the audio episodes. Thus, the new approach also confuses podcasting's definition since some scholars theorize podcasting by the relationships it facilitates rather than by the audio itself.

The new approach additionally differentiates podcasting from radio based on production practices and genre expectations. Nine years after his first article, Berry (2015) used NPR's crime podcast *Serial* to evaluate how podcast content has become journalistically refined and aurally improved. He noted the cyclical relationship between production and consumption. Instantaneous downloading and listening enhances production efforts and content quality in fear of audiences finding other content quickly if quality expectations are unmet. Berry acknowledged that *Serial* incited many podcasters to produce refined audio texts grounded in quality sound and journalistic digital storytelling, which helped solidify podcasting's communicative, professional legitimacy. *Serial*'s 2014 popularity ushered in a supposedly new podcasting "golden age" where professional aesthetics are now expected over the medium's initial amateur production quality. Llinares, Fox, and Berry (2018a) and Spinelli and Dann (2019) also reviewed podcasting's production across different genres like original dramas and interviews. Podcasting possesses unstandardized practices and little editorial input compared to radio, even if genre characteristics are similar. Both Spinelli and Dann (2019) and Llinares, Fox, and Berry (2018a) understood podcasting as its own medium deserving scholarly analysis, which

extends Berry's work since the mid-2000s. Podcasting has been globally defined by its online existence, genre expectations, and relationships helping facilitate a creative or intimate sense of self.

Podcast studies' new approach analyzes podcasts distinctly from radio beyond a purely technological standpoint through its unique production, distribution, and consumption practices. Podcasting's new aural cultures, as Llinares, Fox, and Berry (2018a) presented in their edited collection, can adapt radio techniques and genres but do so in their own ways and across different spatial and temporal contexts. Defining podcasting simply as remediated radio potentially confines podcast production and podcast studies to simple radio regurgitations despite the potential for *new* producers to use *new* technology and for *new* listeners to engage online. As Berry (2016b) argued, "In order to advance our scholarship on podcasting we should also consider it [podcasting] as something that is capable of being distinct from linear radio broadcasting" (p. 18). Part of podcasting's distinction from radio is the opportunity for relatively anyone to tell stories in their own ways about content meaningful to them using digital tools.

2.3: DIGITAL STORYTELLING

The apparent difficulty for many scholars to differentiate podcasting from radio stems from a shared audio modality. Yet there are inevitably unique production practices and texts that do not translate from radio's regulated industry because of podcasting's online dependency. Radio's narrative structure differs from podcasting for commercial and technological reasons, which shape the content itself. For example, radio shows typically have advertising segments that divide the show into parts. Podcasters typically control where advertisements are placed, if at all, which helps narratives linearly unfold. In podcast studies, scholars like Spinelli and Dann (2019), Irish-Australian scholar Siobhán McHugh (2014, 2016, 2019, 2022), and American scholar David Dowling (2019) have analyzed podcasting as a unique audio digital storytelling tool. These scholars have juxtaposed podcasting to radio using a comparative approach rather than conflating the two media. For example, Spinelli and Dann (2019) analyzed digital storytelling techniques and their cultural meanings across programs like *Radiolab*, *Welcome to the Nightvale*, and *Serial*, but they also compared the BBC's audio drama production in radio *and* podcasting. McHugh (2022) similarly offered a practitioner's perspective about her experience producing

radio and podcasts differently using audio digital storytelling techniques across chumcasts, true crime/serials, and documentaries. Spinelli, Dann, and McHugh suggested that podcasting's digital capabilities and unregulated nature entice more subjective stories than radio.

Generally, digital storytelling has been defined as "telling stories with digital technologies" (Alexander, 2017, p. 3). Media scholar Nick Couldry (2008) examined how the Internet technologically shapes production, suggesting that digital storytelling includes "personal stories now being told in potentially public form using digital media resources" (p. 374). He concluded that scholars should consider the social and material conditions when stories are exchanged that become authoritatively representative. Podcast studies scholars have more directly engaged with how audio offers an additional modality to digital storytelling. Podcasters and listeners use the Internet's capabilities to extend cultural interaction through visual, written, and audio materials. In *Immersive Longform Storytelling* (2019), Dowling theorized podcasting's potential for longform journalism and online discussion facilitated "through its [podcasting's] unprecedented powers to immerse the senses in such a way that showcases the subjectivity of both narrator-journalists and their subjects" (p. 9). McHugh's (2014) research similarly addressed podcasting's journalistic audio stories, with "the best ones providing psychological, philosophical, cultural and political insights" (p. 142). Both Dowling and McHugh's analyses align with Couldry's (2008) understanding of digital storytelling as a space for transmitting personal insights that oppose traditional expectations of journalistic objectivity.

Digital storytelling can be applied to podcasting in multiple ways. McHugh (2014, 2019, 2022) analyzed podcasting from a sonic perspective focusing on audio story construction. For example, McHugh (2014) insisted that in digital audio storytelling, "sound can also be used to manipulate us. A melancholy piece of music placed after a reflective comment can reinforce how we perceive the words we heard" (p. 182). McHugh's work advocates for audio's power to transmit stories digitally that entice listener responses and create listener engagement online. Swedish scholar Mia Lindgren (2016, 2021), who researches in Australia, analyzed podcasting as an online audio tool for narrative journalists. She argued for sound's ability to create emotiveness and empathy while enticing audience engagement. Lindgren (2021) suggested that "podcast immersion is achieved by a combination of aural, technological and aesthetic storytelling factors" (p. 4). McHugh (2022) has identified some of these "storytelling factors" in her work, like "plot (what happens), characters (to whom it happens), voice (who is telling the

story) and sound (how it comes together as audio)" (p. 14). McHugh and Lindgren implicitly conceptualized podcasting as a digital tool for telling stories aurally online.

A primary aspect of podcasting's digital storytelling function is audiences engaging with content beyond listening. Robbie Wilson (2018) used his own podcast, *WanderCast*, to examine listener participatory performance and environmental exploration. His podcast sensorially directs listeners to physically move within their lived environments while imagining Wilson's constructed world. Wilson argued that podcasting's technologically mediated mobility "provides an opportunity for the incursion of art into almost any sphere of life without arousing suspicion" (Wilson, 2018, p. 293). Mobile listening technology extends narrative possibilities podcasters can produce sonically and, in turn, what immersive listener experiences can be produced. Spinelli and Dann (2019) similarly argued in their analysis of *Blood* Culture, a serialized sci-fi audio podcast, that digital storytelling influences podcaster "sound quality, the freedom that actors are permitted, and how the audience are likely to be listening" (p. 154). Podcasters may be increasingly aware of consumer habits and shape production for particular mobile listening experiences (Wilson, 2018). Podcasters must also be aware of audio quality to ensure their content is presented as intended since a listener's public environment can sonically impede on their mobile listening. Wilson, Spinelli, and Dann understood that production and consumption technologies influence, and are influenced by, listener experiences that partially structure podcast stories.

Podcasting's digital storytelling function has equally been conceived beyond sound. Dowling (2019) acknowledged that podcasters can use the Internet's capabilities for listeners to engage with narratives beyond audio, including episode transcripts on digital apps/platforms immersing users. Intertextually mixing available online materials illustrates what David García-Marín and Roberto Aparici (2020) term "transmedia" podcasts. I have discussed transmedia podcasting elsewhere when analyzing Historica Canada's *Residential Schools* podcast compilation of audio episodes, transcripts, historical images, and written articles (Donison, 2021). I argued that podcasting is a digital storytelling form where podcasters can enrich the stories they tell and encourage online participation and education through digitally curated materials. Dowling, García-Marín, Aparici, and I similarly suggested that podcasting creates participatory online experiences for people to identify with or learn from audio stories and additional digital materials which radio was unable to facilitate.

Podcasting has created participatory cultures where audiences engage with, and contribute to, podcast content online. Like Wilson (2018), Dowling (2019) argued that digital storytelling has transitioned into a multisensory experience where listeners interact, and exchange written and oral information about podcast episodes. Sonia Baelo-Allué (2019) also suggested podcasters can digitally learn about and engage with audience information and suggestions. The ability for listeners to engage with podcast communities online can enhance people's identification with digital stories, and the storytellers themselves, that they feel connected to. This listener engagement, which Henry Jenkins (2006) assigns to "convergence culture," encourages self-representation around digital stories.[7] As Wilson, Spinelli, Dann, McCracken, Dowling, and Baelo-Allué similarly suggested, listener participation can contribute to how podcasters share stories digitally because their interactions with audiences who have access to additional storytelling materials are more frequent and immediate online. Digital storytelling capabilities create a feedback loop where podcasters can provide more materials to audiences online who in turn use those materials to engage more with the podcast(er) to produce more commentary that fuels future storytelling.

A digital storytelling approach analyzes podcasting's various narrative techniques and (im)material components immersing audiences and facilitating cultural engagement online. Thus, podcasting is analyzed separately from radio because of podcasting's multimodal functionality. Audiences can engage with podcasts and with one another, as Spinelli and Dann (2019) suggested, forming participatory listening communities. Various modalities and online capabilities mystify podcasting's definition because podcasters use digital tools differently to tell specific stories and audiences engage with podcast(er)s to varying degrees.

2.4: REPRESENTATION AND CONTROL

Generally, podcasting offers different digital tools to tell stories at relatively affordable costs, which can be especially helpful for specific communities when traditional broadcasting is inaccessible. Scholars have analyzed how communities use podcasts to share stories that are un(der)represented in other media industries using the medium's relatively low barriers to

[7] Convergence culture "refers to a situation in which multiple media systems coexist and where media content flows fluidly across them" (Jenkins, 2006, p. 282).

technological access. These analyses build on the new approach distinguishing podcasting from radio. Berry (2021) suggested, "Podcasting is a multimodal medium, one that allows democratic access for individuals" (p. 58). According to McHugh (2014), the popularity and accessibility of digital technology helps communities self-represent without legal or commercial impediment. A lack of editorial insertion especially helps independent podcasters and ordinary people control the way they, and their stories, are represented. People can share the stories they want to that reflect themselves and/or their worldviews, which listeners can identify with or learn from. Podcasters and listeners can therefore engage with their sense of selves in relation to what is said in the podcast.

Podcasting affords what Lukasz Swiatek (2018) termed "bridging capital," or the ability "to listen to each other's ideas and narratives, in a way that seems close, direct and personal. It offers members of particular communities opportunities to share their stories" (p. 181). Kim Fox, Dowling, and Kyle Miller (2020) similarly argued that "African-American podcasting's ascent marks a potent articulation of Black identity and experience in media history, one reaching an unprecedented range of audiences, dialogs, and online communities" (p. 299). Podcasters can cross sociocultural boundaries and reach previously unattainable listening communities online. Lindgren's (2016) concluded in her study on personal narratives across three podcasts that the medium incites intimacy between podcasters and listeners regardless of the content's sociocultural context. Intimacy is not located in the content itself but in the act of publicly revealing personal stories representing one's identity. McHugh (2016) also forwarded that podcasting is an increasingly growing format for groups representing themselves using language outside mainstream media production. Personal podcast narratives can discursively build communities of largely un(der)represented groups and reach wider audiences. Intimacy produces this online connection. Lindgren's and McHugh's understanding of podcasting's potential to reach across identity boundaries aligns with Swiatek, Fox, Dowling, and Miller's assertions about podcasting's ability to help foster sociocultural inclusion through digital production.

Scholars have addressed podcasting's potentially emancipatory space for racial and ethnic communities specifically. Fox, Dowling, and Miller (2020) surveyed how representing Black racial identity in podcasting becomes an educational guide for listeners to learn about Black experiences. Fox, Dowling, and Miller (2020) also argued that podcasting's intimacy online creates "outspoken views on race that challenge pre-existing social norms on racism and

racial discourse" (p. 299). Independent podcasters control what stories can and cannot be shared within their audio texts "fostering cultural understandings of blackness" (Fox, Dowling, & Miller, 2020, p. 314) because there is no impediment on their creative control. However, representative circumstances may be different for corporate-owned podcasts. Similarly, Photini Vrikki and Sarita Malik (2019) examined various UK podcasts voicing lived experiences related to anti-racism movements. Vrikki and Malik argued that podcasts in their study represented alternative images to mainstream representations of Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) peoples. Simply put, Vrikki and Malik concluded that podcasters can share stories (re)defining their racial or ethnic identities themselves rather than having other media define race exteriorly, stereotypically, and discriminatorily. Fox, Dowling, and Miller (2020) and Vrikki and Malik (2019) both recognized the Internet's potential for podcasters to openly express themselves online while fostering cross-cultural engagement. Counternarratives identified in these studies oppose monolithic representations about lived experiences associated with specific identity groupings in mass media coverage.

Podcasters can speak about their experiences openly rather than be censored or excluded. American scholar Sarah Florini combines race and podcasting in her research. In her study on *This Week in Blackness* podcast, Florini (2017) specifically addressed podcasting's alternative media space for discussing Black social, political, and cultural life departing from "traditional media conventions … [in] their embrace of a free-flowing, flexible, and conversational approach" (p. 212). Collective identity is shared in these alternative podcast spaces that "function to undermine the silencing of Black voices and experiences" (Florini, 2017, p. 452) through language and sound. Florini (2015) also analyzed the "Chitlin' Circuit," a Black podcasting collective in niche markets. Florini's (2015, 2017) research argued that podcasting's digital capabilities help people from outside racialized communities critically engage with self-representative stories. Similar to Vrikki and Malik (2019) and Fox, Dowling, and Miller (2020), Florini's studies examined racial and ethnic podcasters self-representing outside traditional media structures, and against standardized practices and monolithic identity representations.

Despite the democratic potential of podcasting's digital storytelling existence, there is no guarantee that a podcast will be heard because the industry is overflowing with programs. Matt Sienkiewicz and Deborah Jaramillo (2019) stated, "Podcasting counterpublics can quickly fissure into micropublics, giving voice to a remarkable range of perspectives but offering few

creators an opportunity to impact anything resembling the pursuit of widespread intersubjective consensus" (p. 269). Podcasts are ideally online spaces for un(der)represented communities due to affordable and accessible technology, but third-party platforms host so much podcast content that only a fraction of programs are popularized and heard. Jeremy Wade Morris and Eleanor Patterson (2015) argued that digital apps specify rather than diversify user selection through features like recommendations. American scholar John Sullivan (2019) added that audiences use platforms to help compile the extensive options available, yet platform gatekeeping is still misunderstood since platforms rarely reveal how they organize their content. Many podcasts resultingly align their content and marketing with "successful" or popular shows while trying to maintain individuality or uniqueness, but conformity does not guarantee platform popularity.

Research on podcasting's potential as a digital storytelling tool for representing different communities is small but growing in American and UK contexts. Scholars have predominantly theorized podcasting's representative potential for racial and ethnic communities who produce and control their own stories. Thus, scholars suggest that podcasting's potential rests in its unregulated production and relatively low barriers to technological access that allow people to tell stories in their own ways. People can communicate in their owns ways within and across geographic, sociocultural, racial, and ethnic boundaries that analog media materially and creatively restrain. There is no guarantee that large audiences will hear podcasters given the number of existing podcasts, especially with the rise in platform streaming. Yet podcasting's unregulated storytelling space offers a beginning point distinctly from radio in various production, distribution, and consumption contexts within Canada for ordinary people to represent themselves.

2.5: CANADIAN CONTEXT

Many Canadian researchers have analyzed Canadian podcasting from at least one of the approaches in this chapter. A handful of articles have been written in Canada over the past few decades, predominantly using the radio studies approach. Scholars such as Christopher Cwynar, Brian Fauteux, Brad Clark, and Archie McLean have analyzed podcasting as a public radio broadcasting tool. Canadian scholars in Quebec, like Sterne et al. (2008) and Mélanie Millette (2011), have applied the new approach to differentiate podcasting as a new communicatory and

participatory medium from the mid-to-late 2000s for digital storytelling. Two scholars from Simon Fraser University, Stacey Copeland and Hannah McGregor, adapted the new approach to develop *A Guide to Academic Podcasting* (2021), an instructional manual for students to use podcasts as scholarly outputs. Copeland also explored podcasting's application for representing community in their research with Lauren Knight about the CBC's Indigenous true crime podcast *Missing and Murdered* (Copeland & Knight, 2021).

The preponderance of Canadian-based research has been on public broadcasters and their online podcast production. Cwynar (2015) aligned with the radio studies approach to suggest that podcasting is an additional distribution tool rather than a unique medium for some public broadcasters. Cwynar's (2015) case study of the CBC's *Radio 3* podcast explored how the CBC initially used the Internet to redistribute content. *Radio 3* was labelled a podcast but was more akin to online radio, as Bottomley (2020) later proposed. The CBC shared the same audio content through multiple delivery methods without producing anything new. Cwynar (2015) found that "the regularly scheduled, serialized installments of discrete episodes delivered through the Radio 3 blog (and apps) provided a sense of occasion and a basis for interactivity" (p. 196), but that "the format continues to be more about extension than disruption" (p. 197). His research indicated that the CBC was already building an online community since 2006 with podcasts like *Radio 3*, even if these programs were not labelled distinctly as podcasts. Cwynar published this study the same year that the CBC's first online-only podcast was produced. His analysis understandably does not speak to the CBC's increasing production of online-only, original podcasts since 2015. CBC's creative development threatens the scholarly perception of podcasting as remediated radio since the broadcaster produces new shows without commercial or industry impediment.

The CBC's *Radio 3* podcast was also the focus of Brian Fauteux's (2017) research on radio hosts in the digital age. Referring to *Radio 3,* Fauteux (2017) stated that "the radio host is deemed, by his or her listener community, to be an authoritative and credible individual who guide or *pilots* [original emphasis] the listening experience and the related online conversation" (p. 340). Fauteux suggested that networks would benefit from employing experienced radio hosts who can pilot and engage. Brian O'Neill (2006) also analyzed *Radio 3*, noting that the CBC podcast was a successful radio tool for promoting local music. O'Neill (2006) identified great potential in the CBC's overall online presence, arguing that the CBC's services allowed users to

access traditional nighttime news throughout the day since the "internet is a supplement to traditional media rather than a replacement" (p. 191). Cwynar, Fauteux, and O'Neill implicitly align with the radio studies approach where podcasting is understood as a tool for established radio and television companies to garner larger audiences through repackaged radio content from experienced radio hosts.

Recently, more scholars used the new approach to analyze the CBC's online-only podcast production separately from its radio content. Brad Clark and Archie McLean (2020) traced radio's transition into podcasting and each medium's different production values for the CBC. Clark and McLean assessed how podcasters combine sound effects, interview clips and media clips, how podcasters subjectively insert themselves in their journalistic narratives, how a podcast narrative stretches across episodes, and how first-person reflection and transparent production influences intimacy. These scholars combined the new approach and digital storytelling approach, analyzing storytelling practices distinctly belonging to podcasts and made possible through digital technology that analog radio does not possess. I have analyzed elsewhere the CBC's original podcast production and its potential for communities to represent themselves (Donison, 2022). My analysis approached podcasting as a new medium, as a digital storytelling tool, and as a space for cultural engagement. I concluded that podcasting's online features and the CBC's mandate for nationally representative content helps communities share their stories in their own ways. Clark, McLean, and I consider podcasting a distinct medium for public broadcasters to create more inclusive production and stories online.

The CBC's representative potential was also addressed in Copeland and Knight's (2021) research about *Missing and Murdered*. This podcast followed an Indigenous family's search for their sibling, Cleo, who was taken during the Sixties Scoop.[8] Copeland and Knight theorized how the podcast's sonic vibrations captured "memories and sensations of not only humans but also the land which is so integral to indigenous epistemologies" (p. 103). Cleo's family feels her memory in different spaces through vibrations triggering an intergenerational, painful sensory

[8] According to Christopher Dart (n.d.), "'The Sixties Scoop' is the catch-all name for a series of policies enacted by provincial child welfare authorities starting in the mid-1950s, which saw thousands of Indigenous children taken from their homes and families, placed in foster homes, and eventually adopted out to white families from across Canada and the United States. These children lost their names, their languages, and a connection to their heritage. ... In 1983, researcher Patrick Johnson coined the term 'Sixties Scoop' in a report on Aboriginal child welfare commissioned by the Canadian Council on Social Development" (par. 2, 5). See David B. MacDonald's *The Sleeping Giant Awakens* (2019) for more details.

experience, which is then converted to sound through the podcast's voices. In an article about the Radiolab podcast *The Heart*, Copeland (2018) similarly argued that the voice's sound draws listeners into the story through powerful emotion that written and visual texts cannot evoke. For Copeland (2018), sound creates an intimate connection between listener and host while extending a sense of self, or performative self, in its iteration and vibration. Copeland's individual work and their work with Knight emphasized sound's meaning for ethnic and sexually-oriented communities to self-represent using their voices in their own ways. This digital storytelling approach to podcast representation is fruitful for analyzing audio media beyond language.

Most podcast studies in Canada have addressed public broadcasting's radio redistribution (Cwynar, 2015; Fauteux, 2017; O'Neill, 2006) or podcasting's distinct format after 2015 (Clark & McLean, 2020; Donison, 2022). Other work from Copeland (2018) and Knight (with Copeland, 2021) focused specifically on podcasting's sonically representative potential. All of these studies likely focus on the CBC because of the public broadcaster's popularity in the Canadian podcast industry. "25% of all podcast listeners in the country listen to at least one of its productions" (CBC and Radio-Canada, n.d., par. 1). Furthermore, a 2019 survey from the Media Technology Monitor found participants in Anglophone Canadian markets only listed 2 Canadian programs within their top 10 favourite podcasts, both of which are CBC-produced. Participants in Francophone Canadian markets listed 9 Canadian programs as their favourites, 7 of which were CBC-produced (as cited in CBC Enviroscan 2019, p. 19). Yet there exists only a small cluster of Canadian podcast studies compared to other geographical contexts like the US and the UK. These global clusters address podcasting as remediated radio, podcasting as a new medium, podcasting as a digital storytelling tool, and podcasting as a self-representative practice. Podcast studies in Canada would benefit from researchers using these various approaches and extending case studies about non-public podcasting alongside the CBC.

2.6: AUTHENTIC PODCASTING

Each research approach and analytic object in this global review questions podcasting's communicative characteristics and capabilities. In this way, these approaches and objects implicitly attend to some form of "authentic" podcasting that defines the medium's inherent

function or “essence,” what makes it unique from other media. The radio studies approach suggests that podcasts can never be authentic or unique since they are remediated radio. The new approach investigates what podcasting features make it authentic or unique from radio generally. Digital storytelling approach asks what narrative forms and tools make podcasts authentic or original from radio. The representational approach questions how podcasters transmit an authentic or truthful audio image of their private selves publicly through their stories. Yet all these approaches to authenticity, or what makes the medium unique for people to tell stories or represent themselves and their communities in their own ways, possess a fundamental problem.

Authenticity is a philosophical, often taken-for-granted concept with different applications rather than uniformly defined. Thus, it is difficult to grasp what variables make a podcast authentic since researchers study different components of podcasting as analytic objects of inquiry. Podcast researchers have explicitly equated authenticity in different ways to open expression and intimacy, "realness” and truth, do-it-yourself (DIY) production, and non-commercial aspirations. Authenticity encompasses different values when applied to a podcast show, host, or production model. Dissecting applications of authenticity to podcasting helps better understand which podcast studies approaches discussed in this chapter are best suited for studying specific components that define podcasting’s essence, uniqueness, and communicative potential.

A popular theorization of authentic podcasting stems from intimacy and open expression. Christine Mottram (2016) suggested in their research on vocal performance that “achieving ‘authenticity’ in podcasting signifies hosting the podcast as oneself, without any aspect of one’s personality and presentation style, including one’s voice, being ‘put on for the recording device’” (p. 53). Podcasters are considered authentic when their "off-air" personality and regular speaking voice are present in a recording. Vincent Meserko (2015) similarly argued in his study on comedian Marc Maron’s *WTF* podcast that authenticity is locatable in a podcaster’s “sense of self through dialogue and conversation” (p. 802). For both Mottram and Meserko, what is said in a podcast and how it is said exhibits a podcaster’s authentic or “real” self when mirroring their everyday conversations and interactions. Meserko’s (2014) research on Paul Gilmartin’s *Mental Illness Happy Hour* podcast also attributed authenticity to self-expression that podcasting’s openly dialogical space facilitates. Authentic people publicly share personal stories and discuss topics with the same opinions, in the same sounding voices, as they would privately.

Private conversations shared in public spaces like podcasts exhibit "intimacy," which is another value attributed to authentic podcasting. Martin Spinelli and Lance Dann (2019) defined podcast intimacy as sharing "experiences which traffic in openness, honesty, and authenticity" (p. 77). Authenticity is equated to open, honest expression that reveals something personal about the podcaster. Like Meserko (2014), Spinelli and Dann noted that podcasters exhibit authenticity when sharing stories with unfiltered perspectives and experiences. Podcasting's unregulated space offers such "unfiltered," personal perspectives that may not be shared publicly otherwise because podcasts perceivably have no regulations or online gatekeeping. In their analysis of *Serial*, Jillian DeMair (2017) concluded that host Sarah Koenig and the podcast are authentic because unscripted dialogue and conversations are audible. Authentic podcasts like *Serial* are closely tied to "aura, originality, truthfulness, and realness" (DeMair, 2017, p. 30). Podcasters exhibit authenticity when they are "truly" themselves without scripted conversations and without knowing the conversation's results beforehand in casual (*Mental Illness Happy Hour* and *WTF*) or investigative (*Serial*) programs.

However, an inescapable, philosophical issue with this application of authenticity is that listeners likely do not know their favourite podcasters personally and therefore do not know what podcasters think privately, how podcasters sound or act in everyday life, or if the recorded conversations are rehearsed. If audiences do glimpse into a podcaster's private life (e.g., through social media), listeners are only shown what podcasters want to show them publicly. Pictures, videos, and audio can all be performative in this way. For example, do listeners really know how comedians Marc Maron and Paul Gilmartin speak and act, or what they talk about, when they are not podcasting or performing stand-up? The same question can be asked of journalist Sarah Koenig when she is not podcasting or researching a story. Podcasts unavoidably possesses some type of "performance" where a person is acting in the presence of someone else, whether in the room or imaginatively. Thus, a podcaster's authenticity or "realness" could only be interpreted through a consistency of their actions across performances, or in this case, podcast episodes. Are podcasters speaking the same way sonically and linguistically across their program? A consistent persona exuding supposedly open, honest, unfiltered, and "real" expression may be a more accurate measurement of someone's authenticity, even if it is performative. Podcast studies scholars have not adequately addressed this performative issue.

Scholars like Mottram, DeMair, Spinelli, Dann, Freja Sørine Adler Berg, David Dowling, and Britta Jorgensen therefore attribute "transparency" to authentic podcasting. Transparent podcasting can refer to sharing information about the production process with listeners using "in the field" recordings or studio commentary. Dowling (2019) noted that Gimlet Media exhibits "transparency and authenticity" (p. 135) when podcasters comment on their own journalistic processes. Spinelli and Dann (2019) similarly explained that the process of podcasting requires transparency about how stories are researched and constructed. Adler Berg (2021) suggested authenticity involves releasing behind-the-scenes footage about podcast production. Jorgensen (2021) argued that "trust and authenticity are also built through the sources of information used by the producers" (p. 146). Each of these studies generally theorizes that authentic podcast(er)s publicize their creative processes and research contributing to the finalize product. Podcasters show the "real" or "truthful" inner workings of their podcasts that demystify the performative, polished product as natural, spontaneous, and/or unrehearsed. In this way, a podcaster and their show appear more authentic because the podcaster is not hiding anything from their listeners, pretending to be something they are not, or pretending the show is something it is not.

Podcast studies scholars have also defined podcast(er) authenticity sonically. Mottram's (2016) research argued that "finding vocal authority in podcasts is not about achieving the traditional Western aesthetic of the low deep voice, but about sounding like a 'real' person: individually authentic" (p. 66). Dario Llinares (2018) similarly argued that "conveying through the voice a sense of individual authenticity rather than an omnipotent authority arguably correlates podcasting with the egalitarian ideals of the internet age" (p. 140). Both Mottram and Llinares attributed authentic podcasting to someone who has editorial control over how they sound and the content they address. Authentic voice also refers to podcasters speaking freely in their everyday voices rather than conforming to certain broadcasting standards of "refined" or paternalistic speech. But again, sounding authentic is difficult for listeners to ascertain since listeners do not often know how podcasters speak in everyday life and any interaction with a cohost, guest, or imagined audience is performative. Thus, a comparison must be identified across episodes to interpret if a podcaster's voice sounds consistent, and thus appears natural or truthful to their performative self.

Unfiltered or unedited conversations possess some form of authenticity too. Adler Berg (2021) noted that authenticity builds on podcasters "cultivating identity, self-expression and

being immodest, indiscrete and *explicitly passionate* about their podcast projects" (p. 157) (added emphasis). John Sullivan (2018) suggested that "'authenticity' is being true to your own ideals and 'following your passion'" (p. 42). Spinelli and Dann (2019) similarly argued that authentic podcasting is understood when "creators are producing the work they want to create" (p. 64) rather than saying what audiences likely want to hear. In this way, authenticity via passion can be ascertained through what is said and how it is said within self-controlled production spaces. Podcasting's startup in the early 2000s mimicked the free speech tenets of the open Internet where people voiced themselves openly. One form of authentic podcasting is therefore the ability for people to talk about what they want without having to editorialize their opinions or how they sound. Although certain types of content are deemed explicit or inappropriate, podcasting's unregulated and unstandardized existence online allows podcasters to aurally share their ideas somewhere. Thus, podcasters saying what they want regardless of the consequences reflects a "true" or "naturally" authentic self because people are not editorializing their thoughts or conforming to the discussive desires of others.

Scholars have also applied authenticity to unscripted or unedited, "natural" speech. DeMair (2017) analyzed *Serial*'s use of recorded conversations "in the field" to suggest Koenig's authentic interactions with people. DeMair sonically compared the background noise in these recordings to Koenig's studio narrations to identify *Serial*'s authentic, unimpeded data collection. Both the passion heard in one's voice and the non-verbal cues present in "live" recordings offer a sense of authentic podcasting, transmitting unfiltered and unedited sounds of reality. Spinelli and Dann's (2019) research on *Blood Culture* suggested that the location recordings of "unplanned sonic artefacts lent a sense of authenticity (birdsong, distant air traffic, passers-by)" (p. 155). According to these podcast studies scholars, authentic podcasting can be sonically identified when listeners hear the world (through voice or natural sounds) as the podcasters did when they recorded. A recording of people's experiences becomes a gauge for authentic podcasting. This attribution therefore insists that re-enactments of lived experiences are somehow inauthentic. Yet any media text, like an audio recording, has subjective input from placing a device in a specific position to deciding what sounds to include and exclude in the final text. Thus, if authenticity is being "real" or "natural," a podcast can never be authentic since a listener hears only what the podcaster allows them to hear.

Although deconstructing authenticity disserves existing podcast studies scholarship, authenticity should be understood contextually since there is no universal definition of what makes a podcast authentic. Scholars should understand the various meanings podcasting possesses rather than assuming a universal definition. For example, some podcast scholars have moved beyond the philosophical notion of some "truthful," "real," or sonically authentic podcasting internal to the host. Instead, scholars have approached podcasting's commercial components to analyze (in)authenticity through institutional affiliations and financial incentive. Scholars like Spinelli and Dann (2019) attributed creative freedom to podcasting's openly dialogical and unregulated space opposing traditional broadcasting. John Sullivan (2018) noted that "thanks to independent and amateur podcasters creating new podcast episodes on a continual basis, podcasting has developed a powerful ethos of authenticity" (p. 39). Thus, authentic podcasting is evaluated on independent production, which supports some innate sense of honest expression or truth without external impediment. Meserko (2015) argued in his study on Marc Maron's *WTF* podcast that authenticity is linked to "savvy entrepreneurialism and do-it-yourself media production" (p. 2015). Mottram's (2016) study on vocal authenticity also considered that "podcasting allows its participants to focus on finding their own authentic sound because it is a medium where they [podcasters] often operate as individuals rather than as representative of larger cultural institutions" (p. 65). Meserko and Mottram associate authenticity with creative freedom. Abstract authenticity is exchanged for practical authenticity.

Scholars like Spinelli, Dann, Mottram, and Meserko suggested independent production is necessary for podcasters to perform open, honest self-expression. Separating oneself from traditional broadcasting practices includes omitting advertising. Adler Berg (2021) pushed for podcasters to eliminate advertisements from their programs because sponsors can influence what is said. Sponsors may threaten to pull their ads if something negative is said within the podcast that opposes the sponsor's core values. Sullivan (2018) agreed that sponsorships challenge authenticity since financial incentive may influence what is said and how it is said. In this way, independence is necessarily authentic because it allows podcasters to express themselves in their own ways rather than having to abide by institutional restrictions and align with broadcast industry standards. Furthermore, podcasting without financial incentive presumes that podcasters are creating content in their own ways because they want to, not because they *must* address a potentially profitable listenership. Spinelli and Dann (2019) argue for a definition of authenticity

applied to independent podcasting where "the podcaster has not been commissioned or had a project assigned to them; rather it is something that they have built and created from the ground up" (p. 66). These scholars suggest authentic podcasting entails distancing oneself from commercialization and advertising since these financial incentives foundationally oppose podcasting's unregulated, amateur origins when people uploaded content independently to have conversations with others somewhere "out there" rather than primarily earn money.

Institutional podcasts equally appear inauthentic to these scholars because networks have historically censored and standardized broadcasts. Many popular broadcasters like Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and National Public Radio (NPR) produce podcasts. Scholars view these potential censors as infringing on podcasting's ethos. Spinelli and Dann (2019) argued that "being part of a network challenges the independence and authenticity of a show's identity" (p. 217). Sullivan (2018) stated that "the pursuit of authenticity has emerged as a possible remedy to the mass-produced, over commercialised, cookie-cutter culture of commercial media" (p. 43). Both studies view independence as authentic because unaffiliated podcasters "be" themselves rather than conform to institutional standards. Alex Symons (2017) suggested that a lack of gatekeepers, writers, directors, and sponsors enables authentic podcasting through "spontaneous" and unedited capabilities. Adler Berg (2022) similarly noted that "independent podcasting's oral-aural vernacular and (fairly) unedited and unscripted nature allows for addressing a wide variety of topics. … This conveys a sense of intimacy and authenticity" (p. 19). The ability for a podcaster to "be" themselves is the philosophical doctrine of authentic podcasting for listeners seeking true, honest, "real" expressions of people's private mannerisms and conversations unimpeded and unfiltered in publicly available formats. Institutional affiliation arguably discourages podcasters from being authentic because networks can editorialize what podcasters talk about and thus, control podcasters and their linguistic and sonic presentations of "self."

There is no explicit agreement about what makes a podcast authentic. Podcast authenticity depends on the analytic object being studied. Authenticity may relate to the way a podcaster presents themselves, the way they sound, the opinions they share, and the persona they build. Authenticity may also be applied to podcast production based on what sounds are included and excluded, what processes are transparently revealed to the audience, and what institutional

affiliations or commercial incentives are present. Regardless of the analytic object, an underlying theme across all studies about authentic podcasting is a sense of "truthfulness" and creative freedom that facilitates some form of reality in what a podcaster says and how they say it sonically. Authenticity is therefore useful in podcast studies when identifying what components of podcasting make the medium unique and what communicative potential it offers people. Thus, the use of authenticity must be clearly defined in each analytic context to understand how podcasting's specific components are uniquely communicative compared to other media.

CONCLUSIONS

Researchers often theorize podcasting as 1) a remediation of radio, 2) a new medium, 3) a digital storytelling tool, and 4) a tool for representing identity. These research clusters take different podcast components as their analytic objects of inquiry, which emphasizes the multiple approaches to understanding podcast communication. For scholars using a radio studies approach, podcasting is a remediated form of radio that possesses similar production and content but differs only in delivery method, which affects listener practices. Scholars within the new approach understand podcast production, distribution, and consumption practices as relational and unique from radio. Furthermore, the new approach suggests that podcasting is more than just audio, it is a practice and a relationship between producers, listeners, and the audio texts themselves.

Building on the new approach, some scholars analyze podcasting as a digital storytelling tool that combines various communication modes to transmit meaning. Scholars also view podcasting as a digital storytelling tool beyond audio where podcasts are additionally comprised of written and visual materials to enhance audience engagement and understanding. Both approaches emphasize podcasting's ability to create community and facilitate engagement online using digital technology previously unavailable to radio. Another theoretical cluster analyzes podcasting's potential for communities to represent themselves online and reach across sociocultural, racial, and ethnic boundaries. Scholars use this approach to assess if the unregulated podcasting industry functions openly for people to represent themselves outside institutional broadcasting that possesses standardized production and potentially stereotypical representations about various groups.

In Canada, more scholarship needs to build on Clark and McLean's work about the CBC's online-only original podcast production that began in 2015. Scholarship also needs to build on the global approaches to podcasting as a digital tool for various communities to represent marginal stories, but in a Canadian context. Copeland and Knight's (2021) case study on the CBC's *Missing and Murdered* underscored the potential for podcasters to address national audiences across identity group boundaries online, but their approach to podcasting's potential for transmitting memory and identity could also be applied to independent and private podcasts in Canada. Herein lies a rich opportunity for podcast studies research about how certain communities use podcasting's digital storytelling techniques, technologies, and modalities to self-represent differently from one another and facilitate community engagement online through podcasting as a unique medium and unregulated industry outside radio.

This dissertation is situated within the new approach and theorizes podcasting as an individual and unique medium worthy of its own scholarly pursuit. My study is motivated by a lack of information about podcasting's potential as a medium for expressing various narratives, histories, and experiences related to group identities in a Canadian context. I explore whether podcasters in Canada across communities use podcasts to represent themselves and others sonically against oppressive or stereotypical representations that Canadian institutions like mainstream media have formulated over time. Furthermore, I ask how podcasting in public and non-public spaces influence what can be said, how it can be said, and who can say it. My study predominantly builds on some of the following podcast topics reviewed in this chapter: storytelling, identity, and representation. Although other topics like consumption/listening, distribution, and platforms/applications intersect with my research areas, they will not be explicitly analyzed in my study. This dissertation is primarily interested in the identities, representations, and histories of various racial and ethnic groups in Canada articulated through podcast production rather than embodied through audience reception.

In this way, my study theoretically applies multiple uses of podcast authenticity across podcasters and podcasts specifically. Analyzing the authenticity of different podcasters and programs helps me interpret what components unique to podcasting support people to represent themselves and tell their stories in their own ways that reflect their worldviews and their positions in Canada. Thus, this dissertation situates itself within the new approach to analyzing podcasting as a unique medium with available digital storytelling tools that help people articulate

their “authentic” selves. Authenticity therefore becomes a marker of the medium itself and the people who voice themselves how they want to about stories that reflect the ways they understand their positions and experiences in Canada and the world.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Podcasters present some form of themselves within an unregulated and accessible online industry and are often evaluated on their relationship to what they are talking about and whether it reflects their actual ideas and opinions. The medium inherently supports subjectivity. Simply put, relatively anyone can make a podcast about any topic and therefore podcasters are likely telling stories they are interested in or voicing their true opinions. While revenue is likely a motivation for some podcasters, one of the dominant forces for podcasting is a person's ability to express their passion and perspective in the subject matter (Markman, 2015). Thus, podcasters often voluntarily conduct a "labour of love" reflecting their ideas, values, and beliefs related to their positions in the world. A podcaster's passion is evident through their interest in, or knowledge about, what they are discussing and how that interest or knowledge sounds tonally to the audience (e.g., excited vs. disinterested). Scholars have applied the term "authentic" to cultural work that appears to reflect the producer's feelings. This understanding of authenticity can be used in podcast studies.

Authenticity has been applied to numerous objects, practices, and people that have been evaluated on originality, accurate replication, authorship, selfhood, experience, performance, and communication. Authoritative figures assess these values related to sociocultural norms (van Leeuwen, 2001). In podcast studies, the podcast as object and the podcaster as person have been evaluated on these authentic values corresponding to podcasting's cultural norms as a practice and a medium. For example, a podcast may be deemed authentic if it closely aligns with the medium's popular production and distribution practices like being an audio-only file freely available online. An authentic podcast could also refer to a text produced without editorial or institutional affiliation, miming the early, do-it-yourself (DIY) process of audio blogging. A podcaster might be deemed authentic because their public podcast persona aligns with their private actions and character. These applications of authenticity to specific podcast components provide a deeper understanding about podcasting's "essence," its unique communicative qualities and potential within specific sociocultural contexts compared to other media. Therefore, authenticity is an appropriate theory to analyze podcasting's potential through the qualities it affords. This chapter dissects authenticity's theoretical application in various contexts and their

philosophical and idealistic meanings to ground a framework for studying the potential of podcasting's communicative openness for self-expression and cultural affiliation.

3.1: AUTHENTIC ORIGINALITY VS. RECREATION

Authenticity has been applied to an object's "originality." In this context, scholars analyze what makes an object original or different from all other objects. As Theo van Leeuwen (2001) stated, an object might be authentic because "it is not an imitation or a copy" (p. 392). Raymond Williams (2011) similarly argued that an authentic object is "distinct from a copy" (p. 192) and unlike other objects within the same category (e.g., a work of art). Kent Grayson and Radan Martinec (2004) used the term "indexical authenticity" (p. 610) to characterize an object's originality against imitation. However, objects have also been deemed authentic if they are accurate recreations of existing objects (van Leeuwen, 2001). Nina Wang (1999) used the phrase "constructed authenticity" to assess a reproduction's likeness to its original text. Glenn Carroll and Dennis Wheaton (2009) noted that an authentic text's characteristics are "true" to, or align with, an existing genre or category. For example, a true crime podcast is authentic if it follows the true crime genre's narrative traits. True crime genre itself is classified by all previous true crime texts. Thus, a true crime podcast could be considered authentic in its similarity to other true crime podcasts that reaffirms the genre. Authentic recreation stems from Erving Goffman's (1981) theory that all objects align with some tradition or norm, "in which case there is no original or standard text, only a family of equally authentic renditions" (p. 228). Simply put, Goffman suggested originality is an impossible ideal because every object shares at least one characteristic with its predecessors.

Originality and recreation are both authentic podcast values. A podcast's originality exists in stories or experiences that other podcasts have not shared or in an individual's opinions that uniquely belong to them. However, complete originality is impossible because podcasts inherently exist in relation to other podcasts within the same genre and to the whole medium. For example, two true crime podcasts may be investigating two different stories but follow the same style conventions. Thus, these podcasts could be deemed authentic because they share original content or because they follow the investigative genre's narrative style. A podcast can also be considered authentic if it retransmits or recreates an older story in podcast form. Some ancestral

stories grounded in orality or writing have been recorded for podcasts. Although the story is not new, its authenticity derives from being an accurate recreation of the original text or from being transmitted through a podcast for the first time. Evaluating a podcast's authentic *originality* is appropriate for analyzing stories and experiences that are being shared publicly for the first time through the medium's openly topical format. Evaluating a podcast's authentic *recreation* is appropriate for analyzing ancestral stories or biographies that are reformatted for podcasts using the medium's digital capabilities. These approaches to authenticity help researchers analyze what characteristics of podcasting as a medium help people passionately share original stories, or recreate historic narratives within a new format that's deeper meanings reflect the speaker.

Authenticity has also been applied to original or recreated *practices* that produce an object. In their research on social media influencers, Jung Ah Lee and Matthew Eastin (2021) concluded that one characteristic of authentic "influencing" is presenting a unique personality compared to other influencers. Georgia Gaden and Delia Dumitrica's (2014) study on authentic blogging similarly concluded that bloggers need to post personal information that differentiates them from other bloggers. Online posts can be personal and unique through what is said or shown and how it is said or shown. For example, an authentic blogger may post about their own life experiences that differ from other bloggers' experiences. These posts may even differ from other posts in presentation, like including specific links or writing in a particular style. Candace Jones et al. (2005) stated that authenticity requires a person to "be original and offer a distinctive approach" (p. 893). Silviya Svejenova (2005) also argued that authentic practice requires "focus" and "developing a signature style" (p. 964). A person's authentic approach or practice is identifiable in the consistent presentation of their personality and content across their online work. Authentic podcasting as a practice can be analyzed through a consistent dialogical structure or the way a podcast sounds across episodes compared to other podcasts and podcasters.

This application of authenticity is important to identify what unique podcast practices people use to express themselves or recreate content in their own ways. Even if podcasters discuss the same topics or ideas, they likely present them in different styles that the medium affords. However, a podcaster can equally be considered authentic if their show stylistically mimics the conventions of its genre. For example, a "chatcast" is a genre were at least two podcasters have an informal conversation (McHugh, 2022). A podcast can be deemed an

authentic chatcast if it follows this dialogical convention, while also being evaluated for its authentically original opinions. Podcasts likely have structural commonality because the medium has developed communicative norms that podcasters and audiences agree to. Authentic podcast practice is therefore situated in *how* the story or discussion is presented in relation to other podcasts, which helps researchers identify commonalities and differences that the medium affords. The podcasts in this dissertation focus on cultural identities and stories. Podcasters may stylize these identities and stories differently across genres or produce different content within the same structural format.

3.2: AUTHENTIC SELF VS. PERFORMANCE

In addition to objects and practices, authenticity has also been applied to people. Evaluating an authentic person includes analyzing their "character." van Leeuwen (2001) explained that:

> something can be called "authentic" because it is thought to be true to the essence of something, to a revealed truth, a deeply felt sentiment, or the way these are worded or otherwise expressed. One such essence is the "self," constructed as a constant unified "character." (p. 393)

Authenticity in this context is applied to an immaterial quality someone possesses regarding who they really are that their words and actions reflect. Somogy Varga and Charles Guignon (2020) argued that an authentic, "true" self refers to how a person "acts in accordance with desires, motives, ideals or beliefs that are not only hers (as opposed to someone else's), but that also express who she really is" (par. 2). Authentic people's actions genuinely align with how they view the world and reflect who they are in everyday life. George Newman and Rosanna Smith (2016) also posited that a person's authenticity is measured by the unity of their public and private selves. Simply put, people are considered authentic when their public persona matches who they are "behind closed doors." Denis Dutton (2003) used the phrase "expressive authenticity" to suggest that an authentic person inserts their values and beliefs into an object, like a podcast, that represents their character. Michael Beverland et al. (2008) similarly applied the phrase "moral authenticity" to measure a person's sincere, genuine, and truthful intentions embedded in their work. All these scholars collectively attribute authenticity to whether a person

publicly exhibits their cultural, expressive, and moral values through objects that align with their private, "true" selves.

Although this definition of authenticity as a "true" or "real" self is difficult to analyze given its immaterial and abstract existence, it is still valuable to podcast studies for researching expression and representation. Marina Oshana (2007) stated that a person's "commitments, social roles, and ideals are authentic if the person would 'wholeheartedly identify' with them or would embrace them without reservation were she to critically reflect upon their content and origin" (p. 413). This traditional view of authenticity is appropriate for analyzing podcasters who express stories and opinions that represent their "real" values and beliefs in everyday life. An authentic podcaster in this context uses the medium's openly dialogical structure to voice their everyday sociocultural position, roles, and ideals. One theoretical issue with this application of authenticity is that researchers may be unable to compare a podcaster's public character with their private, non-podcasting self if the researcher does not personally know the podcaster. The researcher only hears what the podcaster wants listeners to hear. However, researchers can analyze a podcaster's authenticity based on the consistent presentation of an unwavering and "constant unified 'character'" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 393) across episodes. Character is embedded in stories and conversations reflecting the podcaster's sociocultural position and values. Put differently, a podcaster may be *in*authentic if their sociocultural role and ideals are inconsistent across episodes, which would suggest that the medium itself supports performativity more than self-representation in conversational and self-reflective formats.

It is undoubtedly true that media is inherently performative because people are presenting themselves to an audience. Any social interaction, including with an imaginary viewer/listener, causes people to present themselves in a way that elicits an intended judgement or response about their character from the person they are addressing. Performance equally exists in podcasting when a person addresses a cohost, a guest, or an imagined listener and speaks about a topic in a specific way to elicit an intended response and judgement from others in the room and/or from the audience. If authenticity is attributed to an alignment of expression, action, and values between one's public and private self, podcasting's performative quality inevitably makes the medium partially inauthentic. Podcasters have control over their public character's final presentation based on the medium's recorded and edited transmission. Jenny Davis states (2019), "An authentic self is spontaneous and unrehearsed" (p. 97). Mariah Wellman et al. (2020) agree

that authenticity "is constantly negotiated and performed for an audience with the goal of being perceived as true or credible" (p. 72). Both understandings forward that authenticity is a performance of oneself in the ears of others. Podcasters can "perform" their character based on how they intend audiences to perceive their expressions and actions reflecting specific sociocultural roles and values.

Assessing authenticity in this context requires analyzing if podcasters: 1) appear to consistently speak spontaneously or "off the cuff" using the medium's openly dialogical affordances rather than scripting conversations to elicit certain audience reactions, and 2) have the same persona or character across episodes. Editorialized practices oppose podcasting's communicative premise as a medium for people to talk freely about topics they feel reflected in if people's expressions are predetermined or altered post-production. Podcasters understand that they are potentially being heard, which undoubtedly creates a performative consciousness. Yet podcasters can still be authentic if their content consistently reflects the values and ideals they strive to uphold based on their sociocultural positions. A podcaster's sociocultural position and values are often explicitly identifiable in their program's bio or in the premier episode when the podcaster explains their relation to the show's subject matter. Gaden and Dumitrica (2014) noted that "authenticity is about both knowing and revealing who you are – an imagined essence defining your identity, the 'real' you. … The 'real' self and 'authentic voice' must be sustained over time" (Introduction section). Consistency suggests that a podcaster stays true to their (performative) self that reflects their sociocultural position and values regardless of each episode's intended outcome.

I attribute authenticity to the presentation of a "true" self when analyzing programs where podcasters share their values, ideals, and opinions through their stories and experiences, or the stories and experiences of others. Sharing these stories and experiences produces transparency about a podcaster's feelings, desires, convictions, and individual self-concept. Transparency directly applies to podcasting because the medium's open format supports subjectivity and incites anyone to speak about anything, including their feelings about stories and personal experiences that reflect their positions in the world related to the podcast's subject matter. Guignon (2008) echoed this sentiment that "as an authentic individual, I know where I stand on things and am forthright and open in expressing that stance in what I say and do" (p. 286). Authentic podcasters speak forthright and openly about their feelings, desires, values, and ideals.

Similarly, Oshana (2007) argued that inauthenticity occurs "when one is not honest with oneself and, perhaps, others about one's position in the world. … Inauthenticity is a matter of not giving enough attention to aspects of one's identity that are central" (p. 425). My study suggests that people can use podcasts to share stories and experiences that reflect their positions in, and understandings about, the world that their intersectional identities partially structure, and are structured by. Authenticity offers an avenue for analyzing a podcaster's character embedded in unscripted stories and discussions that reflect their values, beliefs, and ideals in everyday life related to their understandings of their position in the world and to the podcast's subject matter.

3.3 AUTHENTIC COMMUNICATION

Understanding podcasting's potential for people to represent their authentic selves through stories and commentary requires analyzing what communication practices they use. Communication practices, especially in broadcasting, are authentic or inauthentic in relation to their messages. Goffman (1981) forwarded three types of authentic broadcasting roles: 1) animator, 2) author, and 3) principal. An "animator" is the voice box for someone else's message, like a news anchor. An "author" inputs sentiment into their written message that an animator then reads. A principal "believes personally in what is being said and takes the position that is implied in the remarks" (Goffman, 1981, p. 167). Most podcast hosts practice all three roles compared to radio and television broadcasters. Hosts are the voice boxes of podcasts, and their sentiments are embedded in their authored remarks that reflect a "particular social identity role, some special capacity as a member of a group, office, category, relationship, association, or whatever, some socially based source of self-identification" (Goffman, 1981, p. 145). Comparatively, a radio or television news broadcaster is often the voice box for another journalist's writing or, if they are the author, they likely present the news objectively rather than asserting their stance. Podcasting's unregulated and conversational format helps people simultaneously be an animator, author, and principal. Podcaster practices include expressing opinions in their own words that possess a specific sentiment reflecting some aspect of the podcaster's self, their values, and their sociocultural position.

A podcaster who collectively embraces these three roles is authentic because their messaging reflects their position to the topic. Goffman (1981) used the phrase "fresh talk" (p.

171) to identify this authentic messaging, which occurs as a conversation unfolds. Fresh talk is present when the "text is formulated by the animator [voice box] from moment to moment" (Goffman, 1981, p. 171). Simply put, Goffman attributes authentic communication to spontaneous speech developing in real time rather than being scripted or rehearsed. Martin Montgomery (2001) offers a similar theorization about authentic communication fulfilling three criteria: 1) "sounds natural, 'fresh,' spontaneous," 2) "seems truly to capture or present the experience of the speaker," and 3) "seems truly to project the core self of the speaker" (pp. 403-404). Measuring authentic talk in podcast episodes through this criterion helps researchers analyze how a podcaster communicates stories and discusses experiences that reflect their "core." Spontaneity is considered authentic when a person believes their interlocutor is expressing their true feelings or opinions in the moment rather than filtering or rehearsing their speech to elicit a specific audience response.

However, scripted or rehearsed speech is not automatically inauthentic. Many podcasts rehearse or script speech to recreate an experience or retrospectively articulate feelings about the past. For example, *Campus* (CBC) invites a guest host to narrate an experience that formalized their understanding of their sense of self. The scripted narration in *Campus* is paired with a sonic recreation of the story's lived environment. Scripted podcasts can be considered authentic if hosts are transparent about the creative process rather than pretending the content is produced in real time. Transparency equates to authentic truth. Adam Jaworski (2018) addressed this authentic transparency when arguing that "authentic meaning of the utterance emanates from the assumed sincerity, integrity and commitment of the speaker (writer)" (p. 275). Varga and Guignon (2020) echoed this sentiment that "to say something is authentic is to say that it is what it professes to be, or what is reputed to be, in origin or authorship" (par. 1). Simply put, scripted podcasts are authentic if they accurately reflect the subject matter being recreated or narrated, and if the host is sincere about the podcast's intention. Transparency and "sincerity" are evident when a podcaster addresses their production process or communicates the podcast's style and format, which is often voiced in the premier episode to situate listener expectations.

Authentic communication has also been attributed to how a person sounds. van Leeuwen (2001) argued that an authentic animator, to use Goffman's (1981) terminology, has a unique sounding voice. In podcasting, authenticity or a "true" self can stem from the podcaster's voice tonally and stylistically reflecting how they sound in everyday life or by sounding "original"

compared to other podcasters. Vocal performances reflect a podcaster's deeper intentions, and thus true self, because podcasters want listeners to interpret their messaging a certain way based on the cultural values associated with specific sounds. For example, modulated tone might reflect a person's passion about, or emotional interest in, the conversation. Sustained tone might reflect disinterest or an unenthusiastic disposition (van Leeuwen, 2001). However, some people always speak with either a sustained or modulated tone unknowingly or spontaneously, which would make their podcasts truthful to their private selves. Thus, *performed* tonality is inauthentic because a person plans for a specific listener reaction rather than sounding as they do in everyday life.

Understanding a podcaster's truthful or originally authentic voice requires analyzing the voice's consistency across multiple episodes. Researchers do not likely know how podcasters sound in everyday life, so an analysis across episodes helps trace tonal characteristics. Tonal consistency suggests that the speaker authentically sounds themselves because they are speaking as they always do in the podcast. A podcaster's ability to authentically represent themselves sonically differs from other broadcasting forms where specific sounding voices are favoured over others (Llinares, 2018). Goffman (1981) observed that vocal tones, pauses, and restarts hold meaning in conversations. Furthermore, "code switching is usually involved, and if not this then at least the sound markers that linguists study: pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, tonal quality" (Goffman, 1981, p. 128). Code switching refers to a performative practice when a person changes the way they sound or the vernacular they use to align with the social or cultural norms of their current environment. Goffman argues that researchers can dissect authenticity through available sound markers. Sound also possesses meaning related to the linguistic message itself, so both sound and language must be analyzed in conjunction. Overall, judgement should be applied to "whether or not the 'animation' comes across as sincere" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 395). Sound markers in podcast episodes are especially telling of a person's authenticity or sincerity because the medium's audio modality negates visual cues like facial expressions and body language.

Yet authentic vocal performances can also be purposely performative and hyperbolic to insert additional meaning into a linguistic message or to sonically recreate a specific experience. van Leeuwen (2001) notes that an authentic animator can accurately imitate another person. Authentic animation is the sonic equivalent to authentically accurate recreations. Newman and

Smith (2016) classify authentic animation as a type of "categorical authenticity" (p. 613), which is the categorical criteria to which an object, practice, or person belongs. Vocal imitation is authentic if it fulfills a researcher's criteria, which could include the need for an imitation to sound like the original audio source. Podcasters can imitate a person's cadence when speaking on behalf of that person or when representing how a person sounded at a particular moment. Imitation can also be genuine or hyperbolic depending on a podcaster's intent.

Genuine imitation is usually intended to paint a sonic picture of the original speaker in the listener's mind. The more accurate this theatrical performance, the more authentic value it holds for being like the original object, performance, or person. Alternatively, hyperbolic imitation could be used for comedic jest or to flag the absurdity of someone's comments. Lawrence Grossberg (1993) argues in his study on authentic rock music performances that authenticity includes "the choice that anyone makes, at any moment, to present themselves according to the dictates of some cultural cliché" (p. 206). Podcasters choose to sound a certain way based on cultural clichés about how certain tones are sonically valued in certain media environments or communicative situations based on norms and expectations. Researchers can analyze "pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, tonal quality" (Goffman, 1981, p. 128) to evaluate authentic sounding voices and authentic imitations in a podcast conversation or reenactment. Sound analysis provides additional meaning to a podcaster's linguistic message and deeper insight about their position to the person, story and/or experience being addressed or imitated.

3.4: AUTHENTIC SELF-GOVERNANCE AND AUTHORITY

Podcasting's communicative potential partially stems from the ability for people to control what they say and how they say it because of the medium's unregulated and unlicensed infrastructure. Authenticity can be attributed to creative control if a person is able to be themselves without editorial impediment. "Genuine authenticity comes to be seen as a matter of giving uninhibited expression to these tendencies, and this means rejecting the sort of 'making nice' and common courtesy of so-called 'polite society'" (Guignon, 2008, p. 281). Guignon's position about authenticity's direct correlation to uninhibited expression is evident in podcasting when a host has agency over their program. Uninhibited expression includes voicing one's opinions and ideals, which is characteristic of authentic people whose sociocultural positions and values are

evident in their cultural works (Oshana, 2007). Beate Roessler (2012) echoed Guignon's theorization that:

> in order to be authentically autonomous the person must live in social contexts that make it possible, in principle, for her to endorse her values and to act upon them without running the risk of being discriminated against. If the person cannot be authentic in this sense then she is – or feels – alienated from her social environment. (p. 450)

Autonomy helps people say what they want to without fear of repercussions. "Authenticity comes to be understood as the freedom to represent yourself openly in a semi-public, online arena" (Gaden & Dumitrica, 2014, Authenticity in the Information Age section). Although open communication can incite harmful or prejudicial discourse, autonomy can also produce socially or culturally educational and critical discourse. Authentic autonomy, or the ability to say anything, closely aligns with public ideals about podcasting's accessible format and potentially democratic function since its origins (Aufderheide et al., 2020). Podcasters can be their authentically true selves if they control what they say, or at least have the choice to present themselves as they wish. Open, autonomous speech can provide deeper insights into a podcaster's personal values and beliefs, which in turn speaks to the medium's potential for unfettered communication. Alternatively, censored speech suggests that production models are a significant factor in open communication despite the industry's unregulated and unlicensed infrastructure.

Researchers can analyze authentic autonomy on a surface level by listening to whether podcasters address their independence or institutional affiliation. It is easier to compare episodes within and across podcasts after identifying a show's production model to understand the podcaster's creative control. A podcaster with institutional affiliation is not inauthentic, but there are likely editorial and commercial factors that influence what they can and can't say compared to podcasters without editorial or commercial impediment. A podcast belonging to a corporate network can still facilitate open expression, especially if the podcast's goal is to share people's perspectives or stories reflecting their understanding of their positions in the world and to the subject matter. This dissertation's focus on podcasts that share un(der)represented sociocultural stories and experiences related to people's sense of selves includes institutionally affiliated shows whose mandates are to predominantly share these stories and perspectives. Katharina Bauer (2017) argues that a person is authentically autonomous in her ability "to form her own

personality, her identity, and to follow her own way of life in a self-directed manner" (p. 572). Authentic people's self-directed construction of their personality and identity closely aligns with podcasting's "do-it-yourself" mantra (Meserko, 2015; Sullivan, 2018). Charles Taylor (1992) also posits that authentic people "become full human agents, capable of understanding ourselves, and hence of defining an identity, through our acquisition of rich human languages of expression" (p. 33). Personality and identity are constructed through language that possesses specific meanings on individual and cultural levels. Meanings can be analyzed in episodes when podcasters talk about themselves, their experiences, and their values connected to the subject matter on their own terms.

Self-governance is partially attributed to authenticity because people who have control over their expressions and actions are more likely to be themselves rather than conform or be censored. Self-controlled expression and action are essential for podcasts sharing stories and perspectives about sociocultural topics from people who are directly affected rather than from distant observers (e.g., news anchors) because directly affected people have experiential insights. Directly affected individuals can have authority over a topic based on their knowledge grounded in their sociocultural positions and experiences. According to Ian Hutchby (2001), "first-hand knowledge such as that of the eye-witness is bound up, in talk, with the authenticity of experience, of emotion, and of the speaker as a legitimate teller of particular kinds of stories" (p. 482). Furthermore, a person demonstrates their authenticity when they use their knowledge as proof "to warrant or justify their opinions" (Hutchby, 2001, p. 483). Matías Martínez (2020) similarly forwards that authenticity can refer to testimonies that are "experientially true" (p. 826). Hutchby and Martínez suggest that personal experiences provide knowledgeable and rational perspectives on related subject matter.

Podcasters who have experiences with, and knowledge about, the stories or conversations they share have an authentic perspective compared to others. They may be authentic in their identification with a story, or because the experiences they share are uniquely theirs (Scannell, 2001). Different stories can thematically overlap or share similar meanings, but each story nonetheless belongs to the individual who experienced it. Podcasts help "authorities" control how their stories, experiences, and opinions are told, which can be cathartic for podcasters themselves and informative for listeners. All podcasters in this dissertation had some connection to, or passionate investment in, the stories and perspectives they shared that researchers can

identify through the linguistic imposition of first-person pronouns. Researchers can analyze authentic podcasters as authoritative figures whose opinions and experiences accurately reflect their understandings of, and connections to, the subject matter. While I believe anyone should have the opportunity to talk about any subject, people undoubtedly have certain experiences and insights on certain topics that make them more knowledgeable, and thus more authoritative, than others who have little connection.

Researchers can interpret individual experiences and stories that an authoritative podcaster shares as authentically reflecting that podcaster's connection to a larger community. Martínez (2020) states that:

> if a text is authentic, it is read as symptomatic, as a true expression of experiences or identity features of its author. Such a symptomatic reading may transcend the individuality of the author and include collective identities (nation, race, class, gender) which the author shares or is taken to be a part of. (p. 523)

Being an authority does not equate to understanding or representing everyone's experiences, perspectives, or beliefs within a shared identity group. However, analyzing numerous podcasts that discuss experiences, perspectives, or beliefs around a common theme can help identify larger patterns within and across communities. Authenticity can be analyzed in episodes where a podcaster shares experiences and stories that enforce, and are enforced by, their affiliation with group memberships that inform their sociocultural position and values. Thus, podcasters can be authentic authorities if they identify with the discussion topics being discussed, even if they do not share the same perspectives with others.

Although podcasters are not automatically authorities about a whole group they identify with, podcasters can voluntarily share stories and experiences that reflect their individual understandings of their sociocultural positions within and outside of their communities. Delia Cristina Balaban and Julia Szambolics (2022) term this positionality "expertise," or having authority on a topic based on a supposedly valuable opinion. Podcasting's potential for self-governance allows any individual to place their own value on their opinions and share their expertise openly rather than be valued discriminatorily or stereotypically by others. Voicing one's expertise is emblematic of Goffman's (1981) "self-reporting" that un(der)represented broadcasters conduct: "The self-reporting essayed by marginal announcers establishes informality, and links their style of talk to what is characteristic of everyday conversation"

(Goffman, 1981, p. 296). Furthermore, "a participant also has the right to generate discourse by referring to his own situation" (Goffman, 1981, p. 323). Goffman's proposition reflects podcasting's authentic nature when people control their own voices and therefore talk about themselves in relation to any topic they want in any linguistic or sonic manner. Self-governance and authority can be analyzed through a podcaster's language and sound within individual episodes and across podcast catalogues that reflect or oppose podcasting's potential openness. Simply put, a researcher can analyze a podcaster's authentic agency and authority through the openness of what the podcaster said and how it was said across episodes. A podcaster or guest's authentic "expertise" is also recognizable when they are introduced to listeners in an episode by *what* they do and their relation to the topic, which is a popular podcast practice. Researchers can gauge a podcaster's expertise based on their connection to the podcast's topic rather than traditional broadcasting norms of possessing technical or educational qualifications and prowess.

CONCLUSIONS

Applying authenticity to podcasting is theoretically complex given the various research contexts and definitions associated with the term. Authenticity has been assigned to the value of an object's originality or accurate reproduction. Authenticity has been evaluated based on the alignment between a person's character and their words and actions. Scholars have assessed authentic people based on the public presentation of their "true," private self through unscripted and unfiltered expression. Theories on authentic communication suggest that people are truthful or real when they are self-governing and authoritative in their messaging rather than being censored or editorialized during or after recording. Self-controlled messaging helps creators express their values, ideals, and opinions through stories and conversations grounded in how they understand their sense of selves and their sociocultural positions in the world. These positions themselves have been considered authentic because they reflect the speaker's true experiences and "real" self. All authenticity definitions have been applied to objects, practices, and people across communication and media studies contexts like radio, television, and art.

One of the theoretical issues that scholars debate when assessing authenticity is the analytic object of inquiry. Esther Wright (2022) argues that "authenticity is not, nor could ever be, an inherent property of a product. Rather, it is a claim made on behalf of a product by an

agent" (p. 19). Podcasts are not inherently authentic. Authenticity is constructed and classified within a set of social norms that the researcher determines. van Leeuwen (2001) adds that "judgements [of authenticity] will more often be subjective and tied up with social norms: do we feel this is how the person would normally speak or should speak, or how the real-life counterpart of the character in the script would speak?" (p. 395). Simply put, each analytic protocol for evaluating authenticity is grounded in the researcher's environmental context, or the context of the object itself, rather than being universally or scientifically determined. Thus, an analytic object of inquiry is only deemed authentic because someone judged it as so based on a set of criteria. Authenticity is not inherent in an object, practice, or person, which is why researchers disagree on what authenticity even means at all.

Yet despite this theoretical difficulty, authenticity as a construct is still valuable for analyzing an object, practice, or person's qualities within its communicative context that reflects society or culture at large. We can learn more about cultural or social norms structuring, and structured by, podcasting as a space for true expression. Effectively analyzing authenticity requires a transparent set of criteria about what "object" is being analyzed and what characteristics make something authentic. The direct object in this dissertation is podcast episodes, and the indirect objects are podcast programs and podcasters. The authenticity, or inauthenticity, of podcast episodes speaks to the in/authenticity of the podcast program, which reflects the podcaster's in/authenticity that is heard across episodes. These three objects collectively help analyze podcasting's openly communicative potential as a medium and practice for people to share stories and opinions that reflect their sense of selves, sociocultural positions, and associated values and beliefs.

Various definitions of authenticity illustrate the need to transparently identify and rationalize this dissertation's application of authenticity theory. This dissertation combines definitions of authenticity when analyzing podcast episodes, and in turn, podcasters and their programs. Foundationally, I use van Leeuwen's (2001) proposition that:

> something can be called "authentic" because it is thought to be true to the essence of *something* [emphasis added], to a revealed truth, a deeply felt sentiment, or the way these are worded or otherwise expressed. One such essence is the "self," constructed as a constant unified "character." (p. 393)

I refer to this "something" as podcast episodes that potentially possess an essence or truth about podcasters and their programs in this dissertation. Podcasters exhibit authenticity through the language and sounds they use in podcast episodes that possess meaning and reflect their sociocultural positions to the content. This dissertation's podcasts topically shared stories and perspectives related to a podcaster's sociocultural position shaping, and shaped by, their understanding of their identity. Podcast episodes were therefore not analyzed for their structural authenticity as podcasts, but for revealing podcaster and program authenticity embodied in the unified character and content the podcaster presented across episodes.

Authenticity as originality or recreation are both examined in this dissertation implicitly. Podcast episodes may be original stories or perspectives shared for the first time, or they may be recreations of past stories or perspectives. Authentic podcast practices may also be original or recreated across episodes that exhibit how podcasters aurally present their information compared to other podcasters in the study. Authentic podcasts can also have scripted or unscripted episodes. Unscripted podcasts are authentic in that they present spontaneous conversations without calculated responses or systematically dialogical structures, so speakers are believed to be saying what they actually think or how they actually feel. Although scholars have applied inauthenticity to scripted or rehearsed talk, some podcasts are unavoidably rehearsed stories recorded in pieces rather than in real time. These scripted podcasts are authentic if episodes reflect the true values and positions of podcasters and if the podcast's goal is explicitly voiced. A scripted podcast can even include recreations of past experiences that reflect how the podcaster imagines their sense of self.

Podcasters are more likely to be authentically true to their sense of selves if they undertake Goffman's three authentic broadcasting roles of animator, author, and principal. I analyzed if podcasters collectively embodied these three roles that likely allowed them to speak about content that they "wrote" or produced with a particular sentiment that they simultaneously heard themselves reflected in. These roles are associated with the definition of authenticity as demonstrating self-governance because podcasters can control what they are talking about and how they say it as "authorities" due to their experiential expertise or direct connection to the podcast topics. Podcaster identities were articulated in this dissertation's podcast episodes about personal and cultural stories and experiences reflecting one's understanding of their sense of self

related to their sociocultural position and community affiliation. Thus, podcasters were evaluated as authentic if their podcast episodes consistently reflected who they think they truly are.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, it is difficult to determine a podcaster's "true" self because researchers likely do not know each podcaster personally and therefore do not know if what they hear in a podcast publicly reflects the podcaster's private self, their values, and their actions. However, the essence of someone's true podcasting self can be identified by listening across episodes for a "constant unified 'character'" (van Leeuwen, 2001, p. 393). A podcaster's sense of self, even if performative, is authentic to what it claims to be if the podcaster maintains this public persona. Researchers can also locate a podcaster's authentic self if the podcaster is transparent about their episodic content related to the podcast's overall goal. Transparency establishes a foundation for researchers to listen to podcasters and compare their expressions with what they claim the show to be and their presence within it. Comparing a podcaster's expressions with the podcast's goal allows researchers to analyze on a larger scale podcasting's effectiveness for people to express themselves how they want to about content they are interested in that reflects their positions and values in the world.

Language and sound are two variables for analyzing podcast and podcaster authenticity in this dissertation. Language and sound were both foundational to interpreting authenticity because they contained communicative meaning individually and together based on shared systems of meaning. van Leeuwen (2001) argues that researchers should question "on the basis of which visible or audible cues are these [researcher] judgements made?" (p. 396). I identified a podcaster's authenticity through what they said and how they said it if we take authenticity to mean the expression of someone's true self that reflects their values and actions embedded in, and reinforced by, their understanding of their sociocultural positions. Researchers can hear podcaster values and positions that reflect the podcaster's authentic self, which speaks more broadly to podcasting's democratic and openly communicative potential for anyone to express themselves how they want to about their experiences, or comment on the experiences of others. Applying the definition of authenticity as self-governance and authority was also important in this dissertation for evaluating the communicative content and structure of institutionally-affiliated podcasts beholden to corporations like the CBC and the Globe and Mail. What do podcasters say about the same topics and how do they sound across networks based on their affiliations? How do these affiliations reflect or oppose the openly communicative premise of

podcasting's origins in the early 2000s? John Hartley (2020) notes that "'authenticity' is a carefully constructed product of semiotic and generic processes" (p. 119). Analyzing language and sound in podcast episodes that reflect podcast/er authenticity required semiotic and textual methods, both of which are outlined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL REVIEW

"Sometimes when I read things on the Internet or read things in the media, it always seems like it's lived experience versus empirical data. And it's like, why does it have to be this false dichotomy? You know, it's like everything altogether. It's all information, you know?" - Hannah Sung, *Colour Code*, "Your Turn"

This dissertation analyzes discursive content and sonic qualities in podcasts that reflect the podcaster's sense of self in relation to the subject matter. "Sense of self" is attributed to authentic podcasting in this study based on how podcasters who identify with different racial and ethnic communities in Canada express their true selves, their experiences, and their cultural identities. Language and sound are the primary modalities producing meaning in a podcast episode as an analytic object of inquiry. Researchers can listen to what is said and how it is said in episodes to analyze if podcasting as a medium and practice can help people openly insert their values and beliefs in stories and conversations that authentically reflect their understandings of their sociocultural positions in the world. The podcasts analyzed in this study addressed a variety of topics related to each podcaster's understanding of their race, ethnicity, and/or sociocultural position in Canada and globally. I used a qualitative methodological research design combining critical discourse analysis to assess podcaster speech and sound analysis to dissect audio production and vocality related to authenticity and self-expression. Based on the research goal to understand the medium's potential for people to openly and authentically communicate their values and sociocultural positions reflected in podcast stories and conversations, four research questions structure this dissertation:

1) How do podcasters linguistically self-represent cultural identity?
2) Does podcasting help augment Canadian history?
3) Do podcasters in Canada self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity?
4) How do podcasters use sound to represent identity and experience through voice, music, and additional audio?

This dissertation combines interactive methods triangulating sound, identity, and representation to assess podcasting's authentically expressive potential for various sociocultural identity groups in Canada.

I employ critical discourse analysis (CDA), sound analysis, and interviews to analyze podcasts as cultural texts and to identify podcaster practices and motivations behind their textual production. These three methods helped address podcasting's communicative potential for authentically constructing identity and self-expression in Canada. In this way, the research design is "multimodal" analyzing written and oral components of the same texts (podcast episodes and interview responses). I focused on *what* was said and *how* it was said in podcast episodes and participant interviews. Multimodal analysis emphasizes the various meanings available across an object's modalities. This approach was suitable for analyzing podcast episodes and podcaster testimonies to hear how podcasters articulated meaning linguistically and sonically since podcasting is an audio-dominant medium.

4.1: DATA SAMPLE

This dissertation included a stratified random sample of public and non-public podcasts produced between 2015 and 2020. All podcast producers were contacted and a smaller self-selected group were interviewed. The 2015-2020 timeframe centers on podcasting's "Second Age" (Bonini, 2015) when podcasting apps helped listeners easily stream and share programs and when podcasters used multiple journalistic and conversational formats that *Serial* (This American Life) influenced in 2014 (Berry, 2015; McHugh, 2022). Additionally, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) as Canada's national public broadcaster began producing original podcasts in 2015. A comparison between production models highlighted how a podcast's organizational ties influenced its dialogical structure despite addressing similar topics. This sample intensified my "interest in the ways in which people actively and creatively make their own meanings and create their own culture, rather than passively absorb pregiven meanings imposed upon them" (Ang, 1996, p. 114) by dominant culture.

In their analysis of *Dallas* fan letters, Ien Ang (1985) argues that "we must search for what is behind the explicitly written, for the presuppositions and accepted attitudes concealed within them" (p. 11). I applied Ang's proposition when listening for deeper meaning about how

podcasters expressed identity discursively and addressed controversial or unspoken histories and narratives in their episodes that reflect understandings of their sociocultural positions. The sample also helped me survey how podcasters used sound to articulate their values and ideals embedded in an episode's story or conversation. Two analytic categories governed the sample retrieval: "Public" (the CBC) and "Non-public." Each category's podcasts were selected on four criteria: 1. Podcasts hosted by at least one person who identifies with a racially and/or ethnically marginalized group; 2. Podcasts that explore attitudes, prejudices, and socialization towards sociocultural issues and/or revisit historical sociocultural narratives/experiences; 3. Podcasts that are not daily/regional news; and 4. Podcasts that referred to the Canadian context in their episodes. Public podcasts belong to government-funded organizations producing and controlling content for national audiences. The CBC represented public podcasting in this study. Non-public podcasts are programs that belong to a private network or are independently controlled.

Public Podcast Episodes – the CBC

The CBC was chosen for public podcasting because it is the national public broadcaster in Canada and is mandated to represent Canadian audiences, to exchange cultural expression, to contribute to national identity, to be widely accessible, and to "reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada" (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, n.d.). The CBC was also chosen because it is one of the most popular Canadian podcast producers in the country (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2019). The CBC has created original podcasts since 2015, giving a breadth of programming with which to conduct meaningful analyses.

I first inspected the 127 podcasts available on the CBC's web page as of December 2020 based on the sample timeframe and four sample criteria. I initially reviewed program descriptions and episode content to determine how podcasters socioculturally identified themselves. If the podcaster identified as part of a non-White racial and non-British ethnic group, their podcast was added to the public podcast sample list (criteria #1). If the podcaster's bio was not shown on their podcast "About" page, I listened to the podcast to determine how they self-identified. After, I reviewed information about each podcast to determine if their show addressed subject matter related to a sociocultural group/community in Canada (criteria #2) and were not

regional/daily news formats (criteria #3). All CBC podcast bios were accessible online and indicated the program's subject matter.

Only 10 programs met the four criteria after this preliminary research to form the sample of public podcast(er)s (Table 1).

Table 1: Public Podcast Sample

Podcast Name	Podcast Host or Producer	Production Date	Number of Episodes/Audio Downloads Available	Podcast Description
Campus	Albert Leung (host)	2015-2017	59	"Campus is driven by first-person stories about the pressure to succeed, the threat of failure and the adventure of growing up." - CBC Listen
Kiwew	David A. Robertson (host)	2020	5	"Kiwew is a five-part series in which Governor General award-winning author David A. Robertson dives into his family history and mysteries as he discovers and connects with his Cree identity." - CBC Listen
Mic Drop	Shari Okeke (coproducer) and Carrie Haber (coproducer)	2018, 2020	33	"Teens have a lot to say about this complicated world – are you listening? Mood-swinging, dream-chasing, rule-breaking drama and adventures." - CBC Listen
Missing and Murdered	Connie Walker (host)	2016 (season one)	9	"Sparked by a chilling tip, season one is an eight-part podcast investigation that

				unearths new information and potential suspects in the cold case of a young Indigenous woman murdered in British Columbia in 1989." - CBC Media Centre
New Fire	Lisa Charleyboy (host)	2015-2017	25	"From remote reserves to bustling big cities, join Urban Native Girl Lisa Charleyboy as she brings you to the surprising heart of the conversations important to Aboriginal youth." - CBC Listen
The Next 150	Angeline Tetteh-Wayoe (host)	2017	16	"Youth leaders delve deep into what makes Canada... Canada. These speeches produced by the CBC and The Walrus Talks examine the values we hold dear and ask what we desire for the future of our country." - CBC Listen
Portraits of Black Canadians	Various	2020	27	"Find out more about black Canadians who contributed to the building of Canada and who are making their mark every day. Danger, hardship, heroism and tragedy. All features of black immigration to Canada in the nineteenth century." - CBC Radio

Seat at the Table	Martine St-Victor (cohost) and Isabelle Racicot (cohost)	2017, 2020	20	"Friends Marine St-Victor and Isabelle Racicot have in-depth conversations with notable guests from media, sports and pop culture. They capture personal stories about the power of Black Lives Matter movement, the urgency of this moment, and what it will take to move forward." - CBC Listen
The Secret Life of Canada	Falen Johnson (cohost) and Leah-Simone Bowen (cohost)	2018-2019	51	"The Secret Life of Canada is a podcast about the country you know and the stories you don't. Join hosts Leah-Simone Bowen and Falen Johnson as they reveal the beautiful, terrible, and weird histories of this land." - CBC Listen
Sleepover	Sook-Yin Lee (host)	2016-2018	37	"Sleepover host Sook-Yin Lee brings together three complete strangers for 24 hours to talk about what's difficult and try to make it better." - CBC Listen

The total amount of available episodes across all 10 podcasts was 282 as of December 31, 2020.

I went through each podcast episode description after each podcast's catalogue was totalled. I collected all episodes that followed the sample criteria during initial selection, then omitted specific episodes that did not refer to the Canadian context in their discussion (e.g., an episode on political relations in the Middle East) (criteria #4). The total number of episodes across the 10 podcasts that met all four criteria was 154. I randomly selected episodes from each

podcast's reduced catalogue aligning with the study's sample criteria. Each program's episodes were separately assigned a number between 1 and N (total number of a podcast's episodes). Stratified random sampling was conducted using a random sample calculator online. For provisional feasibility, the analysis included a sample of 3 episodes/audio downloads from each CBC podcast (10) for a total (10 x 3) of 30/154 episodes/audio downloads. The sample ratio was: 0.195. The following episodes from each CBC podcast were randomly selected for analysis:

- *Campus* (n=4)
    - No Curry in the Dorm Room! – Jan 12, 2016 (32 mins)
    - Dissecting a Dark Indigenous Past – Dec 16, 2016 (38 mins)
    - This is What Happens When You Steal People's Land: Part I – Mar 24, 2017 (32 mins)

- *Kiwew* (n=5)
    - Born on the Land – June 18, 2020 (18 mins)
    - Cree Awakening – June 18, 2020 (17 mins)
    - The Future – June 18, 2020 (20 mins)

- *Mic Drop* (n=7)
    - Who Am I? – April 30, 2018 (10 mins)
    - TANEIA brings Black Lives Matter to school – Sep 24, 2020 (10 mins)
    - MALIK is the door-to-door sci-fi guy – Nov 19, 2020 (11 mins)

- *Missing and Murdered: Who Killed Alberta Williams?* (n=9)
    - The Brothers – Nov 15, 2016 (40 mins)
    - The Notebooks (Part One) – Dec 13, 2016 (44 mins)
    - The Notebooks (Part Two) – Dec 15, 2016 (55 mins)

- *New Fire* (n=25)
    - Indigenous Youth Talk Tech – August 18, 2015 (27 mins)
    - Opening Up About Indigenous Intimacy – July 22, 2017 (26 mins)

- Music is Giving Voice to Indigenous youth – Aug 12, 2017 (27 mins)

- *The Next 150* (n=14)
  - We Transform Adversity into a Tame Ghost that Walks Alongside Us – June 14, 2017 (17 mins)
  - Within Indigenous Communities There are Perpetual Crises – June 21, 2017 (16 mins)
  - We Need Mutual Respect Between Opponents – June 28, 2017 (14 mins)

- *Portraits of Black Canadians* (n=27)
  - Slavery Laws – Feb 6, 2020 (3 mins)
  - Sam Langford – Feb 19, 2020 (3 mins)
  - Michaëlle Jean – Mar 1, 2020 (4 mins)

- *Seat at the Table* (n=8)
  - Kimberley Manning on Raising a Trans Child; Kids and Cellphones – Aug 12, 2017 (37 mins)
  - Hockey's Diversity Problem with Anthony Duclair + Salim Valji – Aug 26, 2020 (40 mins)
  - BLM in Canada with Sandy Hudson; Defunding the Police and Abolition with Robyn Maynard – Sep 2, 2020 (43 mins)

- *Secret Life of Canada* (n=39)
  - Shout Out to Tom Longboat – Aug 27, 2018 (2 mins)
  - The Indian Act – June 25, 2019 (45 mins)
  - Crash Course on Canada's First Mosque – Dec 29, 2020 (8 mins)

- *Sleepover* (n=16)
  - Tiny Repairs in Reality – Feb 17, 2017 (27 mins)
  - Peterborough III: Oseko's Secret Life – June 19, 2017 (27 mins)
  - Native Child and the Full Moon 3: Tegan – May 29, 2018 (30 mins)

Non-Public Podcast Episodes – Various

Using the same four criteria in the second sample phase, I initially searched podcast platforms Apple Podcasts and Spotify to locate non-public podcasts in Canada. However, many of the charted podcasts on Apple and Spotify were American and did not fulfill the sample criteria. Based on the study's geographical specificity, I conducted a search on Google afterwards using the terms "Canadian podcast race" and "Canadian podcast race and ethnicity narratives." I consulted the first 10 result pages of each search phrase. Consultation was limited to the first 10 pages of each search phrase because results/website links to specific podcasts increasingly declined and articles on podcasting generally supplanted them. Locating podcasts through a Google search is potentially problematic given the algorithmic bias of search results from platform to platform and from user to user, but Google helped organize the vast number of podcasts available online (Markman, 2011). After moving through 20 total pages, I evaluated podcast websites and podcaster biographies to compile a podcast list that followed the sample criteria. I listened to each podcast to determine how the podcaster self-identified if I could not locate a podcast's "About" page or bio. Various non-public programs were selected through this process. Search engines and podcast platforms offered a structured way to randomly select from many available programs despite potential engine and platform biases.

A list of 10 podcasts was chosen for equitable analysis with the CBC's 10 programs selected earlier. After finalizing the podcast sample, I used Apple Podcasts to ensure each program's episodes were available for playback. All 10 programs had their episodes available (Table 2).

Table 2: Non-public Podcast Sample

Podcast Name	Podcast Host or Producer	Production Company	Production Date	Number of Episodes/Audio Downloads Available	Podcast Description

Black Canadian Content Creators	Sherley Joseph (host)	The Chonilla Network	2019-2020	8	"Join Sherley as she shines a spotlight on talented individuals who identify as Black, African, Africadian, Caribbean, or Mixed heritage residing in Canada or creating abroad. From seasoned or new Bloggers, Podcasters, YouTubers, Gamers, Journalists, Authors, Writers, Photographers, Directors, Musicians, Actors, Visual artists, Producers, Techies, Influencers, and more, each episode dives into their stories, beginnings, aspirations, and invaluable insights. Tune in to gain practical tips and be inspired by these remarkable creators.

					Including some Black Canadian news, you need to know!" - Apple Podcasts
Black Tea	Melayna Williams (cohost), Dalton Higgins (cohost), and Andray Domise (former cohost)	Frequency Podcast Network	2018, 2020	18	"Toronto is a multicultural hotspot. But the diversity that makes the city special isn't often reflected in the stories we hear and the discussions we have. Black Tea will change that. Dalton Higgins and Melayna Williams are here to bring important and uncomfortable Black community conversations out in the open, and to have some laughs while doing it." - Frequency Podcast Network
Born and Raised	Al Donato (cohost) and Alisha	HuffPost	2018-2020	15	"Where are you really from?" is a loaded question for children of

	Sawhney (cohost)				immigrants. Part reflection, part storytelling, "Born And Raised" digs into our experiences and connections with identity, family, and culture." - Apple Podcasts
Colour Code	Denise Balkissoon (cohost) and Hannah Sung (cohost)	The Globe and Mail	2016	12	"If there's one thing Canadians avoid, it's talking about race. This podcast is here to change that. Join hosts Denise Balkissoon and Hannah Sung for a new conversation on race in Canada. We won't have all the answers but we do ask bold questions." - The Globe and Mail
Decoding Black	Letecia Rose (cohost) and Dr. Christopher Stuart	Centennial Podcast	2020	3	"The hosts invite listeners to increase their awareness on how to destabilize, deconstruct and disrupt systems of oppression linked to

	Taylor (cohost)				anti-Black racism. Listeners of the podcast will learn diverse perspectives on the Black Canadian experience, and deepen their understanding of critical approaches on how to counteract anti-Black racism and systemic barriers affecting diverse Black communities." - Centennial
My Blackness, My Truth	Jayde Symone (host)	CKDU	2018	10	"Frank and candid conversations about race and identity, with a special focus on the African Nova Scotian experience." - CKDU
The Red Road Podcast	Courtney Skye (cohost) and Dr. Hayden King (cohost)	The Red Road Podcast	2018-2020	31	"Courtney Skye and Hayden King: two NDN's stuck in a car" - Apple Podcasts

Residential Schools	Shaneen Robinson-Desjarlais (host)	Historica Canada	2020	3	"Residential Schools is a three-part podcast series created by Historica Canada and hosted by Shaneen Robinson-Desjarlais. It aims to commemorate the history and legacy of residential schools, and honour the stories of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Survivors, their families, and communities." - Historica Canada
Safe Space	Vicky Mochama (cohost) and Ishmael Daro (cohost)	Torstar	2017-2019	64	"A safe space for bad takes. A weekly podcast hosted by Vicky Mochama and friends." - Safe Space Twitter account
Stories from the Land	Ryan McMahon (cohost) and Dr. Hayden	Indian & Cowboy	2015-2018	23	"Stories from the Land Podcast series is a collection of Indigenous community sourced stories that connect

	King (cohost)				Indigenous Peoples to land and place with the aim of reinforcing Indigenous worldview, philosophies & cultural teachings through sound rich digital audio media & live storytelling events that promise to engage & empower." - Makoons Media Group

The total number of available episodes across all 10 podcasts was 187 as of December 31, 2020.

My selection process mirrored the CBC data sample. I went through each podcast and read the description of each available episode after each podcast's catalogue was located. I collected all episodes that followed the initial program selection criteria. Episodes were excluded if they did not align with the criteria. Again, unsuitability was possible for podcasts in Canada that did not refer to the Canadian context in their discussion (e.g., an episode on political relations in the Middle East). The total number of episodes across non-public podcasts that followed the selection criteria was 112. I then conducted a stratified random sample for each podcast's reduced catalogue. A podcast's episodes were separately assigned a number between 1 and N (total number of a podcast's episodes). The sample was conducted using a random sample calculator online. For provisional feasibility, the analysis included a sample of 3 episodes/audio downloads from each podcast (10) for a total (10 x 3) of 30/112 episodes/audio downloads. The sample ratio was: 0.268. The following episodes from each podcast were randomly selected for analysis:

- *Black Canadian Content Creators* (n=8)
    - The Value of What We Do w/Chantal Smith-Amsterdam – Sep 17, 2019 (43 mins)
    - Seeing Black Canadian Excellence and the Black Experience w/Ricardo McRae – Oct 8, 2019 (64 mins)
    - The Differences with Black Folks in Canada & USA w/Liberty White (part 2) – May 19, 2020 (34 mins)

- *Black Tea* (n=16)
    - Black Film & TV – Dec 6, 2018 (39 mins)
    - Black Women in Media: Truth, Accountability – Aug 11, 2020 (35 mins)
    - Race, Gender & Canadian Politics – Aug 25, 2020 (39 mins)

- *Born and Raised* (n=13)
    - Food: The Family Restaurant – Nov 18, 2018 (18 mins)
    - Love: Pier 21 – Oct 6, 2019 (22 mins)
    - Love: Self-Love – Oct 13, 2019 (28 mins)

- *Colour Code* (n=10)
    - Race and Real Estate – Nov 1, 2016 (45 mins)
    - Surface Tension – Nov 15, 2016 (47 mins)
    - Your Turn – Nov 22, 2016 (54 mins)

- *Decoding Black* (n=3)
    - Introducing Decoding Black – Feb 11, 2020 (17 mins)
    - The Legacy of Anti-Black Racism in Education – Feb 18, 2020 (20 mins)
    - Racial Boundaries in the Workplace – Feb 25, 2020 (21 mins)

- *My Blackness My Truth* (n=9)

    - Mental Health: “The Bleakness of Black Representation” – Mar 13, 2018 (28 mins)
    - Poetic Justice – May 14, 2018 (31 mins)
    - Myth- We Don’t Back Black – Jun 19, 2018 (34 mins)

- *The Red Road Podcast* (n=29)
    - The Good (NDN Kids), the Bad (Child Welfare Legislation) and the Ugly (Traffic) – Feb 25, 2019 (44 mins)
    - Settlers Interrupt-Us – May 2, 2019 (40 mins)
    - On Violence – May 15, 2019 (41 mins)

- *Residential Schools* (n=3)
    - First Nations Experiences – March 3, 2020 (21:48)
    - Métis Experiences – March 10, 2020 (21:57)
    - Inuit Experiences – March 17, 2020 (25:48)

- *Safe Space* (n=9)
    - No Votes for Teens and Olds – Feb 24, 2017 (19 mins)
    - Bill’s Budget and Babying Quebec – Mar 24, 2017 (48 mins)
    - Corny White People and Yeezys for Dads – Oct 13, 2017 (29 mins)

- *Stories from the Land* (n=12)
    - Jesse Archibald Barber – Mar 11, 2015 (31 mins)
    - 10,000 Warriors – Oct 18, 2018 (15 mins)
    - Bush Love and Powwow Snags – Oct 18, 2018 (26 mins)

Overall, the 20 podcasts chosen for analysis were all nonfiction and covered a variety of genres and content. According to “Apple Podcast Categories” (Apple Podcasts, n.d.), any podcaster who uploads their program to the Apple Podcasts platform can select two categories to display on their podcast’s page that reflects the program’s theme. These categorical “labels” are internal links enhancing user search functions, facilitating automated user recommendations, informing

editorial curation, and securing potential placement on thematic "Top Charts." Spotify similarly allows podcasters to select three category labels for their programs (Spotify Community, 2022). Labels can offer insights into how podcasters, or producers like the CBC, conceptualize their program's focus or desired content even though Apple and Spotify do not provide definitions for each category.

Genre is often loosely used and rarely defined in podcast studies. Scholar and practitioner Siobhán McHugh (2022) provides the most comprehensive list of genres and categories, which she refers to as "content." McHugh does not define or characterize every genre and content type explicitly, but the podcast examples for each label she provides suggests that genre equates to "format" and content equates to categories (as Apple Podcasts and Spotify term it). Self-appointed labels and McHugh's list are useful for understanding discursive differences across genres, and content within the same genre. These distinctions can provide additional data about how podcasters conceptualize their own programs and what effects this content has on the transmission of their ideas, values, beliefs, and stories.[9] Table 3 lists each podcast's "genre," as McHugh terms it, and each podcast's chosen categories or "content" labels used for Apple Podcasts and Spotify. The table also includes my interpretation of each podcast's content based on McHugh's terminology.

Table 3: Genre and Content

Podcast Name	Genre	Content (Apple Podcasts)	Content (Spotify)	Content (author's interpretation of McHugh's list)
Black Canadian Content Creators	Conversation[10]	Society and Culture	Society and Culture	Arts and Culture

[9] A podcaster or producer might also file their program under a certain category based on perceived potential for most visibility to the largest audience.
[10] A host and at least one guest have an open discussion.

(Chonilla Network)				
Black Tea (Frequency Podcast Network)	Chatcast/Chumcast[11]	Society and Culture	Society and Culture; Comedy	News and politics
Born and Raised (HuffPost)	Narrative nonfiction – Miscellaneous storytelling[12]	Society and Culture	n/a	Arts and Culture
Campus (CBC)	Narrative nonfiction – Miscellaneous storytelling	Society and Culture	Society and Culture	Arts and Culture
Colour Code (Globe and Mail)	Chatcast/Chumcast	Society and Culture	Society and Culture	News and Politics
Decoding Black (Centennial)	Chatcast/Chumcast	n/a	n/a	Arts and Culture
Kiwew (CBC)	Memoir[13]	Society and Culture	Society and Culture; Documentary; Personal Stories	Arts and Culture
Mic Drop (CBC)	Narrative nonfiction – Miscellaneous storytelling	Kids and Family	n/a	Kids
Missing and Murdered (CBC)	Narrative nonfiction – True Crime[14]	True Crime	True Crime	History
My Blackness, My Truth (CKDU)	Conversation	Society and Culture	n/a	Arts and Culture

[11] "Two or more hosts who have chemistry, presence and focus reflect on a theme" (McHugh, 2022, p. 5).
[12] Guests tell various types of stories with no direct connection across episodes.
[13] First-person narrative focused on speaker's life or the life of someone else.
[14] Investigation on, or revisiting of, real instances of criminal activity.

New Fire (CBC)	Conversation	Society and Culture	Educational; Stories	Arts and Culture
The Next 150 (CBC)	Narrative nonfiction - Activist[15]	Society and Culture	n/a	Education and Knowledge
Portraits of Black Canadians (RCI)	Narrative nonfiction – Historical storytelling[16]	History	Documentary; History	History
The Red Road Podcast (The Red Road Podcast)	Chatcast/Chumcast	News	n/a	News and Politics
Residential Schools (Historica Canada)	Narrative nonfiction – True Crime	History	Documentary; History	History
Safe Space (Torstar)	Chatcast/Chumcast	Society and Culture; Government	n/a	News and Politics
Seat at the Table (CBC)	Chatcast/Chumcast	Society and Culture	Educational; Stories	News and Politics
The Secret Life of Canada (CBC)	Narrative nonfiction – Historical storytelling	History	History	History
Sleepover (CBC)	Conversation	Society and Culture	Educational; Stories	Arts and Culture
Stories from the Land (Indian and Cowboy)	Narrative nonfiction – Miscellaneous storytelling	Society and Culture	n/a	Arts and Culture

[15] Host or guest shares their efforts to enact social or political change.
[16] Retelling past events, issues, and stories, often with educational intent.

It is important to note that neither Apple Podcasts nor Spotify provide definitions on their websites or platforms of category labels. Thus, not every podcast within the same category necessarily reflects similar content. However, category definitions can be inferred based on cultural context. "Society and Culture" was the most common label podcasters in this study applied to their programs on Apple Podcasts and Spotify, which mirrors McHugh's use of "Arts and Culture." I interpret both labels as referring to podcast content that talks about social or cultural expressions, actions, practices, or protocols that reflect a group of people. "True Crime," "History," and "News" were the other labels podcasters used on Apple Podcasts and Spotify. True crime, history, and news are interrelated since true crime podcasts investigate real stories from the past that are not daily news but inform the public or provide an update on the case. Similarly, these three labels can relate to "Society" or "Arts" and "Culture" if podcasts discuss specific social or cultural groups judicially or historically within the news. "Kids" was the only label that was an outlier. *Mic Drop* (CBC) used the "Kids" label because its podcast has miscellaneous storytelling from children and young adults about their lives, interests, hobbies, etc. A common denominator between all podcasts in this study, and arguably all podcasts generally, is their educational function. "Education" is a category Apple podcasts and Spotify offer, but any podcast is potentially educational to those who produce it and those who listen to it, the former of which this dissertation repeatedly suggests.

Podcasters

Finally, podcaster interviews supplemented the stratified random sample of all podcasts. The population included 26 podcasters across all 20 programs chosen (Table 4).

Table 4: Podcaster Sample

Podcaster Name	Podcast Name	Podcast Company	Podcaster Identity Markers (Self-named) – Race/Ethnicity/Nationality
Balkissoon, Denise	*Colour Code*	Globe and Mail	Brown (Podcast episode)
Bowen, Leah-Simone	*The Secret Life of Canada*	The CBC	First Generation Barbadian Canadian (CBC podcast bio)

Charleyboy, Lisa	*New Fire*	The CBC	Tsilhqot'in from Tsi Deldel First Nation (CBC podcast bio)
Domise, Andray	*Black Tea*	Frequency Podcast Network	Black (Podcast episode)
Higgins, Dalton	*Black Tea*	Frequency Podcast Network	Black (Podcast episode)
Johnson, Falen	*The Secret Life of Canada*	The CBC	Mohawk and Tuscarora (Bear Clan) from First Nations Grand River Territory (CBC bio, personal correspondence)
Joseph, Sherley	*Black Canadian Content Creators*	Chonilla Network	Black (Podcast episode)
King, Hayden	*The Red Road Podcast*; *Stories from the Land*	The Red Road Podcast; Indian and Cowboy	Gchi'mnissing Anishinaabe (Twitter account)
Lee, Sook-Yin	*Sleepover*	The CBC	Chinese Canadian (Toronto Star article)
Leung, Albert	*Campus*	The CBC	Chinese Canadian (CBC podcast bio)
McMahon, Ryan	*Stories from the Land*	Indian and Cowboy	Anishinaabe (Twitter account)
Mochama, Vicky	*Safe Space*	Torstar	Black (Podcast episode)
Okeke, Shari	*Mic Drop*	The CBC	Black (personal correspondence)
Racicot, Isabelle	*Seat at the Table*	The CBC	Black (Podcast episode)
Robertson, David A.	*Kiwew*	The CBC	Métis Cree (Personal correspondence, podcast episode)

Robinson-Desjarlais, Shaneen	*Residential Schools Podcast*	Historica Canada	Cree and Gitxsan (APTN article)
Rose, Leticia	*Decoding Black*	Centennial	Black (Podcast episode)
Sawhney, Alisha	*Born and Raised*	HuffPost	Indian, South Asian (Podcast episode)
Skye, Courtney	*The Red Road Podcast*	The Red Road Podcast	Mohawk, Turtle Clan Six Nations of the Grand River Territory (Yellowhead Institute bio)
St-Victor, Martine	*Seat at the Table*	The CBC	Black, Haitian Canadian (Personal correspondence, podcast episode)
Sung, Hannah	*Colour Code*	Globe and Mail	Chinese Canadian (Podcast episode)
Symone, Jayde	*My Blackness, My Truth*	CKDU	Black (Podcast episode)
Taylor, Christopher Stuart	*Decoding Black*	Centennial	Black (Podcast episode)
Tetteh-Wayoe, Angeline	*The Next 150*	The CBC	Black (CBC Radio show description)
Walker, Connie	*Missing and Murdered*	The CBC	Cree from Okanese First Nation (CBC article)
Williams, Melayna	*Black Tea*	Frequency Podcast Network	Black (Podcast episode)

All podcasters were contacted, and 15% or four podcasters agreed to be interviewed. These four interviewees coincidentally all work(ed) for the CBC, including *The Secret Life of Canada* cohost Falen Johnson, *Kiwew* host David A. Robertson, *Mic Drop* coproducer Shari Okeke, and *Seat at the Table* cohost Martine St-Victor. Podcasters were interviewed to help contextualize the data collected and analyzed in their podcast programs. The data set was the interview testimonies they provided about their personal experiences as podcasters and their podcast production.

Podcasters were contacted online either through email or social media and were provided with a consent form and dissertation proposal that outlined the research questions and goals this study aimed to address and how the interviews would be used in the final writeup. Podcast episodes and podcaster interviews altogether contributed to a research design that "examines one single culture-sharing group" (Creswell & Creswell, 2018, p. 186) in depth, which in this study is podcasters in Canada.

Sample Rationale

The sample of podcasts were chosen to determine whether the medium provides a foundation for podcasters to openly share stories and conversations that authentically express their understandings of their sociocultural positions and values through subject matter they hear themselves reflected in. Building on Nancy Fraser's (1997) and Catherine Squires's (2002) work about counterpublics, I investigated if podcasters embraced their sociocultural identities rather than bracketed these markers. Different podcasts were chosen to evaluate if institutional ties affect content and creative freedom while restricting podcast production. The CBC was specifically chosen to represent public podcasting because of its increasing popularity as a podcast producer in Canada (Canadian Broadcasting Corportation, 2019). The CBC is mandated to be nationally representative of all peoples and cultures in Canada, which closely reflects my hypothesis on podcasting's openly communicative potential for people to openly represent, and reflect on, their identities and cultural histories in their own ways. The CBC's institutional but nationally representative duality offered rich insight into public podcasting as a production model overall.

Identity is not synonymous with race. Rather, race is only one identity marker contributing to what Stuart Hall (1992) argues is an increasingly fragmented self. Race and ethnicity are also too general of categories that require considering African Canadian perspectives, Aboriginal/Indigenous perspectives, Latinx Canadian perspectives, and Asian Canadian prespectives (these terms in themselves may be too broad). Therefore, I located individual podcaster perspectives and their intersectional identities in relation to podcasting as an openly dialogical space from older mainstream media like radio and television that traditionally excluded, or narrativized, certain sociocultural groups as "other" while speaking on behalf of

others (Mahtani, 2001). As psychology scholar Stephen Quintana (2007) stated, “people associate the same sociocultural descriptor in different ways” (p. 260). Data samples were selected to identify patterns of how podcasters used discourse within a specific podcast or across podcasts to express their perspectives about their sociocultural positions. Melissa Williams (1998) and Squires (2002) argue that although publics may share an identity marker, their intersectionality constitutes multiple spheres rather than *the* public sphere. I had to decide whether to include podcasts that settler, White Canadians hosted because anyone can openly share stories and conversations about their understanding of specific sociocultural experiences and histories. However, I sought podcasts that at least one person who identifies with a non-settler racial or ethnic group hosted to investigate how podcasting helps people who have sociocultural connection and experience with the subject matter literally be heard. Furthermore, the study assesses if podcasters can use their racial or ethnic “difference” as an empowering source when critically speaking about their experiences and/or cultural histories in Canada (Crenshaw, 1991).

The study aimed to help these podcasters speak for themselves through their podcast episodes while I reflexively acknowledged my own normatively non-excluded settler position and privilege in relation to podcasting’s discourse and production. As Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) suggests, the problem “is not the existence of the [identity] categories, but rather the particular values attached to them and the way those values foster and create social hierarchies” (p. 1297). I was invested in listening to how podcasters articulated their identities related to dominant narratives constructed from normative, hegemonic mainstream media discourses typical in Western nations (Fleras, 2011; Henry & Tator, 2009; Mahtani, 2001). Categorizing race and ethnicity can be an easily flawed and harmful practice for assuming fixed identity based on essentialism (Spencer, 2006; Williams, 1998), but this study identified podcasting’s emancipatory potential for people to authentically express their own understandings of their own sociocultural identities. This dissertation’s data sample helped explore whether podcasting can move against these fixed values that dominant discourses and institutions place on non-settler communities. Furthermore, this research seeks potential transformation of the meanings and values institutionally placed on identity categories as "other."

4.2: METHODS, PROTOCOLS, AND APPLICATION

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), sound analysis, and interviews help qualitatively analyze the same texts sonically or linguistically. This study's methods created a strongly scientific design for my podcast analysis in a research field that does not possess any definitive or standardized methods. I chose these methods based on my four research questions, reintroduced here:

1) How do podcasters linguistically self-represent cultural identity?
2) Does podcasting help augment Canadian history?
3) Do podcasters in Canada self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity?
4) How do podcasters use sound to represent identity and experience through voice, music, and additional audio?

CDA examined how podcasters expressed their sociocultural identities discursively in relation to the subject matter they see themselves reflected in. Sound has hardly been researched in podcast studies as a source of information. I applied sound analysis to podcast episodes to hear how people articulated their own racial or ethnic identities and discussed cultural stories that have helped shape Canadian culture but are institutionally dismissed. Similarly, interviews contextualized the analyzed episodes and helped me hear podcasters directly for deeper insight into their work and goals. My cultural interpretation is valuable, but it is not the only interpretation available. My methods reflect various perspectives and approaches to interpret meaning available in people's storytelling and commentary.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Discourse analysis generally focuses on "how elements of social events (processes, people, objects, means, times, places) are represented, and these differences can be grammatical as well as lexical (vocabulary)" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 133). According to Norman Fairclough (2003), *critical* discourse analysis (CDA) identifies how grammatical and lexical choices perpetuate or resist common/popular thinking and acting as dominant knowledge. Media studies scholars have

used CDA to view or listen to "the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (O'Keeffe, 2012, p. 448). Researchers can interpret language used in socially-/culturally-conscious podcasts as (re)producing or resisting dominant discourse across existing political, social, cultural, and economic structures (van Dijk, 1993). CDA offers an important approach to podcast studies because podcaster language can be analyzed for its power to express personal understandings about one's sociocultural position. The medium's openly communicative nature affords expressions that potentially reflect a podcaster's authentic character (Blackledge, 2012).

CDA requires analyzing the text (e.g., its discourse), analyzing the textual production process, and socio-culturally analyzing the discursive event (e.g., podcast interview) to understand how people articulate their true perspectives about the world through their social expressions. Fairclough (1992) asserts that CDA evaluates both the text's discourse and its *con*text. Alan McKee (2001) similarly notes that researchers should acknowledge their own interpretative context and the text's context itself. "By 'context' I mean other texts that surround a text, which provide useful information for making sense of it, which teach us how to interpret texts (and are, in turn, texts themselves, interpreted in other contexts)" (McKee, 2001, p. 146). Fairclough and McKee emphasize ideology's linguistic transmission, including how meaning is produced across different contexts spatially and temporally. CDA incorporates a contextually analytic component, differing from other discourse analyses only focusing on language. CDA requires an analysis of a text (e.g., its discourse), an analysis of the textual production process, and a sociocultural analysis of the discursive event (e.g., podcast interview) to understand how people make sense of their positions in the world through stories and conversations they produce socially and in which they hear themselves reflected.

I applied CDA to podcast episode language as a unit of meaning to understand how a podcaster's stories and conversations authentically reflect their opinions and ideas. Teun van Dijk (1993) suggests that for researchers to connect discourse and society, they "need to examine in detail the role of social representations in the minds of social actors … [since] managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk" (pp. 251, 254). Podcasting's conversational format enables podcasters as social actors to represent their ideas about themselves and the world openly because production is unlicensed and unrestricted. CDA's effectiveness lies in recognizing language use, which helps analyze how "ideologies are the

fundamental social cognitions that reflect the basic aims, interests and values of groups" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 258). Podcaster ideologies about themselves and the groups they wish to represent can be partially identified through language use.

CDA requires knowledge about when and where the text was created and distributed to socially contextualize linguistic content and culturally contextualize the medium's production more closely (Fairclough, 1992). My CDA interpretation was grounded in my textual interaction culturally and temporally. Ang (1996) argues that "documenting a 'culture' is a question of discursive construction which necessarily implicates the always (doubly) partial point of view of the researcher" (p. 63). I analyzed the texts themselves—scripts and podcasts— syntactically, metaphorically, and rhetorically. I then considered the productive context (Canada, institutional network, podcaster/host, target audience) and its meaning in broader social contexts (e.g., *a podcast's meaning in the context of a universe of podcasts produced between 2015-2020*). CDA helped me examine how words structured stories, authentically framed subjects, and enforced the respective podcast's ideologies. The CDA protocol was adapted from the theories of Norman Fairclough (1992, 1995, 2003, 2009), James Paul Gee (2014), and Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (2010, 2014). My protocol's theoretical position was generally grounded in Fairclough's CDA scholarship for macro analysis. My CDA application combined Gee, Smith, and Watson's approaches for meso and micro analysis.

Macro-level analysis evaluated a podcast's overarching discursive structure across a podcast's episodes in relation to other podcasts. My CDA protocol included Fairclough's (1992, 1995, 2003, 2009) analytic categories, including: authorial content, historical contextualization, narrative structure, dialogic organization, audience, and para/intertextuality. Fairclough's categories sought meaning from who spoke in the podcast (authorial content), who was being addressed (audience and addressee), what other texts were referred to (paratextuality/ intertextuality), where the shared stories originated from (historical contextualization), what the story's structure was (narrative structure), and what the conversational format was (dialogic organization) across episodes. Fairclough (2003) argues, "analysis can focus on just a selected few features of texts, or many features simultaneously" (p. 6). All categories were coded individually and then compared to identify what language people used to authentically express themselves and reflect their understandings of their sociocultural positions and values through

podcasting as an openly communicative practice. CDA helped identify structural patterns across episodes and across podcasts.

Meaning was also interpreted by *how* language sounded through a medium that often lacks visual cues (McHugh, 2022). My analysis considered a podcast's linguistic and sonic content across episodes and its sociocultural production related to other podcasts. I used Fairclough's approach to frame my research, focusing on discourse that (re)produced representations about the people being heard within podcasting as a communication medium/industry. Self-representation is a main CDA component that helped me address how podcasting itself as a social exchange and technology structures discourse and relates to other communicative interactions in the world beyond language. Analyzing texts and their discourses structurally helped me understand more closely the podcast's overall ideological meaning that framed podcaster conversations and stories reflecting their authentic sense of self. However, I also required more direct and analytic variables that were program-specific for analyzing podcasting at the meso-level. Meso-level analysis addressed the narrative components of individual episodes. I created my own protocol related to Smith and Watson's (2010) textual approach rather than replicating variables from other podcast studies or from Fairclough's work on television and newspapers because discourse is context, and thus medium, specific.

Podcasters shared life narratives throughout this study's podcasts. Smith and Watson (2010) provide 24 strategies for reading life narratives that offer a diverse framework for analyzing how people self-represent and articulate their own experiences. Storytellers and self-expressive conversationalists are "subjects of historically and culturally specific understandings of memory, experience, identity, space, embodiment, and agency" (Smith & Watson, 2010, p. 253). I reviewed Smith and Watson's 24 strategies related to this study that analyzes podcasting's openly communicative potential for a person to share memories, experiences, identities, spaces, embodiments, and agency that reflect their understanding of their sociocultural position and values. Smith and Watson's strategies favour textual analysis over CDA (though the two overlap as noted above) and are applied to written rather than oral narratives. Each strategy and their associated questions had more value to me than *how* Smith and Watson originally applied them to autobiographical writing. My CDA protocol borrowed 11 of the 24 strategies/questions from Smith and Watson that align with Fairclough's analytic categories. The other 13 strategies were either unsuitable or unapplicable to podcasting's orality.

The strategies I adapted from Smith and Watson reflect Fairclough's broader themes about locating linguistic and textual meaning across texts. Interpreting authorial content required analyzing discourse on identity ("Autobiographical 'I'" - Strategy Five), self-representation ("Agency" – Strategy One), and new knowledge ("Knowledge and Self-Knowledge" – Strategy 14). Understanding historical contextualization required analyzing discourse on cultural stories ("Authorship and the Historical Moment" – Strategy Four), and memories ("Memory" – Strategy 15). Evaluating narrative structure required analyzing the medium's plots and modes ("Narrative Plotting and Modes" – Strategy Sixteen). Dissecting dialogic organization required analyzing communicative interactions within conversational structures ("Collaboration" – Strategy Seven) and through narrative characters and heard speakers ("Relationality" – Strategy 18). Identifying audience required analyzing discourse on who was being addressed ("Audience and Addressee" – Strategy Two). Finally, constructing paratextual and intertextual links required analyzing a medium's physical and additional materials ("Paratextuality" – Strategy Seventeen) and references to other sources ("Intertextuality" – Strategy Ten). Each strategy from Smith and Watson was a subcategory of Fairclough's larger themes about discourse and text. I applied these strategies to analyze the link between linguistic expressions within individual episodes.

I additionally required specific tools to apply Smith and Watson's strategies to the micro-level analysis, which evaluates discourse at the sentence level. I applied Gee's (2014) CDA toolkit for a critical investigation into specific podcast discourse. 22 out of 28 tools helped analyze Fairclough's themes and were applied to Smith and Watson's strategies about potential meaning-making. For example, the "diexis" tool (#1) analyzes why podcasters used certain words over others to express understandings about their sociocultural positions. The "subject" tool (#4) addresses why the podcaster chose the topic they did and how they talk about and relate to it. The "identities building" tool (#16) asks what identity is being expressed and how it is expressed linguistically in relation to other sociocultural identities. Gee's tools helped analyze key discursive variables on a micro level that spoke to a text's larger discursive structure. Gee's toolkit was specifically chosen because he emphasizes the need to re-evaluate our own culturally expressive language from a listener position in relation to the speaker's articulation. Like Fairclough, Gee acknowledges CDA's transformative goal of identifying how people make sense of their experiences and culture in the world through the analysis of textual language. Gee also recognizes the importance of context. His CDA toolkit was applied specifically to podcast

discourse because episodes can highlight what podcasters say, and perhaps more importantly what they do not say. Language use points to the individually authentic understanding of one's sociocultural position, related to the subject matter, within a larger sociocultural system of meaning making.

My CDA protocol (Appendix A) included analytic variables to address the macro, meso, and micro levels of podcast episodes based on Fairclough, Smith, Watson, and Gee's approaches. Fairclough's work helped me question if podcast content across episodes reflects a podcaster as author, if a podcaster grounds their experiences in historical contexts, if a podcast narrative shapes the content being heard, if the organization of a podcast's speech shapes the content being heard, and if a podcaster refers to extraneous material to contextualize what they are saying. Fairclough's questions helped me address how the podcasts produce meaning about the individual podcaster's relation to the subject matter on a macro level through both linguistic content and textual structure over each of their three episodes. Ultimately, various groups "contribute through their own practice to the shaping and reshaping of the sociolinguistic order – to reproducing it or transforming it" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 252). My research explores this negotiation for ordinary people from different identity groupings using podcasts to openly communicate their positions and opinions.

Smith and Watson's work builds on Fairclough's propositions to question how podcasters on an episodic level refer to their own identities to produce authorial content, how podcasters enact agency over how their identities are represented, and how podcasters reveal knowledge or self-knowledge about how they understand their identities through personal narratives or commentary on the stories of others. I applied Smith and Watson's variables to what stories podcasters referred in individual episodes and how podcasters accessed memory to impose their identity on historical and contemporary stories and conversations. Smith and Watson's collaboration and relationality variables were implemented to understand how podcasters and guests work together and how other people are represented in their conversations through narrative structure and dialogue. Finally, Smith and Watson's work on paratextuality and intertextuality extends Fairclough's proposition about how podcast materiality and references to other materials exhibit one's understanding of their sociocultural position and values in relation to the subject matter. Smith and Watson's strategies helped me branch from macro levels of

meaning produced through linguistic patterns across episodes to examine each podcast episode's narrative structure.

Gee's tools on discourse analysis helped capture sentence level meaning through an episode's linguistic components. These tools helped understand the main subject of discussion, how language was used, how relationships were built with cohosts, guest hosts, and the subjects of conversations and stories, how social language represented one's understanding and opinion of a specific demographic, how identities were named and expressed, how opinions and content were separated or combined to produce meaning, and how dominant language was repurposed to transform its original, and potentially discriminatory or stereotypical, meaning at the sentence level. Fairclough, Smith, Watson, and Gee's approaches address media's textual structures and linguistic content illustrating discourse practices, production processes, and sociocultural systems that intersect and influence one another and the podcasters who are expressing their sense of selves and relation to the subject matter that reflects their sociocultural positions on a personal level. CDA is an unobtrusive method for collecting data and provides an opportunity for participants in the podcast episodes to directly share their perspectives and values. CDA helped determine how identity and representation are enacted through a narrative's language and how such language authentically reflects the relationship podcasters have to the sociocultural subject matter that podcasting's openly communicative potential affords.

CDA results are discussed in chapters 5-7. Podcasters used authorial language to identify their sense of selves in relation to Canadian identity and culture and historically contextualized ancestral histories and personal experiences through narrative structure and intertextual reference. Podcasters also produced dialogical structures that represent themselves, their communities, and societal issues through explicit collaboration within episodes and implicit conversations across podcasts in both original and shared styles. Comparisons were made across podcasts once data was compiled to identify how podcasters described themselves and their connection to different sociocultural identity groups in their personal and ancestral narratives. Fairclough (1995) argues, "Texts are social spaces in which two fundamental social processes simultaneously occur: cognition and representation of the world, and social interaction" (p. 6). CDA was a useful starting point for exploring how a podcaster expressed their sociocultural connection to their podcast's subject matter and articulated their sense of self that these sociocultural connections shape and are shaped by. Audio materials helped me listen directly to

participants' language in a time-efficient manner. Audio also provided a useful starting point for understanding podcast production processes and narratives reflecting one's identity, group belonging, and cultural history through self-expression. However, one of the shortcomings of critical discourse analysis is its language-only approach that omits the sonic aspect of the voice as an additional layer of expressive meaning in podcasts. I therefore conducted sound analysis after CDA to evaluate not only what was said, but *how* it was said.

Sound Analysis

Sound analysis is a form of textual analysis. Broadly, textual analysis is the examination of a text's content and meaning or structure and discourse (Lockyer, 2008). Texts are "deconstructed to examine how they operate, the manner in which they are constructed, the ways in which meanings are produced, and the nature of those meanings" (Lockyer, 2008, p. 865). Podcast episodes are the "text" in this study. Jonathan Gray (2017) defines a text as "a unit of meaning for interpretation and understanding. … [Texts] intervene in the world and into culture, introducing new ideas, or variously attacking or reinforcing old ones" (p. 196). Textual analysis in communication and cultural studies is used "to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world … [and] to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live" (McKee, 2003, p. 1). Textual analysis is therefore an interpretive method that does not privilege one interpretation over another but compares interpretations to understand how people produce meaning based on their own knowledge and learning. I used this conceptualization to analyze sound.

Each podcast episode in the sample was listened to in its entirety alongside its transcript to ensure linguistic clarity following my coding of podcast discourse via transcripts. I then applied sound analysis to identify how podcasters used sound to articulate identity and represent themselves, their communities, and their cultural histories. Sound analysis was employed to bridge *what* podcasters said about identity to *how* they represented and articulated their identities sonically. For example, a host's cultural identity may have been articulated through accent. A host may have alternatively impersonated someone else's voice to add an additional layer of meaning to what was said or to critique the social values placed on certain voices. Sound

analysis was also used to understand how podcasters spoke about sociocultural identities sonically since multiple meanings can be interpreted beyond written discourse. Subcategories like intonation, accent, sound artifacts, editing techniques, and added music were assessed for how they provide additional layers of meaning to podcast episodes. Sound analysis and coding were subjective, but my interpretations were grounded in my understanding of podcast production generally and sound studies research specifically. Sound incites specific meanings across various cultures. I reflexively acknowledge my position to the podcasts' linguistic content and sonic characteristics in this study's discussion chapters. I made subjective interpretations to understand how people make meaning based on their own cultural learning and prior experiences in agreement with, or opposition to, the podcast host(s).

My sound analysis protocol combined approaches to sound from R. Murray Schafer (1994), Jean-François Augoyard and Henry Torgue (2005), and Tim Crook (2012). Schafer's *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (1994) is a foundational sound studies text with a lexicon for interpreting sound historically. Augoyard and Torgue developed their own lexicon from Schafer's terms to analyze sound in everyday life. Schafer, Augoyard, and Torgue offer a combined vocabulary for my sound analysis. Crook's text emphasizes audio media production specifically. These sound studies approaches and their emphasis on sound's cultural meanings across audio sources collectively informed my research. Each scholar provides analytic terms that can be applied to podcaster voices and podcast sounds to articulate specific interpretations. I adapted sound studies to my own protocol because there are currently no standardized methods for analyzing podcast audio.

Schafer's (1994) analytic terms are all applied to soundscapes, or "any acoustical field of study. … A soundscape consists of events *heard* [original emphasis] and not objects *seen* [original emphasis]" (pp. 7-8). A podcast episode is a soundscape because it is a heard event. The terms I adapted for my protocol were relationally intact with a soundscape (podcast episode) as the analytic object of inquiry. I also referred to sonic characteristics Schafer identifies in music and voice within public environments. Schafer theorized that sonic construction has imperial and ideological consequences that need to be recognized and contested in specific temporal and spatial contexts. My research aligns with these same theoretical notions about podcasting's ability to transmit ideologies. Schafer's research addresses symbolic audio where each sound heard is a "representation of a physical reality" (p. 169), has a "specific meaning" (p.

169), and can be interpreted as transmitting additional meaning beyond its surface expression. I agree with Schafer's theoretical position that sound represents reality and has layers of meaning. I applied Schafer's analytic terms about sound to a podcaster's expression of their reality that contains additional meaning.

Augoyard and Torgue's (2005) vocabulary on audio production in physical and digital environments extends Schafer's review of soundscapes. Augoyard and Torgue refer distinctively to sound techniques that scientifically map sound's acoustic principles and the scholars provide terms that define sound and listening in their French research. Their glossary offers analytic terms for evaluating podcasting's practical components. Sound analysis within cultural studies is an interpretive and subjective method like CDA. I did not aim to objectively calculate sound mathematically/scientifically for its physical properties. I was instead interested in sound's cultural values for those who produced it and for myself as a listener. It is important to acknowledge that "there is no universal approach to listening: every individual, every group, every culture listens in its own way" (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 4). I used Augoyard and Torgue's practical terms to reference the same sounds others hear too despite listening from a particular cultural perspective. Sonic meaning I evaluate from podcasts is only one of many potential interpretations.

I then adapted Crook's *Sound Handbook* (2012) to provide analytic categories on audio media production and podcasting. He suggests that "it is important to identify what representations of people, place, time and culture are being constructed by the text and how these are being employed to create meaning" (Crook, 2012, p. 31). Sound constructs representations that can transmit ideologies. Crook uses many of Schafer's, Augoyard's, and Torgue's terms in a media studies context. However, Crook explicitly evaluates voice, arguing that the meaning of one's voice can be analyzed through techniques like pitch, accent, dialect, intonation, and rhythm within a text in relation to the spoken words. This approach mirrors Erving Goffman's (1981) application of authenticity to a person's "pitch, volume, rhythm, stress, tonal quality" (p. 128). My sound analysis protocol (Appendix B) triangulates Schafer (1994), Augoyard and Torgue (2005), and Crook's (2012) approaches to analyze a podcast episode's sonic content that produces meaning and refers to a podcaster's creative process. Augoyard and Torgue's (2005) terms were used for voice and audio analysis, Crook's (2012) production practices were used predominantly for vocal analysis, and Schafer's (1994) sound theory was applied to podcasts as

soundscapes. The protocol was broken up into five analytic categories: 1) Overall sonic qualities, 2) Sonic techniques, 3) Special FX, 4) Voice, and 5) Emotional affect.

"Overall sonic qualities" combined Schafer's (1994) and Crook's (2012) analytic terms to refer to a podcast episode's audio components and audio quality. This category included attributes like audio fidelity, audio mixing, sound selection and combination, and the function of simultaneous sound and language in the podcasts. The category's purpose was to analyze how a podcast's sonic qualities relate to spoken words and to the production practices that represent podcaster identities textually and *con*textually. For example, a podcast's "ambience" (or atmospheric noise) (Crook, 2012) can capture if the podcast was produced publicly or privately, which can help us understand how environment shapes what is being said and to whom. "Selection, alternation, and combination" (Crook, 2012) traces how voice, music, and actuality sound are used to sonically recreate a scene. What a podcaster wants us to hear reflects the meaning they place on their stories and conversations through the sounds they use. A podcast's overall sonic quality informs the narrative and production processes that have individual and combinatory value. "Overall sonic qualities" category is useful for interpreting meaning from certain sound selections and, at the very least, naming sounds that others can refer to when interpreting the shared audio source themselves.

"Sonic techniques" predominantly applied Augoyard and Torgue's (2005) analytic terms to specific instances of sound production within episodes. This includes using "crescendo" to heighten narrative intensity, "cuts" and "fades" to signal narrative transitions, "montages" to combine multiple texts or perspectives, and "hyperlocalization" to capture aural movement. Together, sonic techniques produced meaning in themselves and referred to a wider understanding of creative freedom and production. For example, a "cut out" may be used so that listeners are forced to reflect on what a podcaster just said or what was sounded before the audio stopped. "Delocalization" may be used to create a collage of sounds that are individually unidentifiable or untraceable. Delocalization can evoke confusion or chaos in the listener's mind that empathetically reflects the same confusion and chaos podcasters feel towards what they are saying. Audio "repetition" can be used to signal a sound's importance to the podcaster or to the narrative itself. Analyzing repetition is important because it represents a meaning or callback that the podcaster wants familiarized and understood over a whole episode or across episodes. Analyzing sonic techniques in podcasts is beneficial for understanding how the sound of voice or

(re)created sounds sensorially reflect a podcaster's lived realities and captures how a podcaster *thinks* about that reality beyond speech and sight.

"Special FX" predominantly applied Augoyard's and Torgue's (2005) analytic terms about digital effects like distortion and delay that transform sound for narrative purposes or are unintendedly present and can influence audience reception. This category was useful for evaluating how effects are used across podcasts to enhance or diminish listener experiences. For example, "distortion" can be used to recreate a loud noise in everyday life. However, it can also be unintentionally present because a recording's quality muffles what is heard. Listeners are interpreting a particular piece of information that has meaning beyond just being a loud or "muffled" sound since it reflects conscious or unconscious podcaster decisions in both instances. Special FX's significance resides in its ability to sensorially recreate past experiences or signal audible meanings using digital sound banks unique to podcasting. Special FX can alternatively have unintended meanings reflecting the recording qualities and capabilities of individual podcasters.

"Voice" employed Augoyard and Torgue's (2005) and Crook's (2012) variables on vocal production and broadcasting. The category included vocal components like accent, dialect, intonation, and proximity effect to analyze how podcasters implemented and altered their voices to produce meaning alongside linguistic and other sonic content. Analyzing podcaster accents helped me understand how podcasters valued natural or impersonated speaking that reflects their sociocultural position. For example, what does impersonating someone's accent mean in relation to what is being said and the podcast episode's subject matter? What does it mean for one to openly speak with their everyday voice rather than mask it? Accent and impersonation can be analyzed by establishing a baseline of the podcaster's predominant speaking voice across episodes compared to other voices they employ, if at all.

"Emanation" is another vocal technique where sounds convey mood or attitude regardless of the words spoken. Sounds can convey as much meaning about someone's perspective or opinion as the words themselves in certain cultural contexts. "Timbre" refers to a voice's harmonic quality that arguably makes that voice authentic and identifiable to one person. I analyzed timbre as another component of someone's authenticity expressed across episodes. Vocal "rhythm" and tempo can reveal if conversations are scripted or not, or if podcasters are calm or nervous. These performative cues can provide meaning about the (un)filtered approach

to topics regarding people's identities that may be unidentifiable when written (Llinares, 2018). Vocal analysis reveals certain meanings about how people sound authentic or performative with tactics like accent, intonation, and rhythm. This category focuses on voice and its relation to speech and environmental sounds that special FX creates.

"Emotional affect" category referred to Augoyard and Torgue's (2005) analysis of potential emotional listening responses. Variables like anamnesis, erasure, and repulsion were all analytically applied to my personal listening experiences. "Emotional affect" therefore reflected my aural perception of an episode's overall sonic qualities, its sonic techniques, its special FX, and the podcaster's voice. I identified these terms in the protocol so readers can concretely understand my emotional responses to podcast episodes since sound is interpreted from a particular cultural context. For example, "anamnesis" identified a sound I recognized from the past based on cultural familiarity. Meaning will be different for people if they do not understand a sound's cultural context. "Phonotonie" referred to how certain sounds created a euphoric feeling. Again, I derived meaning from different audio elements related to my prior listening experiences of podcasts. "Emotional affect" was therefore moderately used to reflect my listening experience during this study.

Sound analysis helped contextualize how podcasters used audio to express their understandings of their sociocultural positions within their stories and conversations beyond language. Sound analysis offered an innovative method to interpret meaning from a sensory experience void of visual cues that so often enforce what people understand as truth and knowledge. This protocol's results were loosely applied throughout the discussion chapters but were especially insightful for Chapter 8 on audio production and voice. This protocol helped me identify what creative practices podcasting afforded and what production models influenced such creative practices. Together, CDA and sound analysis presented a strong analytic foundation for theorizing how podcasters in Canada linguistically and aurally addressed topics that reflect their understandings of their sociocultural positions, values, and beliefs. Each method's qualitative affordances assesses the openly communicative potential to be heard in a growing medium and industry. However, CDA and sound analysis did not grant me direct access to podcasters who could reflect on their work despite these methods covering two critical podcast components (language and audio). I therefore conducted interviews to reach participants directly.

Interviews

Interview is a primary method for "representing how participants experience the social world and make meaning of their life experiences" (Roulston & Choi, 2018, p. 243). Like sound analysis, interviews help participants voice themselves rather than be represented solely through researcher interpretation. Researchers interpret interview data, but these interpretations are grounded in how participants primarily express themselves and their experiences. Despite first-hand interaction with participants, researchers also require cultural knowledge of participants to interpret cultural cues, language, phrasing, and communication techniques. I listened to podcast episodes beforehand to familiarize myself with participants so I could avoid cross-cultural misunderstandings. Prior research is important for recognizing cultural protocols when interacting with certain sociocultural groups to create comfortability and trust while respecting group rituals and practices. Participants are more likely to answer questions openly once trust, transparency, and cultural understanding are achieved.

I interviewed four podcasters whose programs were analyzed during CDA and sound analysis. Interviews helped me learn these podcasters' attitudes, opinions, and reflections on their podcasting experiences. I conducted a semi-structured, active interview where "through the interview process itself the respondent construct[ed] their subjectivity – buil[t] their character, their stories, emotions" (Gray, 2011, p. 16). Semi-structured interviews were conducted in one-hour sittings online and over the phone. Interview questions elicited deep discussion and provided a space for participants to voice themselves rather than have me speak for them. Listening to participants in their podcasts and in their interviews helped me form detailed and analytically reliable insights into my research overall. Active interviewing encouraged me to also listen to what was not said when participants could not find words to express themselves. Listening to silence was important because it emphasized a lack of adequate discourse for participants to express what they were feeling. Interviews were also useful since podcasters could not be directly observed in podcast sites due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Interviews focused on podcaster experiences and motivations and the meanings they attached to those experiences and motivations. Particular attention was paid to personal narratives around lived experience within non-settler cultures, the freedom of expression podcasting facilitates, the ability to voice oneself as part of a community, and the importance of

expressing one's understanding of their identity through podcasting in Canada. Experiences revealed in interviewing "need to be explained and understood by 'mapping' them onto broader social processes. … [And] should be treated as texts which are produced through conventions of representation, and within a specific set of conditions" (Gray, 2011, pp. 15, 17). Interviews were discursively analyzed similar to CDA. My interview protocol (Appendix C) was divided into three sections: 1) General information, 2) Narrative/storytelling, and 3) Motivations. "General information" included three questions regarding how participants were introduced to podcasting, why they started their podcasts, and what their daily routine as a podcaster was. These questions incited background information about how participants engaged with podcasting initially and how these interactions may have motivated them to become podcasters. I asked why they started their podcasts to locate the underlying goals they hoped their programs achieve. I also asked what their daily podcasting routines were to compare creative processes across participants.

"Narrative/storytelling" included six questions about the creative process for individual episodes, how guests or interviewees were selected, what might encourage or prevent sharing a story, what sociocultural factors influence the way participants tell stories, and how people's podcasts provide them a space to express themselves as they want about whatever content they hear themselves reflected in. These questions aimed to address narrative development specifically and the "behind the scenes" production processes across podcasts. Questions were asked about creative processes and guest selection to trace the development from idea to completed podcast and to evaluate how participants are located, contacted, and then contribute to the program's topic. I also questioned what might encourage or prevent a story from being told to assess the editorial restrictions in place for each podcast and the medium's potential to voice information that other media may censor. The "narrative/storytelling" section's final two questions identified what podcasting characteristics structured the way participants were able to linguistically and sonically express their authentic sociocultural identities openly.

"Motivations" was the protocol's final section asking participants why they produce podcasts. Four questions addressed how podcasts can influence political and social change, support critical expressions, and express individual understandings of sociocultural identities. I asked the first question to learn what a participant thought about their podcast in relation to their podcast's subject matter. I was also interested in what podcast features participants found beneficial for voicing themselves how they want to (e.g., informal structure, unregulated

industry) and what podcasting aspect participants valued the most compared to other media. Finally, I asked participants to explain how they would like to be identified in the research writeup to minimize discrepancies and incorrect naming.

The findings from my interview protocol helped inform all discussion chapters. "General" and "Motivation" responses were suitable for all discussion chapters, whereas "narrative/storytelling" responses helped shape Chapters 5-7 on self-expression, digital storytelling, and community representation. Interviews were a beneficial final method for contextualizing the content analyzed during CDA and sound analysis. Although CDA and sound analysis provided insight into podcaster's ideas, thoughts, and identities because we hear from them directly, podcast episodes are individually recorded at an isolated point in time. Podcasters could change the way they view the topics they recorded. Podcasters also might not talk about their production during episodes and focus solely on the podcast's discussion topic. Interviews therefore offered a retrospective space to hear from podcasters reflecting on both their past conversations and their production processes. However, there were limitations to applying interview data because of the few interviews conducted. Interviewees provided insightful answers during our conversations, but there was limited opportunity to compare participant responses. More interviews would have helped contextualize each podcast individually while supporting comparisons across podcasts. Limited interviews could skew how data is applied to understanding podcasting as a medium and practice generally. Therefore, interviews are moderately referenced in the discussion chapters.

4.3: RESEARCHER'S ROLE AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

My research required identifying biases, assumptions, and personal values I may have brought to the study. Furthermore, I needed to consider my settler White male position related to researching authentic expressions of identity in Canada with participants who identify as members of non-White or non-settler groups. Ethnicity and race are particularly "difficult matters for scholars to confront honestly because scholarly reflection cannot force most Americans and other Westerners to engage willingly in introspection about these topics" (Stanfield, 2011, p. 249). I reflexively questioned my knowledge and understanding of participants to help me interpret how they expressed their sense of selves in their own ways

about content that matters to them (Tillman, 2002). A large amount of Euro-American, White male researchers has shaped qualitative frameworks and procedures for selecting what data is meaningful or valuable (Stanfield, 2011). I critically considered how my own position and perspective shaped the research's language and structure related to methodological use and epistemology.

CDA, sound analysis, and interviews are all implicitly embedded with Western ideals about what constitutes useful data for understanding sociocultural identities like race and ethnicity. I was aware across my methodological design about how elite language "has a profound role in reproducing the racial order of things" (Stanfield, 2011, p. 254). Avoiding discriminatory research meant being cognizant about the transcription, interpretation, and write up of words and responses "translated and reproduced in the language of the academic elite" (Stanfield, 2011, p. 254). Wanda Pillow (2003) argues that acknowledging our language use and structures "push[es] us to rethink our categories and to rethink how we think we know what we know, providing a new ethics for approaching research" (p. 188). I reflexively developed my analysis and writing based on how podcasters expressed their ideas, opinions, and interpretations of their racial and ethnic identities in their own words. This reflexive process was important because researchers often favour academic language over participant language.

I had to consider how my settler, White male position may "hinder, stifle, or bias" (Sherman, 2002, p. 1249) participant responses during interviews. Michael Weeks and R. Paul Moore (1981) suggest, "the consensus is that sensitive (i.e., race-related) questions are subject to interviewer effects" (p. 245). This means that my interviewer role may have influenced responses from participants who identify as non-White, and potentially non-male. However, I still conducted interviews myself to transparently reveal my research goals to participants and eliminate potential information bias or filtration from other researchers. I was therefore honest and open with participants about my relationship to the research and emphasized my focus on how they used podcasts to authentically express their sense of self and how their sociocultural position enforces, and is enforced by, their experiences in relation to others in Canada. These considerations required me to be empathetic and responsive to participant needs.

I used a culturally sensitive research approach, which "recognize[s] ethnicity and position[s] culture as central to the research process" (Tillman, 2002, p. 3). A culturally sensitive approach helped me reflexively address my own understanding and limits across self-expressions

of racial and ethnic identities. I continually centered podcasters' cultural standpoints and experiences. Privileging participants' cultural standpoints required me to recognize experiential forms of data *collection* (e.g., listening to voices in podcasts) and experiential forms of data *itself* (e.g., podcasts, oral histories). It was important to focalize podcaster perspectives in episodes and interviews so they could represent themselves through *their* words, ideas, and articulations. Yet my (potentially implicit) biases and interactions amongst podcasters in relation to my own experiences may have framed how I interpreted the collected data despite continually aiming for objectivity.

CONCLUSIONS

My data analysis applied interdisciplinary methods including CDA, sound analysis and interviews. CDA covered the podcasting's first component: speech/language. CDA provided a useful starting point for exploring how subjects expressed their sense of selves. Sound analysis covered podcasting's second component: sound. Together, CDA and sound analysis offered a strong analytic foundation for theorizing how podcasters in Canada articulated their identities and opinions orally. Both methods covered the modal shortcomings of each other. Semi-structured interviews were conducted in one-hour sittings online or on the phone. Particular attention was paid to personal narratives about lived experience, podcasting's openly communicative potential, the desire to voice one's connection or association with a specific sociocultural community, and the importance of addressing subject matter that people hear themselves reflected in. The methodological design collectively addresses the following questions:

1) How do podcasters linguistically self-represent cultural identity?
2) Does podcasting help augment Canadian history?
3) Do podcasters in Canada self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity?
4) How do podcasters use sound to represent identity and experience through voice, music, and additional audio?

The data samples were divided into two analytic categories, “Public” and “Non-public.” Each category was based on four criteria: 1. Podcast programs hosted by at least one person who identifies with a racially or ethnically marginalized group; 2. Podcast programs that explore attitudes, prejudices, and socialization towards racial issues and/or revisit historical racial narratives/experiences; 3. Podcast programs that are not daily/regional news; and 4. Podcasts that referred to the Canadian context in their discussion. The CBC was chosen for public podcasting because it is the official national public broadcaster in Canada and because its mandate claims to represent Canadian audiences. The non-public podcast sample was chosen to compare public, private, and independent production models and thematic content. Podcasters were also interviewed to contextualize podcast data collection. The sample and methods offered strong evidence to answer my research questions and address my claims. Theory and data analysis cohesively anchored my research on podcasting’s potential for people to express their sense of selves in their own ways about subject matter that reflects their understanding of their sociocultural positions and enforce their values in Canada.

CHAPTER 5: IDENTITY IN CANADIAN CULTURE

"He [Edward Ahenakew] saw at that time of the '20s the loss of language that was happening among his people, because, of course, at that time the residential schools were well under way, which took the language. He recognized that, you know, if the language disappears, the stories disappear, right? You know, if the stories disappear, the heart of people's culture disappears."
– Jesse Archibald-Barber, *Stories from the Land*, "Jesse Archibald Barber"

Dr. Jesse Archibald-Barber, a Cree professor of Indigenous literatures from oskana kâ-asastêki, shared the history of Cree researcher, writer, and minister Edward Ahenakew during his guest appearance on *Stories from the Land* (Cowboy and Indian). Ahenakew recognized language's capacity to reflect people's experiences and ideas. If there is no language to tell stories, "the heart of people's culture disappears." Ahenakew understood language to be the pinnacle of cultural expression that holds power not only in the meaning of words, but also in the utterance itself. Language choice reflects a cultural practice of one's environment. In Canada, residential schooling disconnected many Indigenous peoples from their cultural languages who consequently lost the linguistic "heart" of their cultures. Archibald-Barber referenced Ahenakew to express the importance of Indigenous peoples telling stories for cultural sustenance and intergenerational connection moving forward. More broadly, Archibald-Barber's sentiment also acknowledged the overall power of language for people to express themselves and their experiences or opinions when language choice is available. Choice offers authentic self-expression because podcasters have authority over what they can say rather than adjusting their presentation to another person's needs or editorialization.

Language choice is foundational to podcasting's audio modality. A podcaster speaks in a language they believe their audience will understand and selects words that convey the podcaster's intended meaning. Stuart Hall (1992) notes that meaning is created through the use of language and does not belong to an object, event, or person in and of itself. Even a person's sense of self is articulated through specific word choices within a system of meaning. A speaker's cultural context structures the meaning of these word choices to represent their authentic, true self. Podcasting is especially fruitful for language choice because the medium is unregulated and unstandardized and is available to anyone with Internet connection and a

recording device. User autonomy and lack of gatekeeping help podcasters speak any language they want and share stories and opinions of their choice. Whether a podcaster's intended meaning is understood depends on each listener's context. However, at the very least, podcasters can express their cultural selves through language and word choice using an audio mass medium that was previously unavailable to the average person. This chapter asks: how do podcasters linguistically self-represent cultural identity? One can learn about different podcasters if they listen to how podcasters linguistically label their sense of selves, their experiences, and their opinions and choose to speak a specific language to connect with the "heart of their culture." Podcasters in this study prominently expressed cultural identity within two contexts: 1) Local, national, and diasporic affiliation, and 2) language.

5.1: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Local, National, and Diasporic Affiliation

The common cultural denominator for all podcasters in this study was that they all podcasted in Canada. Yet cultural identity was labelled and conceived in a variety of ways across the 20 programs I listened to. Podcasters identified themselves with local/regional cultures, national cultures, and diasporic cultures. Many Indigenous podcasters and guests affiliated themselves with a pan-Indigenous identity or tribal identity. Paul Gilroy (2006) argues that "identities deriving from the nation could be shown to be competing with subnational (local or regional) and supranational (diaspora) structures of belonging and kinship" (p. 394). Multiple podcasters in this study labelled themselves Canadian or rejected national identity altogether. For those who rejected the "Canadian" label, they chose to articulate their own understandings of their cultural existence in Canada rather than associate with a label purposing innate and natural kinship amongst all people living in Canada as "Canadians" (Smith, 2001). When podcasters did identify as Canadian, it was often employed to contextualize birthplace rather than to purposely acknowledge cultural or historical affiliation to Canada as a whole.

For example, *Decoding Black* (Centennial) podcast cohost Letecia Rose noted that her Blackness is "very rooted in that location of growing up in Scarborough … but it's also rooted in my parents, they are from Jamaica … And I'm also a ride or die Canadian" (Rose & Taylor,

2020, February 11, 7:49, 8:19). Rose used what Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (2010) term autobiographical "I," or the insertion of oneself into a narrative using personal pronouns. Rose linguistically foregrounded her sense of self on three levels: the local (Scarborough), the national (Canadian), and the diasporic (Jamaican). Rose's phrasing of being a "ride or die Canadian" emphasized her nationalistic pride. Yet her repeated use of the term "rooted" also suggested that Rose's sense of self stems from her local and diasporic cultures. *My Blackness, My Truth* (CKDU) podcast host Jayde Symone and guest Adena Cox identified as "African Nova Scotian" (diasporic and regional affiliation) and from "East Preston" (local) respectively (Symone, 2018, March 13, 1:10, 3:50). Norman Fairclough (2003) states that people explicitly frame their sense of selves in a story to legitimate their status and authority on a topic. Symone and Cox expressed their personal connection to East Preston and Nova Scotia to authoritatively speak about their mental health experiences and the limited resources available. Their sociocultural positions framed their local and diasporic connection culturally with other Black Nova Scotians experiencing the same things.

In *My Blackness, My Truth,* host Symone (2018, May 14) asked author Abena Beloved Green about her Nova Scotian connection:

> **Jayde Symone (JS) [to Abena Beloved Green]:** Tell me a little bit about your– your connection to Nova Scotia because that's kind of, like, the root of this podcast, right? These are all lived experiences that kind of were fed through Nova Scotia.
> **Abena Beloved Green (ABG) [to JS]:** Yeah, so, Nova Scotia raised me pretty much. Um, I was not born here, but I came– I moved here when I was about almost five years old. ... The stories have come from living and growing up in Nova Scotia, but also through the lens of a first generation Canadian.
> **JS [to ABG]:** Mhm.
> **ABG [to JS]:** So, all through the lens of somebody who's travelled a lot, whose family comes from another country, an African coun– Ghana, and also travelled within Canada. So, I've seen different things, but applied it [my stories] mostly here in Nova Scotia and Antigonish in particular.
>
> (17:10)

Green first framed her regional affiliation provincially when noting "Nova Scotia raised me." Green also stated that her sense of self is shaped through the nationalistic lens of being "first generation Canadian … whose family comes from another country, an African country, Ghana." Green expressed that her biographical writing is "applied mostly here in Nova Scotia, and Antigonish in particular" (18:05). She applied autobiographical "I" (Smith & Watson, 2010) to linguistically choose her multinational (Canadian and Ghanaian), diasporic (African), and local (Antigonish) identities that she told Symone culturally framed her geographical sense of self embedded in the experiences each place offered. Green's autobiographical identification with local, national, and diasporic environments resembled Rose's autobiographical "I" above because both podcasters explicitly framed their own cultural connections using personal pronouns.

Campus (CBC) podcast shares stories about students and their experiences across Canada. Local, national, and diasporic identities are foundational to these stories. In the episode "No Curry in the Dorm Room!" (Leung, 2016, January 12), host Albert Leung and guest Maria Qamar narrated back and forth to contextualize how culture shaped their experiences:

> **Maria Qamar (MQ) Narration:** My name is Maria Qamar, and I am a proud Desi Canadian.
>
> **Albert Leung (AL) Narration:** Maria may be proud of her heritage, but it's invited a lot of grief in her life. She's faced many forms of racism since moving to Canada from Pakistan when she was a young girl. It was something she never had to deal with while growing up.
>
> **MQ Narration:** I was born in a little town called Malir. It was an establishment that was literally erected beside a dump, and then we moved to Karachi when I was about three. … After my ninth birthday, we decided to come to Canada.
>
> (1:27)

Qamar applied autobiographical "I" (Smith & Watson, 2010) to identify that "I am a proud Desi Canadian" (Leung, 2016, January 12), referring to her multicultural (Pakistani and Canadian) identity. Qamar also noted the towns she grew up in, recognizing the environmental dissonance between Canada and Pakistan that shaped her cultural understanding of herself. Later in the

episode, Leung and Qamar explained their understandings of their families' multinational experiences:

> **AL Narration:** For many immigrant families, integrating into a new culture can be a huge adjustment. As a Chinese Canadian, I know how hard it was for my family, especially in the beginning. And just like my mom and dad, Maria's parents spent most of their time outside the home, working long hours to create the best possible life for their kids. But growing up as one of those kids, well, let me tell you, it can be lonely and sometimes isolating. And things don't get any easier at school.
> **MQ Narration:** My parents and I never really had that kind of close relationship when it came to me telling them about bullying or anything of that sort, because I was really scared of what my parents would think and they were also going through their own thing. So, there wasn't really a point where my parents and I related on any anything really when I was growing up, because they came from a country where being discriminated for the colour of your skin was not a thing because we were all brown.
>
> (Leung, 2016, January 12, 3:37)

Both Leung and Qamar explicitly identified multinational sense of selves with the terms "Desi Canadian" and "Chinese Canadian," which suggested the equal emphasis they place on their parents' cultural influences and living in Canada. Leung and Qamar also expressed that their national, and thus cultural, identities were a source of discrimination in Canada. Qamar's comment on her parents' lack of experience being bullied pointed to Qamar's internalization of her Pakistani identity's vulnerability in Canada, even if only by physical appearance.

Across these examples, podcasters identified with local, national, and/or diasporic regions in addition to Canadian identity, suggesting that podcasters conceive their cultural sense of selves differently despite sharing the "Canadian" label. When the term "Canadian" was used, it was prefaced or followed by affiliation with another region, country, or continent, which suggests that podcasters understood their identities to be rooted in more than a single place. Each person's sociocultural position is an amalgamation of different geographic affiliations, each with its own environment that shapes a podcaster's sense of self articulated through specific labels (Table 5).

Table 5: Identification of Additional Podcasters

Podcaster Name	Podcast Name	Podcast Company	Podcaster Identity Markers (Self-named) – Race/Ethnicity/Nationality
Balkissoon, Denise	*Colour Code*	Globe and Mail	Brown (Podcast episode)
Bowen, Leah-Simone	*The Secret Life of Canada*	The CBC	First Generation Barbadian Canadian (CBC podcast bio)
Charleyboy, Lisa	*New Fire*	The CBC	Tsilhqot'in from Tsi Deldel First Nation (CBC podcast bio)
Domise, Andray	*Black Tea*	Frequency Podcast Network	Black (Podcast episode)
Higgins, Dalton	*Black Tea*	Frequency Podcast Network	Black (Podcast episode)
Johnson, Falen	*The Secret Life of Canada*	The CBC	Mohawk and Tuscarora (Bear Clan) from First Nations Grand River Territory (CBC bio, personal correspondence)
Joseph, Sherley	*Black Canadian Content Creators*	Chonilla Network	Black (Podcast episode)
King, Hayden	*The Red Road Podcast*; *Stories from the Land*	The Red Road Podcast; Indian and Cowboy	Gchi'mnissing Anishinaabe (Twitter account)
Lee, Sook-Yin	*Sleepover*	The CBC	Chinese Canadian (Toronto Star article)
Leung, Albert	*Campus*	The CBC	Chinese Canadian (CBC podcast bio)
McMahon, Ryan	*Stories from the Land*	Indian and Cowboy	Anishinaabe (Twitter account)

Mochama, Vicky	*Safe Space*	Torstar	Black (Podcast episode)
Okeke, Shari	*Mic Drop*	The CBC	Black (personal correspondence)
Racicot, Isabelle	*Seat at the Table*	The CBC	Black (Podcast episode)
Robertson, David A.	*Kiwew*	The CBC	Métis Cree (Personal correspondence, podcast episode)
Robinson-Desjarlais, Shaneen	*Residential Schools Podcast*	Historica Canada	Cree and Gitxsan (APTN article)
Sawhney, Alisha	*Born and Raised*	HuffPost	Indian, South Asian (Podcast episode)
Skye, Courtney	*The Red Road Podcast*	The Red Road Podcast	Mohawk, Turtle Clan Six Nations of the Grand River Territory (Yellowhead Institute bio)
St-Victor, Martine	*Seat at the Table*	The CBC	Black, Haitian Canadian (Personal correspondence, podcast episode)
Sung, Hannah	*Colour Code*	Globe and Mail	Chinese Canadian (Podcast episode)
Taylor, Christopher Stuart	*Decoding Black*	Centennial	Black (Podcast episode)
Tetteh-Wayoe, Angeline	*The Next 150*	The CBC	Black (CBC Radio show description)
Walker, Connie	*Missing and Murdered*	The CBC	Cree from Okanese First Nation (CBC article)
Williams, Melayna	*Black Tea*	Frequency Podcast Network	Black (Podcast episode)

Podcasters in this study also voiced pan-Indigenous cultural affiliation. For example, in *Colour Code*'s (Globe and Mail) "Your Turn" (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 22) podcast

episode, guest DJ Indian from A Tribe Called Red referred to himself as a "status Indian," which historically contextualizes (Fairclough, 2003) a First Nations person legally registered under the *Indian Act*:

> **Denise Balkissoon (DB) [to DJ Indian]:** So, are you a "status Indian?"
> **DJ Indian (DJI) [to DB]:** I am a status Indian. My mom actually lost her status and gained it back. So, I only got my status when I was two years old. And there's another, like, aspect of my personal experience and specifically with language where my great grandmother never learned English. She never found using it. And I'd go to her house and, like, see her for tea and stuff. And I never learned Ojibway. So, our, like, disconnect and language, we were alike at the same time from, like, never learning English to never learning Ojibway. And that just goes to show how close that disconnect is.
>
> (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 22, 17:20)

Fairclough (2003) argues that historical contextualization allows a person to linguistically situate themselves within a traced lineage of a person, event, or practice. DJ Indian historically contextualized his identification as a status Indian in relation to his mother and grandmother. This identification came with his understanding of the "disconnect" Indigenous people like himself have felt with their cultural identities due to Canada's historically systematic control. DJ Indian chose to use the term "status Indian" rather than more common labels like First Nations or Indigenous, which was a form of linguistic power where he identified himself with, and repurposed, a historically colonial term.

DJ Indian explained shortly afterwards the deeper meaning he interprets from the "Canadian" label that many people identify with:

> **DJI [to DB]:** So, I think it's time and, as your podcast is bringing up brilliantly, it's time to have these discussions on, you know, if you're proud to be "Canadian," you've got to understand that you're proud that your pride is coming from a pillar of White supremacy. There's no way that you can come into to a country and colonize a people without saying you're better than them.
>
> (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 22, 18:00)

DJ Indian's continued use of the second person "you" established a relationship with the audience where he separated himself from being "proud to be Canadian." DJ Indian's association of the "Canadian" label with White supremacy explained his understanding that Canadian identity is inherently racist due to the nation's colonial foundation via confederation. This argument echoes Taiaiake Alfred's (2010) notion that "any adherence of affinity to Canadian or American identities implies the restatement and revitalization of this bizarre racist arrogance and its institutional and structural forms: colonialism" (p. 6). DJ Indian exhibited his agency in the podcast to transform the cultural meaning of "status Indian" and "Canadian" identity based on the historic implications of both labels. This example illustrated an explicitly oppositional definition Indigenous identity can have to Canadian cultural identity.

The Secret Life of Canada (CBC) guest Kanehtiio Horn also discussed the "status Indian" label in her conversation with cohost Falen Johnson:

> **Falen Johnson (FJ) [to Kanehtiio Horn]:** When I say the words *Indian Act* to you, what comes to mind?
> **Kanehtiio Horn (KH) [to FJ]:** Suffocation, Indian agent, unfair, assimilation, status number. Those are the words that come to me off the top of my head, basically. I'm a registered Indian. How messed up is that? That's so messed up, you know?
> **FJ [to KH]:** Yeah, like you're an animal that's been tagged, right?
> **KH [to FJ]:** Totally, yeah, and that's just so against our –it's just not our ways. You know, like, our ways is, like, you have a clan, you're given a name, you know you're from– that's what makes you, like, you know– you identify as a person through how you were raised and not because you were given a number, you know?
> **FJ [to KH]:** Yeah, yeah. And it's such a weird thing because, like, if you don't have one, like, if you're not, like, if you don't have a status card that can be, like, a– like for me, because I'm so fair [skinned], like, that's always been, like, a proof thing, like just open up my wallet.
> **KH [to FJ]:** It's so stupid.
> **FJ [to KH]:** Yeah, "look, see."

> **KH [to FJ]:** And then you find yourself doing these things like opening up your wallet and showing somebody your status card.
>
> (Johnson & Bowen, 2019, June 25, 26:08)

Horn used autobiographical "I" (Smith & Watson, 2010) to explicitly identify that "I'm a status Indian." However, unlike DJ Indian in *Colour Code*, Horn equated "status" with its culturally colonial origins in Canada rather than using it as a prideful label. Horn instead valued her Indigenous identity by "how you were raised," which suggested cultural practices shaped her sense of self rather than formal documentation like a passport or status card. Johnson replied that she has used the status card as "proof" of her indigeneity due to the ambiguity of her name and physical appearance. Both Horn and Johnson's sense of Indigenous national identity was originally tied symbolically to Canada's documentation system with associated values of what makes someone Indigenous based on colonially calculated criteria. Horn and Johnson both used the podcast to voice their new desire to culturally identify as Indigenous based on self-perception and practice rather than the acceptance of others via documentation.

Later in the same episode, Johnson had a similar conversation with guest Teresa Vander Meer-Chassé, who had recently become a status Indian:

> **Teresa Vander Meer-Chassé (TVMC) [to FJ]:** So, when the option of becoming a status Indian came up, I thought at first it was kind of, like, a no-brainer because it's like, "Well, I already am." It doesn't– I don't really need a card, but I might as well have a card, you know?
>
> **FJ [to TVMC]:** Yeah, proof, hard proof.
>
> **TVMC [to FJ]:** But, you know, it was after I actually applied for the card that I started to question whether or not I really needed that "proof" because it's like, "Okay, so what happens now? Yesterday I was non-status and now I'm a status Indian, what happens now?" Like, "What's next? What does this give me? What has it taken away?" And I think in a lot of respects it's taken away a little bit of freedom because now I'm once again in another category.
>
> (Johnson & Bowen, 2019, June 25, 38:36)

Vander Meer-Chassé voiced similar hesitancy to her status Indian card despite the initial desire to be documented for various government-based programs. Again, the term "proof" was used to associate the status card with one's sense of their cultural Indigeneity. Vander Meer-Chassé explained that they already felt Indigenous before applying for the card, which illustrates that national or tribal identification can be grounded in one's understanding of their cultural connection rather than following government criteria. Now, the status card symbolizes indigeneity based on government criteria. Simply put, Horn, Johnson, and Vander Meer-Chassé did not identify as Indigenous just because they have a status card. Their Indigenous identities were culturally self-defined.

Before critiquing her status, Vander Meer-Chassé contextualized her Indigenous national identity:

> **TVMC [to FJ]:** With my grandma, being raised in a small Indigenous community in northern Canada that's linked very close to Alaska, and when you're raised around your Indigenous family more so than your non-Indigenous family, your identity is quite firm. You know, I have light skin, I have blue eyes, but I was taught to be a First Nation person. You know, I was an Indigenous woman. I was a Dene Upper Tanana person. It didn't matter if I was status or non-status. I was considered a non-status Indian at that time. It didn't matter because my grandma had always said, "You're, you're an Indian person." You know, she'd say to me when I was a kid, you know, "Teresa, are you an Indian?" And I'd be like, "Yeah, yeah, I am," you know? And then she'd be like, you know, the next year, the next couple of years, she'd be like, "Teresa, are you First Nation?" "Yes. Yes, I am." "Teresa, are you," you know, "White River First Nation?" "Yes. Yeah, I am."
>
> (37:05)

Again, Vander Meer-Chassé expressed that her cultural environment being "raised around your Indigenous family" shaped her understanding of who she is. Vander Meer Chassé's grandma reinforced her Indigenous identity, which Vander Meer-Chassé claimed herself based on repetitive labelling. The term "Indigenous" demonstrated national identification, whereas "First Nation," "Dene Upper Tanana," and "White River First Nation" linguistically suggested

localized affiliations. Vander Meer-Chassé never referred to herself as "Canadian" during her conversation with Johnson. She only used the term "non-Indigenous" when referring to her father's settler side of the family. Like DJ Indian, Vander Meer-Chassé also explicitly noted a connection to her Indigenous culture through her grandma. Family appeared to be a strong component for both podcasters' sense of their Indigenous selves at local and national levels to sustain cultures against settler Canadian assimilation.

In *The Red Road Podcast*'s (The Red Road Podcast) "On Violence" (Skye & King, 2019, May 15) episode, cohosts Courtney Skye and Hayden King discussed Indigenous communities hypothetically responding violently to Canadian colonial practices:

> **Courtney Skye (CS) [to Hayden King]:** If you're continuing to escalate violence or continue to escalate issues, it's not actually getting you closer to the goals that you're trying to achieve, right? Whether it's, you know, redefining how land is going to be used. You know, resource extraction or development. Escalating that harm isn't toward where you want to go, right?
> **Hayden King (HK) [to CS]:** These are not communities we are trying to build.
> **CS [to HK]:** Indigenous communities aren't trying to, you know, start a race war or, you know, a war with settler colonialism. We're trying to live, and we're trying to exist and exist in our lands and territories.
>
> (28:29)

Skye and King dialogically rejected being Canadian by consistently using the term "we" when referring to Indigenous communities across Canada. The podcast employed what James Paul Gee (2014) terms "relationship building" (p. 202) or connecting two items linguistically. Skye identified as a member of "Indigenous communities" in contrast to Canada as "settler colonialism." Skye also acknowledged the separation between settler Canadians and Indigenous peoples in reference to "a race war," which, similar to DJ Indian's comments, equates being "Canadian" with being White. King's and Skye's conversation concluded that the land now called Canada rightfully belongs to Indigenous communities and is not Canadian as has been represented historically through the myths of settlement and expansion. *The Secret Life of Canada* and *The Red Road Podcast* both linguistically connected definitions of Indigenous and

Canadian identities, which created what Gee (2014) terms "cohesion" (p. 203). Cohesion was demonstrated between Indigenous cultures assuming diasporic, or dispersed, Indigenous identities in contrast to the singular settler, White colonial Canadian identity.

Indigenous podcasters in this study also linguistically identified with localized regions and cultures opposing a "unified" Canadian identity. Tribal identification is especially important for Indigenous peoples in Canada who seek more nuanced and specific labelling that reflects their specific cultural connections (Vowel, 2016). Too often, culturally diverse nations in Canada are homogenized under the "Indigenous" label that conflates unique groups with different histories, practices, and ways of knowing (Yellow Bird, 1999). *Kiwew* (CBC) host David A. Robertson agreed "that getting away from the pan-Indigenous area is really important. ... I mean, I'm Indigenous, but I don't really identify as Indigenous because that comprises hundreds of different cultural groups" (D. A. Robertson, personal communication, August 4, 2021). Multiple podcasters in this study identified with a specific Indigenous nation. In *Kiwew*, Robertson acknowledged his membership within "Norway House Cree Nation" in Manitoba (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b, 2:15). In *The Secret Life of Canada*'s (CBC) "The Indian Act" (Johnson & Bowen, 2019), podcast guest Vander Meer-Chassé identified with "the White River First Nation of Beaver Creek Yukon and Alaska" (34:39). *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) podcast guest, survivor, and Elder Riley Burns and guest Dr. Niigaan Sinclair respectively identified with James Cree Smith Nation and "Anishinaabe from Little Peguis, or St. Peter's Indian Settlement" (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 3, 2:36).

Stories from the Land (Indian & Cowboy) podcast guests always highlighted localized affiliation, including Brian Charles who identified as an "off-reserve band member with the Chippewas of Georgina Island" (McMahon & King, 2018, October 18-a, 2:55) and Geraldine King who is "Anishinaabewke" (McMahon & King, 2018, October 18-b, 1:57). *Campus* (CBC) podcast guest Kona Williams identified as "Cree and Mohawk" (Leung, 2016, December 16, 3:37) and guest Jesse Thistle identified with his mother's "Métis Cree" heritage (Leung, 2017, 7:23). *Born and Raised* (Huff Post) podcast guest Cindy Paul Gaffney expressed being "born in Tobique reserve" (Donato & Sawhney, 2019, October 6, 12:07). *New Fire* (CBC) podcast guest Savannah Simon connected to "Elsipogtog First Nation" (Charleyboy, 2015, August 18, 4:41) in New Brunswick. *The Next 150* (CBC) guest Sarah Robinson introduced herself, "I'm a proud citizen of Fort Nelson First Nation and the Soto First Nation in Northern B.C.'s Treaty Eight

territory" (Tetteh-Wayoe, 2017, June 21, 1:48). *The Next 150* guest Alika Lafontaine noted that "I'm an Ojibwe Cree anesthesiologist" (8:31). These linguistic labels suggested that just as "Canadian" identity subsumes a culturally diverse demographic under one essentialist label, "Indigenous" identity does too. Indigenous podcasters in this study who voiced tribal affiliation discursively specified themselves beyond a pan-Indigenous identity and culturally separate from being Canadian. Podcasters identified with either a localized Indigenous group or with Indigenous peoples nationally in relation to each podcast's subject matter.

Podcasts encouraged explicit self-identification that hosts and speakers often do not practice in other media. These forms of self-identification illustrated how people linguistically employ geographical and national/tribal labels to communicate their sense of selves embedded in their experiences in Canada and opinions related to each podcast's subject matter. For example, Rose (*Decoding Black* – Centennial) believed that her Scarborough, Canadian, and Jamaican identities shaped her experience within education and workplace settings (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 18, 25). Symone (*My Blackness, My Truth* – CKDU) proposed that her African Nova Scotian identity structured her perspectives about community-based support systems (Symone, 2018, June 19), mental health awareness (Symone, 2018, March 13), and creative writing (Symone, 2018, May 14). Qamar (*Campus* – CBC) explained that her Pakistani and Canadian multicultural identity influenced her abuse in elementary school and in university from her classmates, academic advisor, and roommate (Leung, 2016, January 12). Some Indigenous podcasters and guests in this study similarly used personal pronouns to enact their autobiographical "I" (Smith & Watson, 2010) around a collective cultural identity of pan-Indigeneity rather than Canadian national identity. Other Indigenous podcasters and guests self-identified with individual Indigenous nations and regions in Canada rather than employing the term "Canadian." These findings suggest that podcasters used the medium to linguistically express other national or local affiliations that situated their sociocultural positions and values in relation to each podcast's subject matter. National and local labels are precolonial identity signposts for cultures with unique practices and languages that existed before settlement.

Language

Language is a fundamental component of cultural identity because each community has a distinct language or set of languages that connect them through a shared system of representation. Although many languages are spoken throughout Canada, the country is institutionally bilingual in English and French, which are cultural remnants of British and French settler-colonialism (Morton, 1972). Institutionally standardizing English and French languages in Canada denotes all other languages as non-Canadian. Standardized national languages are especially threatening to communities whose cultural identities and autonomy are tied to their unique and infrequently spoken languages that are often replaced to facilitate cross-national communication within everyday Canadian public life (Hobsbawm, 1996). Languages are potentially forgotten quicker the more that they are phased out in public life, which simultaneously minimizes a community's cultural knowledge and communication. Cultural practices are likely supplanted with "Canadian" practices that privilege settler forms of communication if national institutions especially enforce themselves on a community's younger generation.

Institutional enforcement can sever intergenerational ties to language and practice, especially if younger people are away from their native cultural environments. Eric Hobsbawm (1996) argues that "national linguistic homogeneity in multi-ethnic and multi-lingual areas can be achieved only by mass compulsion, expulsion, or genocide" (p. 1071). Language standardization is institutionally employed through systems like education and mass media where people within a country are required to adjust to specific communication practices within settler institutions and facets of public life so that they can interact. This dissertation's sample was limited to English-language podcasts because of my monolingual proficiency. However, 20 episodes across nine podcasts still included an additional language to English (see Table 6). Although this number accounts for almost half of the study's podcasts, most non-English use was for one word, phrase, or short sentence. For example, *Kiwew* (CBC) and *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) repeated the same word once in each of their three sampled episodes. English was likely used the most in each multilingual podcast because these podcasters likely grew up in Canada's education system enforcing English proficiency or because English is more commonly spoken in Canada and therefore potentially attracts a larger listenership (Hobsbawm, 1996).

Table 6: Non-English Language Used in Podcasts

Podcast Name	Episode(s)	Language(s)	Speaker(s)	Context	Meaning of Word(s) Explained in Episode?
Born and Raised (Huff Post)	Family Restaurant	Vietnamese	Carol Nguyen (guest)	Naming a meal	Yes
	Pier 21	Italian	Voice actor (speaking as Augusto Pezzutto)	Reading love letter	Yes
	Self-Love	Vietnamese	Kim Vo (guest)	Translating phrase for "loving your partner"	Yes
Campus (CBC)	Dissecting a Dark Indigenous Past	Cree	Kona Williams (guest)	Translating first name to "snow"	Yes
Kiwew (CBC)	Born on the Land	Cree	David A. Robertson (host)	Translating phrase for "he goes home" in podcast's title, as well as "I love you" and "thank you"	Yes
	Cree Awakening		David A. Robertson (host)		
	The Future		David A. Robertson (host) Donald Robertson (guest)		

New Fire (CBC)	Indigenous Youth Talk Tech	Mi'kmaq and Kanien'kéha	Savannah Simon (guest – Mi'kmaq) Jessica Deer (guest – Kanien'kéha)	Simon providing examples of their instructional language YouTube videos Deer sharing spirit name	Yes
	Music is Giving Voice to Indigenous Youth	Inuktitut	Kelly Fraser (guest)	Singing a cover of Rihanna's "Diamond"	No
	Opening Up About Indigenous Intimacy	Dene	Tenille Campbell (guest)	Repeating a conversation had with grandmother	Yes
The Red Road Podcast (The Red Road Podcast)	On Violence	Kanien'kéha	Courtney Skye (cohost)	Apologizing to podcast's introductory music copyright holder	No
	The Good (NDN Kids), the Bad (Child Welfare Legislation),			Introductory greeting	

	and the Ugly (Traffic)				
Residential Schools (Historica Canada)	First Nations	Cree	Shaneen Robinson-Desjarlais (host)	Concluding "thank you"	Yes
	Inuit	Cree and Dinjii Zhuh	Shaneen Robinson-Desjarlais (host - Cree) Crystal Gail Fraser (guest – Dinjii Zhuh)	Robinson-Desjarlais sharing concluding "thank you" Fraser introducing herself	
	Métis	Cree	Shaneen Robinson-Desjarlais (host)	Concluding "thank you"	
The Secret Life of Canada (CBC)	Indian Act	Athapaskan	Teresa Vander Meer Chassé (guest)	Sharing spirit name	Yes
	Tom Longboat	Onondaga	Falen Johnson (cohost)	Translating Longboat's nickname to "everything"	
Sleepover (CBC)	Native Child and the Full Moon	Ojibwemowin	Caterina Sinclair (guest)	Sharing spirit name	Yes

Stories from the Land (Indian & Cowboy)	10,000 Warriors	Anishinaabe mowin	Brian Charles (guest) Ryan McMahon (cohost)	Charles introducing himself McMahon's concluding remarks	No
	Geraldine King		Geraldine King (guest)	Reciting dialogue from her creative writing	

Vietnamese was spoken twice in *Born and Raised* (HuffPost), "a podcast about children of immigrants in Canada" (Donato & Sawhney, 2019, October 13, 00:04). Guest Carol Nguyen shared the phonetic mistakes she developed due to her Canadian enculturation:

> **Carol Nguyen (CN) [to Al Donato]:** I've been speaking this way, it's just been a habit of pronouncing my name "Nguyen" [NUH-GOO-YEN] instead of "Nguyen" [ŋwĭˀən] and "pho" [FOE] instead of "pho" [FUH].
>
> (Donato & Sawhney, 2018, 18:24)

Guest Kim Vo also spoke Vietnamese in a conversation with cohost Al Donato about love:

> **Kim Vo (KV) [to AD]:** "Thương." I think you can use "thương" to express your love for someone who's in a safe spot of your love circle…
> **Al Donato [AD] Narration:** Meet Kim Vo. She's a Vietnamese refugee who came to Manitoba with her parents when she was very young. I asked her to tell us about all the ways she understands love in the Vietnamese language.
> **KV [to AD]:** You feel like you can trust them. You have their respect, and they have your respect. "Yêu." It's spelled Y-Ê-U. Yêu is a term you would use to describe your

> love for your partner. So, it's a very deep, intimate love. You wouldn't use yêu to describe your love for anyone else, just your partner. …The next stage of love is "quý." Quý is the kind of love that you would show to a partner that you're no longer with, a friend that you would no longer talk to. Someone that you spent a lot of time with but are no longer around. …And then there's "mến." This is the kind of love you would show to your, um, someone who's become a part of your family.
>
> (Donato & Sawhney, 2019, October 13, 00:04)

Vo spoke Vietnamese to express her cultural understanding of love outside a Western context. Using terms like "thương," "yêu," and "quý" demonstrated a larger process of Vo's self-identification with Vietnamese culture through language as a system of meaning. Although Vo contextualized what each word meant for Donato and English speaking listeners, the conscious decision to speak Vietnamese illustrated the value she held in maintaining her cultural language that informed the way she articulates her understanding of the world.

Born and Raised's "Pier 21" (Donato & Sawhney, 2019, October 6) briefly included excerpts from an Italian love letter that a voice actor performed for the podcast:

> **Voice Actor (VA) [as Augusto Pezzutto] Narration:** A la piu sincera signorina. De San Andrea Barbarana.
>
> **AD [to Alisha Sawhney]:** Which roughly translates to:
>
> **VA Narration:** To the most "honest" young woman of this particular village, San Andrea Barbarana.
>
> (2:12)

Speaking Italian when reciting Pezzutto's letter added authenticity because it accurately recreated the original letter (Peterson, 2005). *Born and Raised* could have chosen to only include an English translation. However, the Italian language represented Pezzutto's attachment to his Italian heritage and his experience growing up in Italy. *Born and Raised*'s implementation of Vietnamese and Italian languages signified a connection each speaker had to their family's culture. Without using Vietnamese or Italian in these podcast episodes, the speakers would not have exhibited a foundational component of how they communicate and thus, a sense of their

cultural selves. Vietnamese and Italian were also selectively used to purposefully communicate a specific cultural phrase or practice representing how meaning is articulated in that country.

Aside from these few expressions in Italian and Vietnamese, the other non-English languages spoken in this study were Indigenous. Indigenous languages included: Anishinnabemowin, Ojibwemowin, Athapaskan, Cree, Dene, Dinjii Zhuh, Inuktitut, Kanien'kéha, Mi'kmaq, and Onondaga. In *Residential Schools*' (Historica Canada) "Inuit Experiences" episode (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17), Gwichyà Gwich'in historian Dr. Crystal Gail Fraser introduced herself in Dinjii Zhuh:

> **Crystal Gail Fraser (CGF) Narration:** Shoorzri' Crystal Gail Fraser vàazhii. Shiyughwan kat da' Juliet Mary Bullock shahanh t'iinch'uu ts'at Bruce Fraser shityè t'iinch'uu. Guuyeets'i' dechuu. Ts'at Marka Andre shitsuu t'iinch'uu ts'at Richard Bullock shitsii t'iinch'uu. Inuvik ts'at Dachan Choo Gęhnjik gwits'at Gwichya Gwich'in iłhii.
>
> That was a traditional Dinjii Zhuh introduction that I just gave. I'm Gwichyà Gwich'in, originally from Inuvik and my family's fish camp along the Mackenzie River, Dachan Choo Gęhnjik."
>
> (2:24)

Fraser briefly explained where she is from, but the Dinjii Zhuh translation added family names like "Juliet Mary Bullock," "Bruce Fraser," and "Richard Bullock." Including family names demonstrated the cultural specificity of Dinjii Zhuh introductions, which reflected Fraser's attachment to her family. She also used Dinjii Zhuh to represent her Gwichyà Gwich'in national affiliation, which is especially significant in relation to the *Residential Schools*'s subject matter about the Indian Residential School (IRS) system in Canada. The podcast partially equated losing language to losing cultural identity.

In *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) episodes, guests prefaced their stories with an Indigenous greeting. Brian Charles introduced his talk in Anishanaabemowin (McMahon & King, 2018, October 18-a), as did Geraldine King. King also referred to the language's significance in her community:

> **Geraldine King (GK) [to live audience]:** I come from a long line of storytellers and one thing that was an emphasis on the stories that were told that I grew up with related to our family, our community and *our language*, but in particular our sense of humour, which is very specific to Gull Bay Kiashke Zaaging Anishinaabek. There's linguistic aspects to our jokes and the stories that we tell that connect us as a community.
>
> (McMahon & King, 2018, October 18-b, 4:54)

King ‘s comment about the “linguistic aspects to our jokes and the stories that we tell that connect us as a community” explained that certain non-English terms and phrases capture meanings that English translations do not. King spoke Aninshanaabemowin, or “our language” as she referred to it, to connect with the community at the live podcast recording and to reaffirm cultural identity established through the “long line of storytellers” that she identifies with. Both *Residential Schools* and *Stories from the Land* podcasters used Indigenous languages to introduce themselves and discursively represent their cultural identities. Additionally, Indigenous languages may have been used to preserve/sustain tribal-specific communication or address a specific cultural listenership.

Five CBC podcasts included Indigenous languages. *Kiwew* host Robertson spoke Cree to retrospectively say goodbye to his father, Donald, who passed away:

> **Donald Robertson (DR) [to David A. Robertson]:** I think we need to– we want to look forward to the future and develop a vision of the future that will help give us hope or give young people hope, will give children hope in terms of what it is that they want to look forward to.
>
> **David A. Robertson (DAR) [to DR]:** Kisâkihitin, Dad, I love you. Ekosani for all you have gifted me with and travel well.
>
> (Robertson, 2020, June 18-c, 19:17)

Robertson used the words “kisâkihitin,” meaning “I love you,” and “ekosani,” meaning “thank you,” when responding to his father to sustain their cultural connection embedded within Cree speech. Although both words translate smoothly in English, the very utterance of Cree re-

established a foundational component to Robertson's Cree connection. Robertson also strategically employed Cree in this passage after Donald's comments about "a vision of the future that will help give us hope or give young people hope" to signify their language's importance in sustaining Cree culture for future generations. The podcast's name, *Kiwew*, is itself Cree for "he goes home" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-a). Using a Cree title demonstrated Robertson's conscious effort to culturally establish a portion of his Indigenous identity.

In an episode of *Campus*, Cree and Mohawk podcast guest Williams revealed that her first name, Kona, is "Cree for 'snow'" (Leung, 2016, December 16, 7:20). Williams's translation exhibited the importance of her Cree name to her cultural sense of self. *Campus* host Albert Leung introduced Williams's episode as "uncensored. These are real people telling real stories using *real language*" (0:01). The phrase "real language" suggests that *Campus* guests like Williams were expressing themselves through language that was authentic or "real" to how they speak in everyday life and how they understand themselves. In *New Fire*'s "Indigenous Youth Talk Tech" (Charleyboy, 2015, August 18) episode, Elsipogtog First Nation guest Savannah Simon's instructional YouTube videos on how to speak Mi'kmaq, which often include her grandmother, were interspersed alongside her conversation with host Lisa Charleyboy:

> **Savannah Simon (SS) [to Lisa Charleyboy]:** What's beautiful about the Mi'kmaq language is that it is the language of this land in East Coast Canada. And I want people to feel welcome and a part of it. It doesn't matter what skin color you are. You know, just because the government hasn't said that it is an official language, *it is the language of the land* and so I want people to speak it and learn it and share it and have fun with it. And, you know, people of different races, it makes them feel like they are learning a little bit more about our culture.
>
> (8:19)

Simon's comment about Mi'kmaq's significance in East Coast Canada despite the government's dismissal suggested that the Mi'kmaq is culturally characteristic of her geographical region. Furthermore, Simon assessed that Mi'kmaq is "the language of the land," meaning that those who live in East Coast Canada have cultural access to this available language to interact with others. Simon did not force Mi'kmaq on others, but instead offered it as a communicative

alternative available to anyone. *New Fire*'s episode included an excerpt of a translation in Mi'kmaq for the question "where are we going?"[17] Simon recorded language lessons with her grandmother that are available online to culturally sustain language learning for future Indigenous and settler generations, one video of which the podcast repurposed for context.

Later in the same *New Fire* episode, guest Jessica Deer from Kahnawake shared the incessant questioning she always received on romantic dates for her Kanien'kehá name, "Ka'nhehsí:io":

> **Jessica Deer (JD) [to Lisa Charleyboy]:** I noticed right away that a lot of people were curious about my name because even though I go by "Jessica Deer," I pretty much– I use my Kanien'kehá name, "Ka'nhehsí:io," pretty interchangeably with Jessica. That was always one of the first questions: "What does your name mean? Is that your real name?" And then when they find out I'm Mohawk or from Kahnawake, the conversation, 90 percent of the time, goes in to questioning my identity. So, they'll be like, "Oh, you're part Mohawk? You've got blond hair, not normally a trait you'd expect from Mohawk nationalities." That was something someone actually told me.
>
> (Charleyboy, 2015, August 18, 19:26)

Deer's use of her Kanien'kehá name, "Ka'nhehsí:io," was another example of Indigenous language culturally representing who a person is. Deer's Mohawk identity was expressed, even briefly, through this naming that she then explained consistently brought up questions around her authenticity as a Mohawk person. *Sleepover* guest and Anishinaabe-Filipina artist Caterina Sinclair was also introduced by their spirit name, "Memengwaa Kwe" (Lee, 2018, 1:35). Both Deer and Sinclair linguistically identified with non-English names that represent a deeper connection to their respective nations linguistically. Expressing their Indigenous names supplanted their Anglo names and the settler influence of such naming. The CBC Indigenous podcasters and guests in this section spoke in various Indigenous languages to introduce and name themselves discursively outside settler English, which represented a conscious effort to identify with their Indigenous cultural practices. Furthermore, sharing Indigenous translations in

[17] Original translation video for "where are we going?" can be found on Simon's public YouTube account @SavvuUnLtd, which includes other instructional videos with #SpeakMikmaq in the title.

these podcasts perpetuated the effort to sustain Indigenous national cultures by recording language for future listeners to engage and identify with, like Simon's #SpeakMikmaq videos repurposed aurally for *New Fire*.

English and French language standardization in Indigenous communities was historically a national effort in Canada notably carried out through residential schooling. This residential system partially attempted to force Indigenous nations to shed their cultural languages. The utterance of non-English and non-French language in this study's podcasts was a form of authentic agency for non-settler Canadians who were personally or ancestrally forced to assimilate to English and/or French communication in everyday life. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (2010) argue that agency is demonstrated when a person shares their sense of self with the world through their experiences that transform the meaning of their identity in their own words. Podcasters and guests spoke culturally-specific Indigenous languages to express themselves through a shared system of representation with other members of their national and/or ethnic communities. Speaking an Indigenous language reaffirmed its existence and defied colonial efforts historically to erase such language and the cultural meanings it carries. Some Indigenous podcasters introduced themselves with a specific greeting that represented their own culture, while others named themselves or spoke an Indigenous language to communicate with members from the same community. English and French languages are pillars of Canadian identity through shared systems of representation for national communication, but Indigenous podcasters and guests in this study who spoke an Indigenous language culturally reasserted themselves linguistically as "non-Canadian."

In addition to speaking Indigenous languages, podcasters and guests in this study also spoke *about* Indigenous languages to emphasize the importance language holds for their cultural sense of selves. Multiple references across the *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) podcast specified language's historical importance to sustain cultural identities for Indigenous youth entering English- and French-speaking residential schools. Survivor Riley Burns shared his conditioned experience that host Shaneen Robinson-Desjarlais contextualized:

> **Riley Burns (RB) Narration:** I didn't want to be an Indian, I didn't know who in the hell I wanted to be. I wasn't accepted by the White man, I wasn't accepted by my own people in my reserve.

> **Shaneen Robinson Desjarlais (SRD) Narration:** Over the course of nine years, Riley Burns survived physical and sexual abuse by staff at Gordon's Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan. Originally from the James Smith Cree Nation, Burns was stripped of his language and culture. When he left the school in 1960, he'd lost all sense of his former life.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 3, 0:10)

Burns lost his sense of self during and after school due to his "language and culture" being taken away through indoctrination. The very loss of language informed Burns's desire not "to be an Indian" and to lose his sense of self. The podcast later explained:

> **SRD Narration:** School administrators expected students to learn English or French quickly. Just one month into his stay at Gordon's, Riley remembers being beaten for speaking Cree with a boy who came from his reserve. In the classroom, he was hit on his hands with a ruler for not understanding English.
> **RB Narration:** A lot of times I stood with soap in my mouth because I talked Cree, talked my own language. That was a no-no, I didn't know that. And I was wondering how come, I thought maybe I had a dirty mouth, but I guess maybe I did have a dirty mouth because I talked Cree.
>
> (7:34)

Host Robinson-Desjarlais's narration suggested that students had their language literally "beaten" out of them. Burns suffered physical consequences that enforced his mentality about Cree language being "dirty" in contrast to English being "clean." His reflection equated Cree to "unacceptable," "vulgar" language like cursing. Burns's comparison between these words exhibited what Gee (2014) terms "connections building" (p. 202), which is a speech act for tracing how words produce deeper meanings in relation to one another. "Dirty" and "clean" are adjectives that connected to how languages can be valued cross-culturally. Burns's testimony illustrated the importance language had on his sense of self, or lack thereof. He even noted that he was unwelcome in his reserve, which likely resulted from him losing the ability to speak his native Cree language with others.

Language enforcement was not unique to one Indigenous nation. In "Inuit Experiences" episode, Survivor Abraham Ruben shared his experience with the English language in his residential school:

> **SRD Narration:** During the day, students were taught arithmetic and to speak and write in English. … And the nuns and priests were brutal in their enforcement of language. Abraham remembers one nun in particular at Grollier Hall.
> Abraham Ruben (AR) Narration: Within a few months or a few weeks she [the nun] could take a kid who spoke Dene or Gwich'in or Inuvialuit and they'd stop, and start learning a whole new method. And myself and a couple of cousins were holdouts for several years. From the age of 7 through 10, I could basically do basic reading and writing, but I'm also thinking both in English and in Inuvialuktun. I could think and talk in both languages.
> **SRD Narration:** But after a while, Abraham says his determination to hang onto his language was eventually broken.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17, 10:03)

Ruben tried speaking Inuvialuktun to hold onto his Indigenous identity, but he was eventually punished so severely that he fearfully lost his communicative ability. Residential schools considered even multilingualism a cultural issue conflicting with the government's colonial goal despite Ruben's ability to still communicate effectively in English. Survivor Piita Irniq also remembered that nuns would enforce punishment on Indigenous students who refused to speak English in place of their own languages:

> **SRD Narration:** Piita Irniq was also forbidden to speak his language at Turquetil Hall. Here's what he told Legacy of Hope:
> **Piita Irniq (PI) Narration:** A Grey Nun teacher told me to open my hand and she took a yardstick and really hit me so hard that I can still feel the pain today, you know? And she said, "Don't ever let me hear you speak that language again in this classroom. You are here to learn to speak and write English and add arithmetic. Forget about your culture, forget about your language and forget about your Inuit spirituality."

(Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17, 12:13)

Irniq remembered the connection between non-English language and "Inuit spirituality" that the residential school faculty severed. Irniq noted that "I can still feel the pain today," which is an example of what Smith and Watson (2010) simply term "memory." Smith and Watson explain that speakers can use different tools to remember their lived experiences, which in this case was Irniq's physical pain that reminded him of the abuse he suffered for speaking Inuvialuktun. This memory is an example of how the Canadian government understood that language is a key component of one's sense of self and cultural identification, which needed to be replaced through the threat, and action, of physical violence.

Survivor Louis Bellrose echoed a similar sentiment to Irniq's in the episode "Metis Experiences":

> **SRD Narration:** Many Métis students could return home at the end of the day, either because they were attending day school or because they weren't allowed to stay at the residential school. Returning home could be a good thing: surrounded by their families, some were able to maintain their language and culture.
>
> **Louis Bellrose (LB) Narration:** It was a forbidden thing to talk our language. The teachers called it the "devil's" language. We were punished very severely when we tried talking our own language, our mother tongue.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 10, 13:26)

Gee (2014) argues that speakers can build connections between two separate items to enforce their message's meaning. Bellrose's memory of the phrase "devil's language" that was applied to his Michif language connected the religious values residential schools placed on Indigenous languages with Michif's supposedly "devil-like" qualities. English and French-Canadian languages can therefore be heard as "holy" or "god-like" in the ears of residential school faculty. Bellrose also used the pronoun "we" to differentiate himself and his classmates as non-settler and non-English based on their "own" language, not the Government's or country's language. The phrase "mother tongue" also suggested Bellrose's affiliation to Michif grounded in his Métis cultural upbringing before attending school. Hobsbawm (1996) argues that "the only people who

face us with either-or choices are those whose policies have led or could lead to genocide" (p. 1067). This "cohesion" (Gee, 2014, p. 203) or connection between testimonies in the *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) podcast illustrated that the either/or choice of replacing Indigenous languages with Canadian national languages or being punished otherwise was culturally genocidal. Residential school survivors were systematically forced to assimilate to settler-dominant forms of communication in everyday life, which stripped the linguistic component of their Indigenous cultural identities.

In *Kiwew* (CBC), Robertson similarly revealed that his father, Donald, was forced to learn English as part of the *Family Allowance Act* in 1945:[18]

> **DAR Narration:** At the age of nine, Dad stopped learning on the land and started learning in the classroom at a day-school in Norway House [in Manitoba]. The learning situation was very similar to residential schools. The only difference was that kids were allowed to go home at night. School was tough. Not only did Dad have to learn subjects he'd never taken before, like reading, writing, and arithmetic, but at the same time he had to learn English because the teacher didn't know Cree. This had an intergenerational impact, one that I felt even though I didn't recognize it until I had grown up. Because it wasn't just that Dad had to learn a new language, learn it a different way. All the things he'd learned before became lost to him and as a result lost to me.
>
> (Robertson, 2020, June 18-a, 5:53)

Robertson insisted that despite the ability for his father, Donald, "to go home at night" and be around his family and community, the government-enforced schooling still stripped his father's ability to speak fluent Cree. The concluding sentence that "all the things he'd learned before [school] became lost to him and as a result lost to me" displayed what Gee (2014) terms "Big 'C' Conversation" (p. 204), which is a speech tactic connecting individual testimony to a larger issue. In this instance, Donald's linguistic loss (individual testimony) caused Robertson to lose the Cree language too because his father was unable to teach it to his children. Thus, language

[18] According to Robertson, "The *Family Allowance* began in 1945 as Canada's first universal welfare program, a monthly government payment to families with children. The allowance required children to live at fixed addresses in order for families to receive assistance and required children living at fixed addresses to be attending school" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-a, 5:35).

loss becomes a significant deterrent to understanding one's Indigenous identity overall (larger issues) because the intergenerational connection is culturally severed.

Donald explained his experience to Robertson later in the episode, referring to himself in the second person "you":

> **DR [to DAR]:** So almost everything that *you* knew had a different name.
> **DAR [to DR]:** Yeah.
> **DR [to DAR]:** And so, *you* had to translate *your* knowledge into a new language, right?
> **DAR [to DR]:** Right.
> **DR [to DAR]:** But *you* didn't know that language and so the easiest thing is just to learn that language by leaving *your* own language behind.
> **DAR Narration:** There was a time when Dad almost lost his language entirely. I think this is where I may have lost it too, decades before I was born.
>
> (Robertson, 2020, June 18-a, 6:57)

Functioning socially in many aspects of Canadian life requires a person to know English or French, depending on the geographical context. Exchanging Cree for English was practical and "the easiest thing" for Donald because he, like many Indigenous peoples, were forced to adopt settler cultural practices that facilitated the government's institutional control. Donald later used the podcast to mimic an interaction he had with his own mother after delivering a teaching in Cree years after his schooling, which displayed his language loss:

> **DR:** What's wrong, Mom?
> **DR (as his mother):** You almost made me cry.
> **DR:** Oh, was I not good?
> **DR (as his mother):** It's because your Cree was so bad. (Donald laughs)
> **DAR:** When I tell that story there's always laughter. But when I really think about it, I'm not so sure it's funny. Dad was losing his language and it nearly brought his mother to tears.
>
> (8:27)

Donald's mother heard the disconnect between Donald and his Cree language, and thus the disconnect between Donald, his mother, and his Cree culture. Donald's recreated exchange is a form of historical contextualization where Robertson and the audience learn about the intergenerational effects of colonial education on cultural practice. Robertson's final remark on Donald's story provided a sobering understanding of his father's language loss and cultural severance that was ancestrally available up until Donald's schooling. Robertson lamented his father's lost Cree literacy that disconnected a portion of their Cree identities.

Overall, *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) podcast illustrated the Canadian government's emphasis on English and French languages as *the* Canadian languages of cultural superiority. Narratives about abuse and punishment of Indigenous residential school survivors who spoke Indigenous languages underscored the historic, settler genocidal desire to strip Indigenous youth of their "non-Canadian" culture and communicatively assimilate them into Canadian society. Additionally, *Kiwew* (CBC) stressed an Indigenous desire to hold onto language connecting individuals to their families and cultures. *New Fire* (CBC) guest Savannah Simon similarly strived for this connection through her YouTube videos #SpeakMikmaq that often star her grandmother and were repurposed in *New Fire'*s episode. Despite predominantly speaking English, podcasters and guests in this study addressed the destruction of various Indigenous languages through forced institutionalization. Indigenous podcasters and guests even employed Indigenous languages and referred to historical systems of colonial oppression that standardized English and French cultural practices as "Canadian." Actively speaking Indigenous languages can potentially sustain cultural practice, and thus a sense of self, while maintaining distance from colonial assimilation to English and French communication in Canada. Podcasting is suitable for this active linguistic approach because of its accessibility to everyday citizens and because of its oral modality.

5.2: DISCUSSION

This chapter addresses the research question: how do podcasters linguistically self-represent cultural identity? Podcasters across communities identified with geographic labels that culturally rooted their sense of selves. Additionally, podcasters spoke or referred to non-English languages as a form of cultural expression outside Canadian national languages. Altogether, these research

findings illustrate a variety of self-representations that podcasters employed to authentically situate their own cultural identities using their own linguistic choices. Linguistic choices are essential to expressing an authentic, true sense of self because people can connect "their style of talk to what is characteristic of everyday conversation" (Goffman, 1981, p. 296). Simply put, podcasters can choose *how* they communicate their sense of selves in relation to their podcast's subject matter using culturally-specific terminology, a practice which represents authentic expression of one's true self as they understand it in their own conversational style.

Local, National, and Diasporic Affiliation

First, I analyzed how people acknowledged local/regional, national, and diasporic affiliations in their podcasts to contextualize their individual experiences and sociocultural positions in Canada. Hobsbawm (1996) forwards, "multiple identity lies behind even national homogeneity" (p. 1067). Podcasters identifying as Canadian often specified what region of Canada they are from or their ancestral background outside of Canada that carries culturally specific meanings for them. Gilroy (2000) argues that national identity is a construction of a supposedly shared experience rooted in a shared place with a shared language. For Canadians, shared experience stems from a "unified" approach referring to British and French settlement on the land now called Canada for people who speak English and French. Some people may identify as Canadian because they were born in Canada or because they speak English and/or French. However, they may not identify with the historical constructions and cultural practices contributing to a definition of Canadian national identity originated and developed over time through British and French settlement within imaginary borders. Alternatively, a "pluralistic" approach or multicultural construction suggests that diverse communities represent Canada on national and global scales. However, this pluralistic approach falls short in its authentic representativeness because not everyone within a community shares the same experiences, perspectives, values, or sociocultural positions. Furthermore, it can be unclear who constructed the images or sounds we hear about multiculturalism through mass media in Canada.

Unified cultural identity across a country is particularly difficult for people to critique because it is ingrained in public consciousness that where a person is born or lives naturally determines what national identity they possess based on imaginary borders tied to settlement

(Hall, 1992; Hobsbawm, 1996). Stuart Hall (1992) argues that this discursive construction of national identity is grounded in "the idea of a *pure, original people or 'folk'* [original emphasis]" (p. 295) who are born within the geographic borders of a national landmass. Constructing innate national kinship began with British and French settlement in the development of Canada as a nation and is now applied to people born in Canada or who live in Canada. Nations are conceived as unified around a supposedly shared experience and history, but the intersectional identities of each person in Canada threatens this perception of unification. Everyone experiences the world differently based on cultural knowledge and practices influenced locally, nationally, and diasporically. In this study, podcasters and guests confronted this discursive construction through local, multinational, and diasporic labelling, insisting that despite being born or currently living in Canada, people do not identify as only Canadian or adopt popular beliefs about what it means to be Canadian, if at all.

Podcasters identifying with communities geographically beyond Canada suggests that natural affiliation and experiences of Canadian identity are not real, nor that podcasters aligned (only) with being Canadian. Rather, podcasters understood that their local, (multi)national, and/or diasporic affiliations offered additional meanings to their experiences and how they approached podcast topics. People within the same cultural group can potentially identify with these meanings and outsiders can learn about these meanings through a shared system of representation in podcasting (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). For example, Maria Qamar (*Campus* – CBC) identified as Desi Canadian, implying that her Pakistani and Canadian cultural experiences shaped her worldview. Similarly, Leticia Rose (*Decoding Black* – Centennial) identified as Canadian and Jamaican growing up in Scarborough, which implied that her Canadian and Jamaican heritage and her experiences living in the Greater Toronto Area framed how she understands her sociocultural position in the world. Jayde Symone (*My Blackness, My Truth* – CKDU) identified as an African Nova Scotian, inferring that she is a Black Canadian from Nova Scotia, which influenced her opinions on podcast topics like mental health and creative arts. Qamar, Rose, and Symone demonstrated podcasters whose existence in Canada shaped their experiences alongside their non-Canadian affiliations, which they used podcasts to share.

Contrastingly, Indigenous podcasters and guests did not explicitly identify themselves as Canadian, but instead voiced a pan-Indigenous identification or an affiliation with an individual Indigenous nation. It is unsurprising that many Indigenous peoples did not culturally identify as

Canadian when voicing their national or tribal identities since Canadian identity is connected to the myth of a supposedly pure and original people geographically entitled to the nation (Hall, 1992). Settlers have conceived of themselves to be rightfully entitled to land within an imaginary border that settler institutions constitute as "Canada." Opposingly, Indigenous peoples who have existed on the land since before Canadian confederation may conceive themselves as "pure and original folk" who were stripped of geographic entitlement from settler colonialism. Individual Indigenous nations on the land now called Canada have their own discursive constructions about their tribal histories and distinct cultures from one another. These nations also understand what they believe makes them non-Canadian and in control of their own national sense of selves.

The findings in this study suggest that Indigenous podcasters and guests explicitly identified with individual nations and geographic locations, or with pan-Indigeneity, to culturally distinguish themselves as "non-Canadian." Some podcasters and guests from various Indigenous nations employed a pan-Indigenous label marking a shared experience of colonization and displacement. However, each nation has unique cultural practices and knowledge within a specific spatial context and were colonized and displaced through different practices and with different outcomes. Other podcasters and guests named where they are from through linguistic labelling with a particular nation that implicitly differentiates each Indigenous group. Just as there is arguably no pan-Canadian identity, which podcasters marked out with other regional and diasporic naming, there is arguably no pan-Indigeneity because all nations experience and engage with the world differently. Affiliations voiced with specific Indigenous nations, and often geographic locations, insisted that there are distinctions between nations based on cultural practices and geographic inhabitancy over time. Podcasters verbally identified themselves with specific nations that directly opposed the perception of Canadian cultural identity as naturally based on shared kinship and origin since those who identify as "Canadian" were not the original people/folk on the landmass now called Canada (Hall, 1992).

In some instances, a podcaster's affiliation with a specific Indigenous nation geographically contextualized their stories. In other instances, podcasters identified nation to explicitly acknowledge where they come from and how their cultural practices like language use shaped their worldviews and values informing their sense of selves. In both cases, Indigenous affiliation with specific nations culturally mapped out an us/other dichotomy between individual Indigenous nations and between Indigenous peoples and Canada (Gilroy, 2000). Identity is

produced through a shared system of representation, like the linguistic naming of specific Indigenous nations, which carries cultural practices, memories, and meanings that distinguish these identities as "not other." Indigenous podcasters in this study linguistically disassociated themselves culturally from the "Canadian label" despite living on the same landmass. This does not mean that all Indigenous people do not identify as Canadian, but podcasters in this study did not linguistically identify as both Indigenous and Canadian. Podcasters and guests often purposely introduced their Indigenous identities to situate their experiences and opinions related to the podcast's subject matter about Canadian topics. Indigenous identification specified sovereignty against cultural homogeneity nationwide. Even when podcasters labelled themselves "Indigenous" generally, it created a distinction between Indigeneity and Canadian cultural identity since Indigenous nations share the experience of being colonized by British and French, and thus Canadian, settlement.

These findings suggest that podcasters self-represented cultural identity through labelling to preface their approaches to podcast topics grounded in their lived experiences and ancestry. Charles Taylor (1992) argues that "the ideal of authenticity requires that we discover and articulate our own identity" (p. 81). Podcasters discovered what local, national, and diasporic communities they belong to and articulated the meanings embedded in specific cultural practices and knowledge that influenced how they construct meaning from their experiences in Canada. Podcasters and guests also implicitly critiqued the monolithic definition of Canadian cultural identity as naturally determined for all individuals who are either born or live on the same landmass now called Canada (Hobsbawm, 1996). Locality or ancestral history shaped these podcasters' experiences and how they identified themselves differently than others who also live in Canada. Hobsbawm (1996) states, "The concept of a *single* [original emphasis], exclusive, and unchanging ethnic or cultural or other identity is a dangerous piece of brainwashing" (p. 1067). Many non-Indigenous podcasters used the "Canadian" label to situate their experiences and opinions. However, the explicit coupling with other geographic identities infers the "heterogenous commonality" (Collins, 2003) of people who may share being born or living on the same landmass but that experience the world differently than others and approach their podcast subject matter accordingly.

Language

This study also analyzed how languages as culturally specific systems of representation were used in addition to Canada's national languages that partially reinforce cultural identity. Unsurprisingly, most podcasters only spoke English or referred to the English language in their podcasts because English is the dominant national language and because my sample selection was limited to English-language podcasts due to my monolingual background. However, there were instances when Vietnamese, Italian, and Indigenous languages were spoken or talked about. Language choice in podcasting emphasized authentic podcaster attachment to cultural communication because podcasters were honoring and extending the cultural traditions of communities they identify with (Jaworski, 2018; Jones et al., 2005). Indigenous podcasters especially attached themselves to precolonial communication forms for expressing Indigenous identity. Some podcasters and guests spoke Indigenous languages to introduce or conclude episodes. Others spoke an Indigenous language to represent unique communicative aspects of their nations. Many referred to the importance of Indigenous languages as cultural practices for communicating meaning and sustaining cultural identity against Canadian assimilation. Few uses of Vietnamese and Italian described culturally-specific concepts or practices that were then translated into English for non-native speakers. Overall, podcasting does not restrict what languages can be spoken, but the predominant use of English possibly insists that podcasters in this study were trying to communicate to the largest potential audience or that they are not fluent in their own community languages.

Language is one cultural practice that a nation standardizes for cross-national communication (Hobsbawm, 1996). According to Hall (1992), "The formation of a national culture helped to create standards of universal literacy, generalized a single vernacular language as the dominant medium of communication throughout the nation, created a homogeneous culture and maintained national cultural institutions" (p. 292). English and French became the standardized languages culturally for people in Canada, which aimed to subsume and homogenize previously diverse speaking groups. Canada singularizes the way people communicate through English and French to interact within institutional facets of everyday life. People must follow these language systems to engage in most political and social matters with most Canadians. Routinely speaking English and French in everyday life can therefore threaten the survival of other languages if they are not regularly spoken. Standardized English and French

education are especially threatening to Indigenous nations because Indigenous languages are spoken infrequently outside their communities. Standardized languages still assist in trying to assimilate non-English and non-French speakers into dominant modes of public interaction. Speaking Indigenous languages in podcasts was therefore both a rejection of homogenous national culture and a cultural revitalization and sustenance of pre-colonial communication. Italian and Vietnamese speech was culturally referent and community-oriented rather than for sustenance since both languages thrive elsewhere.

The findings from this study suggest that most podcasters and guests across cultural groups in Canada predominantly employ English. This is likely because they are fluent in speaking English and/or because they recognize that most listeners likely communicate in English since it is Canada's dominant language (Hobsbawm, 1996). Canadian cultural identity is therefore reinforced in English-speaking podcasts since English is a system of representation that was non-existence in Canada before settlement. Referring to Ferdinand de Saussaure, Hall (2013b) argues that language holds meaning in its very utterance regardless of who speaks. Simply put, speaking national languages insists that British and French communication practices have forcefully supplanted all others in most facets of Canadian life, including podcasting, for producing meaning. However, speaking other languages highlights a conscious effort to revitalize non-British and non-French cultural practices (Jaworski, 2018). All podcasters and guests in this study predominantly spoke English in their programs. Thus, speaking Vietnamese, Italian, or an Indigenous language appeared to be a conscious podcaster effort to exhibit specific cultural affiliation and meaning rather than because it was convenient.

Podcasters communicated in different non-English languages to people who share this system of representation (Hall, 2013b). Adam Jaworski (2018) argues that "authentic meaning of the utterance emanates from the assumed sincerity, integrity and commitment of the speaker (writer)" (p. 275). Podcasters may speak a non-English or non-French language to genuinely communicate meaning through the verbal performance itself that represents cultural existence and sustenance. Listeners often do not have to understand what is being said since meaning is embedded in the very act of selecting language. If the meaning of the words is important for listeners, podcasters can contextualize what was said with an English translation. Non-English language use affirms authentic self-expression in both instances because podcasters are using a distinctive communication style within the linguistic cultural tradition that they are aiming to

represent (Jones et al., 2005). Accurately recreating a unique language especially demonstrates a speaker's authentic connection to their cultural traditions.

Indigenous podcasters in this study were the only cultural groups that employed non-English languages outside of *Born and Raised*'s Vietnamese and Italian guests. Beyond naming local, national, and diasporic affiliations in the analysis above, Indigenous podcasters also employed various Indigenous languages to introduce themselves. Podcasters commonly greeted listeners or concluded episodes with Indigenous words like "tansi," the Cree word for "hello," and "miigwech," the Anishinaabemowin word for "thank you." Jaworski (2018) believes "interactions between presenters and hosts conducted in the local language (i.e., not in English) to be *authentic* or 'normal'" (p. 279). There were not extended back-and-forth discussions in Indigenous languages, but Indigenous podcasters spoke Indigenous languages that introduced or concluded episodes to respectfully attempt maintaining some cultural connection with others who share the same non-colonial languages. Indigenous languages can also be employed to honour cultural practices that have been threatened over time or to sustain familial connection. Some podcasts like *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) named the traditional territories on which they recorded. *The Secret Life of Canada* (CBC) cohost Falen Johnson suggested in her episode on land treaties and the *Indian Act* that if the historic treaties representing Indigenous groups as sovereign nations were dissolved, "we would just become Canadians" (Johnson & Bowen, 2019, 41:06). Thus, naming Indigenous nations or treaty numbers honours the land's pre-colonial existence and/or acknowledges treaties that Indigenous ancestors agreed to but that Canada has broken over time.

However, English language was still overwhelmingly used compared to other languages, even for podcasters or guests whose communities existed on the land before colonization and that do not identify as Canadian or with British settler groups. Many of these podcasters, especially from younger generations, may not be fluent in their respective Indigenous languages, nor have even learned them. This is likely because systems of representation like language are facilitated through environment, education, and repetitive cultural practice that are not easily accessible for people living outside their communities today (Hall, 2013a). Yet the inclusion of Indigenous languages acknowledged pre-colonial cultural practices ideologically situating these podcasters. Language is a tool for distinguishing between chosen identity and the determined identity "thrust upon you" (Gilroy, 2000, p. 106). Podcasters represented their cultures through

language use, which in turn reaffirmed their sense of selves. The very act of speaking a non-English language is performative in its resistance to abiding by a colonial mode of communication that has negated various Indigenous linguistic practices and supplanted them with British-influenced communication.

Residential schooling was one historic system for enforcing linguistic control over, and attempted assimilation of, Indigenous communities. Some podcasters spoke *about* the importance of language for maintaining Indigenous cultural identity outside institutionally-imposed Canadian systems. *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) and *Kiwew* (CBC) were two programs that referred to the colonial schooling process for Indigenous youth. These schools aimed to strip children of their Indigenous cultural practices, including language. Podcasters and guests who survived this system acknowledged how losing the ability to speak their native language resulted in losing a sense of their (Indigenous) culture and identity. The inability to speak or remember Indigenous languages due to forced assimilation under national systems of oppression potentially stripped Indigenous podcasters and guests of their sense of self directly (survivors in *Residential Schools* – Historica Canada) or intergenerationally (Robertson in *Kiwew* – CBC). These podcasts were authentic objects, "manifestations of both individual and collective values" (Dutton, 2003, p. 270), because they both reflected the school Survivors' individual values of self-determination and an Indigenous collective value of unfettered cultural expression through language choice.

People can use podcasts to openly address such oppressive systems toward cultural identities but that are largely negated or were dismissed in the national rhetoric of Canadian history until recently. Podcasters and guests speaking non-English languages and/or referring to non-English languages can be a dual effort to confront the colonial process of attempted assimilation and opposingly reject this institutional system linguistically and ideologically. Podcasters and guests therefore can reject linguistic homogenization attached to a shared sense of self nationally while reaffirming their own Indigenous identities through the inclusion of Indigenous languages (Hall, 1992). Hobsbawm (1996) states that "small languages and dialects can survive more easily, insofar as even a modest population is enough to justify a local radio program" (p. 1074). Hobsbawm's position is even more applicable to podcasting. This digital media industry does not require national standardized language practices and has a potentially

larger audience reach for language revitalization and sustenance online without wavelength restrictions.

5.3: CONCLUSIONS

Podcasting potentially offers more nuanced and inclusive expressions about various people who are born or live in Canada as representing multiple cultures in Canada rather than *the* "Canadian" culture. Podcasters can use language as a system of representation to establish a sense of self in their own ways with their own language choice. Podcasters can self-represent their own viewpoints about Canada that contribute to a more rounded understanding of Canada's actual demographic. These podcasters labeled their cultural associations within and outside of Canada that represent a plurality of perspectives grounded in local, national, and diasporic influences. These multiple labels of non-settler Canadian identity, like non-White race and non-European heritage, possess meanings that negate any monolithic commonality that national identity proposes culturally between podcasters based on some innate kinship or shared existence on the same landmass. Podcasters in this study may use the same labels to geographically and culturally situate themselves, but the meaning of these labels are linguistically open to self-definition because they are discursively constructed like any other identity. English language used as a shared system of representation in this study illustrated that despite a common language, people can use the language in their own ways to articulate different experiences and cultural histories that reflect their specific understandings of themselves.

Podcasts can help people express their cultural positions in their own ways related to the show's subject matter, whether they verbalize the same label with different meanings or speak a language as a cultural practice (Jaworski, 2018). Broadly speaking, a podcast is a potentially more inclusive and openly critical space for Canada's demographic to associate its sense of self with its own choice of geographic labelling and language use. This implication aligns with Dario Llinares's (2018) argument that "podcasting provides a mechanism by which producer/consumers use the medium to define and enact their own agency within the highly fractured subjectivity of the internet age" (Llinares, 2018, p. 125). For example, in *Decoding Black*'s (Centennial) "Introducing Decoding Black" (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 11) episode, Rose stated that:

> **LR (to CST):** I am also a ride or die Canadian. But I see conflict with that because in how all the policies and the institutions, they don't necessarily reflect me and my Blackness. … So, I think this is the perfect space and opportunity to have these sometimes-difficult conversations. … And hopefully it gives listeners the curiosity to think about themselves, think about how they're rooted.
>
> (8:20, 14:34, 14:47)

Podcasting offered Rose a space to "situationally" address the audience in her own way on a mass scale rather than in limited, in-person conversation. Gee (2014) uses the term "situated meaning" (p. 203) to refer to the meanings of words spoken in specific contexts. The situational meaning of this passage demonstrated Rose's desire for listeners to be self-reflexive about their sense of selves. Meaning especially appeared from Rose's ability to voice her unique understanding of her "Blackness" in the podcast related to "policies and the institutions."

The Secret Life of Canada (CBC) cohost Johnson similarly encouraged the potential to self-represent her Mohawk and Tuscarora Bear Clan Six Nation identity in her own way:

> I think we [cohosts Johnson and Leah-Simone Bowen] growing up as, you know, marginalized people in this country, being in a history class, we both experienced being told who we were from someone else, you know, from White teachers who told you who you were and who your history was and what your stories were. And that makes up your identity. And I think we both knew that that was wrong. What we were being told was wrong and being told in the wrong way and by the wrong people.
>
> (F. Johnson, personal communication, December 8, 2021)

Podcasts can help individuals inform others about how they view themselves and their cultural identities in Canada. This self-representation could include more regionally-specific membership and employing communication practices like pre-colonial language. However, the predominant use of English across all podcasts in this study suggests that podcasters are still embedded in colonial language systems. Evading English language use may be difficult since English is enforced in most facets of Canadian public life and is spoken by a large Canadian demographic of settlers and non-settlers. Thus, the choice of words, labels, and non-English languages become unique identifiers for people's sense of selves, with their own meanings, in Canada. If non-

English languages were spoken frequently in public and were historically intact, they could be more available to future generations to share their opinions and stories with others. As Archibald-Barber suggested at the beginning of the chapter, “if the language disappears, the stories disappear, right? You know, if the stories disappear, the heart of people's culture disappears” (McMahon & King, 2015, 10:13).

CHAPTER 6: RESPEAKING AND RESTORYING THE PAST

"Explorers' judgemental perceptions about Indigenous women and peoples became the literature and the history that we continue to base our world on today. Their stories became all that we are, and the subjective has become the truth. And what is perceived to be the truth would go on to shape this emerging country's ideology, in situations, legislation, and the future" – Sarah Robinson, *The Next 150*, "Within Indigenous Communities There are Perpetual Crises"

Storytelling is a mnemonic device that has been used for representing history and memory affirmed through repetitive myths and images. Stories create common narratives about shared tradition, history, and affiliation between people, especially within a nation. Sherene Razack (2018) states that "mythologies or national stories are about a nation's origins and history. They enable citizens to think of themselves as part of a community, defining who belongs and who does not belong to the nation" (p. 114). National institutions distribute ideologies about national belonging through stories that supposedly reflect the interests of everyone within a country. Yet in Canada, stories about shared national history or *the* history of Canada often do not include, or are not co-authored by, all communities across the country. Thus, people who are personally or ancestrally excluded from authoring stories about Canada are encouraged to align with the existing stories of others. This is especially problematic when considering different cultures exist in Canada and have contributed to Canada's current standing even though their stories are not always told.

In *The Next 150* (CBC), Fort Nelson and Saulteau First Nations member Sarah Robinson suggested that "their [settler] stories become all that we [Indigenous people] are" (Tettteh-Wayoe, 2017, June 21, 4:18). People may hear themselves reflected in stories that a small group shares about others and align with those representations and values, whether the story is accurate or not. Historically in Canada, British and French settler communities authored the nation's history beginning with tales of settlement enforced institutionally on other cultures living in, brought to, or moving to Canada (Francis, 1997; Smith, 2007). Razack (2018) notes, "A white settler society is one established by Europeans on non-European soil. … In the national mythologies of such societies, it is believed that white people came first and that it is they who principally developed the land" (p. 114). Many communities and their cultural histories are often

dismissed from settler colonial myths of Canadian history despite these communities' existence in Canada pre-confederation. Like language, stories are more likely to be remembered the more frequently they are spoken. One issue is that these colonial stories are not reflective of, or accurately convey, cultural experiences historically in Canada.

However, increased access to digital media in the 21st century has helped communities share their cultural histories online in Canada (Cory & Boothby, 2021). Podcasting is one storytelling tool that is especially promising because podcasting's oral modality aligns with traditional storytelling practices in many cultures. *Kiwew* (CBC) host David A. Robertson indicated that "traditionally, *we* [the Cree] were an oral culture. So, I feel like it [podcasting] is very close to that" (D. A. Robertson, personal communication, August 4, 2021). Kim Fox, David Dowling, and Kyle Miller (2020) suggest that "podcasting's powerfully immersive remediation of oral storytelling narrative forms makes it uniquely suited to the project of fostering cultural understandings of blackness" (p. 314). Literally speaking about the past and sharing lived experiences is a fundamental communicative turn away from writing colonial myths about Canada's history and standing (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). Podcasts are an ideally democratic storytelling tool for people with limited access to institutional media production like television and radio to authentically share aspects of their cultural histories nationally in their own ways. Podcasts can reimagine popular images and ideas about Canadian history because directly-affected individuals can author their own authentic stories.

This chapter reviews stories that Indigenous and Black podcasters shared about community histories in Canada that they identify with. Other communities in this study did not share stories about cultural histories in Canada or only mentioned them in passing. Research findings are broken down thematically into four (hi)storytelling topics: Indigenous land connection, Indigenous residential schooling, intergenerational trauma, and Black history. These findings thematically highlight different stories shared about Indigenous and Black traditions and existence in Canada. Indigenous podcasters are predominantly heard in this chapter because these storytellers talked more about cultural histories in Canada compared to other podcasters who applied their sociocultural positions in Canada more to current events, ideas, and issues. The study's podcast (hi)stories function educationally and transform podcasters and guests into authors of history who contribute to counter-regimes of representation about underrepresented

experiences in Canada. These findings and analyses are applied to the second research question: does podcasting help augment Canadian history?

6.1: RESEARCH FINDINGS

15 of the 20 podcasts in this study shared personal and/or ancestral narratives about Canadian history. Data minimally included various Asian and European stories of immigration. Indigenous communities predominantly shared histories, followed by Black communities. Indigenous communities commonly framed histories around cultural topics like land connection, residential schooling, and intergenerational trauma. Black community histories were framed more generally, celebrated individuals, and shared experiences and opinions related to Black History Month education. These stories about, and reflections on, Indigenous and Black experiences can contribute to profound understandings of Canada's history that are not often exhibited in popular representations. Many cultures exist in Canada and their stories should be told to strengthen public knowledge and contribute to people's sense of selves today grounded in their sociocultural positions ancestrally.

Podcasts in this study addressing Indigenous and Black experiences restoried the historical existence of these communities in Canada. Ebony Thomas and Amy Stornaiuolo (2016) argue that "restorying," or "reshaping narratives to better reflect a diversity of perspectives and experiences, is an act of asserting the importance of one's existence in a world that tries to silence subaltern voices" (p. 314). Restorying involves supplanting accounts about Canadian history that include subaltern and non-White characters like Indigenous, Black, Chinese, and Japanese peoples, but do not actually have these characters voicing and expressing themselves. Instead, non-settler characters are often represented as complicit and accepting of colonial traditions and practices in exchange for their own cultural histories (Mackey, 1999). Restorying encourages authorship by, and about, underrepresented communities opposing popular images and stories. Podcasts about Indigenous land connection, residential schools, intergenerational trauma, and Black history in this study reflected a digital restorying of Indigenous and Black existence related to institutional influence and imposition. Podcasters in this chapter simultaneously celebrated their cultural histories and criticized settler control and influence.

Indigenous Restorying – Land Connection

Eight podcasts addressed Indigenous historical experiences in Canada including *Kiwew* (CBC), *Campus* (CBC), The *Secret Life of Canada* (CBC), *The Next 150* (CBC), *Missing and Murdered* (CBC), *New Fire* (CBC), *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy), and *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada). These podcasts discussed Indigenous connection to land, Indigenous residential schooling, and intergenerational trauma, all of which are deeply embedded in Canadian colonization and influence Indigenous presence in Canada today (Vowel, 2016). Four podcasts, *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy), *Kiwew* (CBC), *New Fire* (CBC), and *Campus* (CBC), specifically told stories related to Indigenous land connection.

Land connection is historically fundamental to Indigenous life and knowledge sustenance (Lawrence & Dua, 2005). Like language severance through residential schooling (as discussed in Chapter 5), Indigenous identity is also partially stripped through physical displacement from the land or through enforced settler land practices. Jennifer Wenzel (2017) argues that "colonialism brought into contact and collision radically different ways of knowing and being in nature" (p. 456). Canadian colonization has in many cases displaced Indigenous communities from their lands and destroyed the reciprocal relationship between humans and the natural world physically and epistemologically. Stories and generational teachings can help revive cultural knowledge and sustain Indigenous education about traditional land engagement. *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy), *Kiwew* (CBC), *New Fire* (CBC), and *Campus* (CBC) restoried teachings online about the historical value of land connection for Indigenous cultures and its potential for resurging identity today.

Stories from the Land podcast is a "collection of Indigenous community sourced stories that connect Indigenous Peoples to place with the aim of reinforcing worldview, philosophies & teachings through storytelling" (Indian & Cowboy, n.d.-a). Podcast cohosts Ryan McMahon and Dr. Hayden King introduce an episode guest who shares a story or personal reflection about Indigenous cultures, including land connection. In the episode "Jesse Archibald Barber" (McMahon & King, 2015), Cree podcast guest and professor of Indigenous literatures Dr. Jesse Archibald-Barber retold the "Winter of Hardship" (Ahenakew, 1973) story from Edward Ahenakew's 20th century archived collection about Plains Cree Chief Thunderchild. The story

recounts Chief Thunderchild's journey to Fort Pitt with his starving community. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (2010) argue that people author historical moments by referring to stories centering on characters conducting or representing cultural practices and values. Archibald-Barber authored the historical moment of Chief Thunderchild's dream when Thunderchild heard a voice telling him to travel south for food while his community was living off the land.

A portion of Archibald-Barber's podcast story explained the historical and cultural significance of dreams for guiding Indigenous peoples across lands:

> **Jesse Archibald-Barber (JAB) Narration:** Thunderchild had a dream, and he describes this dream that he's sitting there and he hears a voice tell him, "Save your people, go south." And when Thunderchild in his dream looked south, he saw all green. And when he looked north, he saw all the darkness and when he woke up, he told his father about the dream and his father said, "Dreams count son, go now, take your people, take our people and go south. I will try and follow. But if I can't, don't worry about me, I'll do the best I can."
>
> (McMahon & King, 2015, 17:39)

After his dream, Chief Thunderchild travelled south where he:

> **JAB Narration:** Saw a big snowdrift and something above it come into view and then disappear in the air. So, he was curious about it, and he walked over, and he found, he found the big snowdrift with a pole sticking out of it and a little piece of tattered fabric on the top of the pole … and underneath he found– he found a couple of hot buffalo hides and he lifted the hides up and he found the meat of two buffalo all cut into pieces under there.
>
> (19:36)

According to Gerald Friesen (2000), "Aboriginal stories emerge from particular places, families, and events. They ... discuss human and animal or plant life as elements that exist on the same plane as the dream world" (p. 220). Dreams facilitate a historical form of land connection where individuals interpret symbols related to their environments (Cardinal, 2001). However, these

cultural practices are not typically included in mainstream histories about Indigenous communities like the Plains Cree. Archibald-Barber's restorying about Chief Thunderchild's connection to land for community survival is a historical teaching about self-sustenance since "Thunderchild says that it was that winter that he had decided never to depend on others again" (McMahon & King, 2015, 21:57). This podcast echoes Bonita Lawrence's (2000) argument that today, "Aboriginal harvesting – hunting, fishing, and *gathering wild foods* [emphasis added] – currently represents the core of cultural regeneration for many First Nations" (p. 153). Archibald-Barber used the *Stories from the Land* podcast to retell Chief Thunderchild's journey, signifying how Indigenous communities use guided dreams to live on, and work with, the land to sustain their existence against settler contact. Cree culture may lose a piece of its history without this story being told. The podcast offers an additional space for those who have never read Ahenakew's (1973) *Voice of the Planes Cree,* where the story was first recorded, to engage with this cultural history.

In *Kiwew*, a five-part CBC podcast, Cree author David A. Robertson talked about the historical significance of land through the stories of his father, Donald:

> **David A. Robertson (DAB) Narration:** From the age of three months, Dad was living on the land. No house, no video games, no playgrounds, just him, his family, the land, the animals, birds, fish, and the water. … He lived in a tent, slept on spruce boughs, it was his job to gather. When he was old enough, he chopped wood and, before the age of 10, was given his first muskrat trap. … He was relied on, and he knew things, had gathered knowledge from Elders in his family, from living on the land. He tells me that the land was his classroom. He learned everything he needed to know on it.
>
> (Robertson, 2020, June 18-a, 3:25)

Robertson's description of his father's relationship with the land and its creatures to "hunt, snare, trap, and fish" is foundational to Indigenous practices grounded in reciprocal and collaborative exchanges (Ferguson & Weaselboy, 2020; Lawrence, 2000). Robertson's restorying of Donald's memory emphasized the chained transmission of land-based teachings from the earth through Elders since "the land was his classroom. He learned everything he needed to know on it." Judy Iseke and Brennus BMJK (2011) state, "Indigenous Elders are the educators of our children,

youth, adults, and communities, and storytellers and historians of our communities. Their stories and histories, shared through Indigenous pedagogies, educate communities and aid in sustaining our cultures" (p. 245). Robertson and Archibald-Barber both used podcasting's open narrative structure to participate in the tradition of Elder education about the land by retelling stories that sustained Robertson's Cree culture. Norman Fairclough (2003) argues that narrative structures dictate what can and can't be said. Unrestricted episode lengths and no commercial breaks allowed *Stories from the Land* and *Kiwew* storytellers to narrate long excerpts about Indigenous pedagogy, which includes physical interaction with the land.

In *Kiwew*, Robertson and Donald revisited Donald's old trapline, Black Water.[19] Both speakers explained memory's significance and the trapline's teachings:

> **Donald Robertson (DR) [to DAR]:** Remembering is– it's very important because it helps us to remember where we came from. So, remember some of the other ways of life that people followed and, in the old days, the way that they kept the stories alive, stories about ways of life, stories about ceremonies, stories about legends, and all the stories that are told. And so, one of the things that I think I'd like to do in this office is sit down and look back on life in the community and try to remember some of the things that happened.
>
> **DAR Narration:** Things like this [their current trip], like going out onto the land with Dad on the place that I feel connected to, both to the land and to my father. Eventually we leave, but I know that I'll return again. Later in my office back in Winnipeg, I asked Dad what it meant to him to go back to Black Water with me:
>
> **DR [to DAR]:** It was a very emotional experience, very emotional– a positive, positive emotional experience. But you can see that– you can see how you learn, right? As you can see the water, you can see the trees and you can see the birds and you can see the sky, you remember, "Oh yeah, you used to teach me about these things."
>
> (Robertson, 2020, June 18-c, 11:47)

[19] According to Robertson, a trapline is "a place where people hunt, snare, trap, and fish to make a living for their families" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-a, 3:15); *Kiwew* is a podcast companion piece to Robertson's *Black Water: Family, Legacy, and Blood Memory*, "a memoir about intergenerational trauma and healing, about connection and about how Don's [David's father] life informed David's own. Facing up to a story nearly erased by the designs of history, father and son travel back to the trapline at Black Water and through the past to create a new future" (HarperCollins, 2020, About the Book section).

Donald's physical return to the land and the memories it held for him rebuilt his connection to Black Water. Robertson's visit to Black Water on the land, in addition to the podcast, helped keep his father's stories alive. Robertson's phrasing of "we're out on the land together, when we're home in the place we had always been travelling to" suggests that physical presence creates an authentic essence of home life, that this is where he has lived all along through his father's ancestral connection. Donald also forwarded the significance of Elder teachings on the land when speaking from the perspective of his son, "Oh yeah, *you* used to teach me about these things." The "you" in this sentence refers to Donald himself who taught Robertson about the land on their trip that he can remember and pass onto his children. Donald emphasized the importance of remembering stories that capture "some of the other ways of life that people followed." The podcast recorded these stories that connected Robertson and the listeners to Cree ways of life that may have been supplanted or forgotten over time.

Kiwew's podcast has multiple levels of restorying. The first level was Donald piecing together his experience living off the land (Smith & Watson, 2010). The second level was Robertson's visit to Black Water with Donald where Robertson audio recorded his physical engagement with the land and replayed this recording through the podcast. The third level of restorying was the complete podcast project *Kiwew* (CBC) produced alongside Robertson's memoir *Black Water.* Smith and Watson (2010) note that in life writing narratives, the subjects often learn something new about themselves or their environment. Robertson used both the podcast and the memoir to reflect on his new self-knowledge about his Cree history and identity through the stories of his father that were passed down. Robertson constructed a specific image of his world based on his interpretation, which is a practice James Paul Gee (2014) terms a "figured world" (p. 204). The figured world in Robertson's context was the Black Water environment, which can educate listeners about how land connection historically offers Indigenous self-knowledge that can be (re)taught through physical presence. Indigenous listeners who have been disconnected from land may be unaware of the memories that it holds, like the stories told in Robertson's memoir, *Black Water,* and its audio companion, *Kiwew*.

Archibald-Barber and Robertson restoried Elderly lessons about the significance of land historically for Indigenous peoples. These stories contribute to a more multicultural understanding of Canadian history because directly-affected individuals are authoring *their*

personal and ancestral experiences. *Stories from Land* (Indian and Cowboy) and *Kiwew* (CBC) used podcasting's openly conversational format to share these stories publicly at their own pace and in relation to the podcaster's subjective positionality. In this way, podcasting is a digital storytelling device that can be used to retransmit lived experiences reflecting a facet of Indigenous history, knowledge, and cultural identity in Canada (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). Furthermore, both podcasts were recorded on the land itself. Archibald-Barber's story was recorded in front of a live audience at that Sâkêwêwak Annual Storytellers Festival in Saskatchewan. Portions of Robertson's podcast were recorded in Black Water and Norway House, Manitoba. Podcasting's recording mobility and digital editing help stories literally be shared on the land.

Campus (CBC) was another podcast that addressed land connection. Mohawk and Cree guest Kona Williams shared her historical experience related to land connection during the 1990 Kanesatake Resistance, popularly referred to as the "Oka Crisis" (Leung, 2016, December 16). The Kanesatake Resistance was "the 78-day armed standoff between the Mohawk natives at two Montreal-area reservations, the police, and later the armed forces [that] marked one of the most bitter land claims conflicts between Natives and both levels (provincial and federal) of government in recent Canadian history" (Morrison, 1996, p. 128). Guest Williams and the *Campus* podcast collectively authored this story:

> **Kona Williams (KW) Narration:** I remember that summer back in 1990, we were just playing outside being regular kids, me and my brother, and we were there staying with my grandmother and my mother, and the road started getting blocked off and I really wasn't sure what was going on.
>
> **Broadcast Clip 1 - Anchor (BC1):** Good evening. It was a bloody day at the Mohawk Indian community in Oka, Quebec, near Montreal. Provincial police in riot gear stormed the barricades the Mohawks had set up. There were clouds of tear gas, a hail of bullets, and in the midst of the battle, a policeman was killed. All this because of a dispute over a piece of forest the Indians claim is theirs. A forest town council wants to bulldoze to expand the local golf course.
>
> **Broadcast Clip 2 – Person on the Street 1 (BC2):** Its Mohawk land. It's our land. They're sucking the marrow out of our bones.

Broadcast Clip 3 – Person on the Street 2 (BC3): What kind of people are you? There are children here and you're shooting tear gas at us [Mohawk protestors]. We're not, we're not armed, and you're aiming your weapons at us. What kind of people are you?

Broadcast Clip 4 - Anchor (BC4): Tonight, it's a standoff. The situation very tense. The Indians have blocked off both ends of the road leading to that forest.

(Leung, 2016, December 16, 13:03)

Gee (2014) uses the term "cohesion" (p. 203) to refer to the speech tactic of connecting pieces of information into one narrative that demonstrates the speaker's position. *Campus'*s cohesion of historic broadcast news clips situated the Kanestake Resistance for listeners unfamiliar with the historic standoff who can hear the unrest and fear. Broadcast Clip 2 illustrated the historical crux of the Mohawk connection to land when the person on the street stated, "They're sucking the marrow out of *our* bones." This response suggests that the interviewee equated the land with their communities' Indigenous bodies, that land and body rely on each other for survival. Like bone marrow feeding the body white blood cells to fight infections, the land literally and figuratively feeds Indigenous sustenance. The person on the street in Broadcast Clip 3 also criticized police using tear gas. The clip historically contextualized the physical displacement police tried to enforce and the firm stance Mohawk took to repel such land theft that is historically characteristic of the Canadian government. *Campus*'s cohesion of broadcast clips linguistically and sonically exhibited the historic event's connection to Indigenous cultural resistance.

Podcast guest Williams recalled her own experience during this event:

KW Narration: We were in the back of a car and we were trying to get past the barricades and through and we couldn't, they had to turn around and come back. And so at that point, we, both my brother and I at least, started to get pretty scared. I remember watching people with guns strapped to their backs walking up and down the streets. And that's something I'd never seen before. Like, I don't think I'd ever seen a gun except for in the movies. And so that's when it started to get real. We'd hear gunfire, you'd hear helicopters. You know, I remember my mother saying, "We have to get these kids out of

> here." Our stuff was getting gathered, it was being stuffed into our suitcases. We were told to get our clothes on and put on something warm and be outside, and we did that.
>
> (Leung, 2016, December 16, 14:15)

Williams's memory of her mother saying, "We have to get these kids out of here," expressed the displacement Williams and her brother felt as children being physically removed from their environment and family due to colonial danger. Williams's connection to the land her grandmother lived on was shortly suspended as a direct result of the Kanesatake Resistance. The Kanesatake Resistance was an important story to tell on the podcast because it recounted the physically violent nature of the state against Indigenous peoples historically and the heroic resistance against colonial land theft that is still practiced today.[20] There could be gaps in public understanding without stories like this one told on C*ampus*. This episode explained a foundational event representing the land's importance to Indigenous cultures for those who did not directly experience it but who are in/directly affected today. Williams's story also contributes to a lineage of Indigenous resistance demonstrating the struggle for cultural sustenance.

Podcasts in this study addressed historical Indigenous relationships with land and dis/connection due to physical presence or lack thereof. Historical accounts about these land relationships serve a dual purpose: they are self-expressive and educative. Podcasters were able to share experiences that people can either identify with or learn from. These authentic stories author connections with land that represent each podcaster's beliefs and values. Restorying historical connections to Indigenous places, peoples, and events in Canada may help enrich public understandings about Canada's past from a nationally and culturally expansive demographic.

Indigenous Restorying – Residential Schools

Another topic bearing historical discussion about Canada's past is politically sanctioned residential schooling and its effects on Indigenous cultures today. Residential schooling is an

[20] The CBC produced a podcast titled *Land Back* in 2022. Gitxsan journalist and host Angela Sterritt tries to "understand how the federal and provincial governments still control the mass of land in Canada, despite Indigenous ancestral rights and the title to land which has been proven in courts time and again" (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Communication, 2022, November 2).

important history about Indigenous peoples in Canada that was not reflected in many narratives about the country's past until recently (Perkel, 2021; Wong, 2021; Yoshida-Butryn, 2020). The White possessive logic of colonization extends to the colonially abusive system of residential schooling in Canada (Moreton-Robinson, 2018). This system enforced physical and cultural settler ownership over Indigenous bodies, languages, and practices. Eric Hanson et al. (2020) state,

> The residential school system is viewed by much of the Canadian public as part of a distant past, disassociated from today's events. In many ways, this is a misconception. The last residential school did not close its door until 1996, and many of the leaders, teachers, parents, and grandparents of today's Indigenous communities are residential school Survivors. Although residential schools have closed, their effects remain ongoing for both Survivors and their descendants who now share in the intergenerational effects of transmitted personal trauma and loss of language, culture, traditional teachings, and mental/spiritual wellbeing. (Ongoing Impacts section)

Historically retelling the residential school system is paramount because it contextualizes the state of many Indigenous cultural aspects today (e.g., language, teachings), as well as the resilience to combat dominant political structures for cultural sustenance and better futures. This section addresses the whole residential school system rather than its specific effects on language loss (as discussed in Chapter 5).

Residential School history in Canada has increasingly received national recognition since the publication of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) reports. These reports were compiled through a seven-year (2008-2015) investigation when residential school Survivor testimonies and historical research into the legacy and policies of the system highlighted the trauma enforced through the "cultural genocide" (Chrisjohn & Young, 1997; MacDonald, 2019; MacDonald & Hudson, 2012) of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. Residential school history is reflected in its traumatic effects transmitted generationally that contribute to Indigenous homelessness, imprisonment, drug addiction, violence, and mental and physical health issues (Hanson et al., 2020; Lavallee & Poole, 2010; Mitchell, Arseneau, & Thomas, 2019; Nelson & Wilson, 2017). Podcasts like *Kuper Island* (CBC – 2022) and *Stolen: Surviving St. Michael's* (CBC – 2022) have recently addressed residential schooling's history alongside the TRC publications. *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada - 2020) is one podcast in

this study that recounted the colonial system's history through documentary-style audio testimonies.

Residential Schools is a three-part miniseries that Historica Canada produced to share the Survivor experiences from First Nations, Métis, and Inuit communities. Like *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) podcast, *Residential Schools* is a "storytelling network," which Andrea Wenzel (2019) defines as a collective of "residents, local and ethnic media, and community organizations [that] are key actors involved in telling stories about what is happening in a community" (p. 148). Gitxsan First Nation journalist and podcast host Shaneen Robinson-Desjarlais narrated the podcast to historically contextualize the oral testimonies of Survivors that the Legacy of Hope Foundation (n.d.) provided. Norman Fairclough (2003) argues that historical contextualization provides listeners background information about a story so they can understand the deeper meanings of "characters" and their speech within that story. The Legacy of Hope Foundation is an Indigenous-led initiative that archived Survivor testimonies recorded during the TRC's research and reporting. Testimonies were made available to the *Residential Schools* podcast to collaboratively frame the school system's perpetuating effects (Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007). This partnership exhibited what Smith and Watson (2010) define as a "collaborative authorship," or the collective contribution to a narrative through multiple speakers and sources of information that strengthen an intended message. The TRC reports and the *Residential Schools* podcast collectively maximize their potential reach to retell a significant part of Indigenous history and resilience in Canada from the perspectives of those who survived, to initiate healing, and to educate audiences.

Referring to First Nations residential school history in the first episode (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 3), host Robinson-Desjarlais contextualized the stories of Survivors like Ed Bitternose:

> **Shaneen Robinson-Desjarlais (SRD) Narration:** Ed always got into fights at school. As he got older, he turned to alcohol to deal with his trauma, and his drive to fight grew stronger. It didn't matter if he won or lost—he didn't need a reason to fight. By the time he sought counselling for his anger and alcoholism, he felt helpless.
> **Ed Bitternose (EB) Narration:** I don't know how to talk to my wife. I don't know how to talk to my kids. I don't know what to do with all these feelings.

> **SRD Narration:** Counselling and anger management helped Ed make some kind of sense of what had happened to him at residential school. But not all Survivors have been able to access those services or are in a state of mind where they can ask for help.[21]
>
> (14:16)

Robinson-Desjarlais also spoke to Niigaan Sinclair, whose father, Justice Murray Sinclair, was the Chair of the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

> **SRD Narration:** Niigaan [Sinclair] says stories like Ed's were shared again and again throughout the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.
>
> **Niigaan Sinclair (NS) Narration:** The Ojibwe storyteller Basil Johnston bravely, at the very first national event, told a story to thousands in attendance that he was abused by older boys. And that description was very difficult to hear because what it tells you is that not only did the children witness the abuse, but then they also learned that behaviour and they took that upon themselves. That is the hardest thing in which to understand, but it also indicates to you that the abuse was so rampant that students were beginning to abuse each other.
>
> (15:07)

Dr. Niigaan Sinclair's response that it was "very difficult to hear" Johnston's testimony about his abuse from other Indigenous children because they "learned that behaviour and they took that upon themselves" suggests that Sinclair now recognized the imitative behaviour of students who internalized their abusive environments. Sinclair's reflection in these two phrasings exhibited what Smith and Watson term "self-knowledge," or the ability for someone to communicate their understanding of new information that informs their worldview. Sinclair communicated here that he was still learning about this history through these testimonies. Combining Bitternose's testimony with Sinclair's interpretation of Johnston's public speech helped *Residential Schools*

[21] According to Robinson-Desjarlais, "Studies have shown that, generally, Survivors have an increased risk of mental or physical health problems. Death by suicide and self-harm is a leading cause of death for First Nations youth and adults up to 44 years of age" (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 3, 14:35).

podcast create a "cohesive" (Gee, 2014, p. 203) narrative about the intergenerational physical trauma.

Residential schooling also forced the loss of Indigenous knowledge, including land connection, for many nations because students were removed from their communities, taught Western cultural practices, and were unable to learn off the land (Turner & Spalding, 2018). Inuit residential school Survivor and *Residential Schools* podcast guest Abraham Ruben shared his experience returning home each summer to his family on the land:

> **Abraham Ruben (AR) Narration:** We would be like a bunch of prisoners set free. It was just enough time to get reacquainted. We knew, we had memories of being on the land, berry picking and hunting, caribou hunting, ptarmigan hunting, and fishing and sealing and all those things that we had spent the whole year just thinking about. And finally get out, and it would be like sending off a bunch of kids on an adrenaline rush and they've only got two months to– to get back, to catch up, to find out who your parents were, you know, just to get back. And as soon as you get home you know time's running out. You're wanting to soak in as much as you can because that's all that you're going to have for the rest of the year. Before we went back to Inuvik [where the residential school was], my mother told me, "Be proud of where you come from. Be proud of your culture, your traditions, what we taught you. And whatever it takes, just keep fighting."
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17, 17:08)

Ruben recognized the opportunities at home to reclaim his cultural practices, "traditions, what we taught you," that were unavailable in residential schools. Ruben's phrasing about returning home "to catch up, to find out who your parents were" suggested his inability to communicate with his community during the school year and that his disconnection caused cultural unfamiliarity with his parents after less than a year away from home. Connecting the clauses "traditions, what we taught you" and "to find out who your parents were" is a type of "relationships building" (p. 202) that Gee (2014) recognizes as illustrating the attachment between two speech items. In this passage, Ruben demonstrated how his parents' teachings are closely connected to who they were. Thus, to forget these traditions in school meant to forget his parents' identities. Ruben's retelling of his childhood acknowledged residential schooling's

influence on cultural disconnection that still exists for many today (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). His mother's advice to "just keep fighting" alludes to the *Indian Act*'s control historically over Indigenous children to attend residential schools regardless of their parents' wishes.

Piita Irniq similarly recounted assimilation and his relationship with his parents upon return:

> **SRD Narration:** But as the years went on, this blissful return became tainted. Some returned home only speaking English and were conditioned to teach their families to read and write. Here's Piita:
>
> **PI Narration:** Our parents had a great deal of difficult time. They lost their children. They lost their child that they were bringing up to believe that he was going to grow like a true Inuk with abilities to hunt, ability to speak, ability to know the land, the environment that I walk on. But they missed out in that. They no longer know anything about me after I had been to a residential school.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17, 18:18)

Irniq's memory in the podcast historically contextualized residential schooling's colonial impact on minimizing Indigenous self-knowledge. Irniq's comment that his parents "lost their child that they were bringing up to believe that he was going to grow like a true Inuk" illustrated the cultural disconnect the schools caused. Irniq did not view himself to be a "true" Inuk person without cultural entraining. Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel (2005) argue, "relationships to each other, communities, homelands, ceremonial life, languages, histories … These connections are crucial to living a meaningful life for any human being" (p. 599). Like Ruben's association with "being on the land, berry picking and hunting, caribou hunting, ptarmigan hunting, and fishing and sealing," Irniq expressed his desire to "hunt," "speak," and "know the land, the environment" that was crucial to his sense of Inuk identity. Both Ruben and Irniq's testimonies echoed Alfred and Corntassel's (2005) statement because Ruben and Irniq's cultural severance from their land, ceremonies, and languages made them feel less "Indigenous," either from their own perspectives or through the eyes (e.g., their appearance) and ears (e.g., how they sounded) of their families and communities. Stories like these are essential for understanding a cultural history that was attempted to be forgotten but more recently gained national public interest. Yet

these (hi)stories always existed for the people that experienced them, and their families, since the effects can still be felt today alongside collective cultural perseverance. Podcasts like *Residential Schools* can be formative in helping these stories be heard.

Historical settler propositions about the residential school system's positive contribution to Indigenous communities aligns with the colonial desire for forced assimilation and the erasure of Indigenous knowledge and practices in exchange for European settler ways of life (see Bagot, 1845; Davin, 1879; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969; Ryerson, 1847). As podcast guest Irniq remembered in *Residential Schools* podcast:

> **PI Narration:** The year 1958, whether I knew anything about it at the time or not, was the beginning of the end of my own culture and my own language and of my own Inuit spirituality.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17, 6:49)

In another episode, podcast guest Linda Blomme recognized her Métis identity being stripped away:

> **Linda Blomme (LB) Narration**: I remember being proud, being happy, being proud of who I was, and I remember walking sort of tall and I was only five. Well, that didn't last too long because once we got inside, that was it.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 10, 6:23)

Irniq and Blomme authored their experiences while retrospectively gaining self-knowledge about their forced assimilation. Alfred and Corntassel (2005) note that "it is ultimately our lived collective and individual experiences as Indigenous peoples that yield the clearest and most useful insights for establishing culturally sound strategies to resist colonialism and regenerate our communities" (p. 601). *Residential Schools* cohesively combined these separate stories and perspectives to offer insights into individual experiences amalgamating into a cultural history of forced assimilation and resistance (Gee, 2014). Although former Prime Minister Stephen Harper formally apologized for residential schooling in 2008 (Government of Canada, 2008), which the podcast replayed, settler institutions predominantly controlled the narrative publicly around

residential schooling and its detrimental effects until the TRC reports were released in 2015. Stories exist, but spaces like the TRC reports and *Residential Schools* podcast helped publicize them to begin individual healing and community resurgence.

Fairclough (2003) argues that texts can be analyzed by their sociocultural context. Simply put, what is written or spoken can have additional implications based on where and when the text was produced. *Residential Schools* was produced in 2020, five years after the TRC's reports, but the audio testimonies from survivors like Bitternose, Ruben, Irniq, and Blomme were initially recorded during TRC's research between 2008-2015. Thus, these stories were originally told in conjunction with the TRC's goal to understand the residential school system across Canada in detail with Survivor support. Survivors shared their stories on their own terms so that their voices could be heard and so that others could learn about the system's cultural impact on Indigenous peoples across Canada. The Survivor recordings worked alongside the 2015 TRC reports and the 2020 *Residential Schools* podcast to tell this history more deeply. These texts, and others like them, contributed to the resurgence of residential school coverage in 2021 when unmarked graves of Indigenous children were uncovered on past residential school sites.[22] *Kiwew*, *Stories from the Land*, *Campus*, and *Residential Schools* all benefitted from being able to reuse and combine individual audio clips from different recording sites and times that contributed to their collective audio narratives. In this way, podcasts like *Residential Schools* can be considered a type of communicative collage or "bricolage."

Trauma and abuse were dominant themes within the *Residential Schools* history miniseries. In "First Nations Experiences" (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 3), Survivor and podcast guest Riley Burns referred to the sexually predatory behavior of Gordon Residential School principal, Reverend Albert E. Southard:[23]

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[22] Approximately 200 unmarked graves were found at the Kamloops Indian Residential School in British Columbia in May 2021 (Sterritt & Dickson, 2021). One month later, it was reported that 751 unmarked graves were found at the Marieval Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan (Eneas, 2021).

[23] According to host Robinson-Desjarlais, **"**In 1956, four girls charged Southard with sexual impropriety. He denied the claims and was exonerated by a senior teacher after an in-house investigation. The next year, a school inspector was called in to investigate other allegations against Southard. But by the time the inspector arrived at Gordon's, Southard had already quit his post and left the country. In his investigation, the inspector found that two girls who had attempted to run away from the school had had their hair cut short. One girl was hospitalized after receiving what was described as 'a severe punishment.' He [the school inspector] concluded that 'the general impression conveyed was that certainly bullying is quite prevalent'" (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 3, 9:45).

> **Riley Burns (RB) Narration:** In those two years—it seems like for 40 years—but those were the years that were rough. This man lost his mind. He'd take it out on the kids. It wasn't our fault. But it was our fault 'cause we were "savages." They were going to subdue us. Take away everything. Take away our language, our beliefs. They did.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 3, 10:42)

Disobeying rules resulted in physical punishment. Burns's comment that Southard inflicted pain because the students were "savages" reinforced the discriminatory understanding that Indigenous students were part of a lineage that historically needed to be "tamed" or rebuilt because their ways of life, cultural practices, and beliefs were not aligned with the Christian faith and Western ideals. Robinson-Desjarlais also noted that "a school inspector was called in to investigate other allegations against Southard," but the principal avoided repercussions. Her historical contextualization in this passage was a form of what Gee (2014) terms "activities building" (p. 202), or the activity one hopes their communication achieves. In this instance, Robinson-Desjarlais's contextualization addressed the inactive legal imposition on state-sanctioned injustices that this podcast hopes to transform.

In "Métis Experiences" (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 10), host Robinson-Desjarlais contextualized Survivor and podcast guest Louis Bellrose's experience:[24]

> **SRD Narration:** By the time Louis Bellrose was at St. Bernard Indian Residential School in the mid-1940s, Métis students made up half of the school's student body. He remembered being given a particular name by staff:
>
> **Louis Bellrose (LB) Narration:** When I went to school, we were called "externs." I don't think that's a word in the dictionary or anything.
>
> **SRD Narration:** Being an "extern" meant that Louis wasn't allowed to stay at the residential school overnight. It didn't matter that he lived so far from school. He walked over six kilometres, there and back, every day. But school-aged Métis children like Louis

[24] Robinson-Desjarlais explained the conditions of Métis-specific schools: "While Métis kids were used to fill other schools' quotas, Métis-specific schools were inconsistently funded by the government. Poor facilities and staffing, malnutrition and widespread illness were common at residential schools" (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 10, 7:11).

> didn't have much of a choice: they were often considered "too Indian" to attend provincial public schools and "too white" for residential schools.
>
> (7:29)

Bellrose's testimony recognized the teachers' discriminatory vocabulary with words like "extern" that were thrown at him because he existed in between Indigenous and White communities but felt like he belonged to neither. The verbal abuse mirrored Irniq's experience being called a "savage," both terms which were meant to dehumanize students because they were Indigenous. Robinson-Desjarlais also briefly noted that schools were "inconsistently funded," which contributed to mass "malnutrition and widespread illness." This comment exhibited "Big 'C' Conversation" (p. 204), which Gee (2014) refers to as a speech act where an individual experience is connected to a larger issue. Robinson-Desjarlais used Bellrose's testimony to address the government's culpability in this genocidal history since students were not afforded proper living conditions, let alone being physically and culturally displaced. In January 2023, a report from the Acimowin Opaspiw Society revealed that hundreds of children who attended Blue Quills Indian Residential School in Alberta died from drinking unpasteurized cow's milk (Stewart, 2023). This report adds to the TRC's findings, the Legacy of Hope Foundation's recorded testimonies, and the *Residential Schools* podcast narratives about "malnutrition and widespread illness." These intertextual stories can help people understand the country's inhumane practices and historical imposition on Indigenous cultures. Recorded Survivors authored their own stories for future generations to learn from, which also foregrounded that these histories exist, and they matter, regardless of when they occurred.

In the "Métis Experiences" podcast episode (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2010, March 10), Survivor Larry Langille remembered an instance of physical abuse:

> **SRD Narration:** At residential school, any sort of rebellious act was often met with harsh punishment. Larry remembered one instance in particular from when he was just six years old.
>
> **Larry Langille (LL) Narration:** I was known as a "runner." That's when you run away. Well, they knew how to stop me from running. There used to be these long wooden benches and every time you did something wrong, you stood on them and stood on a

> pointer with bibles in each hand. And that was very painful. The Sisters had these big-heeled shoes. They smashed that bone in my toe, the big bone. They said, "Now run."
>
> (11:05)

Inuit Survivor and podcast guest Ruben remembered his first physically abusive encounter in another episode:

> **AR Narration:** That first night at the residential school I had nightmares. And in the nightmares, I saw this face of this nun. I had nightmares all through the night, woke up in the morning and I had wet my bed. All the other kids had already gone out and gotten dressed. She [the nun] came out and saw me still sleeping and realized I had wet my bed. She dragged me out and laid her first beating on me.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17, 00:11)

These memories illustrated the physical, sexual, and verbal abuses that went publicly unacknowledged until recently. Smith and Watson (2010) argue that memory is important for personal storytelling when speakers do not possess material objects like photos or journals that document their experiences. Memory is a useful tool for podcasting because it offers unique insights grounded in observations and experiences that can contribute to a larger narrative. Although memory can be less reliable as time passes, *Residential Schools* podcast recorded these testimonies from direct sources, so they are documented and remembered for future generations. Gee (2014) argues that texts often combine pieces of information to build a cohesive theme or meaning across a narrative. Repurposed Survivor testimonies in *Residential Schools* created a cohesive narrative restorying the memories of specific Indigenous communities to identify experiential patterns in this cultural history. These testimonies coalesced into a broader oral history about the colonial system and its effects today that were previously underrepresented in the discursive construction of Canadian history and Indigenous lived experiences (Vrikki & Malik, 2019).

Podcasting helps raise awareness about cultural stories that many settlers have ignored, not learned about, authored themselves, or retrospectively rationalized. For example, Conservative Senator Lynn Beyak claimed that residential schools were "well-intentioned"

(Campion-Smith & Ballingall, 2017). This comment excused the historical behaviours of residential schools despite abundant research on the system's goal to "kill the 'Indian' in the child" (Walker 2016, November 15), as *Missing and Murdered* (CBC) host Connie Walker stated in her podcast. Beyak's rationale shockingly came less than two years after the TRC's published reports about the system's traumatic and detrimental effects. *Residential Schools* podcast included the voices of Indigenous Survivors who become the central characters to situate history's influence on modern conceptions of Indigenous cultural identities and sustenance. Indigenous communities become authors of Canadian history in this podcasting process.

The restorying of residential schooling also humanizes the perpetual effects of verbal and physical violence towards Indigenous Survivors whose identities embedded in Indigenous cultural practices and ways of life were stripped. It is inarguable that the effects of this colonially violent history remain for people who lost their languages, practices, ways of life, and family members and whose current actions are a response to childhood and intergenerational trauma. Canadian identity favours Western history and Western practices that the residential school system aimed for Indigenous students to assimilate. Podcasters and guests in this study confronted Canadian history and restoried the country's residential school system narrative that contributed to Canada's growth as a settler nation. Restorying reaffirmed that these histories exist and that the stories, and their authors, matter. Podcasts can educate about the past while situating present effects and future implications of individual actions and Indigenous cultures generally. Furthermore, these podcasts contextualized current Indigenous concerns about Indigenous-Canadian relations grounded in a history of unfair, unfaithful, and uncivil actions.

Indigenous Restorying – Intergenerational Trauma

One potential result of residential school history (alongside other colonial policies) is intergenerational trauma. Intergenerational trauma refers to the "collective complex trauma inflicted on a group of people who share a specific group identity or affiliation – ethnicity, nationality, and religious affiliation" (Evans-Campbell, 2008, p. 320). For Indigenous communities, trauma experienced in residential schools can lead to continued psychological, physiological, and sociocultural suffering, both for people who attended the schools and for their families over generations (Bombay et al., 2014; Menzies, 2020). Residential school survivors

"left these institutions, they returned to their home communities without the knowledge, skills or tools to cope in either" (Menzies, 2020), which has influenced how survivors deal with their own trauma and socially interact with their families (MacDonald & Hudson, 2012, p. 432).

Future generations related to residential school survivors may experience trauma themselves (in)directly. Teresa Evans-Campbell (2008) argues that direct intergenerational transmission occurs when a survivor's family members "vicariously experience events via stories heard about the experiences of their parents or grandparents" (p. 328). Indirect intergenerational transmission occurs when a survivor's trauma influences the way they act (e.g., parenting style), which can directly impact family members (Evans-Campbell, 2008). Thus, intergenerational trauma derived from residential schooling has lasting effects, even for those who did not attend the schools. Intergenerational trauma has led to mental health issues including depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) for survivors and their families, which has helped cause systemic issues of homelessness, unemployment, and imprisonment for those whom residential schooling directly or indirectly impacted (Menzies, 2020). Inside these communities there are physiological, psychological, and sociocultural impact factors. From outside these communities, cultural discrimination and economic marginalization have sustained intergenerational trauma since there is a lack of support for changing destructive patterns (Menzies, 2020).

Intergenerational trauma is believed to have contributed to the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (MMIWG) crisis in North America. This crisis is situated around the high rate of Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit peoples who have been murdered, gone missing, or been victims of violence. According to the Assembly of First Nations (2023), "Indigenous women make up 16% of all female homicide victims, and 11% of missing women, yet Indigenous people make up only 4.3% of the population in Canada" (Our Work section). Many of the cases are unsolved, leading to the 2016 formation of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. The Inquiry cited four pillars for gathering information: 1) Community hearings, institutional hearings, knowledge keeper and expert hearings, 2) Past and current research, 3) Collaborations with Elders and knowledge keepers, and 4) Forensic analysis of police records (*Our Mandate, Our Vision, Our Mission*, n.d.). This detailed process resembles the TRC's work from 2008-2015 to bring the voices and stories of victims, Survivors, and directly affected people to public attention in a safe and collaborative

space. The Inquiry's commencement also highlighted larger issues of inefficient investigations. Thus, the Inquiry aims to understand the deeper political, legal, social, cultural, and economic causes of the crisis.

According to findings from the National Inquiry's final report "Reclaiming Power and Place" (n.d.), part of the MMIWG crisis includes "a surrounding context marked by multigenerational and intergenerational trauma and marginalization in the form of poverty, insecure housing or homelessness and barriers to education" (n. pag.). The commissioned reports have raised these prevailing injustices to public consciousness. Podcasts like *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) and *Missing and Murdered* (CBC) invited Indigenous peoples directly affected by this crisis who are literally being heard in potentially transformative ways. *Missing and Murdered* (season one) is the primary podcast from this study that engaged with intergenerational trauma connected to MMIWG and the epidemic's colonial causes, which were not widely attributed to Canada's history until recently.

In *Missing and Murdered*'s season one podcast, Cree journalist and podcast host Connie Walker investigated the 1989 death of Alberta Williams, a 24-year-old Indigenous woman whose body was found near Prince Rupert, British Columbia, along the Highway of Tears.[25] Her unsolved murder is one of many cases contributing to MMIWG in Canada. According to Stacey Copeland and Lauren Knight (2021), *Missing and Murdered*:

> posits itself within the framework of survivance, identifying Indigeneity as thriving and utilizing this artform as a method of self-expression in order to reclaim indigenous voice. A podcast where episode after episode the listener finds themselves thoughtfully weaved into the wounded vibrations being amplified and the sounds of reclaiming the indigenous body from colonial power. (p. 113)

Walker's podcast restoried Williams's life the days before and after her murder, positioning Williams as the story's central character. Williams's story reflects the larger history of Indigenous women as victims of violence domestically, colonially, and judicially. Williams's murder remains unsolved at the end of the podcast's first season, highlighting the systemic inactivity towards closing these cases. The podcast publicly documented one case to spread awareness about its unsolved status and similar outcomes in other investigations.

[25] According to Katherine Morton (2016), "Highway 16 in Northwestern British Columbia is named the Highway of Tears for the substantial (although uncertain) number of Indigenous women who have disappeared" (p. 300).

Walker's podcast investigation partially touched on the intergenerationally traumatic effects of residential school history that likely contribute towards MMIWG. In "The Brothers" (Walker, 2016, November 15) episode, Walker revisited stories about the attempted erasure of Indigenous identities through abuse. These stories resembled the testimonies from residential school Survivors Louis Bellrose, Piita Irniq, Riley Burns, Abraham Ruben, Larry Langille, and Linda Blomme in the *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) podcast. *Missing and Murdered* weaved together multiple testimonies alongside Walker's recorded investigation:

> **Connie Walker (CW) Narration:** The darkest chapter in Canadian history: Indian Residential Schools.
> **Survivor Testimony 1 (ST1) Clip:** And my life will never be the same because of all the trauma and terror I experienced in that school system.
> **CW Narration:** For over 100 years, 150,000 Indigenous children were taken from their homes. Children as young as four years old taken from their mothers and their fathers and forced to attend residential schools. They weren't allowed to go home. They weren't allowed to speak their language. They weren't allowed to practice their culture.
> **Survivor Testimony 2 (ST2) Clip:** I just remember arriving there and donning new clothes and, of course, getting a haircut and sitting in the classroom and being with other girls and witnessing my brother get punched by the supervisor.
> **CW Narration:** Some kids had their heads shaved on arrival. Others had their names changed. Some were given a number. It was part of government policy. The goal was total assimilation, what became described as a campaign to "kill the Indian in the child."
> **Survivor Testimony 3 (ST3) Clip:** When it came time for us to come back to our community, we were standing at the train station and we didn't know who to watch for. Who was this person? Who is mother? I didn't remember my mom. I didn't know who she was. I had forgotten everybody.
> **CW Narration:** We now know that thousands of children experienced horrific sexual and physical abuse. Thousands died in residential schools. Some of them died while trying to escape. The schools affected generations of families.
>
> (6:32)

Walker used the phrase "darkest chapter in Canadian history" to describe the residential school system, later stating that "we now know that thousands of children experienced horrific sexual and physical abuse." "We *now* know" is a type of speech "context" (Gee, 2014, p. 201) suggesting that the details of residential school history in Canada are only now being learned about and understood despite its attack on Indigenous cultures historically. *Missing and Murdered* offered a public space for these educative stories to be shared. Walker concluded that "the schools affected generations of families," explicitly acknowledging the intergenerational influence, even after the system's abolition in 1996.

Walker also mentioned that students' physical appearances and names were changed to further "kill the Indian in the child." Survivor Testimony Two, the speaker of which was unnamed in the podcast, recounted physical punishment when "witnessing my brother get punched by the supervisor." Walker's narration and these testimonies worked collaboratively to situate potential contributing factors to the MMIWG crisis in Canada, including the physical and mental abuse Indigenous children endured at school that are potentially replicated later in life. This argument reflected Sinclair's comment in *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) podcast that Indigenous students learned abusive behavior from faculty and used it on other students. Statistics Canada admitted in their 2022 report on "Victimization of First Nations People, Métis and Inuit in Canada" that:

> due to the historical and intergenerational trauma resulting from colonialism and related policies, as well as individual and systemic racism, many Indigenous people today – that is, those who are First Nations, Métis or Inuit – face a number of deeply rooted social and economic challenges, including higher rates of criminal victimization. (Perreault, 2022, p. 3)

Statistics Canada's report attested to Walker's comment that the government's policies aimed for "total assimilation, what became described as a campaign to 'kill the Indian in the child.'" Many Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people may have been victimized as an extension of this cultural history. Walker's podcast focused on Indigenous authorship through the audible inclusion of Survivor accounts in their own words to historically contextualize residential school's assimilative system. Gee (2014) uses the phrase "Big 'C' Conversation" (p. 204) to define the speech practice of connecting individual testimonies that speak to a larger issue or debate. *Residential Schools* podcast and *Missing and Murdered* podcast used Survivor

testimonies to advocate for justice and political retribution for Indigenous communities whose voices and stories were being valued against the historical Canadian myths of residential schooling as "improving" society by "killing the Indian," or being a problem of Canada's past.

Walker recognized her podcast's educational power about the effects of historical Canadian colonial systems after her conversation with guest Brad Marsden, who was Williams's cousin. Marsden explained that he hosts workshops on Indigenous history in Canada:

> **CW Narration:** Brad is in his 40s now and works as a facilitator, giving presentations about Canadian history, but not the history that's typically taught in schools. Brad speaks about the true history of the relationship between Indigenous people and the rest of Canada. Our conversation that day stayed with me for a long time, not only because of what he told us about the night Alberta died, but because Brad helped me begin to understand how her murder and the story of her family and community could be connected to this Canadian history that he's so passionate about teaching.
>
> **Brad Marsden (BM) [to CW]:** I'm a product of the people who raised me, you know? Like, they had their experiences with colonization, residential schools. You know, a lot of those viewpoints, beliefs, fears, anger, that molded a lot of our communities' minds and I'm just a five-year-old little boy coming into this world, I'm very dependent on my caregivers. And, you know, my mind was developed that's very influenced by residential schools. The way I view the world is probably very similar to some of the Survivors because you only teach what you know, right?
>
> **CW [to BM]:** So, you were a Survivor as well, in a way?
>
> **BM [to CW]:** Yeah, today we call it intergenerational Survivors. Even though I never went to those residential schools, my primary caregivers did. You know, their views and attitudes and outlooks at life were heavily influenced by the residential school.
>
> (Walker, 2016, November 15, 2:25)

Marsden's role as an educator about his own experiences influenced Walker's podcast conversation. Walker contextualized Marsden's educational role on "Canadian history, but not the history that is typically taught in schools." This phrasing exhibited "activities building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202), or the activity that a message is trying to conduct. In this instance, Walker

communicated to the audience that "Canadian history" not taught in schools and that students should learn about is Indigenous history, which Marsden's workshops and Walker's podcast aim to address. Walker's use of the phrase "true history" when describing Marsden's goal to talk about "the relationship between Indigenous people and the rest of Canada" further suggests that Walker believed Canadians have been taught a "false" history about Canadian-Indigenous relations as positive, peaceful, and coexistent. Marsden referenced residential schools' intergenerational impact when he said that he's "a product of the people who raised me" and that "you only teach what you know." This comment demonstrated "relationships building" (p. 202), which Gee (2014) argues is a speech act that explains how two items depend on each another. Marsden's explained that adult behaviour often depends on learned behaviour in childhood, which Sinclair (*Residential Schools* – Historica Canada) learned about during the TRC's testimonies regarding peer violence in the schools. Marsden even explicitly used the term "intergenerational survivor" to identify his connection to his primary caregivers' childhood experiences. Thus, the podcast was a space for restorying Canadian-Indigenous relations today through an investigation into colonial systems that created disparity and influenced destructive behaviours.

Walker's journalistic relationship with Marsden began in this podcast to verify portions of Williams's case, but their interaction caused Walker to reflect on her own past. Smith and Watson (2010) argue that relationships between people in life narratives influence how their sense of selves are conveyed. Walker explicitly noted this relationship's influence on her self-concept during a narration:

> **CW Narration:** I was also learning about myself and my family, about how my own childhood experiences give me a unique understanding about how these issues are connected. Because in some ways, the violence at the root of this issue made me who I am. I don't have a lot of memories from my childhood, but the ones I do remember are frightening. My father was an alcoholic and he used to hit my mother. I remember many times being woken up in the night by the yelling and the violence. Sometimes we would run away from him and hide in the alleys, worried he was coming after us. At the time, I didn't know that he [my father] was a residential school survivor sent to Qu'Apelle Indian Residential School when he was a child. I still don't know what happened to him there,

> but I can imagine because the pain and the fear he inflicted on us came from somewhere in him. … Having those kinds of experiences as children can't help but shape who you become as an adult or what you do.
>
> (Walker, 2016, November 15, 11:17, 11:25)

Walker's personal restorying provided retrospective self-knowledge about residential schooling's influence on her childhood grounded in her father's experiences. The podcast has educational power for understanding her sense of self today. Walker's use of the personal pronoun "I" situated her within the narrative to become an authorial character whose experiences contributed to the larger narrative of Indigenous cultural history. Although Walker never heard about her father's residential school experiences when she was a child, she "imagines" his painful actions "came from somewhere in him" that influenced his parental behaviour. Like Marsden, Walker commented that childhood experiences "shape who you become as an adult or what you do." Both Marsden and Walker explained that their childhood experiences and what they were taught and had observed partially shaped who they are, just as their caregivers before them in residential schools. The stories and context that Marsden and Walker shared illustrate the importance of educating future generations about past experiences so that people can better understand their current sociocultural positions in relation to their lived environments and their Elders' actions.

Walker's podcast exhibited restorying in multiple ways to reframe how her and her guests contextualized colonial history. The first level of restorying involved Marsden sharing his experiences with Walker and the audience. The second level of restorying occurred when Walker directly addressed the listeners about her own life. Fairclough (2003) notes that "direct address" is an authorial choice to build intimacy with listeners and encourage responses. Thus, authors are aware of their potential listeners and can shape their content a specific way. Marsden and Walker revealed personal details to the audience so listeners could contextualize what residential schooling, MMIWG, and intergenerational trauma are and how they are connected to Indigenous peoples today. Listeners can understand the emotional investment and passion Walker and her guests had towards addressing these topics. Marsden and Walker's podcast testimonies orally contributed to a public history of Indigenous peoples that are freely available online to others to identify with or learn from. This is especially important for listeners who are unaware of Canada's past to contextualize the current state of Canadian-Indigenous relations.

Walker and Marsden later shared their lack of education about residential schools growing up because the Survivors they knew did not share their traumatic stories often:

> **BM [to CW]:** You know, I never heard about the residential school until I was about 23 or 24. And I came out of my mother's womb and boom, I was introduced to– this was my world, you know, the Indian reservation, you know? Like, these negative social problems that we see that are in our communities today, this was what I thought was just the way it is on the reservation, right? Now that I know what exactly was in our history, all of the trauma that collectively our people across the land experience, it was kind of mind boggling that I think back when I was left to my own devices to sort of piece together my world and 23 years old, when I heard about it, I was already hardwired. I already had these deep-set core beliefs about myself, my people and such, right? So...
> **CW Narration:** That was something I also related to. I didn't know until I was an adult that my dad was a survivor of residential schools. By then he quit drinking and embraced the culture and community that was taken away from him as a child. My dad not only overcame his addictions, he transformed his entire life. He became a cultural leader in his community and a loving and supportive father to me and my siblings. I think Brad's resilience also reminded me of my father's and my mother's.
>
> (Walker, 2016, November 15, 22:47)

Marsden grew up in his Indigenous culture without understanding that "these negative social problems that we see that are in our communities today" stem from colonial systems like residential schooling. Learning about this past caused him to question "these deep-set core beliefs about myself" that he was taught since childhood since he assumed the problems on his reserve "was just the way it was." Residential school system history enforced his understanding of Indigenous existence in Canada today and how his life, and the lives of others, are structured. Walker echoed this sentiment that "I didn't know until I was an adult that my dad was a survivor." Without these stories being told, these histories are misunderstood or unknown. Directly affected individuals may be unaware of why their environments, or the people within them, are a particular way. Podcasts in this chapter like *Missing and Murdered* are especially beneficial texts for learning these histories because directly-affected people are authentically

authoring their experiences on their own time in their own ways and are willing to share their stories and knowledge to better understand themselves. Walker's conclusion about her father's "transformation" to become a "cultural leader" and "supportive father" later in life equally exhibited Indigenous resilience to colonial Canadian history. Walker's comment about her father's ability to "embrace the culture and community that was taken away from him as a child" exhibits podcasting's potential for people to contextualize and reflect on their history, and the history of others, through testimony and stories in a public format.

Shortly after Walker's intimate details about her childhood, she asked Marsden about the educational goal of his workshops to understand Canada's past for settlers as much as Indigenous peoples:

> **BM [to CW]:** Well, what I'm trying to teach is we've got all of these, you know, these negative stereotypes. You know, like "Indians get everything for free," "Indians are lazy," "Indians blah, blah, blah," all of these negative stereotypes. And when I show about law and policy, about, you know, like we weren't allowed to leave our reserves without a note, you know, and how helpless we were in the whole process of our children getting taken away. So, they start to really see how we change as a result of all of these impacts. And then they could better understand us and, you know, go from a state of, you know, frustration, "Oh, those Indians get everything for free." Now it's more of, "Oh, I see why there are these certain dynamics that presented themselves in these communities and I see why these Native people, they act the way they do, behave the way they do, think the way they do, and such."
>
> (24:18)

Marsden's commentary about negative Indigenous stereotypes resulted from his perception of a repetitive public narrative that "Indians get everything for free, Indians are lazy." This narrative may exist because many settlers in Canada were likely unaware of, or ignorant to, the residential school system's history and behavioural influence until recently. His workshops contextualize Indigenous history in Canada to attack these stereotypes. *Missing and Murdered* podcast did this in the same way between Walker's narration and Marsden's interview. The educational goal for settlers was evident in Marsden's use of pronouns to distinguish himself, Walker, and Indigenous

people as “we” and settlers as “they.” Separating Indigenous peoples and settlers this way affirmed Marsden‘s understanding of a collective Indigenous identity people in Canada share in experiencing residential schools historically, the effects of which are intergenerational and felt today for all Indigenous people in some manner. However, Marsden’s initial use of “we” in the first sentence to say that “what I’m trying to teach is *we’ve* got all these, you know, these negative stereotypes” could also mean that some Indigenous people have applied negative stereotypes to their own Indigenous communities based on popular beliefs. Overall, Walker’s inclusion of Marsden’s educative explanation in the podcast offered another space for storytelling Canadian history and contextualizing its empathetic importance for both Indigenous peoples and settlers.

A few other children of residential school Survivors in this study also learned about their parent’s attendance in colonial schools that affected their parental behaviours. In *New Fire*’s (CBC) “Opening Up About Indigenous Intimacy” episode (Charleyboy, 2017, July 22), guest Joshua Whitehead mentioned their father’s schooling in Canada during a conversation about sexuality:

> **Joshua Whitehead (JW) [to LC]:** I think it was like 23 when he started telling me about his own history and experiences with that [sex]. And he would tell me his kind of stories about residential schools. And he was in a boarding school in Alberta, um, that isn't recognized as a residential school, unfortunately, by anyone’s standards, apparently. But he would tell me his stories, right? Like the abuses, the physical, the kind of emotional, spiritual abuses that he endured there and throughout his life within the foster care system as well, right? Um, and this is, I don't think, one conversation we have reached yet, but I know there are traumas there around the idea of sex and sexuality, too. … Trauma and sexual violence and rape culture, these were all things that were kind of ingrained at the same time while we're saying, like, “You lost your language, lost your family,” et cetera, et cetera. So, sex really becomes this traumatized thing full of pain and hurt. So, I think, like, his masculinity is his kind of “shield.” … I can see how that kind of has protected him and served him and kept him alive throughout his life.
>
> (11:02)

Although not officially part of the residential school system, Whitehead's father's potentially abusive experiences created a "shield" for him moving forward in life, which affected the way Whitehead expressed their own sexuality growing up. Whitehead's second-person reference to their father, "*You* lost your language, lost *your* family,'" suggests that their father's abuse was equal to language and family loss that attacked their father's sense of self. Whitehead's episode illustrated the importance of childhood experiences and how that can affect parental outlooks and actions.

In *Campus*'s (CBC) "Dissecting a Dark Indigenous Past" (Leung, 2016, December 16), Kona Williams explained her father's outlook:

> **KW Narration:** He went to residential school, he went to a place called "Birtle" in Manitoba. And he didn't tell me a whole lot about what happened there for a very long time. And I figured he just went to school and then he went to university and then he became my dad. I think maybe it was because we were just, at first, just too young to understand what had happened. And it just really wasn't anything that was actually talked about. He'd give a little bit, but he wouldn't go into very much detail. And, you know, we asked, well, you know, "What was Christmas like for you in school?" and, you know, he'd say, "Oh, well, you know, I got an orange in my stocking." We thought that was just, you know, the worst Christmas gift ever, and we're like, "Dad, what, an orange? Come on. It's not anything special." He's like, "Well, it was to me." He said, "You got to remember, it was really cold and we were really poor." And then he just sort of dropped the subject and changed it to something else. So, again, like, I think he was mostly just sort of "shielding" us from knowing some of the real awful things that happened. And as we got older, we started learning a little bit more about some of the darker sides of our history.
>
> (11:01)

Like Whitehead's use of the term "shield," Williams used the verb-form "shielding" to address how her father established a protective relationship based on his childhood schooling experience so that she would not experience the same traumas or have the same feelings. This passage displayed what Smith and Watson (2010) phrase "authorship and the historical moment," or the

speech act of referring to cultural stories that have scripted people as specific kinds of subjects. Williams's reflection about how "he didn't tell me a whole lot about what happened there for a very long time" and that "we started learning a little bit more about some of the darker sides of our history" framed Williams's father as residential school Survivor whose stories helped her understand her cultural past that partially shaped her present sense of self. Williams's father shared *his* story on his own time to Williams, just as podcasters and guests did in their episodes. Like Marsden, Williams used the term "we" to situate herself alongside all other children of residential school Survivors who are increasingly learning about the system and its perpetual effects, which Connie Walker partially addressed in *Missing and Murdered* (CBC). Williams also used the phrase "our history" to suggest that all Indigenous people in Canada share the consequences of residential schooling that non-Indigenous people do not endure.

Whitehead, Williams, Marsden, and Walker all expressed not learning about residential school history until they were older. Podcasts offer a space to tell these stories if podcasters and guests are willing to share. Whether there is an appropriate age to start learning about or listening to this history is a different debate, which places podcasting in an interesting predicament because these podcasts were freely available without age restrictions. Hosts warned about sensitive content at different times, but people are not restricted from listening beyond these warnings. *Missing and Murdered* addressed similar effects of intergenerational trauma with Survivor testimonies in the *Residential Schools* podcast. Both podcasts focused on different crises within Indigenous communities but restoried the traumatic history of Indigenous communities in Canada forcibly produced through settler colonialism. These podcasts provided a space for residential school Survivors to be central characters that illustrated the potential traumatic effects of colonial policies and systems to crises like MMIWG. Rather than having settler Canadians tell these stories and potentially misrepresent Indigenous perspectives, these podcasts offered space for affected communities to speak. Despite Walker being the primary voice of the *Missing and Murdered* podcast, her Cree woman perspective was employed relationally to other testimonies to diversify the perspectives of different Indigenous peoples.

Black Restorying

This study also included podcasts about Black history and its influence on present-day Canada despite infrequent recognition. The history of racialized communities in the United States often supplants the Canadian context because of the geographical proximity between both countries. *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network) podcast guest Liberty White (Joseph, 2020) recounted a conversation she had with a colleague who argued that the higher prosperity in Black American tech communities over Black Canadian tech communities is due to America's "couple hundred years on us in struggle and fighting through and like all of that" (12:51). Yet as *Decoding Black* (Centennial) podcast cohost Dr. Christopher Stuart Taylor explained in "Introducing Decoding Black" (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 11), Canadians need to address "this erasure of Black people from Canadian history, Black people have been here in this country [Canada] since the early 1600s" (9:46). Five of the 20 podcasts in this study referred to Black history in Canada, especially addressing Black History Month and education for sharing Black Canadian stories and experiences that are infrequently heard publicly.

A common argument amongst podcasters and guests in this study is that many of the stories celebrating Black History Month in Canada concentrate on American perspectives or highlight American people. *Black Canadian Content Creators* podcast host Sherley Joseph reflected on this during her conversation with podcast guest Ricardo McRae:

> **Sherley Joseph (SJ) [to Ricardo McRae]:** I told them [my daughters] because they're explaining that they do the doors, and they decorate the door with their class during Black History Month of their heroes. And they were showing me, or naming, like, people, like, you know, the usual, like Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Oprah.
> **Ricardo McRae (RM) [to SJ]:** Hold the popcorn.
> **SJ [to RM]:** I was like, "Yeah, but what about the Canadians, man? There's like some great heroes and people, phenomenal people in Canada who are Black, who've done amazing things." And they're like– you know, for example, there's a lady [Viola Desmond] who's going to be on our money.
>
> (Joseph, 2019, October 8, 33:42)

Joseph listed three Black figures from the United States, "Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Oprah" that demonstrated insufficient celebration of Black Canadians. The term "heroes" used

beforehand to explain the naming of these three American figures suggests that students did not identify Black Canadian role models in Joseph's daughter's classes "who've done amazing things." Joseph followed the term "heroes" with reference to Viola Desmond, who became the face of the $10 Canadian bill starting in 2018. According to the Bank of Canada (*Canada's Vertical $10 Note*, n.d.),

> Viola Desmond was a successful Black businesswoman who was jailed, convicted and fined for defiantly refusing to leave a whites-only area of a movie theatre in 1946. Her court case was an inspiration for the pursuit of racial equality across Canada. Viola's story is part of the permanent collection at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. (Courage and Dignity section)

Desmond's story was available for 72 years (1946-2018) before being honoured on the Canadian bank note. Joseph's comment spoke to the inactive recognition of Black Canadians like Desmond who she believed needs to be introduced and celebrated more in schools when students "decorate the door with their class." Simply put, there are Black "heroes" from Canada who historically contributed to the country's current standing but that role models from other countries like the United States supplant.

Black Canadian Content Creators podcast primarily profiles Black Canadian creatives to support Black Canadian representation and entrepreneurship today. Guest McRae used the podcast to intertextually promote his project with Dawn Williams, author of *Who's Who in Black Canada* (2002), a directory celebrating over 300 Black Canadians. McRae digitized Williams's book as an additional educational resource:

> **RM [to SJ]:** Yeah, well, teachers do use it [the digital book], and I'm so proud. There's actually one school that uses it every year and they have all their students pick a different profile, and there's over 300 and then they line the walls of the entire school with a different profile and everybody talks about it. And it's like, to think of 300 black Canadians in one school, none of the profiles repeated and nobody in sports, nobody in entertainment. Maybe a couple athletes, maybe. And everybody else is– there's 80 different categories: science, math, feminism, you name it. To see that depth and breadth of [Black] contribution to the fabric of this country is heartwarming. And it shapes the minds of young people and it shapes the minds of other people in other communities as

> they view us because we decide what that frame looks like rather than you're going to tell me that it's only Jane and Finch. There's nothing wrong with Jane and Finch. There's also nothing wrong with an architect.
>
> (Joseph, 2019, October 8, 34:32)

McRae referenced the benefit of using Williams's digital book in the classroom to introduce Black figures who are not "in sports, nobody in entertainment." Addressing these two themes illustrated McRae's opinion that Black figures who are usually celebrated in Canada are famous athletes and entertainers. Yet there are other figures who contributed to "science, math, feminism" that helped shape the intellectual and sociocultural "fabric of this country," which the digitized book promotes. *Black Canadian Content Creators* offered a space for Joseph and McRae to express their desire for more representative role models learned about in schools, which speaks to the larger implications of including Black success stories that students can identify with and/or learn from.

Similar to *Missing and Murdered* guest Brad Marsden's educational endeavour to teach Indigenous history to all people in Canada, McRae noted that the digitized book is intended to break Black stereotypes because "it shapes the minds of young people, and it shapes the minds of other people in other communities as they view us because we decide what that frame looks like." McRae addressed the book's two-pronged goal for "young" people who identify as Black to learn about and author Black history in Canada and for "others," meaning non-Black people, to understand how Black people "view" themselves outside mainstream representations. McRae attacked mainstream narratives equating Black existence in Ontario with "only Jane and Finch," a neighborhood in Toronto that has been notoriously represented as crime- and poverty-stricken (Richardson, 2008). Simply put, McRae forwarded that Black Canadians are not monolithically criminal or poor despite media narratives that non-Black people have created. Instead, McRae argued for more diverse representations by and about Black Canadians where "we decide what that frame looks like." McRae used "we," which is a form of "identities building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202) where a speaker identifies community connection. This excerpt positioned McRae, host Joseph, and other Black Canadians against "you're" and "them," inferring non-Black people, to suggest collective "Black" authorship is essential for profiling Black Canadian history and success.

The distinction between *what* stories represent Black Canadians and *who* authors these stories is the primary focus in McRae's digitized book and the *Black Canadian Content Creators* podcast. Fairclough (2003) argues that intertextuality and paratextuality place a text within a set of relations with other texts that create a network of meaning. *Black Canadian Content Creators* is an educational resource that intertextually (Smith & Watson, 2010) connected to McRae's other work. The podcast is freely available online and exists among digital storytelling resources like McCrae's digitized version of Dawn Williams's book, which creates a network of meaning about Black history in Canada through the amalgamation of stories addressing the same topic. *Black Canadian Content Creators* used "cohesion" to connect these separate pieces of information to strengthen its argument about the existence of Black role models.

Another example of Black digital (hi)storytelling is Radio Canada International's *Portraits of Black Canadians* podcast, an educational resource for grade school educators. The podcast is comprised of 27 short audio history lessons "about black Canadians who contributed to the building of Canada" (Radio Canada International, n.d.). The three episodes analyzed in this study profiled Michaëlle Jean (Radio Canada International, 2020, March 1), Sam Langford (Radio Canada International, 2020, February 19), and slavery laws (Radio Canada International, 2020, February 6). *Portraits of Black Canadians* podcast historically contextualized how Canada is partially built on the experiences of, and policies towards, different Black communities that are underrepresented within discursive constructions of Canadian history. In "Slavery Laws" (Radio Canada International, 2020, February 6), the podcast recounted:

> **Narrator 1 (N1):** Slavery in France was regulated by the famous Code Noir, also known as the Black Code. Established by King Louis the 14th in 1685, the code was meant to stop the abuse of slaves by their masters, but in fact it legitimized black slavery and it had the support of philosophers and the church.
> **Narrator 2 (N2):** Article 12: The children who will be born of marriage between slaves will be slaves and will belong to the master of the women slave. Article 44: Slaves are items of furniture.
> **N1:** During the 18th century, the British colonies also adopted laws to control slaves. A master could refuse to feed his slaves, whip them, or brand them with a red-hot iron. He could also force them to have children working 18-hour-days and sell them whenever he

> wanted to. Laws controlling slavery in Europe existed until the 19th century. Today, slavery is outlawed in theory.
>
> (0:10)

Narrator 1, who is unnamed, explained that the Code Noir "was meant to stop the abuse of slaves by their masters, but in fact it legitimized Black slavery and it had the support of philosophers and the church." Retrospectively, the podcast acknowledged that the laws were equally detrimental. For example, slaves were still considered objects like "furniture" and were granted some basic human rights but were still under complete control of French society. The basic human rights were poorly facilitated and were meant to maintain liveable conditions so slaves could continue free labour. Like residential schools, slave laws also aimed to indoctrinate slaves with Catholic religion and values of colonizers. This podcast contextualized Black history on global and national scales, which demonstrated what Gee (2014) calls "relationships building" (p. 202), or the influence two items have on each other. King Louis XIV's Code Noir is particularly pertinent to Canada given French colonial inhabitancy contributing to Canada's foundation. Narrator 1 additionally noted that "British colonies also adopted laws to control slaves," connecting British rule to British inhabitancy and influence in Canada. *Portraits of Black Canadians* concluded that "today, slavery is outlawed in theory." These comments suggested that remnants and sites of slavery still exist, even if they are not named as such or publicly talked about. Stories of victimization are clearly not the only narratives existing about Black communities, but they were used in this podcast episode to contextualize Canada's colonial connection historically to part of the nation's current demographic.

Portraits of Black Canadians also celebrated Black Canadian role models like Michaëlle Jean:

> **N1:** Her Excellency, the right honorable Michaëlle Jean, became Canada's 27th Governor General in 2005, making her Canada's first Black person to be appointed to the post. Canada is a parliamentary democracy and a constitutional monarchy which recognizes the British monarch as Canada's Chief of State. The Governor-General acts as the monarch's viceregal representative.
>
> (Radio Canada International, 2020, March 1, 0:08)

The podcast also celebrated Sam Langford:

> **N1:** Known as the Boston Terror, Sam Langford was one of the best boxers of all time. Langford was born in 1886 in Weymouth Falls, Nova Scotia, on Canada's East Coast. He moved to the U.S. at age 14 to train in Massachusetts, where he quickly became a professional boxer. Like many other Black fighters, Sam Langford was deprived of boxing in official fights because of his race. But Langford still fought in hundreds of informal championships and beat some of the best in the world, earning him the title of the unofficial world champion.
>
> (Radio Canada International, 2020, February 19, 0:31)

Jean and Langford achieved notoriety but may not be celebrated widely for their political and athletic successes respectively. As McRae noted in *Black Canadian Content Creators*, people often celebrate Black figures who are athletes or entertainers. Yet this podcast celebrated Jean for being the "first Black person to be appointed to the post." Her story exhibited the political potential for Black Canadians moving forward beyond athleticism and entertainment. Langford was an athlete, a profession which is often celebrated. However, Langford's coverage in the early 20th century as a boxer offers a different scope to the coverage athletes receive today due to television and social media coverage. Athletes can tell their own stories online to a large group of people today because of digital access and social media. Stories about figures like Langford may be forgotten or undocumented to a large degree in this process. Thus, podcasts like *Portraits of Black Canadians* (RCI) that celebrate potentially underrepresented role models can strengthen community and public understandings about people who contributed to Canada's success. This podcast could be considered beneficial in its educational pursuit because it avoided the speech tactic "integration" (p. 201), which Gee (2014) refers to as the optional inclusion of opinions. This podcast approached telling stories about Black success (Jean and Langford) and legal discrimination (slavery laws) from an informative lens to help restory the existence of Black communities contemporarily and ancestrally in Canada. Podcasters and guests, and the people they profile, can become authors of Canadian stories through these shows through informative and persuasive approaches.

Podcasts in this chapter like *Black Canadian Content Creators* argued that the institutional omission of Black history in Canadian education is a major problem contributing to the erasure of Black Canadian identity. The podcast argues that younger generations are not learning about, or hearing themselves represented in, the stories being taught. In *Mic Drop* (CBC), elementary school student Taneia explained her experience being a Black student in a predominantly White school:

> **Taneia (T) Narration:** Last year, I had this White teacher, right? And she didn't know anything about Black History Month herself. She didn't know anything about Black history. So, she would turn to me, like when she's trying to teach the class, she would turn to me and ask if that's "okay." Like, if she's saying it right because she really didn't know herself. I was like, "Wow, I thought you were supposed to teach me. Why am I teaching you? That doesn't make any sense." It's definitely one of the things that made me want to make a difference at my school.
>
> (Okeke & Haber, 2020, September 4, 2:04)

Taneia explained that learning from a White teacher about Black history was difficult because the teacher did not have knowledge or context to situate the lessons. Taneia's experience illustrated the benefit of directly-affected people authoring and sharing their own stories, or preparing materials for others to share (e.g., an educational resource like a book). Taneia then explained:

> **T Narration:** I went to go talk to my French teacher about this situation and I chose to talk to her because she's Black. So, I assumed she would understand why I would want to help more this year, why I care so much about Black history. A couple of years ago, my dad showed me this documentary of slavery and I saw how the White people were treating the Black people, and it really made me sad. So, from that day forward, I wanted to show everybody, "look how far we came," and like, I wanted to show them, "look how amazing Black people are. Look what we went through," because a lot of my friends at school, they don't know anything about Black history. They just think, "Oh, we appeared," like nothing happened to us. Like we didn't fight for our rights or something.

(Okeke & Haber, 2020, September 4, 2:40)

Taneia wanted to show everybody, 'Look how far we came'" after watching a documentary on slavery. Her use of the term "we" was a form of "identities building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202) because she explicitly foregrounded her identification with other Black Canadians. Taneia's goal was to educate friends who "don't know anything about Black history," which mirrored Marsden and McRae's goals to educate *everyone* about history that clarifies the current standing of different cultural groups in Canada. Furthermore, Taneia's reference to her friends who "just think, 'Oh, we appeared,' like nothing happened to us" suggests that students at her school were not learning about Black history or understood these community histories in Canada. Again, Taneia used the term "we" to identify with Black people historically who had to "fight for our rights."

Taneia later shared her initiative to provide educational resources to her teacher:

> **T Narration:** I was noticing at my school every year that we didn't do anything for Black History Month. It was all about Valentine's Day, birthdays. Nobody cared and it really hurt me to see that. So, I like, I really wanted to show my school, "Hey, look at this." This is the book I showed my teacher. It's called *Big Dreamers, the Canadian Black History Activity Books for Kids.* I told her that there's a lot of Black people in it, Black History Month stuff, and I told her we could maybe do projects off of it. I'll read you a bit from the book. One of my favorite people in here is Anne Clare Cools:
> "Ground breaker Anne Clare Cools came to Canada in 1957 and attended McGill University. She was a strong student leader seeking equality. After moving to Toronto, she founded one of the first shelters to support women, children and families. In 1984, she became the first Black senator in Canada, as well as the first Black female senator in North America."
> **Anne Clare Cools [ACC] Clip:** I did the best I could, and when I encountered opposition and adversity, I sought to face it, confronted and defeated, using reasoned argument and rational debate in the name of righteousness and justice itself.
>
> (Okeke & Haber, 2020, September 4, 3:40)

Taneia had to provide a resource to her teacher for Black History Month, which illustrated the school's lack of knowledge and preparation that may reflect education boards on a larger scale. Nonetheless, offering *Big Dreamers* to her teacher for her and others to learn about Black Canadian history exhibited Taneia's enthusiasm that other students can have when they feel themselves represented in Canada's history. Taneia used the podcast to voice her experiences while discussing multiple figures from Black Canadian history, including former Senator of Canada Anne Clare Cools. The inclusion of Cools's voice in the podcast through an archived clip was an additional source of Black history education that listeners can learn from. Smith and Watson (2010) note that paratextuality is a useful tool for strengthening a speaker's position because audiences can engage with multiple pieces of information that collectively contribute to the same argument. *Big Dreamers*, the podcast, and the inclusion of Cools's voice clip created a paratextual link highlighting the inactivity of Black history education and the initiative Black Canadians are taking to tell these stories. *Mic Drop* (CBC) also offered a space for Taneia to voice her perspective using CBC's popularity. Her perspective may have been difficult to publicly access otherwise due to her age.

Taneia concluded the podcast conveying Black History Month's significance to her as a young Black Canadian:

> **T Narration:** Black History Month is important to me because I find Black people don't get the recognition that they deserve. We've done so many great things and not a lot of people have noticed them. And we do the same things as White people. And White people get praised more than us. I was really happy to see that I made such a big change in my school because it felt like I was getting recognized and it felt like I did something for the community.
>
> (Okeke & Haber, 2020, September 4, 7:03)

Taneia's position that "we've done so many great things and not a lot of people have noticed them" insisted that Black history is being overlooked and thus, *she* has been overlooked. *Mic Drop*'s episode with Taneia forwarded the perception of omitted or overlooked Black Canadian history in the current education system, which can perpetuate the belief that Black people don't have a history in Canada contributing to the nation's current standing. Taneia's use of personal

pronouns “I” and “we” focuses her, the Black figures she speaks about, and Black Canadians or “the community” as potential authors of Black history. She is an author of Black Canadian history at her school rather than her teacher who was admittedly unknowledgeable about the subject matter.

In *Decoding Black* (Centennial), a podcast produced for Black History Month (like *Portraits of Black Canadians*), cohosts Dr. Taylor and Letecia Rose contextualized the lack of Black history in Canadian education:

> **Christopher Stuart Taylor (CST) [to Letecia Rose]:** One thing we really need to put some context to is that we're here to disrupt and destabilize these narratives of Black folk and deconstruct this negativity that's been created, this erasure of Black people from Canadian history. Black people have been here in this country since the early 1600s. There has been this fallacy that Black folk just "got here." But that's only recognizing that this country has had a policy, particularly since 1906 and 1910, to exclude Black people. And as a policy, something called “climate discrimination,” where this country had something within the Immigration Act that said we can bar Black people from coming to this country because it's too cold. Imagine that, because it's too cold. So, then we pushed through 1962, we have the official de-racialization of the Canadian Immigration Policy, and then 1967 where we have this point system. So, now it's much more equal for Black folk and "non-white" folk to come to this country. And my parents came through that too, coming from Barbados. But the problem that we have is that we don't learn that history. The point of decoding this podcast and decoding these conversations is to open up this conversation to listeners to understand that we have always been here. It's just, we were told one thing and not the other. So, in these spaces then, knowing that there's this negativity that's being created about Black folk.
>
> (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 11, 9:33)

The phrase “to disrupt and destabilize these narratives” that exclude Black Canadians or insist that “Black folk just ‘got here’” is an example of what Gee (2014) calls, “why this way and not that way” (p. 200). Gee (2014) notes that any speech is one selection from many possible combinations of words that encode a specific meaning. In this passage, Taylor could have used

words like “change” or “reimagine” when addressing popular narratives about Black Canadians. However, Taylor’s specific phrasing of “disrupt and destabilize” suggested that existing “negative” narratives about Black Canadians are accepted on such a large scale that they need to be stopped and proven wrong before new narratives can supplant them. Taylor’s concluding comment attacking the notion that “Black people just ‘got here’” exhibited *Decoding Black*’s ethos to transform the way all Canadians think about Black existence in Canada since there has not been any recent arrival.

Explaining the policies aimed at preventing immigration to Canada in the 1900s was another tactic suggesting that there were multiple attempts to maintain a specific demographic and culture during the 20th century. As Taylor noted, “the problem that we have is that we don’t learn that history” and that “we were told one thing and not the other,” which the podcast aimed to address. This phrasing that Black Canadians “don’t learn that history” exhibits “identities building” (p. 202) that Gee (2014) states is a tactic speakers use to foreground their sense of self that they believe validates their perceived authority over a discussion topic. Taylor’s perception that certain histories in Canada are taught while others are kept quiet is grounded in his identification as a Black Canadian who has gone through a Canadian education system. Furthermore, *Decoding Black* cohosts wanted to situate their own sociocultural positions within a lineage of Black Canadians to “decode” what being Black means to them based on their own experiences and observations. Reference to historical policies and acts was a type of historical contextualization that provided listeners with multiple examples supporting *Decoding Black’*s belief that Canada’s education system has historically attempted to diminish Black Canadians (Fairclough, 2003). This podcast added to a network of information about Black history located in policies like the Immigration Act.

Rose remembered her childhood in school, like Taneia did in *Mic Drop* (CBC), and the lack of representation she felt inside and outside the classroom:

> **LR [to CST]:** I do remember the first day of school seeing who this new teacher that my other friends were going to get and she was this young, hip, cool, Halle Berry-esque, bamboo earrings, high boots, listening to hip hop. She just oozed out cool. And I felt, “That's not fair, I want to be in her class.” And I remember, as soon as she saw me, she came up to me and said, "Hey," which was unreal for me because typically if it wasn't

> your teacher, they wouldn't talk to you. So, she immediately saw me and said "hi" to me and I felt, it's strange to say, but I felt seen. And from that day, I was attached to her class, even though I wasn't in the class, but I was attached to her in that class. But I think what was so interesting about her was she helped connect me to who I was and my identity. It was the first time we had a step team at the school. She brought that in. It was the first time of African Heritage Month; she created a whole curriculum and celebration about it. Don't get me wrong, we did Black History Month. It was the first time it was celebrated when she got there. So, it makes me think about how representation, seeing yourself reflected, how that actually matters, how that helps, specifically for me as a child, showing up into educational spaces.
>
> (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 18, 5:49)

Rose's reflection that her student experience "makes me think about how representation, seeing yourself reflected, how that actually matters" exhibited a desire for authorship. It is not only the stories that are being told that matter, but who authors them, like the "young, hip, cool" teacher she identified with at her school. The teacher "created a whole curriculum and celebration about" African heritage, which Rose noted helped "connect me to who I was and my identity." Stories about Black history that "celebrate" African heritage as well as engage with the Canadian context can be especially empowering for people in Canada like Rose. Rose's explicit association between her teacher's "African-centered" curriculum and her teacher's help to "connect me to who I was and my identity" was a form of "identities building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202). In this instance of the podcast, Rose established that teachings about Black History Month helped her see herself "reflected, how that actually matters, how that helps, specifically for me as a child, showing up in educational spaces." Rose foregrounded her experience to argue that "educational spaces" require representative content because school helps inform a child's sense of self. Although *Decoding Black* is not a formal educational resource on its own, it can be used to breach this critical topic about Black history education from two cohosts who shared their lived experiences to ground their opinions.

Taylor replied to Rose's story with history about segregated schools in Ontario from 1850 to 1965:

> **CST [to LR]:** So, we're looking at, particularly in Ontario, 1850, we have something called the *Common Schools Act*, where it is legal now to have, we call it "separated" schools that every race could have their own school. But what happened when we look at the roots of systemic racism, systemic anti-Black racism, we need to understand that that law allowed White folks to exclude Black people from their schools. And so, it creates segregated schools that lasted in Ontario until 1965 and lasted in Canada until 1983. So, we're not just talking about historical phenomenon here. So, when you're telling your story about feeling validated and feeling like you finally see someone that looks like you, that *could* be you, it's because of this history that we have in this country and globally that Black people, particularly during enslavement in the Americas, it was illegal for Black people to read and write, to be educated. When you think about that for a second, in Canada, enslavement ended in 1834. So, it was illegal for Black folk in Canada to read and write. And so, we're looking at, what we call these "diachronic" realities, that history draws the straight line to you walking in that classroom and finally seeing someone that looks like you and validating who you are is because the system and history said you don't belong.
>
> (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 18, 8:39)

According to Fairclough (2003), historical reference helps contextualize what happened in the past so a speaker can understand the present circumstance. Taylor historically referenced "the Common Schools Act" and "'separated' schools" in 1850 to indicate a lineage of Black underrepresentation in teaching. Curriculums are typically structured at the provincial level for elementary and secondary schools in Canada, but teachers do have agency over how that curriculum is expressed. Taylor's explanation about various educational policies historically situated his observation about Black presence in schools today and the "head start" that "White folks" have had over everyone else in these institutional settings since "it was illegal for Black folk in Canada to read and write." Taylor later used the phrase "diachronic realities" to frame this history demonstrating his belief that Black representation in content and authorship has been a historical process, the remnants of which are palpable today. Like other Black Canadian podcasters in this section, Taylor used what Smith and Watson (2010) call "autobiographical 'I'" to insert himself into the conversation using the pronouns "we" and "they/them" that voiced his

connection to a supposedly unified Black community experience historically. Simply put, Taylor's phrasing suggested that he believes different institutional settings and policies affecting Black communities historically affect all Black Canadians today.

Rose and Taylor continued to parse through these "diachronic realities":

> **CST [to LR]:** We talk about the miseducation of Black folk. First, it's the *no*-education of Black folks. We must understand that during the period of enslavement, it was illegal for us to pass on our culture. We could not have our drums from the African continent. We could not speak our language. We were forced to speak whatever lingua franca it was, French, English, Spanish, Portuguese. We were forced to do that. So, we were miseducated in a history that did not belong to us. So, we're in these spaces now that is taking this time to move forward, to draw this straight line that "you don't actually belong." And we're feeling that in these spaces.
>
> (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 18, 10:30)

Rose's response that "we sometimes say history doesn't matter, it doesn't matter what happens in the past" exhibited her observation about a disconnect people make between past experiences and current circumstances. For example, this disconnect is present when people argue that slavery or residential schools is a historic system and problem that has no bearing today since victims within these systems, and their descendants, are now "free." Yet these systems are foundational to the current social, cultural, political, and economic status of many communities within the regions these systems existed. As Taylor noted in *Decoding Black*, "We must understand that during the period of enslavement, it was illegal for us to pass on our culture." Taylor's response about the illegality to "pass on our culture" stemming from slavery suggests a direct connection between Black Canadian history and current understandings and representations of Black Canadian culture. The remark that "we were miseducated in a history that did not belong to us" is especially telling of Taylor's position that people in Canada are taught a false history that does not "belong" to them. His combination of "miseducation" and "belong" when referring to history is a form of "significance building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202) where the speaker signals the importance of certain things over others. "Miseducation" and "belong" signalled the importance of understanding that the history "we," or Black Canadians as Taylor

identified with earlier, have learned in school is incorrect and told *by* non-Black Canadians. Taylor's notion is important to understand because histories taught in schools can inform how students think of themselves based on how they feel their communities are represented, which cohost Rose attested to earlier. Taylor concluded that "we're in these spaces now," arguing that Black Canadians, or "we," must know this history and can address this history in spaces like education that were initially restrictive.

Podcasts in this section restoried Black narratives about Black Canadian history and the historically exclusionary politics of the education system that feed these stories. *Portraits of Black Canadians* (Radio Canada International) presented history lessons for grade school children, *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network) and *Mic Drop* (CBC) shared personal accounts of teaching and learning about Black history in school, and *Decoding Black* discussed the history of Canada's exclusionary education system. As *Decoding Black* podcast cohost Taylor argued, "the problem we have is that we don't learn that [Black] history" (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 11, 10:51). Restorying these histories in podcasting centers Black communities and podcasters as characters and authors whose narratives can transmit knowledge publicly across Canada. *Black Canadian Content Creators*, *Portraits of Black Canadians*, *Mic Drop*, and *Decoding Black* collectively addressed the need to educate people, especially young students, about Black history. Education can inform people's sense of selves today and can contextualize many current cultural, social, political, and economic conditions stemming from Canada's past. Additionally, celebratory stories about Black Canadian figures can exhibit the contributions that Black Canadians have made to the country's standing. Students may see themselves reflected in these stories or can learn from them cross-culturally, especially when directly-affected people author them. Thus, podcasts can restory educational narratives about Black Canadians and/or critically address systems setting aside these stories.

6.2: DISCUSSION

Does podcasting help augment Canadian history? To answer this question, the research findings in this chapter were divided into four different history themes: 1) Indigenous land connection, 2) Indigenous residential schools, 3) intergenerational trauma, and 4) Black history. These themes helped evaluate podcasting as a storytelling tool for enhancing understandings about different

experiences in, and cultural critiques about, Canadian history. Ten podcasts in this study shared personal and ancestral histories or reflections related to these themes in a Canadian context. *Stories from the Land* (Indian & Cowboy), *Kiwew* (CBC), *New Fire* (CBC), and *Campus* (CBC) discussed Indigenous land connection, *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) discussed Indigenous residential schools, *Missing and Murdered* (CBC), *New Fire* (CBC), *Campus* (CBC) addressed intergenerational trauma, and *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network), *Decoding Black* (Centennial), *Portraits of Black Canadians* (Radio Canada International), and *Mic Drop* (CBC) discussed the importance of Black Canadian history in education. This chapter's results revealed three values for podcasting's potential to augment national history: 1) Podcasters can be authoritative figures, 2) Podcasts can be educational texts cross-culturally, and 3) Podcasts can intertextually and paratextually contribute to larger counternarratives online.

Podcasters as Authorities

Indigenous history podcasts are increasingly needed in Canada because Indigenous voices and stories are not, and have not been, heard routinely in mainstream media over time (Fleras, 2011). This lack of representation is problematic for two reasons. First, it favours British and French experiences as "Canadian" over the experiences of a large portion of Canada's demographic. Second, it perpetuates settler constructions of Canada as a nation founded on the innocent discovery of uninhabited land, peaceful coexistence with Indigenous peoples, and progress in the interests of all people on the land (Francis, 1997; Smith, 2007). Bonita Lawrence (2002) argues that "Indigenous communities should be seen as final arbiters of their own histories" (p. 24). Furthermore, "it is the voices of Indigenous peoples, long silenced but now creating a new discourse, which will tell a fuller history" (Lawrence, 2002, p. 46). Indigenous communities voiced a fuller history in this chapter regarding land connection, residential schooling, and intergenerational trauma. These podcasts addressed history's intergenerational effects while establishing Indigenous cultural existence in Canada. Subsequently, Indigenous podcasters and guests became authentically authoritative figures sharing their lived experiences and/or ancestral stories in their own words.

Authenticity has been attributed to authorship or authority over subject matter when a person uses their knowledge or experience as proof (Hutchby, 2001; Martínez, 2020). Ian

Hutchby (2001) states that "first-hand knowledge such as that of the eye-witness is bound up in talk, with the authenticity of experience, of emotion, and of the speaker as a legitimate teller of particular kinds of stories" (p. 482). *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) podcast transmitted voices of Survivors who experienced the system to restory Canada's colonial efforts. These Survivors become authoritative figures representing their lived experiences in their own words as uncontestable truth. Both the church and the state have been generally criticized, but these podcast testimonies specifically substantiated the conditions of, and behaviours within, the schools. Andrew Bottomley argues that "the essence of digital (and audio) storytelling is based on real-life memories and personal commentaries, and increasingly these perspectives are narrated in the first person" (p. 177). The ability for Survivors to become authors of history through first-person experiential narratives contrasts the traditionally academic and mainstream expectation that historians should corroborate a story on documented, objective facts.[26]

However, providing historical context grounded in facts and evidence can still establish one's authority. Matías Martínez (2020) argues that an authentic authority provides facts that corroborate a real historic event. In *Decoding Black* (Centennial), cohost Taylor referred to various policies and acts like the Immigration Act and "separate school" to situate the current standing of Black Canadian history education. Narrators in *Portraits of Black Canadians* (Radio Canada International) used facts and evidence to authoritatively represent Black Canadian history. "Michaëlle Jean" (Radio Canada International, 2020, March 1) included facts about Jean's role as Governor-General. "Slavery Laws" (Radio Canada International, 2020, February 6) episode included reference to articles from King Louis XIV's Noir Code that contextualized France's colonial slavery system. *Missing and Murdered* (CBC) host Walker also used facts to authoritatively contextualize residential school history and its traumatic effects contributing to many MMIWG cases. *Campus* (CBC) host Leung referenced the Mohawk's Kanesatake Resistance in 1990 against Canadian policing, which authoritatively situated guest Kona Williams's personal experience as a Mohawk child at that time. Using facts can help establish a

[26] Eric Hanson (2009) addresses this traditional, academic approach to researching history: "Critics wary of oral history tend to frame oral history as subjective and biased, in comparison to writing's presumed rationality and objectivity. In Western contexts, authors of written documents tend to be received automatically as authorities on their subjects and what is written down is taken as fact. Such assumptions ignore the fact that authors of written documents bring their own experiences, agendas and biases to their work—that is, they are subjective" (Introduction section).

podcaster's authentic authority because they are grounding the narrative in concrete evidence that listeners can corroborate elsewhere.

Archibald-Barber provided evidence about the history of land connection and the importance of dreams in *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) podcast. Archibald-Barber's episode was about Cree scholar and Anglican minister Edward Ahenakew's historical retelling of Chief Thunderchild's tales in the early 20th century. Archibald-Barber explained that Ahenakew "was recording his own people's stories. But of course, he was a member of the church. … The church seriously frowned upon those kinds of stories. … Those were non-Christian stories, right? Or what the church called "pagan" stories, stories of a fallen past" (McMahon & King, 2015, 23:44, 24:05, 24:25). Archibald-Barber was an authentic authority who listed facts about Ahenakew's recordings and Chief Thunderchild's stories that reflected a portion of Cree history that at one point "no one even really knew about" (McMahon & King, 2015, 24:54). Richard Peterson (2005) argues that authentic authority derives from one's credibility. Credibility can be established using facts and evidence, which Archibald-Barber achieved in the podcast when contextualizing Ahenakew's writings about Thunderchild and when situating Thunderchild's lived experience that demonstrated the significance of land connection and dreams for First Nations.

Authority over historical narratives or experiences can also stem from authorial affiliation or connection. Martínez (2020) argues that authentic authority "may transcend the individuality of the author and include collective identities (nation, race, class, gender) which the author shares or is taken to be a part of" (p. 523). It is difficult to argue that one person's opinion or experience represents the opinions or experiences of everyone within a community because people have intersecting identities that inform, and are informed by, how they navigate the world and understand their sociocultural positions. However, Martínez's argument applies to an individual's sense of personal connection to history rather than having authority be assigned by others. For example, *Mic Drop* (CBC) guest Taneia repeatedly used the term "we" when referring to the history of Black struggles and experiences, including slavery. Although she did not experience slavery herself, she transcended her individuality in the podcast to align with a collective Black experience she identifies with. Thus, her authentic authority comes from her self-assigned membership that she represented in the podcast. Similarly, *Decoding Black* (Centennial) cohost Taylor and *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network) guest

McRae used “we” and “us” to self-assign Black Canadian history as a collective experience that garners value in their sense of selves today. *Missing and Murdered* (CBC) host Walker and guest Brad Marsden, *New Fire* (CBC) guest Joshua Whitehead, and *Campus* (CBC) guest Williams exhibited the same authority in their podcast appearances when explaining intergenerational trauma stemming from residential schooling. All four speakers attributed their guardians’ school experiences to a collective trauma they believed all Indigenous peoples feel or connect to in everyday life in some way. These authors understood themselves to be part of a community authority on the subjects that their stories addressed and contribute to.

Authentic authority is not only about who tells stories, but *how* they are told, documented, and established over time. Theo van Leeuwen (2001) argues that a person’s authentic authority can be identified if the text’s “origin or authorship are not in question” (p. 392). Thus, a podcaster can be an authentic authority if their opinions, perspectives, and/or experiences are recorded. The recording functions as a reliable document because it captures an authority’s speech as they really said it. Robinson-Desjarlais and Historica Canada pieced together individual audio testimonies from the Legacy of Hope Foundation, recorded during the TRC’s research, into a cohesive oral narrative in *Residential Schools*. Elders/Survivors represented their own experiences in their own words that authentically captured their understandings of a recognizably collective experience of Indigenous childhood in this colonial system (Vrikki & Malik, 2019).

In *Kiwew*, Robertson’s father Donald was an Elder who spoke about his own life that contributes to Cree history. Although Donald passed away before the series concluded, Robertson’s audio recordings documented his father’s ephemeral voice to be heard beyond Donald’s passing. A recording’s sound and original context can be manipulated in podcasts. However, Donald’s original voice and perspective were untouched and presented alongside Robertson’s contextualized “on the land” recordings. Authentic recordings of Elders/Survivors in *Residential Schools* are also audible across time because their voices were untouched despite being documented during the TRC’s initial research at least five years prior. Podcasters and guests can therefore be considered authorities or authors of history based on personal and ancestral experiences if their informative voice recordings accurately represent their opinions and experiences over time and are available for others to listen to. Oral history supplants the need to record events as they happen for them to be considered accurate or authentically

authoritative. Instead, podcasts like *Kiwew* and *Residential Schools* can retrospectively publish audio-documented personal experiences that account for subjective truths about historical events (Vrikki & Malik, 2019).

Kiwew (CBC) host Robertson, *Missing and Murdered* (CBC) host Walker, *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) host Robinson-Desjarlais, *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network) guest McRae, *Decoding Black* (Centennial) cohost Taylor, *Mic Drop* (CBC) guest Taneia, and various archivists and narrators that helped produce *Portraits of Black Canadians* (RCI) similarly became authors of history through their podcasts. The findings suggest that podcasting can be a beneficial platform for people to become authentic authorities who author their own historical experiences or the histories of others they feel connected to and support. Furthermore, recording and repurposing people's voices adds to their authentic authority because they can be heard to represent the subject matter in their own words over time. Podcast authors in this chapter voiced various cultural histories and their present-day effects that are not commonly reflected in dominant discursive constructions of Canadian history. These authors from various communities represented their histories outside settler constructions and, in the process of storytelling, became central characters contributing to a deeper understanding of Canada's vast cultural histories.

There are no formal qualifications or requirements to be a podcaster or podcast guest. Rather, podcasters and guests as historians can construct historical accounts based on subjective experiences or share facts and evidence of others' experiences presented from their own perspectives or passed down and then discussed on a podcast. These findings infer that podcasting is a relatively open dialogical space for people to become authentic authorities about histories they identify with, lived through, or learned about and that reflect their understandings of their cultural existence in Canada today. In this way, podcasting's oral storytelling format helps speakers subjectively insert themselves into the narrative. People from directly-affected communities can be recorded and literally heard as authoritative historians rather than be represented by settler communities as passive characters in traditional stories contributing to Canada's discursive construction. There were no apparent limitations to being an authoritative figure in this chapter's podcasts except for possessing knowledge about, connection to, or experience of the podcast's subject matter.

Podcasts as Educational Texts

In addition to authoritative people, authenticity has also been applied to texts. Erving Goffman (1981) argues that every text is unoriginal, "a family of equally authentic renditions" (p. 228). van Leeuwen (2001) similarly states that an authentic text can be an accurate "reconstruction or representation" (p. 392). Goffman and van Leeuwen both posit that any authentic text represents a person, practice, or event that already exists. Using this theorization, podcasts can be deemed authentic when they recreate the past, including people's past experiences. These renditions can be especially useful for demonstrating how an experience informed a podcaster's sense of self. These renditions can also educate people about cultural histories in Canada. For example, Indigenous stories in this chapter educate about Indigenous epistemology since Indigenous ways of knowing have been colonially exchanged for settler epistemologies (Lawrence, 2002). Bonita Lawrence (2002) states,

> For Indigenous peoples, telling our histories involves recovering our own stories of the past and asserting the epistemological foundations that inform our stories of the past. It also involves documenting processes of colonization from the perspectives of those who experienced it. (p. 25)

Indigenous podcasts can introduce past voices to the present that carry knowledge and traditions with them. This chapter's stories were not "new" because they were all based on lived experiences, but they were educational because they represented cultural histories in Canada from individual renditions. Podcasts in this chapter functioned as authentically educational texts representing the past that others can potentially identify with or learn from. These stories were original because they belong to these individual speakers, but they were also *un*original or renditions because they already occurred and were just being communicated to a potentially new audience in a potentially new form, like a podcast.

Podcasting's authentically educational ability to transmit intragroup knowledge was a key finding in this chapter, especially within Indigenous podcasts telling histories of land connection (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). *Kiwew* (CBC) and *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) shared how Indigenous peoples from different nations interpret history about (Archibald-Barber), or learn from experience first-hand on (Robertson), the land for cultural engagement. Sandra Styres (2011) argues, "Storying is a discovery and creation of self in relationship; it is a process

embedded in an examination of past experiences in relation to present and future actions" (p. 719). These podcasts were authentically educational because both speakers reiterated and storied past experiences of Chief Thunderchild and Donald Robertson (David's dad) to situate their Indigenous identities currently and reflect on the importance of stories in sustaining Indigenous cultures and relationships with the land moving forward. Archibald-Barber noted the importance of (hi)storytelling for sustaining culture in his podcast episode's concluding remark:

> **JAB [to live audience]:** I hope, just as I have, that all of you can find your story somewhere buried under the snow as we come out of this winter. Hidden like stories of buffalo meat waiting to be found. *Sustenance* for our communities.
>
> (McMahon & King, 2015, 29:08)

Robertson similarly acknowledged that,

> **DAR Narration:** We are stories. Each moment of our life is a chapter in that story, and if we've made an effort to share that story with somebody else, that story gets told over and over again to the next generation and the generation after that.
>
> (Robertson, 2020, June 18-c, 16:26)

Archibald-Barber's and Robertson's comments reinforced podcasting's educative potential to reproduce (hi)stories that are digitally accessible for future generations to engage with and learn about the land as one aspect of Indigenous cultural identity (Morris, Hansen, & Hoyt, 2019; Wrather, 2019).

Narratives can also translate beyond specific cultural contexts. Hayden White (1980) argues, "We may not be able fully to comprehend specific thought patterns of another culture, but we have relatively less difficulty *understanding* [original emphasis] a story coming from another culture" (p. 5). Stories can help people understand the world around them and connect to the storyteller, the characters within a story, and/or the author of the original story (Spinelli & Dann, 2019). Lukasz Swiatek (2018) suggests that podcasts help listeners cross knowledge boundaries to "access new insights" (p. 173) and surpass context boundaries to learn across "diverse locations and socio-cultural backgrounds" (p. 174). Podcasts in this chapter possessed

educational potential for intergroup connection across cultural boundaries in Canada because the audio is freely available online. Many podcasts in this study were authentically educational because they explicitly aimed to teach audiences using reiterations of past stories.

Residential Schools podcast was an educational text for a national audience to learn from Survivors firsthand about the historically traumatic residential school system. Amy Bombay, Kimberly Matheson, and Hymie Anisman (2014) argue that learning about "continued consequences of historical trauma among non-Aboriginal Canadians may similarly help foster improved intergroup relations by increasing understanding of the complicated issues contributing to the health of Aboriginal peoples" (p. 333). Similarly, Gwichyà Gwich'in scholar and *Residential Schools* podcast guest Crystal Gail Fraser stated, "The work of reconciliation, in my opinion, needs to be on the shoulders of settler Canadians, really of non-Indigenous people who live in this country" (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17, 23:00). Survivors who spoke in *Residential Schools* were central authors confronting the wider system of Canadian colonialism. Settler Canadians can actively engage with this podcast to understand how Canadian history has partially shaped the existence of, and understandings about, Indigenous peoples today (Hampton & DeMartini, 2017). The *Residential Schools* podcast also offered experiential knowledge about the colonial system in Canada to potentially educate Indigenous peoples who may not have heard these histories directly from Survivors before, which can provide them information helping inform their cultural sense of selves. Podcasters and guests used their knowledge to affirm their (ancestral) position to this colonial system and to Canada's supposedly innocent past (Vowel, 2016), and to educate about Indigenous communities in an accessible and digestible format. All *Residential Schools* stories existed before the podcast but were reiterated to authentically contextualize residential school history.

In *Missing and Murdered* (CBC), Walker provided situational meaning about her journalistic experience investigating the death of Alberta Williams. Gee (2014) refers to situated meaning as the productive context of an object. Walker's journalistic transparency is authentically educational because she reiterates her past journalistic research on MMIWG to inform listeners about the historical inactivity towards this crisis that affects Indigenous communities today. Podcast scholars Pille Pruulmann-Vengerfeldt and Johanna Willstedt Buchholtz (2018) argue, "Publicness allows participants to raise awareness, but also broadens understandings of human experience writ large" (p. 265). *Missing and Murdered* podcast is a

public resource helping educate about the perpetual crisis within Indigenous communities through stories of historical human experiences that have been publicly ignored or unknown until recently. Understanding the history of residential schooling and intergenerational trauma begins with learning about real life experiences, which are available in podcasts like *Missing and Murdered* with experientially and ancestrally authoritative figures. *Kiwew* host Robertson argues that reconciliation includes "sitting with someone and just *listening* to them and understanding their lives and their histories and how they see the world" (D. A. Robertson, personal communication, August 4, 2021). Podcasts can educate listeners to approach reconciliation with a potentially new understanding of these traumas.

Podcasts in this chapter also explicitly voiced their educational purposes. Charles Guignon (2008) argues that explicit messaging is authentic when people are "clear about one's own most basic feelings, desires and convictions, and openly express one's stance in the public arena" (p. 288). In *Decoding Black* (Centennial), host Taylor explicitly noted that the podcast aimed to shape how people view Black Canadian history and its influence on Black Canadians today. *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network) guest McRae explicitly stated that Black people need to "frame" their own stories for "others" to understand how Black Canadians view themselves. *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) guest Crystal Gail Fraser explicitly echoed this educational sentiment for cross-cultural understanding and action:

> **CGF:** The work of reconciliation, in my opinion, needs to be on the shoulders of settler Canadians, really of non-Indigenous people who live in this country. No one is asking for everyday people to apologize for their ancestors. But we need to find a good, productive way forward where Indigenous people are safe.
>
> (Robinson-Desjarlais, March 17, 21:19)

Fraser and Irniq voiced what Guignon (2008) calls authentic messaging because both Survivors revealed the podcast's motivations explicitly to incite potential audience responses.

Furthermore, authoritative podcasters and guests who are directly affected by these histories can guide and engage listeners. The *Decoding Black* (Centennial) podcast pushes for settler, White Canadians to actively engage with issues imposed on Black communities. When

asked why people should care politically, Taylor alternately used "we" when referring to Black communities and Canada at large:

> **CST [to LR]:** Because *we* [Black people] are humans too. … So if *we* [Canada] don't care, *we*'re [Canada] excluding a vast majority of our population and if *we*'re [Canada] trying to move forward as a society, an inclusive society, *we* [Canada] need to include all.
> (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 18, 17:36, 18:20)

Decoding Black's cohosts did not offer a definitive solution about how to fix systemic issues like inequitable schooling or unrepresentative education. However, they did provide an introductory space for settler communities to listen across sociocultural and racialized boundaries about the existence and current effects of Black history in Canada. Like podcasts about Indigenous history in Canada, podcasts about Black history communicate potentially unfamiliar stories to settler communities through experiential and/or ancestral perspectives. These podcasts can also offer directly-affected communities self-knowledge about their ancestry in Canada.

Podcasts as digital stories are often freely accessible to listeners over multiple services like Apple Podcasts, Spotify, and Soundcloud, in addition to their own podcast websites (Berry, 2006; Murray, 2009). This accessibility is notably fruitful for communities sharing their histories because podcasts exist online for a potentially larger audience to interact and learn. Fox, Dowling, and Miller (2020) argue that podcasts critically addressing race "can foster discussion and serve as educational tools on racial experience and history" (p. 299). Podcasts can be used as educational tools in Canada for those who are willing to "listen out" (Lacey, 2013; Muscat, 2019; Spinelli & Dann, 2019) across sociocultural and racial boundaries to access new information about Canadian history (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). Podcasts can also be educational for, and help strengthen the self-knowledge of, communities learning practices and ways of life that sustain their cultures and confirm their historical presence in Canada.

However, a podcast's wide availability does not guarantee a larger listenership. Sarah Florini (2015) notes that "one must first know they [podcasts] exist, which requires some contact with the network. Beyond that, one must seek out the content and commit time to listening" (p. 214). Podcasts can help augment what stories about Canadian history are told within and across cultural groups and can oppose popular understandings of Canadian history that contribute to

nationally available counter-regimes of representation. Yet podcasts may be inefficient in helping *reconstruct* Canadian history on a mass scale because the country's history is embedded in regimes of representation about British and French settler practices and experiences that have dominated over time institutionally (Hall, 2013a). At the very least, podcasts like those discussed in this chapter can help people identify with or learn from authentic authorities and authors about cultural histories in Canada that inform people's current values, positions, and sense of selves today, even unknowingly.

Podcasts as Counter-Regimes of Representation

National narratives that are perpetually distributed from government, education, and mainstream media can create regimes of representation, which Stuart Hall (2013a) defines as "the whole repertoire of imagery and visual effects through which 'difference' is represented at any one historical moment" (p. 222). Simply put, the more a group of people are represented and described using the same language and images, the more the general population may take these visual and linguistic descriptions as fact (Said, 1979). Abundant representations about a single group can create a regime of representation transmitting an ideology about that identity. Select narratives about Canadian history have abundantly described and represented Canadians as uniquely possessing a particular affiliation to British and French settler culture and practices differently from other nations.

However, podcasts in this study contributed to *counter*-regimes of representation about Canadian history that signal historical differences between settler (British and French) experiences as "Canadian" and non-settler experiences (non-British and non-French) as "other." Podcasts can also provide additional online materials about these histories beyond audio to establish a counter-regime of representation. Supplementary online materials is a digital storytelling capability that turns an audio podcast into a "transpodcast" for additional listener engagement. Derived from the term "transmedia," David García-Marín (2020b) defines transpodcasts as "those media projects that, having podcasting as a seminal medium, extend and disperse their narrative and expand their communicative environment to other media, platforms and media languages, beyond the sound format" (p. 143). A transpodcast uses additional spaces like YouTube, webpages, books, and newsletters to extend its audio narrative and/or expand

audience engagement (García-Marín, 2020a, 2020b). Transpodcasts can contribute to counter-regimes of representations about community histories because they offer repertoires of images, sounds, and words that share the same narratives in multiple spaces to encourage their public acceptance as authentically truth.

Kiwew (CBC) contributed to the narrative about Robertson's Cree identity and family legacy addressed in his written memoir, *Black Water* (HarperCollins, 2020). *Kiwew* and *Black Water* presented the same story in two different spaces reflecting a larger narrative about the importance of land connection for Indigenous peoples historically. Archibald-Barber's retelling of Chief Thunderchild's "Winter of Hardship" story in *Stories from the Land* (Cowboy and Indian) podcast echoed Ahenakew's (1973) written account of the same story in *Voices of the Plains Cree*. Both *Stories from the Land* and *Voices of the Plains Cree* represented the same narrative about Indigenous sustenance and the importance of dreams for navigating, and connecting to, the land. Both the written and oral texts represented a specific historical moment that reflects Indigenous cultural practices and ways of knowing broadly in Canada. *Kiwew* and *Stories from the Land* contributed to the same counter-regime of representation collectively about the significance of land connection for Indigenous communities historically in Canada that are often underrepresented in Canada's historical accounts. The more these authentic narratives about historical land connection are transmitted, the more likely wider publics will engage with and accept them as authentically true.

Like *Kiwew*'s extension of *Black Water* (HarperCollins, 2020) and *Stories from the Land*'s extension of *Voices of the Plains Cree* (Ahenakew, 1973), *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network) and *Mic Drop* (CBC) respectively extended Dawn Williams's *Who's Who in Black Canada* (2002) and Akilah Newton's and Tami Gabay's *Big Dreamers, the Canadian Black History Activity Book for Kids* (2018). *Black Canadian Content Creator*'s guest McCrae digitized *Who's Who in Black Canada* for additional access, contributing to a counter-regime of representation about Black figures in Canadian history through the podcast, the digitized book, and the hardcopy book. This regime represented Black Canadian presence and historical success in the country. Similarly, *Mic Drop* guest Taneia mentioned using *Big Dreamers* to bridge the educational gap about Black history in her classroom. *Mic Drop* added to *Big Dreamers* Black History Month representation. *Black Canadian Content Creators* and *Mic Drop* collectively contributed to a counter-regime of representation about Black History Month

education alongside other written texts to create a network of information about Black Canadian history.

History about the residential school system in Canada was forcibly brought into the national consciousness with the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) and its 2015 TRC reports. *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) podcast repurposed many of the Legacy of Hope Foundation's testimonies contributing to the TRC findings. Repurposing these authentic recordings created an additional space for understanding the colonial system in Canada from Survivors. Furthermore, the *Residential Schools* podcast included a variety of Canadian Encyclopedia articles on general Indigenous history, as well as an interactive Google map (Residential Schools in Canada Interactive Map, 2020) visualizing each residential school's location and authentic photographs and videos depicting residential school children. *Residential Schools* podcast, the TRC reports, encyclopedia articles, interactive maps, videos, and photographs collectively contributed to a counter-regime of representation about the residential school system against historical settler constructions. This collection of authentic materials through multiple modalities reflects a wider account of Canadian history that can be understood as truth from authoritative authors who experienced the system.

Missing and Murdered (CBC) contributed to a counter-regime of representation about MMIWG through typed transcripts of each episode freely available online, as well as a database on the CBC's website that includes other unresolved MMIWG cases in Canada. The website "Unresolved," which identifies recently closed cases while adding new cases, and the *Missing and Murdered* podcast contribute to a counter-regime of representation about this community crisis. Both *Missing and Murdered* and the "Unresolved" site extend the efforts of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls commission that publishes reports on the crisis and its history. *Missing and Murdered* is an additional text, like *Residential Schools*, that perpetuated a narrative about historical Indigenous trauma stemming from settler colonial systems that are rarely accounted for in popular discursive constructions of Canada's past and Indigenous cultural existence today. The abundance of MMIWG cases the CBC presents alongside the podcast creates a network underscoring the historical severity of this cultural issue and its modern influence.

Podcasts can contribute to, and work alongside, similar historical narratives about various communities in Canada through these counter-regimes despite not having guaranteed large

engagement (Florini, 2015; Sienkiewicz & Jaramillo, 2019). Eva Mackey (1999) argues that British Canada used Indigenous peoples to "construct itself as gentle, tolerant, just and impartial" (p. 51). The collection of resources that podcasts offer to existing regimes of representation can help Canadians critically evaluate ideas about the nation in opposition to its supposedly "gentle, tolerant, just and impartial" history. As Hall (1992) suggests, nation is partially constructed through narratives of shared historical existence and supposedly natural affiliation with others. Podcasts in this study and their affiliated resources contributed to non-settler narratives representing counter-regimes of representation that can help augment group histories and existence in Canada through abundant podcast narratives (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). Knowledge about Canada's history is strengthened when these stories are available in more spaces, which can transform how people across communities situate their current sociocultural positions. Furthermore, people can also understand how history contributes to other people's current cultural existence, values, and ways of life because podcasts and their counter-regimes are regularly available online to anyone with Internet access across knowledge and context boundaries.

6.3: CONCLUSIONS

Podcasts can authentically express various community histories and cultural practices in Canada through oral storytelling. McHugh (2014) states, "The popularity and accessibility of the audio storytelling genre also makes it an ideal format for communities to use to tell their 'own' stories" (p. 142). Furthermore, "Audio storytelling can also help marginalized communities to gain agency over their own stories, and build social capital" (McHugh, 2014, p. 154). Audio storytelling's emancipatory potential is evident in the ability to hear people authentically speak in their own ways outside colonial imposition. Listeners can identify with authoritative speakers or learn from them. The podcasting process of oral storytelling emphasizes the potential to transfer and sustain cultural knowledge from generation-to-generation within communities, and to inform people from outsider communities, through specific cultural stories and memories (Swiatek, 2018; Vrikki & Malik, 2019).

Podcasts in this chapter voiced lived experiences and retrospection about cultural histories within Canada that are infrequently heard. Podcasters became authentic storytellers

using podcasting's unregulated space online to address such cultural perspectives and histories openly (Bottomley, 2020). Honae Cuffe (2019) argues, "While podcasts did not invent history through narrative, they have certainly reshaped how history is being consumed and by whom" (p. 558). The existence of these stories supports a community effort to reclaim and respeak the past publicly and its effect on people's cultural understandings and interactions today. Restorying the past reaffirms that these histories existed for people in Canada, even if they have been traditionally unrepresented or widely unacknowledged until recently. Many listeners who identify with the content may be unaware of these ancestral histories since Canadian politics, media, and education favour particular settler Canadian narratives and traditions. For Indigenous peoples, these ancestral histories may include the collective experience of residential schools, intergenerational trauma, and land engagement (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). For Black Canadians, these ancestral histories may include slavery, school segregation, and the experiences of Black role models who contributed to Canada's current standing.

People outside these communities can equally learn across knowledge and context boundaries (Swiatek, 2018). *Residential Schools* and *Decoding Black* emphasized that cultural stories need to be engaged with today to ensure traumatic and oppressive experiences are not repeated. As Survivor Piita Irniq states in *Residential Schools* podcast, "We don't hold grudges against those people, but we want to make sure that these things never happen to young people again" (Robinson-Desjarlais, 2020, March 17, 24:31). In this way, the podcasts can first provide a space for listening to underrepresented experiences (Vrikki & Malik, 2019; Yeates, 2020), and then open dialogue between communities for future action. Although some podcasts did not offer definitive solutions for how to address the systemic issues embedded in the historical narratives of non-settler communities, podcasters asked listeners to critically engage with Canada's history and how its effects presently favour settler groups over others. History is foundational for how these affected communities currently exist and are represented in Canada.

The medium's open nature allows a variety of underrepresented podcasters and guests to authentically share their experiences or discuss ancestral experiences that transmit knowledge (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). Podcasters and guests can become authoritative historians on subjects like land connection, residential schooling, intergenerational trauma, and Black history by voicing subjective experiences or personal reflections rather than traditionally objective forms of history making. The podcasts themselves can become educational texts that introduce and

transform how people understand cultural histories in Canada and their present effects. Many of this chapter's podcasts about various community histories contributed to counter-regimes of representation using podcast audio and transpodcast materials like books, images, and articles. Collective materials perpetuating the same narrative for different cultural experiences can publicly reinforce the presence of these histories. The findings from this chapter suggest that yes, podcasting can help augment Canadian history on a mass scale. Non-settler communities can voice educational podcasts and become authentically authoritative historians creating or contributing to larger counter-regimes of representation. Podcasts can also present common experiential or ancestral narratives that contextualize history and inform people's self-concepts and sociocultural affiliations today.

CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING SELF AND COMMUNITY

"The Black community is not a monolith. We're not speaking for the Black community, our experiences are very personal, very personal and unique. But there are other experiences that are very difficult to reckon with and so this is why we're offering this space and we're going to have different people with different perspectives." Martine St-Victor, *Seat at the Table*, "Hockey's Diversity Problem"

Media representations of various cultural groups have been sites of contention for many years since racial and ethnic majorities have predominantly produced these representations institutionally (Henry & Tator, 2009; Mahtani, 2001). Hall (2021b) argues that:

> the media construct for us a definition of what *race* [original emphasis] is, what meaning the imagery of race carries, and what the "problem of race" is understood to be. They help to classify out the world in terms of the categories of race. (p. 104)

Institutions can attribute certain characteristics to various cultural groups through stereotypes aiming to represent all people who identify with those groups (Chun, 2012; Lopez, 2020b; Mastro, 2015). Augie Fleras (2011) argues, "People of colour were historically portrayed in a manner that played into prevailing prejudices. … [B]lack crime remains a group crime" (p. 64). Here, Fleras refers to representations of Black people as criminals that align with "prevailing prejudices" attributing criminal tendencies to all Black people. Fleras (2011) also refers to White-majority constructions of "Aboriginal peoples as pathetic victims, noble environmentalists, or angry warriors" (p. 18). Media outlets can represent various cultural groups as possessing specific characteristics that supposedly apply to everyone within these groups (Montagu, 2018). Inaccurate representations are especially problematic because of their potential psychological effects influencing how people hear or view themselves or others through popular images and sounds that shape their worldviews.

People within shared cultural groups are not the exact same, share the same qualities, or share the same opinions all the time. In season two of *Seat at the Table* (CBC), podcast cohost Martine St-Victor informed the audience that her perspectives are grounded in her own experiences as a Black woman in Quebec and do not equate to the opinions and experiences of all Black people, women, or Black women (St-Victor & Racicot, 2020, August 26). *Seat at the*

Table critiqued homogenization around shared identity since everyone has their uniquely intersectional identities that influence the ways they perceive the world (Crenshaw, 1991; Weber, 2017). James Paul Gee (2014) argues that speakers choose certain words to emphasize a particular point of view. St-Victor chose the phrase "not a monolith" to insist that although a community may associate with an identity label like race or ethnicity, the perspectives of individuals within that community are not identical or singular. "Not a monolith" reflected St-Victor's position about intragroup plurality that her podcast reinforced. Thus, *Seat at the Table* is not a definitive guide for understanding a collective Black experience through the opinions of two cohosts but is instead an open space for podcasters and guests to represent themselves and their communities in their own ways based on their own experiences (Vrikki & Malik, 2019). Podcasters can self-represent beyond homogeneous cultural labels.

Representation and intersectionality are theoretical anchors that can be used for addressing how people understand and articulate their identities. Podcasters in this study verbalized their intersectional identities in relation to, and beyond, their own race and/or ethnicity. Results from this intersectional verbiage are separated into twelve episodic themes of identity. Analyzing these findings helps answer the third research question: do podcasters in Canada self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity?

7.1: REPRESENTATION AND INTERSECTIONALITY

Representation is open to transformation in various spatial and temporal contexts because identity is discursively constructed. Stuart Hall (2021b) states that media offer spaces where "ideas [of race] are articulated, *worked on*, *transformed* [emphasis added] and elaborated" (p. 104). Hall recognizes that media representations may attribute values to different groups, but it does not mean these values are solidified. Rather, people can contest such representations and construct their own since language is a shared system of representation that is theoretically available to anyone who understands its cultural application. Herein lies the potential for people to use different media to transmit representations in various ways that assert the meanings they apply to common labels. This politically mediatized ability provides potential for groups who

have been inaccurately or inauthentically represented from within and outside of their group memberships.

However, not all people who identify with the same identity group are the same since people have multiple community affiliations that shape how they define themselves and experience the world in relation to other people. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) refers to this plurality of social affiliations that an individual assumes as "intersectionality." According to Crenshaw (1991), analyzing group identity is flawed since people within the same group (e.g., race) have competing identities like gender, age, class, and religion that differentiate them and transform their interactions with others. For instance, *Seat at the Table*'s (CBC) cohost St-Victor explained that:

> if you ask me first and foremost how I describe myself, I'm going to say, "as a *communications strategist*," right? ... We have to promote that. So, then the *woman* part comes, and the *Black* part comes, and the Montreal part comes, which is also very important to my identity, you know, being a *Montrealer*. And I'm of *Haitian* origin, and that's very important to me and I'm very proud of it. But because my work is what I love, what I do so much, and it's the prism I use often to analyze things or to relate to things, that is first and foremost how I'm going to present myself or introduce myself. I am first and foremost a communications strategist. (M. St-Victor, personal communication, August 25, 2021)

St-Victor noted professional (communication strategist), gendered (woman), racial (Black), regional (Montrealer), and national (Haitian) affiliations. Although St-Victor may share any of these identity labels with others, this does not mean that she shares the same perspectives all the time or apply the same meanings to these labels since her intersectionality influences her sociocultural position and how she makes sense of her experiences in the world. As *Colour Code* (The Globe and Mail) podcast guest Andy Yan explained, "Intersectionality is the one ring that rules all. The kind of complexities and navigating race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation and how one can be many things at once is the challenge of a 21st century Canada" (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 1, 37:20). Intragroup diversity highlights different experiences and perspectives within a group despite people applying a common label to their sense of selves.

Podcast studies research requires a nuanced analysis of how people represent their intersectional identities that oppose monolithic or stereotypical representations of race or ethnicity in traditional media spaces historically. Nancy Fraser (1997) and Catherine Squires (2002) indicate that rather than bracketing identity in a liberal attempt to create an egalitarian public, people should explicitly express their perspectives grounded in their intersectional identities forming "counterpublics." Jürgen Habermas (1989/1991) argues that the ideal public sphere brackets people's identities, so conversations are approached objectively. Yet the period that Habermas analyzed historically favoured male homeowners who discussed issues related to their lives. Thus, counterpublic spaces alternatively help historically "othered" people explicitly acknowledge their own subjectivities and discuss issues that involve their own lives. Counterpublic discussions can reflect intragroup diversity in podcasting since people may discuss similar topics from their own "unbracketed" experiences without restricted access or censored speech. Martin Spinelli and Lance Dann (2019) argue for podcasting's "experiential diversity," which is "a nexus of making, listening, sharing, social interaction, and group and individual identity formation. … In the shared act of personal podcast storytelling, difference is neither erased nor does it become a barrier to interpersonal connection" (p. 136). This "unbracketing" and experiential diversity that Fraser, Squires, Spinelli, and Dann propose was emblematic in podcasts where individual podcasters and guests approached the same topics from their own intersectional perspectives.

7.2: RESEARCH FINDINGS

Podcasters and guests in this chapter self-represented a plurality of subjective positions that "work together to inform the meanings of personhood and power in the present moment" (Weber, 2017, p. 113). Race and/or ethnicity were the underlying discussion topics for each podcast episode in this study. However, other subjective positions or "identity categories" were addressed in tandem with, or outside of, race and ethnicity, including: age, athletic/sport, career/profession, education, gender, geographic/regional background, language, mental health/ability, politics, religion, sexuality/intimacy, and socioeconomic class (Table 7). The four most dominant thematic categories in this study based on episode and program frequency were: career/profession (10 podcasts, 14 episodes), politics (8 podcasts, 12 episodes), education (6

podcasts, 9 episodes), and geographic/regional background (3 podcasts, 5 episodes). Dominant themes were determined by which identity label was explicitly named or implicitly referred to the most in each episode and was therefore each podcast's main discussion topic. "Geographic/regional background" and "education" were previously analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. Thus, both categories are replaced in this chapter by the next two dominant episodic themes occurring across the most podcasts: Athletic/sport (4 podcasts, 4 episodes) and mental health/ability (4 podcasts, 4 episodes).

Table 7: Thematic Categories of Identity

Type of Identity	Episode Title(s)	# of Podcasts	# of Episodes
Age	*New Fire* (CBC) • "Indigenous Youth Talk Tech" • "Music is Giving Voice to Indigenous Youth" *Sleepover* (CBC) • "Tiny Repairs in Reality"	2	3
Athletic/Sport	*The Next 150* (CBC) • "We Need Mutual Respect Between Opponents" *Portraits of Black Canadians* (Radio Canada International) • "Sam Langford" *Seat at the Table* (CBC) • "Hockey's Diversity Problem" *The Secret Life of Canada* (CBC) • "Tom Longboat"	4	4
Career/Profession	*Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network) • "The Differences with Black Folks in Canada & the USA"	10	14

	• "Seeing Black Canadian Excellence" • "The Value of What We Do" *Black Tea* (Frequency Podcast Network) • "Black Film and Television" *Born and Raised* (HuffPost) • "Family Restaurant" *Campus* (CBC) • "Dissecting a Dark Indigenous Past" • "No Curry Allowed in the Dorm Room!" *Decoding Black* (Centennial) • "Racial Boundaries in the Workplace" *Mic Drop* (CBC) • "MALIK is the door-to-door sci-fi guy" *My Blackness, My Truth* (CKDU FM) • "Poetic Justice" • "We Don't Back Black" *The Next 150* (CBC) • "We Transform Adversity into a Tame Ghost that Walks Alongside Us" *Portraits of Black Canadians* (Radio Canada International) • "Michaëlle Jean" *Sleepover* (CBC) • "Peterborough - Pt. 3"		
Education	*Decoding Black* (Centennial) • "The Legacy of Anti-Black Racism in Education" *Mic Drop* (CBC)	6	9

	• "Who Am I?" • "TANEIA brings Black Lives Matter to school" *Missing and Murdered* (CBC) • "The Brothers" *The Red Road Podcast* (The Red Road Podcast) • "Settlers Interrupt-Us" *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada) • "First Nations Experiences" • "Métis Experiences" • "Inuit Experiences" *Sleepover* (CBC) • "Native Child and the Full Moon – Pt. 3"		
Gender	*Black Tea* (Frequency Podcast Network) • "Black Women in Media" *Seat at the Table* (CBC) • "Kimberly Manning on Raising a Trans Child"	2	2
Geographic/Regional Background	*Colour Code* (Globe and Mail) • "Surface Tension" *Kiwew* (CBC) • "Born on the Land" • "Cree Awakening" *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) • "10,000 Warriors" • "Jesse Archibald Barber"	3	5
Language	*Kiwew* (CBC) • "The Future"	1	1

Mental Health/Ability	*Black Tea* (Frequency Podcast Network) • "Race, Gender, and Politics" *Born and Raised* (HuffPost) • "Self-Love" *Campus (CBC)* • "This is What Happens When You Steal People's Land – Part I" *My Blackness, My Truth* (CKDU FM) • "Mental Health"	4	4
Politics	*Colour Code* (Globe and Mail) • "Your Turn" *Missing and Murdered* (CBC) • "Notebooks Pt. I" • "Notebooks Pt. II" *The Next 150* (CBC) • "Within Indigenous Communities There are Perpetual Crises" *Portraits of Black Canadians* (Radio Canada International) • "Slave Laws" *The Red Road Podcast* (The Red Road Podcast) • "On Violence" • "The Good (NDN Kids), the Bad (Child Welfare Legislation), and the Ugly (Traffic)" *Safe Space* (Torstar) • "Bill's Budget and Buying Quebec" • "Corny White People" • "No Votes for Teens and Old"	8	12

	Seat at the Table (CBC) • "BLM in Canada" *The Secret Life of Canada* (CBC) • "The Indian Act"		
Religion	*The Secret Life of Canada* (CBC) • "Canada's First Mosque"	1	1
Sexuality/Intimacy	*Born and Raised* (HuffPost) • "Pier 21 *New Fire* (CBC) • "Opening Up About Indigenous Intimacy" *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) • "Geraldine King"	3	3
Socioeconomic Class	*Colour Code* (Globe and Mail) • "Race and Real Estate" *Decoding Black* (Centennial) • "Introducing Decoding Black"	2	2

Podcasters named or referred to these labels in relation to, and beyond, their race and/or ethnicity. Nancy Thumim (2012) argues that "self-representations promise to deliver authentic accounts of individual 'ordinary people'" (p. 4). Self-representation allows individuals to authentically express and control the meanings they derive from their identities through their own practices (Bauer, 2017; Guignon, 2008). Podcasters and guests in this study self-represented their intersectional identities that compete against stereotypical and monolithic representations of various cultural groups historically (Fleras, 2011; Henry & Tator, 2009; Mahtani, 2001). Podcasters and guests were able to use the medium to construct their intersectional identities in new and unique ways that reflect subjective experiences not shared writ large. Intersectionality provides potentially multiple iterations of self-representation since people can focus on the meanings they derive from specific labels or a combination of labels in each utterance.

This chapter focuses on podcaster self-representations outside of, or in tandem with, racial or ethnic identities since each label and its meanings can act on, or separately from, one

another in any situation or conversation. There were instances where multiple labels were used in relation to an episode's dominant identity theme. These intersections will be addressed when present to illustrate how they simultaneously work with and against one another. Podcaster perspectives and experiences about identity are important to hear because they illustrate how podcasters and guests authentically express their sense of selves in their own ways related to, and beyond, their racial or cultural affiliations. Overall, podcast testimonies highlighted heterogeneity within identity groups and the freedom of podcasting's conversational structure for people to express their intersectional subjectivity that other outlets may infrequently represent.

Career/Profession

One component commonly attributed to one's sense of self in this study was career/profession. Career has become an important contributor to intersectional identity since many people in North America spend a large amount of their life working (Burke, 2000; Crary, 2014). Careers are highly represented within mass media and popular culture, which can influence how people compare what they see "on screen" to their own professional identity (hooks, 2015; Mastro, 2015). In North America, mass media and popular representations in television and movies have historically centered Whiteness in a variety of professional roles while stereotyping other racial groups (Mastro, 2015; Tukachinsky, 2015). Riva Tukachinsky (2015) argues,

> Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans … were cast in a narrow set of typically negative roles as buffoons, criminals, or hypersexual *nonprofessional* [emphasis added] individuals. … With mainstream media alienating ethnic minority audiences, it is not surprising that members of these groups seek alternative media outlets to manage their identity needs. (p. 187)

Tukachinsky points to normative mass media representations that influence audiences to seek out more diverse representations in other formats, including podcasts. Podcasters can use the medium in their own ways to authentically control and represent their own values and beliefs professionally that inform their overall sense of selves.

In 14 of 60 podcast episodes in this study, podcasters and guests foregrounded their careers in multiple ways. For example, a podcaster may have explained how their race or culture influenced their understanding of their professional work, or what interested them in pursuing

their career. These conceptions "can influence the development of shared social identities which, in turn, affect self-concept" (Mastro, 2015, p. 5). Simply put, podcasters and guests revealed perspectives and values authentically embedded in and derived from their career experiences that others can identify with or learn from based on their own sociocultural positions. *Campus* (CBC) was one podcast that represented professional identity in Canada. As its CBC bio states, "*Campus* is driven by first-person stories about the pressures to succeed, the threat of failure and the adventure of growing up" (CBC Radio, 2016, n.p.). Part of success, failure, and growing up referred to podcasters' career experiences and expectations.

In "Dissecting a Dark Indigenous Past" (Leung, 2016, December 16), *Campus* podcast guest Kona Williams introduced herself:

> **Kona Williams (KW) Narration:** My name is Kona Williams. I'm Cree and Mohawk and I am Canada's first First Nations forensic pathologist.
> **Albert Leung (AL) Narration:** That's a pretty big title, even bigger when you consider the weight that comes with it being the first Indigenous person to do that job in an entire country. And it comes with a ton of responsibility to. You see, it's only when medical or criminal cases turn "cold" that forensic pathologists are called in, performing autopsies on the dead, searching for answers. It's the type of work that certainly isn't for everyone. Kona herself never imagined she'd be spending her career in a morgue.
>
> (3:34)

Williams first identified her cultural affiliation as "Cree and Mohawk" and then her profession as "Canada's first First Nations forensic pathologist." The order of Williams's introduction illustrated what Gee (2014) informally terms "why this way and not that way" (p. 200). Speakers have numerous ways to verbalize their intended message but must select specific words in a specific order to communicate meaning. Williams could have introduced herself by her gender, her age, her political affiliation, or any number of labels she applies to her sense of self that signals information about her to others during an interaction. Williams chose to identify herself by her Cree and Mohawk ancestry and her forensic pathology career because both reinforce one another and how she views the world. Lori Kido Lopez (2020b) suggests, "In general there are fewer doctors and researchers who are people of color" (p. 16). Connecting Indigenous identity

to Williams's forensic pathology career highlighted this underrepresentation in medicine. Host Albert Leung stated afterwards, "that's a pretty big title, even bigger when you consider the weight that comes with it being the *first* Indigenous person to do that job in an entire country." Gee (2014) notes that a speaker will repeat words to signal their importance for the speaker's intended message overall. Repeating Williams's introduction emphasized the significance of her career that no other Indigenous person had at the time, which contextualized and celebrated her professional success.

Williams later stated in the same episode:

> **KW Narration:** Who I am as a First Nations person and my career are going to meld at some point. Now that I'm in forensic pathology, you know, a lot of the challenging cases will come with the missing and murdered Indigenous women, with residential schools, we see the sad outcomes to a lot of these issues… . There's a lot of expectation that, "you know what, what is it I'm going to do? Am I going to fix things? Am I going to solve things?" And, you know, for me, I'm thinking, "Oh, my goodness. Like, I'm not even a year in. I just started. I just want to be a good forensic pathologist first." And it seems like, you know, the career is snowballing in directions I never expected.
>
> (Leung, 2016, December 16, 31:25)[27]

Williams explicitly stated how her Cree and Mohawk cultural identity intersects with her forensic pathology career because she suspected at the time of the podcast that "a lot of the challenging cases will come with the missing and murdered Indigenous women, with residential schools." The victims that Williams studied are members of her community. This introspective podcast exhibited "connections building" (p. 202), which Gee (2014) describes as linking two separate subjects into a relevant conversation. Williams recognized the connection between her career and her Indigenous culture, even if her primary goal was "to be a good forensic pathologist first." The term "first" suggests that Williams's cultural identity influences the way

[27] Host Albert Leung contextualized Missing and Murdered Indigenous Woman and Girls (MMIWG) crisis: For decades, Indigenous women in Canada have gone missing or have been murdered at an alarming rate. Right now, the country is facing over a thousand cases, many of which remain unsolved. It's an ongoing national human rights crisis that has left the Indigenous community saddened, frustrated, and determined to find answers" (Leung, 2016, December 16, 31:45).

she engages with her career despite her best efforts to prioritize her career within professional spaces. In other words, Williams insisted that her Cree and Mohawk identity was always present in and connected to her career. Her career influenced how she thought about her Cree and Mohawk heritage, just as her Cree and Mohawk heritage influenced how she thought about her work. Williams used *Campus* to authentically express this connection, especially about a career that was nonexistent for First Nations people in Canada before her employment.

Black Canadian Content Creators (Chonilla Network) is another career-oriented podcast that centered "on celebrating content creators who live or were born in Canada and identify as Black, African-Caribbean mix, or Afro Canadian" (Joseph, 2019, September 17, 00:12). Across its three-episodes in this study, *Black Canadian Content Creators* focused on Ricardo McRae's entrepreneurial success between multiple careers (Joseph, 2019, October 8), Chantal Smith-Amsterdam's journalistic success while balancing family life (Joseph, 2019, September 17), and Liberty White's creative director success in multiple companies (Joseph, 2020). One of *Black Canadian Content Creators*'s podcast goals is to represent Black success in Black-run businesses. In "The Value of What We Do" (Joseph, 2019, September 17), guest Smith-Amsterdam' shared her editorial position at *Neri*:

> **Chantal Smith-Amsterdam (CSA) [to Sherley Joseph]:** What prompted me taking it out and really trying to get it going – I believe I started in 2017 – was the fact that I was so revolted by what Black content was at the time on social media, especially. Anything that was relevant to us was very stereotypical, quite often very negative or degrading. And I have three boys, I'm fully aware that they are completely born into the Internet age, so the Internet is everything. What they see online is gospel, and I'm really concerned about the fact that our stories weren't being told, our *true* stories weren't being told. And if stories about us were being told, they were being told by others and it was kind of like the existence or the perception or the awareness of who Black people were online.
>
> (11:27)

Smith-Amsterdam started an online magazine, *Neri*, because she was "revolted by what Black content was at the time on social media." Smith-Amsterdam explicitly referred to racial representations online that influenced her decision of "taking it [the idea for *Neri*] out and really

trying to get it going," which exhibited her understanding of her editorial expertise to rectify what she believed to be inaccurate depictions of Black people. Smith-Amsterdam repeated that "our stories weren't being told, our *true* stories weren't being told." As Gee (2014) states, repetition signals to listeners the importance of what is being said in the context of larger speech. Smith-Amsterdam used the term "true" in her second utterance of "our stories" to signal that if stories were told "about us," they are untrue because they are created and spoken "by others." Her role at *Neri* influences, and is influenced by, her identification with a larger, Black online presence motivated to tell authentically "true" stories.

Smith-Amsterdam later explained *Neri*'s overall goal:

> **CSA [to SJ]:** To attract people who are interested in different things, but what they all have in common is their belief or their curiosity in the excellence of Black. If you're into sports but you love hearing about the accomplishments of Black artists, Black businesspeople, Black inventors, Black writers, it's really just this forum and this platform for everything that's great about Black people to converge and for us to discover other things. So, I will use art to draw people who are interested in art, to expose them to non-typical activism. I will use people who are interested in fashion, their interest, to attract them to *Neri*, to expose them to other points of interest, and it's just this one big meeting place.
>
> (Joseph, 2019, September 17, 14:52)

Smith-Amsterdam angled her work towards people who share "their belief or curiosity in the excellence of Black" and "Black artists, Black businesspeople, Black inventors, Black writers." Spotlighting various Black professions guided Smith-Amsterdam's career at *Neri*. She suggested that the audience can be anyone who shares a "belief" or "curiosity" in Black excellence. Yet she explicitly phrased that the work is by and about Black creatives and professionals. Smith-Amsterdam could have simply noted each profession on its own when discussing *Neri'*s content, but she successively used the adjective "Black." Gee (2014) refers to this tactic as "identities building," or the "sorts of identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to his or her own" (p. 202). Smith-Amsterdam recognized the racial and professional identities of others that she wanted to include in her professional work at *Neri,* motivated by her sense of Black

community alongside them. Her racial sense of self influenced her editorial career at *Neri*, while her career at *Neri* influenced how she understood and articulated her understandings of Black excellence. Her editorial position allowed her to determine what the magazine included and excluded based on what she believed represented Black excellence.

Black Canadian Content Creators (Chonilla Network) host Joseph even briefly addressed her own goal for podcasting at the beginning of Smith-Amsterdam's guest appearance:

> **SJ [to CSA]:** You know, this space, this podcast really is to help showcase that there are amazing content creators who are of the melanated kind in Canada doing, you know, great, great work in the digital realm. And I figured to invite Chantal because I think what you're doing with nerimagazine.com is really interesting."
>
> (Joseph, 2019, September 17, 2:15)

Joseph stated that the podcast is a "showcase" for "melanated" "content creators" in Canada. "Melanated" refers to people with high skin pigmentation. There are multiple adjectives that could have been used to describe the podcast's demographic content (Gee, 2014). Rather than using the term "Black," as the podcast title does, which has various cultural implications beyond physical appearance, Joseph's terminology in this context may have been used to specifically refer only to people who share a visual characteristic. Using "melanated" as an adjective for "content creators" illustrated the distinct connection Joseph's podcast aimed to make between physical appearance and creative profession and how each might influence the other. "Non-melanated" people, or White people, are not showcased in this podcast's discussion about content creators. Joseph also explicitly noted "work in the digital realm," suggesting that the podcast is "this space" or counterpublic highlighting and "showcasing" people's online professions. The present tense "there are" when referring to the work of Black Canadians across professions additionally suggested that creative work and "content creation," as the podcast title is named, is ongoing and thriving. Overall, the podcast discussed a specific demographic and the professional work Black people are doing, which influences, and is influenced by, their sense of selves in relation to others who identify with the same professional aspirations and race.

Self-representation about professionalism also stretched across age groups in this project, which the CBC's *Mic Drop* podcast highlighted. In the episode "MALIK" (Okeke & Haber, 2020, November 19), 12-year-old science-fiction writer Malik introduced himself:

> **Malik (M) Narration:** I am going around my neighborhood right now, trying to sell my books that I wrote myself and I have my mask with me because I know Covid is still a concern. I got a custom-made mask with my logo on it, and I have my book with me in a bag.
>
> **M Audio Clip [to customer]:** Hi, my name is Malik, I'm a young author and entrepreneur. I'm going around the area trying to sell these. These are actually a bunch of books I wrote myself and I wanted to know if you're interested in buying one?
>
> (0:36)

Malik's "in the field" recording tracked his book pitch to a prospective customer. Although Malik is an elementary school student, he identified himself as a "young author and entrepreneur." He made a conscious choice to frame himself by his creative passion and "profession" rather than by his education. Using the noun "entrepreneur" also demonstrated how he viewed his creative writing as a business rather than a hobby. The very act of recording his sales pitch exhibited what Gee (2014) terms "activities building" (p. 202), which asks what activity "is this communication seeking to get others to recognize as being accomplished?" (p. 202). Malik's entrepreneurial identity was built through the activity of selling his books that listeners can hear being accomplished in the podcast. His entrepreneurial self was even more pronounced because he sold his writing in-person during Covid, which suggests that he took his business seriously despite the threat of illness during an uncertain time.

Malik later referred explicitly to his writing as a "business" when contextualizing the recording of a successful sale:

> **M Narration:** I always knew that I wanted to own my own business and have my own thing going for me and not work for somebody else. So, I started young. That's why I started going out, selling the book and it worked out. So, I go door-to-door selling my books, and the reason why is because I didn't have the money to have a website. So, this

> was like the only way that made sense for me right now until I made money off the book where I could open a website. So, I went to go sell door-to-door.
>
> (Okeke & Haber, 2020, November 19, 5:31)

Malik emphasized his ambition "to own my own business and have my own thing going for me and not work for somebody else" despite only being 12 years old. He repeated the word "own" to signify that his sense of self is tightly wrapped to the idea of independent production, which he shapes his life around. Malik mentioned afterwards, "That's why I started going out, selling the book and it worked out." Karen Michel (2017) notes that for children and teenagers, "everything relates to them – as they explore what it means to be human, to have responsibilities, to perceive life and become an actor in that life" (p. 213). Malik exhibited his professional responsibility when collectively referring to his writing and sales. The entrepreneurial and "professional" motivation in his life influenced his actions, which were then carried out in his successful exchange with a customer later in the episode.

Malik's self-representation on *Mic Drop* exhibited authorial control over his sales experience tied to his professional sense of self. He concluded the episode with deeper insight into how his professional identity guides his worldview:

> **M Narration:** I want my name to be known, but I rather the brand "Write or Flight" be known. The real reason why I named it "Write or Flight" is because I liked writing. So, it's either do "you" or do nothing. Like, yeah, for me it's Write or Flight, which is write or do nothing. So, for you, let's say you like to do anything else, you could just replace that word ["write"] with whatever you like to do "or flight." … To anybody who's my age or around my age, you're never too young to do something you like to do or start a business, and anything you like to do, just go through with it and pursue it and don't let other people mislead you. Just do what you like to do: Write or Flight.
>
> (Okeke & Haber, 2020, November 19, 8:12, 10:08)

Malik's use of the term "brand" when explaining the name of his business "Write or Flight" suggested that he associated his worldview of "write or do nothing" with his professional sense of self. This is a form of "relationships building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202) where a speaker connects

two things to strengthen their message. Malik built a relationship between his writing passion and the larger mantra of "do what you like to do" that solidified his position of putting his work before everything else.

Although Malik did not explicitly name his racial identity in his podcast story, he implicitly referred to it:

> **M Narration:** My best experience so far, going door-to-door – I was selling one day – I was doing a couple of streets, but it was really hard, and I was out for, like, I think two hours and I was ready to come back home, but I thought "there was one street ahead of me." I thought, "let me just do the street before I go home." So, I did it and I met this lady named Sabi and she was really interested in what I was doing. And she gave me a shout out on her Facebook and her Instagram. And she has a big following of people who support young authors and young, Black authors.
>
> (8:47)

Malik noted that one of his customers "has a big following of people who support young authors and young, *Black* authors." This interaction echoed Smith-Amsterdam's sentiment starting *Neri* to highlight Black excellence. In the same way, Malik's customer helped highlight his Black excellence as a young and aspiring writer and entrepreneur.

Mic Drop's documentary narrative structure followed Malik's transition from in-person sales to online sales of his novel on Facebook during the COVID-19 pandemic. Norman Fairclough (2003) argues that a medium facilitates a specific communicative structure based on its technical and infrastructural components. *Mic Drop*'s podcast structure was shaped around Malik's "in the field" recordings that his narration then contextualized because the digital medium supports post-production editing unlike radio's "live" characteristic. Malik was the only speaker, which gave him agency over his sense of self embedded in his writing career. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (2010) suggest that life writing enables agency because people can control their own narratives. Malik used the podcast to highlight his drive and responsibility to be an author professionally at a young age and promote his "Write or Flight" brand and its accompanying values on his own terms. Michel (2017) argues that children and teenagers "are secure in the knowledge that what they have to say matters, that attention should be paid" (p.

213). In this way, *Mic Drop*'s curation of children's self-representations online "facilitates new interventions for a variety of groups who have long struggled to have their voices heard" (Jenkins, Ford, & Green, 2013, p. xiv), which in this episode included Malik as a self-defined "young writer and entrepreneur."

A connection between profession and age also came up in *Born and Raised*'s (HuffPost) second season about second-generation Canadians who have had their lives changed by their family restaurants. Cohost Al Donato and guests, like Vanessa Ling Yu, spoke about their careers, and the careers of their parents, in the food industry and their connection to culture and age:

> **Vanessa Ling Yu (VLY) [to Al Donato]:** My dad's restaurant was called Ming's. The oldest single-person owned and operated restaurant in Canada. So, my dad worked for all of that time 16-18 hours a day. … Five years ago, my brother was going to take it over. It was kind of an automatic "of course you're going to do this." It hurt because I– I wanna be part of the family. For realistic reasons, immigrant parents who've worked in food, they know that food is hard. And they also see girls in a certain way. If at all, they want to keep their kids out of it [the food industry] and especially keep their daughters out of it because it's hard work.
>
> **Al Donato (AD) Narration:** When immigrants move to Canada, they usually want their kids to have easier lives than they did. In Vanessa's case, they really wanted her to be a bank teller.
>
> (Donato & Sawhney, 2018, 1:11)

Ling Yu explained that she wanted to take over her father's restaurant but was unable to because she is a girl. This connection between immigration, gender, and work is emblematic of identity building, or implementing various labels like "immigrant," "girl," and "owned and operated restaurant" that signify a uniquely intersectional experience (Gee, 2014). Ling Yu's use of these terms culturally situated how Chinese immigrants view types of work like food service as difficult and thus, problematic, for women, which was why her brother was offered to fill her father's ownership role. Cohost Donato contextualized that this cultural and gendered viewpoint is common amongst Canadian immigrant parents who want their children "to have easier lives

than they did." Ling Yu referenced her desire to work but that certain professions are culturally unavailable to her because of her gender as a Chinese Canadian "girl." In this instance, Ling Yu's ethnic, gender, and professional identities were working with and against one another to produce a specific outcome informing her sense of self.

Born and Raised then included a Tanzanian Indian food critic who explained her professional connection to the food industry:

> **Salima Jivraj (SJ) [to AD]:** It dawned on me that this is– there's not much out there. And then on the other side as well, the restaurants themselves look the exact same 30 years ago. Even the owners were the same and they were aging. So, my fear, and what I thought immediately, is there's no one here preserving our culture. Their children, they don't want to take over the family business, it's not their interest. So, there is going to be a lack of these memories and these foods in the future for our own children.
>
> (Donato & Sawhney, 2018, 3:42)

Coming from a "Tanaznian-Indian" background rather than a Chinese background like Ling Yu, Salima Jivraj observed that restaurant owners' "children, they don't want to take over the family business, it's not their interest." This comment culturally countered Ling Yu's desire to run her father's restaurant and illustrated that the desire to work in food differs individually and culturally. Jivraj's observation was a form of "integration" (Gee, 2014, p. 201) where the podcast included her perspective to heighten the diversity of opinions across communities in the episode. Jivraj also connected food industry work with the notion to "preserve our culture." Use of the term "our" linked Jivraj to other Tanzanian Indians whose work in restaurants closely aligned with threatened cultural sustenance in Canada. Jivraj's career as a critic provided insight into her understanding of her culture's existence just as her Tanzanian Indian culture shaped the profession she has.

The "Family Restaurant" episode concluded with a profile on Cambodian restaurateur Mike Tan:

> **Mike Tan (MT) [to AD]:** Hey, I'm the owner of Tuk Tuk Canteen, Mike Tan. Chef, dishwasher, cook, handyman, everything of Tuk Tuk. The jack of all trades. … For so

> long I sacrificed my– my entire life. Friendships, relationships, holidays, family time. Sacrificed that all just to be a cook, to get to where I wanted to be. And to go back home once a year and my parents being like, "Hey, you should go to college or university and go do something else," uh, kind of heartbreaking at some points, right?
>
> (Donato & Sawhney, 2018, 9:25)

Tan introduced his profession before his name and restaurant, indicating the importance he places on his job. Afterwards, Tan identified a variety of roles he held: "chef, dishwasher, cook, handyman, everything of Tuk Tuk." This list contextualized that, similar to Ling Yu's father's restaurant that was "single-person operated," Tan conducted all aspects of the business. He also emphasized the success of his business before everything else when revealing that "friendships, relationships, holidays, family time, [I] sacrificed that all just to be a cook, to get to where I want to be." The sentence's secondary clause is especially important for learning that Tan's main goal was to be a cook, regardless of the personal price he paid. Again, like Ling Yu's family, Tan's parents encouraged university or "go to something else" because they believed the food industry was a hard career physically and financially. These cultural and familial expectations intersected with each speaker's sense of self and their professional motivations.

Tan explained the Cambodian cultural influence engrained in Tuk Tuk:

> **MT [to AD]:** I was like, "I'm going to Cambodia," to my business partner. He was like, "Okay. When you come back, we'll have a solid idea of what we're going to do." Midway through my adventures, I sent an email, pretty much being, "Alex, we're doing a Cambodian place. I'm inspired. I can do this." It was kind of eye-opening. I got to cook with my family, with my mom's village. When I got to cook with them, the tie between what my mom cooks for me and Cambodian– Cambodian food kind of made more sense.
>
> (Donato & Sawhney, 2018, 11:50)

Tan's Cambodian roots "inspired" the theme of his restaurant after he "got to cook with my family, with my mom's village." His experience produced self-knowledge about Cambodian food and his connection to Cambodian culture overall. Smith and Watson (2010) suggest that life narratives and autobiographical stories help speakers express self-knowledge or realizations

about themselves. The podcast offered this space for Tan to explain how he came to the realization that his Cambodian culture would be the lifeblood for his career. Tan's culinary career influenced his engagement with Cambodian culture just as his Cambodian culture influenced the type of professional chef he is. The episode's title, "Family Restaurant," explicitly signals the connection each speaker had between their familial culture and their careers within the food industry.

Career/profession addressed in these podcasts were at times independent or instructive of other identity labels and their meanings. Podcasters and their guests were able to control how they identified themselves and address those identifications on their own terms. It is irrefutable that some form of identification with a race or ethnicity in addition to one's career/profession was automatically discussed based on each podcast's overall theme, which is why some of these speakers may have been invited to share their stories initially. Yet regardless of the reason why they were chosen to speak, all podcasters and guests in this section addressed how careers and professions shaped their sense of selves in relation to, and outside of, their cultural or racial affiliations among other categories like age and gender.

Athletic/Sport

Athletic/sport was another form of identification found in this study. An athlete may consider the sport they play to be their career/profession. However, this section analyzes references to athleticism or sport as a source of identification in itself. No one in this section only has an athletic career, just as not everyone in the previous section was defined solely by their career, even if they foregrounded these concepts in their podcasts. Bianca Edison et al. (2021) argue,

> Athletic identity refers to the degree of strength and exclusivity to which a person identifies with the athletic role or the degree to which one devotes special attention to sport relative to other engagements or activities in life. … Athletic identity can exist on a large spectrum, as a small part of who someone is all the way up to a large encompassing part of his or her life. This component of self-concept can be affected by the experiences, relationships and involvement of the athlete in sport activities. (p. 2)

Podcasters in this study referenced athletic identity on a spectrum related to other parts of their lives that shaped their "self-concept." Like career/profession, athletic identity and affiliation with

sport were either addressed independently or framed around racial or cultural identification, working with and against one another across experiences and perspectives.

In *The Next 150*'s (CBC) "We Need Mutual Respect Between Opponents" (Tetteh-Wayoe, 2017, June 28) episode, podcast guest Dr. Hadiya Roderique used ultimate frisbee as an analogy for the importance of "listening out" to different opinions just as ultimate frisbee opponents engage with one another on the field despite being in competition (Lacey, 2013; Muscat, 2019; Spinelli & Dann, 2019). Listening out is a practice of listening to the deeper political or social implications of speech beyond the surface meanings of words (Muscat, 2019). Roderique represented her intersectional identity as a Black Canadian ultimate frisbee player during a live speech:

> **Hadiya Roderique (HR) [to the crowd]:** We Canadians are pretty great at it [ultimate frisbee]. At the last set of Senior and Junior World Championships, Canada won one gold, three silver and two bronze in the seven categories of competition. We were the second most successful nation. I'll let you figure out who was first. And I myself speak to this model with some personal experience as I played competitive ultimate frisbee for the past 17 years of my life. I know I look like I'm 24, but Black 36 is White 24.
>
> (Tetteh-Wayoe, 2017, June 28, 2:49)

Smith and Watson (2010) suggest that a speaker can insert themselves into a narrative using the "I" pronoun to focalize their position. Roderique implemented autobiographical "I" to represent her intersectional makeup of age ("I look like I'm 24, but Black 36 is White 24"), race ("Black 36"), nation ("we Canadians"), and athletics ("I played ultimate frisbee for the past 17 years of my life"). This combinatory identification contextualized her relationship with *The Next 150*'s subject matter to "examine the values we hold dear and ask what we desire for the future of our country" (*The Next 150*, 2022). Podcasters and guests can insert identity labels into conversations so listeners can understand the authentic authority the speaker has on a topic. Listeners interpret that authority based on their understanding of what each label means. Just as education, gender, religion, or any other label could contextualize her expertise on the topic, Roderique chose these labels to confirm her expertise on, and opinions about, ultimate frisbee.

Race was identified, but this was only in passing to comically contextualize why she believed she appears so young.

Shortly afterwards, Roderique explained how her ultimate frisbee experiences shaped her as an athlete, her views on the world, and her position in it:

> **HR [to the crowd]:** Ultimate [frisbee] has played a key role in my development as an athlete, but more importantly, my development as a person. The most interesting and unique element of ultimate is not the physical play, but rather a spiritual element. We don't use referees. … This ability to prosper and flourish in the ref-less environment is in large part because of the central tenet of ultimate: the spirit of the game. This refers to a spirit of sportsmanship that places responsibility for fair play directly on the player. Highly competitive play is encouraged, but never at the expense of mutual respect among competitors, adherence to the agreed upon rules, or the basic joy of play.
>
> (Tetteh-Wayoe, 2017, June 28, 3:38)

Roderique explicitly referred to her athletic identity when explaining how ultimate frisbee shaped her development as "an athlete." However, she explained immediately afterwards, "but more importantly, my development as a person." The phrasing "more importantly" suggests that Roderique valued her connection to sport for shaping her sense of self in other facets of the world in tandem with and beyond being an athlete (Edison et al., 2021). This is a form of relationship building where Roderique connected sports to other facets of her life as constitutive (Gee, 2014).

Roderique explained that her view of life is partially shaped by ultimate frisbee's omission of referees during gameplay, forcing "a spirit of sportsmanship that places responsibility for fair play directly on the player." This context of ultimate frisbee's structure situated her adaptation of the sport to other social facets:

> **HR [to the crowd]:** In "ultimate," we have a primer on ten things you should know about the spirit of the game. And I've picked a few that I think have the most to teach us [Canadians] about our path forward. And as we engage in discourse with each other, we apply these lessons more broadly, we'll see a better country:

> Lesson one: treat others as you'd like to be treated. "The Golden Rule"…
> Lesson two: have fun and play fairly. … If you're going to hold a position, do it with honor and integrity. Inform yourself, educate yourself before you jump into the fray of discussion and debate. Fight fairly with actual information and not with half-truths, misinformation and false equivalency.
> Lesson three: When you do the right thing, people notice. This is a lesson I'd like to teach every politician right now. You may not hear praise, there may not be a standing ovation, but people do notice. Eventually, their respect for you and their appreciation of the game or your attempts to change our country for the better will grow.
> Lesson four: it will be hard. In ultimate, spirit of the game is not some abstract principle that everyone just adopts and then games run smoothly without effort. … If you initiate or contribute to the unraveling of spirit, the concept falls apart quickly. But if you act to mend things, the game heals itself, and we have a chance to heal now…
> We are facing high stakes right now at this juncture in time and discourse. But I believe that we Canadians can carry that ethos and the lessons of ultimate beyond the field and into our lives. I like to think of ultimate as the "Canada" of sports: by no means perfect, but full of good ideas and good people who can come together for the betterment and enjoyment of all.
>
> (Tetteh-Wayoe, 2017, June 28, 6:21)

Roderique used ultimate frisbee as an analogy for political discourse in Canada. Gee (2014) argues that intertextuality is a way to create connections between potentially disparate items. People likely do not equate ultimate frisbee's tenets to how Canada should politically function, but Roderique's athletic identity situated her worldview through this intertextual equivalency to illustrate how Canadians might build "a better country." As Roderique suggested, ultimate frisbee's spirit of the game offers what she thinks is "our path forward" for Canadians. This opinion is a form of "integration" (p. 201), which Gee (2014) notes is the act of optionally including opinion alongside facts. The "spirit of the game" tenets are facts about ultimate frisbee that Roderique used to contextualize her optional opinion, which in itself reflected how she viewed her position, and the positions of others, in Canada during the podcast recording around Canada's 150th anniversary of confederation.

Roderique noted that like in ultimate frisbee, the general population should strive to "treat others as you'd like to be treated" (6:38), "play fairly" (6:55), understand that "when you do the right thing, people notice" (7:16), and that "it will be hard" (7:36). Each tenet Roderique introduced was a creative representation of herself that ultimate frisbee shaped, which she mentioned at the podcast's beginning. These tenets reflected Roderique's ethical and moral values that she said derived from her connection to sport. Roderique concluded that "I believe we Canadians can carry that ethos and the lessons of ultimate beyond the field and into our lives." Again, Roderique integrated her opinion, "I believe," to Canada's current standing based on her identification and experience with ultimate frisbee. Roderique also explicitly stated her national identification as "we Canadians" to encourage adapting sport "into our lives." The "ethos" or ethical and moral values Roderique learned from her athletic pursuits alongside her observations as a Canadian informed her political viewpoint. Her athletic, national, and political self-concept intersected to contextualize how she viewed her position in Canada and to the public to make the country better, which her athletic sense of self informed.

Seat at the Table (CBC) also connected athletic identity and sports to frame Canada's current standing. However, cohosts St-Victor and Isabelle Racicot addressed how athletic identity in hockey reflects a lack of inclusivity in Canada rather than Roderique's application of athletic identity and sport to Canada's political system generally. *Seat at the Table*'s (CBC) episode is aptly named "Hockey's Diversity Problem" (St-Victor & Racicot, 2020, August 26):

> **Martine St-Victor (MSV) [to Isabelle Racicot]:** Today's episode is about hockey. Hockey is a big part of our lives, Isabelle. … We love hockey. We're part of this. It's part of the fabric of this country. And it's because we love it that we wanted to examine it more because it doesn't reflect Canada. It doesn't look like the social making of Canada. And so, this is what we're going to talk about today, the lack of diversity in hockey. (00:53)

St-Victor did not identify as an athlete in this passage despite noting that she switched from ballet to hockey. However, she did reiterate in a short span about how "hockey is a big part of our lives" and "we love hockey, we're part of this." Sport as a practice and as entertainment partially informed St-Victor's life. The phrasing of "our lives" and "we're part of this" suggests

that St-Victor saw herself and Racicot as a part of hockey culture. Furthermore, St-Victor associated hockey with "the fabric" of Canada, intersecting sport and nationality that can partially instruct people's sense of selves. This form of connection building allowed St-Victor to equate sport with national identity to situate hockey's significance in Canada (Gee, 2014). In this passage, St-Victor also explained the connection between hockey and its lack of representation since the sport "doesn't look like the social making of Canada." Pairing "look" with "social making" in this sentence demonstrated St-Victor's belief that hockey is not *visually* representative of Canadian society. Put differently, St-Victor argued hockey does not appear to represent Canada's *racial* diversity. Thus, St-Victor believed hockey as the "fabric of the country" does not reflect the country's racial demographic.

Sport's contribution to self-concept within hockey in Canada was also discussed with sportswriter and guest Salim Valji:

> **Salim Valji (SV) [to IR and MSV]:** I was a busboy over there [West Edmonton Mall] and I worked really hard so I could get enough money to buy tickets to six Oilers games. And I got to go with my grandpa one time and it was really cool. So, you're involved in that way. For me, 2006 when we made the Stanley Cup final and Fernando Pisani scoring the game winner in overtime shorthanded, that to me is probably the peak of my fandom. You know, something you're a part of, something really cool. At the end of the day, it's this shared bond where, you know, I'm a dark-skinned kid whose parents are from East Africa. And one of my best friends in the world is a Ukrainian guy who's sixth or seventh generation Canadian and his family came here long before mine did. And yet we have that link. And it's a lot more, like you said, it's just– it's a lot more than sports, but there are ugly sides to it for sure.
>
> **MSV [to SV and IR]:** And you say something, that your family's from East Africa. And I find that hockey is a little bit like that passport for an immigrant, for children of immigrants and even immigrants. When they get here, they know if they put their kids in hockey, this is a way to be part of the social fabric of the country.
>
> (St-Victor & Racicot, 2020, August 26, 12:30)

After explaining his introduction to the Edmonton Oilers NHL team, Valji shared that watching the team's 2006 playoff run allowed him to be "part of something really cool. At the end of the day, it's the shared bond." Like St-Victor, Valji's used the phrases "part of" and "shared bond" to express his identification with hockey culture generally and the Edmonton Oilers specifically. Valji's phrasing framed the relationship between himself and others through a shared affiliation with hockey as a sport (Gee, 2014). He also explicitly identified as a "dark-skinned kid whose parents are from East Africa," which makes hockey "more than sports" because of the sense of community it generated for him. Here, Valji expressed a racial and continental identity that informs, and is informed by, his connection to hockey. St-Victor echoed this sentiment "that hockey is a little bit like that passport for an immigrant, for children of immigrants and even immigrants." Gee (2014) argues that intertextuality is a tactic for speakers to connect two disparate items to strengthen their argument with references audiences may learn about or already understand. St-Victor intertextually referred to a passport, which can be interpreted as a symbol of Canadian citizenship, to suggest that playing or watching hockey makes "children of immigrants and even immigrants" appear to be "part of the social fabric of the country" or somehow "more" Canadian. These intertextual references about citizenship via sport equated to the validation one may feel from possessing a passport. Repetition of the latter phrase "part of the social fabric of the country" from earlier in the episode also framed St-Victor's belief in hockey's contributing power to people's sense of selves in Canada as "Canadians."

Valji expressed a bond built through hockey that transcended "dark-skin" and "East African" origins, but Black NHL players were also introduced in the podcast to express the lack of inclusivity at the playing level beyond the bonds of fandom. NHL forward Anthony Duclair shared his experience as a Black hockey player amid the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in the context of Hockey Diversity Alliance, an organization striving for diversity in the game:

> **IR [to Anthony Duclair and MSV]:** On the website of the Hockey Diversity Alliance, your mission statement says that you want to make hockey "accessible and safe for everyone." And I have to tell you, Anthony, when I read– I read it, I got stuck on the word "safe" and how unsafe it is for players of color. And I know that Akim Alu, for example, has written about his own experience and it became actually physical. Is it something that you all [at the Hockey Diversity Alliance] talk about among yourselves?

> Anthony Duclair (AD) [to IR and MSV]: We did. We did it when I first came in the group, we talked a little bit about our experiences. I don't think there's one minority kid that's playing hockey, right, that was– hasn't, you know, faced racial remarks. And you look at–
>
> **MSV [to AD and IR]:** –That's unreal.
>
> **AD [to MSV and IR]:** Yeah, it's unbelievable. If you just pick out any Black or visible minority player, he'll tell you some type of [racist] story. It's crazy how it's taken us this long to talk about it.
>
> (St-Victor & Racicot, 2020, August 26, 32:19)

Duclair situated his connection with the Hockey Diversity Alliance to explain the work that "players of colour," as Racicot phrased it, are conducting to facilitate inclusion and combat abuse. Duclair expressed that "if you just pick out any Black or visible minority player, he'll tell you some type of [racist] story" they experienced. Duclair's involvement in the Association and his identification of the abuse towards "Black or visible minority" players specifically intersected racial and athletic affiliations. Duclair's racial identity, and the racial identities of others (according to Duclair), affect their athletic experiences and thus their athletic sense of selves. Duclair's comment that "I don't think there's one minority kid that's playing hockey, right, that hasn't, you know, faced racial remarks" expressed his interpretation of a collective discriminatory experience for non-White hockey players. Using "minority" and "racial remarks" foregrounded the players' racial identities and that they endure emotional and mental abuse while pursuing sport because of their physical appearance.

Daryl Adair and David Rowe (2010) argue, "Sport is deeply implicated in the complex interactions and power struggles that surround 'race' and ethnicity as social identities" (p. 256). *Seat at the Table'*s podcast continued addressing this complexity and struggle with the inclusion of a self-representative audio clip of NHL player Matt Dumba's public address before an NHL game:

> **AD [to MSV and IR]:** I think there's no other, you know, better representatives than us to talk about these issues, talk about these matters, because we've lived through it. We did

appreciate, obviously, Matt Dumba leading the way on opening night there with his speech:

Matt Dumba (MD) Audio Clip [to hockey crowd]: Racism is everywhere and we need to fight against it. We will fight against injustice and fight for what is right. I hope this [speech] inspires a new generation of hockey players and hockey fans because Black Lives Matter, Breonna Taylor's life matters. Hockey is a great game, but it could be a whole lot greater, and it starts with all of us.

(St-Victor & Racicot, 2020, August 26, 35:18)

Dumba's speech about the need for justice within hockey ("[hockey] could be a whole lot greater") and beyond sports ("Black Lives Matter, Breonna Taylor's life matters") combined racial and athletic self-expression.[28] Although Dumba's speech may have required audiences to "fill in" (Gee, 2014, p. 199) the connection between hockey and the outside world, most people in the hockey crowd were likely aware of the BLM movement and Breonna Taylor's death around the time of the speech on August 1, 2020. Dumba linked the BLM movement pursuing justice outside hockey to eliminating racial abuse inside hockey, as Duclair addressed earlier in the episode. Dumba used his athletic platform to encourage better treatment of Black people in hockey and generally. This passage is a form of "politics building," which Gee (2014) notes is a tactic for speakers to build or propose "what counts as a social good and to distribute this good to or withhold it from listeners or others" (p. 202). Dumba's speech proposed that "justice" as a social good is needed for victims of racially-motivated abuse within and beyond hockey.

While introducing the Dumba clip, Duclair also noted that "there's no other, you know, better representatives than us to talk about these issues … because we've lived through it." Duclair's comment asserted his belief that lived experiences are the best representations of certain subject matter. This exhibited what Gee (2014) refers to as "doing and not just saying" (p. 200), which occurs when a speaker tries inciting action beyond their words. Duclair's "doing" in this context was having players who have experienced racial abuse within and outside of hockey, which he included himself in when using the term "us," lead the charge for equity, safety, and

[28] According to the *New York Times*, Breonna Taylor was a "Black medical worker who was shot and killed by Louisville police officers in March 2020 during a botched raid on her apartment" (Oppel, Taylor, & Bogel-Burroughs, 2021, n.pag).

justice. Dumba's speech logically followed Duclair's comments to illustrate the power of Dumba's public speech due to his racial identification and shared experiences with other hockey players, Breonna Taylor, and people who participated in BLM protests. "Hockey's Diversity Problem" illustrated the intersection of athletic identity and sport, race, nationality, and politics. Each opinion shared about hockey's diversity problem foregrounded race or culture's connection to sport and how they work with one another to inform perspectives about the politics of the game and of society largely.

Podcasts in this study also mentioned past interactions between athletic identity, sports, and race or culture. Historically, representations of race and ethnicity in sports often emphasized biological essentialism through eugenics. Colin Tatz (2009) suggests that recently, some geneticists still argue that "since, not if, there are indelible genetic markers that have outcomes … there must be validity not just to a science of race but a science that justifies 'nature's ranking' of the races" (p. 18). These essentialist representations have perpetuated racism and discrimination against athletes whose abilities are evaluated as biologically determined rather than socially developed (e.g., through training and hard work). However, in *The Secret Life of Canada*'s (CBC) short history lesson on Onondaga long-distance runner Tom Longboat, the podcast celebrated the early 20th century athlete's achievements based on his training and dedication that combats discriminatory propositions like biological determinism:

> **Falen Johnson (FJ) Narration:** Today's "shout out" goes out to Onondaga long distance runner, Tom Longboat.
> **Leah-Simone Bowen (LSB) Narration:** Tom Longboat was born in 1887 in Oshweken, Ontario, on the Six Nations Reserve in Southern Ontario–
> **FJ Narration:** –Wolf clan and was given the traditional name Cogwagee, which translates to "Everything." From a young age, Tom showed great athletic promise.
>
> (Johnson & Bowen, 2018, 00:43)

Longboat did not represent himself in this episode. However, cohosts Falen Johnson and Leah-Simone Bowen shared his story to promote Longboat's athletic identity as an Indigenous person in Canada. Many athletes could have been profiled for an episode of *The Secret Life of Canada*, but Longboat was likely chosen because of his athletic success that was not discussed widely

elsewhere at the time of the recording. As the podcast's bio states, "*The Secret Life of Canada* highlights the people, places and stories that probably didn't make it into your high school textbook" (CBC Radio, 2018, About section).

The podcast celebrated Longboat's achievements as an Indigenous athlete. These labels were foregrounded during Longboat's introduction before his name was even mentioned: "Onondaga long distance runner." His ethnic background was named first, followed by his athletic role. This adjectival order may have framed which identifiers the podcast wanted listeners to associate with Longboat, demonstrating a form of "identities building" where the cohosts spoke about "socially recognizable identities" (Gee, 2014, p. 202). Longboat's date of birth and birthplace were then shared, followed by his "Wolf Clan" affiliation. Within the span of the episode's first three sentences, Longboat's Indigenous identity was addressed four times by nation ("Onondaga"), birthplace ("Six Nations Reserve"), clan ("Wolf clan"), and language/name ("Cogwagee" – Onondaga). Repeating symbols asserted the podcast's desire to foreground his cultural identity that contributed to the audience's understanding of his "great athletic promise."

The Secret Life of Canada shared Longboat's biography after the introduction:

> **LSB Narration:** He attended the Mohawk Institute, a residential school in Brantford, Ontario, which he ran away from not once but twice.
> **FJ Narration:** Tom eventually moved to Toronto. He trained at the West End YMCA and won local, provincial, and national running races.
> **LSB Narration:** Some of these races included the Around the Bay Road Race in Hamilton in 1906, the Boston Marathon in 1907, the Toronto Ward Marathon Championship from 1906 to 1908, and the World's Professional Marathon Championship in 1909.
> **FJ Narration:** When he returned from winning the Boston Marathon, the streets of Toronto were lined with 200,000 people cheering his name, and he was even given the key to the city.
>
> (Johnson & Bowen, 2018, 1:00)

Cohost Bowen contextualized Longboat's Indigenous identity that was emphasized in the introduction when sharing that Longboat attended a residential school, "which he ran away from not once but twice." This reference to running away multiple times offers at least two meanings: 1) Longboat had resilience against the residential school system, a resilience he carried throughout his life, and 2) He was running since a young age. Here, Bowen connected two potentially disparate items, running and residential schools, to build significance about Longboat's past that likely shaped his sense of self growing up (Gee, 2014). However, the podcast did not fixate on Longboat's potentially traumatic past. The podcast celebrated his athletic achievements instead. Reference to Hamilton, Boston, and Toronto suggested that Longboat's athletic success was continental and that he was celebrated in Toronto with "200,000 people cheering his name." Longboat's episode transitioned into his success as an athlete who happened to be Indigenous, rather than celebrating his success only because he was Indigenous. Simultaneously, reference to Toronto "cheering his name" suggested that he was accepted for his athletic identity regardless of his ethnocultural affiliation.

Yet *The Secret Life of Canada* still briefly noted that racism was limited but present during Longboat's life:

> **LSB Narration:** Although he was admired by most, he was not immune to the racism of the time. He was often referred to as "savage" or "Injun" by the press.
> **FJ Narration:** But that didn't slow him down. Tom ran in the 1908 Olympics but had to be carried off the course after he collapsed due to heat. Some even said that Tom was drugged by his manager to help him [the manager] win a bet.
> **LSB Narration:** Tom went on to enlist in the Army and served during World War One and World War Two, as a runner, of course.
> **FJ Narration:** During his life, Tom overcame racism, set records, met royalty and even received fan mail from Clark Gable. At the height of his popularity, he was a household name.
>
> (Johnson & Bowen, 2018, 1:36)

Cohost Bowen acknowledged Longboat's exposure to racism that resembled Duclair's notion in *Seat at the Table* (CBC) that "there's been a few instances for sure, racial remarks. ... At one time

there was a couple of parents who called me the N-word and their kids followed up on the ice (St-Victor & Racicot, 2020, August 26, 29:00). Like the "N-word," as Duclair phrased it, Longboat was called slurs like "'savage' or 'Injun' by the press." "Injun" is a purposely mispronounced version of "Indian" and phonetically refers to a Southern accent and mispronunciation many people in North America historically spoke when discriminatorily referring to Indigenous peoples. "Savage" is tied to notions of being wild, violent, untamed, undomesticated, and requiring refinement when it is directed at Indigenous people. Longboat's reception of these slurs was emblematic of racism's invasion on sports and athletics regardless of the person's knowledge and abilities. The podcast concluded that Longboat persevered through this abuse, like his perseverance through residential schooling, and had been celebrated at "the height of his fame" for his successes. *The Secret Life of Canada* framed Longboat's achievements as a long-distance runner who happened to be Onondaga from Six Nations reserve rather than earning these achievements *because* he was racially non-White, as many eugenicists would discriminatorily profess.

Like *The Secret Life of Canada*, *Portraits of Black Canadians* (RCI) podcast also did a historical profile. The podcast covered Sam Langford, a boxer born in Weymouth Falls, Nova Scotia (Radio Canada International, 2020, February 19). The short history lesson highlighted Langford's training in Massachusetts at 14, earning him the name the "Boston Terror":

> **Narrator (N):** Known as the Boston Terror, Sam Langford was one of the best boxers of all time. Langford was born in 1886 in Weymouth Falls, Nova Scotia, on Canada's East Coast. He moved to the U.S. at age 14 to train in Massachusetts, where he quickly became a professional boxer.
>
> (00:31)

The narrator, who is unnamed, foregrounded Langford's athletic identity immediately after introducing his name. Langford's introduction as "one of the best boxers of all time" is a tactic of "significance building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202) to concentrate the audience's focus on Langford's athletic success. Gee (2014) argues that a conversation's topic or theme is often the main subject of sentences so that the listener understands the speech's overall focus. *Portraits of Black Canadians* was a podcast for "finding out more about black Canadians who contributed to the

building of Canada and who are making their mark everyday" *(Portraits of Black Canadians,* 2018, From Our Archives section). Yet this episode revolved around Langford's boxing career that was placed in the first sentence's primary position. Only afterwards was Langford's birthplace, date of birth, and immigration to the U.S. shared. Langford's athletic identity was repeated in the final sentence of this passage and twice in the first three sentences to signal boxing's importance to Langford's legacy.

The narrator continued to address Langford's boxing career:

> **N:** Like many other Black fighters, Sam Langford was deprived of boxing in official fights because of his race. But Langford still fought in hundreds of informal championships and beat some of the best in the world, earning him the title of the "unofficial world champion." One of his opponents was American, Jack Johnson, who eventually became the first Black person to hold the title of world heavyweight champion. In 1917, Langford had an injury that caused him to lose sight in his right eye. That didn't deter the feisty Boston Terror who continued to fight until he became totally blind seven years later.
>
> (Radio Canada International, 2020, February 19, 00:56)

The narrator associated Langford with "other Black fighters" who were racially excluded. The term "Black fighter" intersected athletic and racial labels to contextualize the racist politics of the 1910s. Yet, like *The Secret Life of Canada*'s profile on long distance runner Tom Longboat, *Portraits of Black Canadians* followed up about Langford's racial exclusion with anecdotes of success. Just as Longboat won marathons, Langford "fought in hundreds of informal championships" and held the title of "unofficial world champion." The podcast praised Langford's athletic successes despite his exclusion from many formal boxing opportunities. Overall, Langford's boxing career and athletic self were foregrounded, followed by his experiences as a Black man. Emphasizing race was predictable in this episode given the podcast's mandate for Black History Month. However, the podcast foregrounded Langford's success rather than fixating on his exclusion. Five sentences that addressed his boxing versus the one sentence that addressed his exclusion demonstrates this athletic foregrounding.

The Secret Life of Canada and *Portraits of Black Canadians* historically contextualized Longboat and Langford's achievements, built their athletic identities (Gee, 2014), and briefly highlighted the impact their racial and ethnocultural identities had on their athletic pursuits in the early 20th century. Tatz (2009) argues that within everyday conversations and sports literature there are a plurality of racialized "'born-to' convictions – born to shoot baskets, sprint down the track, *win marathons* [emphasis added], hit home runs, score tries or touchdowns, *knock out opponents* [emphasis added] and *run rings around the opposition* [emphasis added]" (p. 23). *The Secret Life of Canada* and *Portraits of Black Canadians* instead represented Longboat and Langford's successes as products of training and hard work. Additionally, the podcasts addressed barriers to success for racialized athletes historically, supplanting the biological definition of race that historical sporting culture imposed with a newer, socially constructed definition. Although Longboat and Langford's episodes are not self-representations in the traditional sense, they did represent athletes individually beyond their racial identities and reconstituted the meanings of such labels. It is important to note that people who identify as non-White are often celebrated in the context of sport, which can push a homogenous narrative that sport is the only path to success. However, both these podcasts celebrated athleticism/sport as one of many successful pursuits that were addressed across each podcast's whole catalogue (which were excluded in the study due to random sampling).

Overall, podcasters and guests in this chapter represented athletic identities while emphasizing the role race and ethnicity can socially play in sports. Andrew Ritchie and J. A. Mangan (2004) argue that people have "succeeded in using sport to assert and reinforce their identity and further their political, cultural and social ends" (p. 260). Although these podcast stories foregrounded athletic identities, the speakers represented other social identities as driving factors for how they, or people from the past, experienced the world and dissected meaning from athletic pursuits. The speakers additionally represented athletic identity in their podcasts to encourage critical discussions politically, culturally, and socially within and beyond sports, using their athletic memberships as community platforms.

Politics

Politics can be a foundational component to one's sense of self because it helps structure personal values and beliefs in relation to society and/or culture. People may identify with a particular political party, adopt an "ideological moniker" (Huddy, 2001, p. 131), or speak about a sociocultural issue in a specific way as a form of self-inscription. Identification with political parties, monikers, or issues inform, and are informed by, one's understanding of their other social identities and experiences. Political identity is therefore closely connected to other social aspects of one's self-concept rather than isolated. A person may have a specific political alignment based on how they interpret and understand their experiences related to aspects of their gender, race, ethnicity, age, or any other social affiliation. This intersection suggests that individuals aligning with political party or ideological moniker, like any other community, do not share the same values and beliefs on every topic or issue since individuals experience the world differently based on other self-inscriptions. Yet polarization and solidified stances are commonplace with political identification because people may hold onto a particular party or ideology regardless of the specific sociocultural or sociopolitical subject being discussed.

In podcasts, people have shared their political viewpoints grounded in an intersectional sense of self rather than agreeing or disagreeing with an issue based on unwavering support of a particular party or moniker. Analyzing how people approach and develop political viewpoints based in their intersectional self-concept demonstrates the nuances of social and cultural issues podcasts help voice. Podcasts can be useful spaces with openly dialogical, conversational formats for people to explain their affiliations with a particular party or moniker. Politics was the primary frame for 11 episodes across eight podcasts in this chapter. Other episodes addressed political viewpoints too, like *Seat at the Table*'s "Hockey's Diversity Problem," which is expected given that racial or ethnic categorizations have historically informed political policies, just as political policies can partially inform people's perceptions of certain races, ethnicities, or social groups. Podcasters and guests in this chapter discussed their political viewpoints on different social issues that suggest political viewpoints inform, and are informed by, people's intersectional self-concept and how they interpret their experiences related to this intersection at specific moments and about specific topics.

The Red Road Podcast (The Red Road Podcast) addressed politics related to Indigenous existence in Canada. One episode, titled "On Violence," asked "under what circumstances is violence acceptable– permissible for Indigenous people?" (Skye & King, 2019, May 15, 8:45).

The episode responded to Justice Murray Sinclair, who served as Chief Commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and made comments in a 2019 interview about the state of Indigenous people in Canada. His interview spurred headlines like APTN's "Murray Sinclair Warns of Violence if Indigenous Rights Continue to be Oppressed" (Nation to Nation, 2019). As *APTN*'s headline indicated, Sinclair suggested at one point in the interview that young Indigenous people may use violence as a last resort to address the Canadian government's failures in child welfare and education systems for Indigenous children. *The Red Road Podcast* cohosts Courtney Skye and Hayden King started with Sinclair's interview in their podcast to consider when violence is an appropriate course of Indigenous political action, even quoting Sinclair's reference to scholar Frantz Fanon from the original interview.[29]

Sinclair's interview intertextually referenced Fanon's philosophy about the chain of actions oppressed groups perform, including submission, resistance, self-abuse, community violence, and then "violence on the oppressor." King introduced the subject with Sinclair's quote about Fanon to contextualize how Sinclair equated Fanon's theorization about African colonialism to Indigenous oppression in Canada. Fairclough (2003) and Smith and Watson (2010) similarly argue that intertextuality is beneficial for a speaker to describe the original source of their information. King's connection between Fanon and Sinclair in this podcast grounded Sinclair's philosophical conclusion about why young Indigenous people in Canada may resort to violence. King voiced his own opinion about the public reception to Sinclair's interview, stating, "Yeah, that's pretty provocative." Gee (2014) calls this speech tactic "integration" (p. 201), or optionally inserting one's opinion in an otherwise objective speech act. King's integrated reaction to the "provocative" headlines derived from Sinclair's interview quote exhibited his agreement with the public's reception. However, King contextualized Sinclair's

[29] Hayden King contextualized that: "the headline was, 'Murray Sinclair warns of violent rebellion if indigenous rights continue to be oppressed.' Yeah, that's pretty provocative. So, he [Sinclair] goes on in the actual text version of the article and says, 'There's a social philosopher by the name of Frantz Fanon who wrote in 1948 that when you have a colonized people who've been oppressed by one society, first of all, they tend to submit to the colonization, oppression. But then, when they start to recognize what they're experiencing, they'll resist, and that resistance is then quashed. Then they'll start taking out their frustrations upon themselves. And so, we see the high rates of personal– personal abuse grow. Next, they take it out on their friends, family, and their community. But eventually they'll take it– or take up the violence on the oppres– oppressor. And then you have a rebellion. My view is that if we continue to ignore what society is doing to Indigenous peoples in terms of poverty, the education failure rates – I'm not talking about individuals who we are failing, I'm talking about the education system is failing and the child welfare rates that we are likely to be creating – we are likely to be creating a population of young Indigenous people who will be prone to thinking about acting out violently against society" (Skye & King, 2019, May 15, 10:57).

quote to explain why Sinclair came to this conclusion about potential Indigenous violence from Fanon's position, which was explicitly noted at the end of the passage.

Rereading Sinclair's interview was an important, and often underutilized, practice King conducted so that readers could understand the source article's context rather than basing their opinions about the speaker and the subject on the headline only. King and Skye addressed their political viewpoints in relation to Sinclair's quote:

> **Courtney Skye (CS) [to HK]:** Where I would see the point that he's making as being that it's not the people's fault, the oppressed people, like them resisting oppression, like in the way that does– that is, that is itself a product of colonization. The state makes that a necessary kind of reaction to the conditions they put people into. And aside from being completely annihilated, like what other option do you have if you want to continue to live?
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> **HK [to CS]:** Uh-huh.
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> **CS [to HK]:** So, I mean, I– as you, as you point, as you've already pointed out in this podcast, I'm a rowdy Mohawk. We are prone to, you know– we love a good tire fire, love a good blockade. You know, we're not– to say that, you know, violent or active resistance is something that's upcoming is, I think, a false kind of thing to say, because there has been many instances of violence or like radical resistance within my lifetime within, you know, many different instances over the past several decades. So, I don't know whether we've ever stopped or whether those two things exist in isolation of one another. Like, I don't think that there's a place where like, "yes," you know, "high suicide rates of violence in our communities, domestic violence, that is where we are hurting one another because of colonization." But we are– also have been continually having, you know– whether it's like a violent resistance or a–
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> **HK [to CS]:** –Assertive response?
>
> (Skye & King, 2019, May 15, 12:28)

Skye's comment that "the state makes that [violence] a necessary kind of reaction to the conditions they put people into" demonstrates "politics building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202). Gee argues that politics building establishes a speaker's position about what a "social good" is and

how it should be distributed. Skye's social good was equitable living conditions, which she believed the government has not afforded Indigenous peoples in Canada. Skye then inserted her cultural affiliation as a "rowdy Mohawk" to explain her nation's historical disposition to violence as a form of "radical resistance" Canadians incited. She voiced her Mohawk identity aligning with a lineage of resistance to suggest that violence is not a "new" response to colonization for her culture. In this instance, Skye's tribal affiliation informed her political viewpoint about violent responses to colonialism since she explained that this violent response has been commonplace and is a reality rather than a threat. If Skye were not Mohawk or had little knowledge about Mohawk resistance and the reasoning behind it, she may have had a different political viewpoint to this subject about violent resistance against the state. Skye noted at the end of this passage that the phrase "violent resistance" is inappropriate for contextualizing actions of oppressed people. King interjected that these actions may be better categorized as an "assertive response." Skye and King's collaborative transformation for naming "violent" actions as "assertive responses" is a form of "situated meaning" (Gee, 2014, p. 203). Simply put, one phrase can have different meanings for people depending on the applied situation. The phrase "assertive responses" describing this Indigenous-colonial situation suggested that Indigenous people have not incited violence but responded to colonial imposition to assert themselves physically and politically.

King responded to Skye's comment and Sinclair's reference to Fanon that was quoted earlier in the podcast:

> **HK [to CS]:** What Murray Sinclair does start to quote by saying, you know, "Fanon's theory is that people are colonized, and they submit to that colonization," that's Sinclair's interpretation. But in the Canadian context, or the American context, I think your [Skye's] point is really a good one because Indigenous people have never fully submitted, there's an ongoing resistance, you know? And I think about settler colonialism, I think of it as, you know, settler colonialism attempting to eradicate Indigenous people and Indigenous people responding and never quite allowing settler colonialism to complete the job and then settler colonialism, in turn, responds, grows in aggression or grows–develops new tactics and then Indigenous peoples respond. And I think we've talked a little bit about the dynamics of settler colonialism, from my perspective at least. So, I

> think that there's that one question to raise, you know, about "whether or not there is this break," like, Indigenous people were colonized violently, uh, and now it's sort of after the fact, this resistance emerges and their contemplation of violence. But really, I think the theory is more this ongoing, um, ongoing violence that occurs between sett– Canada perpetrating violence and Indigenous peoples responding. And that is, I think, in many ways, an inherently violent process through time.
>
> (Skye & King, 2019, May 15, 14:16)

King agreed with Skye that Indigenous people have always responded to "Canada perpetrating violence" and that these actions have been ongoing. Repeating Skye's political sentiment built significance around the belief that Indigenous people are not inciting violence but responding to it. The cohosts' political viewpoints are enmeshed in their observations of Canadian-Indigenous relations over time. King also commented on Sinclair's interpretation of Fanon's argument that "'people are colonized and they submit to that colonization.'" King responded, "that's Sinclair's interpretation," suggesting that King did not acknowledge Indigenous submission despite the oppression of Indigenous communities. King's response to Sinclair was a type of "relationality" that Smith and Watson (2010) argue help additional speakers be heard and critically engaged with. King and Sinclair hold common ground in identifying as Indigenous, but their understandings of Fanon and their beliefs about submission versus resistance differ. Thus, King's own position and interactions informed his approach to this political topic against Sinclair in this instance despite their common Indigenous affiliation.

After discussing the potential to resist colonialism and incite resurgence through interior governance rather than exterior violence, King and Skye asked when violence is a justifiable political action, if at all:

> **CS [to HK]:** And there's, I think, little harsh lessons too, right? Because that's what gets– what got our communities, or like the same Indigenous communities, in the situation of, like, you know, the massacre at Wounded Knee, because at the end of the day, we're fighting. Fighting can tend to be gendered, it's most likely going to be men that are harmed. And when colonizers come to kill Native people, like they kill women and children, they annihilate our whole communities, right? Like those are, I think, sacrifices

> that aren't– that don't become part of our consciousness. We were more concerned about safety and security and what maintains that, right? In a very tenuous way. … I think that's like the main thing, right, where we are a peaceful, happy people.
>
> (Skye & King, 2019, May 15, 12:15)

Skye's concluding passage referred to past instances of violence as resistant forms for Indigenous communities, but she stated that these events were not exempt from fatal consequences. Skye noted "Wounded Knee," an Indigenous reservation in South Dakota that sited multiple fatal conflicts between U.S. government representatives and the Lakota. This reference is a type of historical contextualization, as Fairclough (2003) calls it, that provided background information about colonial encounters with North American governments. Skye historically contextualized Wounded Knee to suggest that "we're fighting" and "colonizers come to kill Native people" when violent resistance or "assertive responses" are enacted. Just as nearly 300 Lakota people died during the Wounded Knee massacre, colonial action against Indigenous peoples could result in violence against "Native people." Skye situated her Indigenous affiliation with other Indigenous peoples in this passage using multiple plural pronouns: "*our* communities," "*we're* fighting," "*our* whole communities," "*our* consciousness," "*we* were more concerned," "*we're* talking about," and "*we're* a peaceful and happy people." These phrasings exhibited Skye's political viewpoint about violent resistance that her understanding of her cultural position to other Indigenous peoples against historical colonialism framed.

Skye also addressed the gendered intersection with culture when noting that "it's most likely going to be men that are harmed" and that colonizers "kill women and children." She stated shortly afterwards that those sacrifices "don't become part of our consciousness." Gee (2014) argues that "connections building" (p. 202) can incite audiences to think about how typically separate ideas or concepts relate. Here, Skye built a connection between gender and culture to contextualize past instances of violence that affect all Indigenous people involved in different ways and through different tactics. Her use of the singular form "consciousness" rather than the plural form "consciousness*es*" demonstrated Skye's belief that all Indigenous people, or at least those in Canada (given the conversation's location), share a way of thinking rather than having segmented thought processes about colonialism. Skye and King believed that part of this shared consciousness was a desire for nonviolent activism unless Indigenous people were

physically "defending ourselves." Skye concluded that "we are a peaceful, happy people." The adjectives "peaceful" and "happy" situated the disposition of a collective Indigenous people, or "we," that has not wavered despite colonization's threat over time. Both Skye and King believed that nonviolence was the most likely Indigenous political action against the state, a prediction that they grounded in their cultural values and beliefs.

Another political podcast is *Safe Space* (Torstar), which focuses on "Canadian news and politics that is making a safe space for your questionable takes" (*Safe Space*, n.d., About section). Hosted by Vicky Mochama and Ishmael Daro, *Safe Space* invites guests in an open panel format to voice opinions about daily news. In its premiere episode about voting ages for Canadian elections, Mochama explained:

> **Vicky Mochama (VM) [to Ishmael Daro]:** I think we just– we want to talk about politics in the way that you talk about with your friends when you're sitting around the bar. I've been talking a lot about politics since the [2016] American election. And I think those conversations aren't necessarily reflected in the political talk shows I see. And I I'd love to bring a little more of that energy to the world.
>
> (Mochama & Daro, 2017, February 24, 1:01)

Mochama explained that the podcast was meant to mimic "the way you talk about [politics] with your friends when you're sitting around the bar." This comment suggested that the podcast is a friendly space to exchange potentially unformed political viewpoints that are engaged with on merit. Mochama's comment exhibits "activities building" (p. 202), which Gee (2014) argues is a tactic speakers use to communicate what action they want their speech to incite. Here, Mochama explicitly defined *Safe Space*'s goal to "talk about politics" in this friendly, and potentially unfiltered, environment. Mochama also stated that Donald Trump's success in the 2016 American election was the impetus for the podcast's critical, political conversations that "aren't necessarily reflected in the political talk shows I see." She established that the podcast's goal was to discuss political topics in an unfiltered manner, like you would with "friends when you're sitting around the bar," outside of what she observed are conversational restraints of television and radio talk shows that are uncritical. Mochama did not name the "political talk shows I see," but her desire to translate how she has been "talking a lot about politics" to the podcast format

indicated that she does not hear her opinions or arguments reflected in existing political talk shows.

After introducing the show, cohost Daro shared his opinion on lowering the voting age in Canada:

> **Ishmael Daro (ID) [to VM]:** I think we should lower the voting age to 16. And every year that I get older and further away from 16, I think this is maybe not such a great idea. But on principle, I'm sticking with it. I think 16-year-olds should vote.
> **VM [to ID]:** What do you– what do you think 16-year-olds are offering to the world that they should offer to our political system?
> **ID [to VM]:** Well, that's a very good question. I think it's less what they offer and it's the fact that young people in general are just so ignored in our elections. So, if you have this huge cohort that can vote from 16 to 18 and often, they'll be in school, so maybe they'll be more organized to vote, you know? Politicians just have to pander to them a bit, have to talk about student debt. They [politicians] have to talk about the environment and what kind of "trash" planet we're leaving behind. And I think maybe getting people into the process a couple of years earlier when they're still kind of in the system, I think it could do wonders for, you know, long-term democratic participation. That's my bad take.
> (Mochama & Daro, 2017, February 24, 2:23)

Cohost Daro's opinion that the voting age should be reduced to 16 years old was followed by his comment that "this is maybe not such a great idea." This type of "integration" (p. 201), which Gee (2014) notes is the optional inclusion of commentary, indicates Daro's hesitancy to share his opinion because of Mochama's potential response. Mochama politely asked for an explanation from Daro rather than immediately addressing his opinion to hear the argument before making her judgement. Daro rationalized his viewpoint that 16-year-olds "are just so ignored," "maybe they'll be more organized to vote," and introducing them to voting early could help "long-term democratic participation."

Mochama foregrounded her political opinion in her response:

> **VM [to ID]:** It's a bad take because the only thing I trust teenagers to do is win medals for my country in gymnastics. Like, I just, what– as a 16-year-old, my opinions on politics were...oh, man, they were so bad. Just so, so, so bad. Like I shouldn't have been– we should barely be trusted to drive at 16. And entrusting us with a political system seems like a lot.
>
> (3:18)

Although Mochama's argument is not necessarily rationale or evidenced, she provided what some may interpret was a comedic response that one would share with "your friends when sitting at a bar." Mochama then justified her labelling of Daro's take as "bad" by equating her 16-year-old self's lack of political prowess to current 16-year-olds: "My opinions on politics were...bad" and "we should barely be trusted to drive at 16." This use of autobiographical "I" displayed what Smith and Watson (2010) argue is a speech tactic for validating one's argument based on experience. *Safe Space*'s conversational format with a back-and-forth exchange is conducive to a democratic and civil discussion about politics grounded in each speaker's observations and experiences.

Safe Space's format gave Mochama the opportunity to refute Daro's point from the opposite end:

> **VM [to ID]:** I don't believe that anyone over the age of 60 should be allowed to vote.
> **ID [to VM]:** What? Why?
> **VM [to ID]:** Because old people are a liability and we have seen that over the last couple of years. They consistently vote against the interests of everyone else underneath them. And that is– that [young people] is the larger population, that's the people who have to live with their decisions for the next 20, 30 years. And so, people who are kind of on their way out of this world are making gigantic decisions as a gigantic political pool that the rest of us have to live with and that only serves older people.
> **ID [to VM]:** Okay, what about the notion of respecting our elders? They have so much wisdom accumulated over the years. You surely know if anyone gets to vote, it's in our trusted elders.

> **VM [to ID]:** No, I don't necessarily think just because you age you– you– you're any more wiser.
>
> **ID [to VM]:** That's true. I guess that explains all of your think pieces about it, like, "How to Deal with Your Racist Grandmother at Thanksgiving."
>
> (Mochama & Daro, 2017, February 24, 4:02)

Like his earlier exchange with Mochama, Daro patiently waited for Mochama's justification to cap the voting age at 60 rather than instantly attacking her position. Mochama's rationale was that "old people are a liability" and "are kind of on their way out of this world," yet they "are making gigantic decisions" that "the rest of us have to live with." Mochama did not ground her arguments in any facts or data, which resembled the way friends may exchange ideas spontaneously at a bar without conducting detailed research. Her opinions were heard and accepted in the podcast based on her observations. Gee (2014) argues that a speaker signifies the importance of a topic or argument based on how they connect it to other social aspects. Both Daro and Mochama built significance between age and voting to illustrate that Canada's political landscape could be improved. After Daro's response that elders should vote because they "have so much wisdom accumulated over the years," Mochama responded that age doesn't mean "you're any more wiser." Daro ceded, "That's true." Elders are respected for their wisdom and teachings in many cultures, but Mochama's response indicated that she did not align with such cultural values. Mochama asserted her values and beliefs related to her political viewpoint on capping voting age that her observations informed. Daro acknowledged Mochama's views that are similarly present in her journalism: "I guess that explains all your think pieces." This comment established Mochama's authentic, political opinions in the podcast that mirror her writing and other social aspects of her life.

Mochama referred to the intersection between disenfranchisement, racism, and age to conclude the "voting" debate:

> **VM [to ID]:** It's like a lot of racists are still kicking around and they're voting. So, I think we should stop at the age of 60. I think you've contributed as much as possible. Why not? Take people [who] retire, they stop working, why not shed another responsibility?

> **ID [to VM]:** So, are you setting a hard limit or is it like, like we have to go for, like, an eye exam every few years or like a driving test? Like, do you think they should re-up on democracy or are they just out?
>
> **VM [to ID]:** I think there's a case where we use a graduation system, like there are some 60-year-olds who I think should still vote, like, you know, people whose identity groups have been disenfranchised of the vote, like maybe their elders get to vote for a little bit longer. But even then, like past 70, I'm done. Like, I'm cutting you off. I'm sorry.
>
> (Mochama & Daro, 2017, February 24, 5:02)

Mochama expanded on her earlier argument about the false equivalency of age to wisdom, shifting her target to "racists [who] are still kicking around and they're voting." Gee (2014) argues that the meaning of a speaker's message can be misunderstood if listeners are required to "fill in" (p. 199) the message's missing information and context. Mochama noted that "racists" are still voting, but she did not explicitly state the connection between racists and voting itself. It could be assumed that Mochama was referring to her observation of perceivably discriminatory politics exhibited during the 2016 American election. She mentioned the election in the introduction and this podcast episode was released nearly three months after the election results. However, *Safe Space*'s debate concentrates on Canadian politics specifically and racism is not only present in, or susceptible to, the 60-year-old age group. Regardless, Mochama's political viewpoint was still expressed openly in the podcast despite her statement's contextual confusion.

Mochama's argument notably intersected politics, age, and disenfranchised identity groups: "people whose identity groups have been disenfranchised of the vote, like maybe their elders get to vote for a little bit longer." Mochama did not explain how "disenfranchised of the vote" is defined in a political context since this could relate to race or gender, for example. However, her argument about allowing disenfranchised elders to vote could be interpreted as a call to provide political opportunities for potentially underrepresented groups to contribute more to the democratic process. But "even then, like past 70, I'm done." Again, her argument's logistics and rationale are debateable, but Mochama's political sentiment about "disenfranchised identity groups" was still openly expressed without judgment in the podcast episode. In fact, the debateable and rationalistic values of Mochama's and Daro's arguments demonstrated exactly

what *Safe Space* aimed to achieve with a safe podcast space for sharing political viewpoints that may include "bad takes."

In another episode, titled "Bill's Budget and Burying Quebec" (Mochama & Daro, 2017, March 24), cohost Daro reiterated from the first episode:

> **ID [to VM]:** We are creating a safe space for all the bad takes, and each episode we invite some friends to help us figure out what is going on in the world. This week, we'll be talking about Justin Trudeau, second federal budget, the latest goings-on in Alberta, and finally, we'll talk about what happens when you come up with a take so hot that the entire province of Quebec turns on you.
>
> (00:40)

Daro's introductory remark that "we are creating a safe space for all the bad takes" again exhibits what Gee (2014) terms "activities building" (p. 202), which occurs when a speaker communicates a practice they hope their speech achieves. Daro and *Safe Space* encouraged constructive podcast conversations to produce critical discourse. The podcast's mandate is that if someone has "bad takes," the other conversationalists will not ridicule them. Instead, speakers will respond in a respectful manner and address the argument's logic rather than the speaker's political affiliation. Daro's comment that "we invite some friends to help us figure out what is going on in the world" suggested that *Safe Space* is a friendly format for working through ideas with "friends" rather than combatants. Cohosts and guests are encouraged to situate their experiences that inform their political beliefs and vice versa.

After introducing the episode, Daro explained the first issue to be discussed with cohost Mochama and two other panelists, *National Post* journalist Tristin Hopper and *Chatelaine* Associate Editor, Sadiya Ansari.

> **ID [to panelists]:** On Wednesday, Finance Minister Bill Morneau unveiled the Liberal government's second budget, which many are describing as a cautious "wait and see" approach while the world holds its breath for what the United States, under Donald Trump, does to the global economy. … What are some of the headlines for you guys? Sadiya, do you want to start us?

> **Sadiya Ansari (SA) [to panelists]:** Sure. I think one of the headlines is that there's a gender lens on this budget. So, I mean, this isn't anything new. Australia's been doing it since the '80s. But Canada realized this year that women are people too. So, based on that, basically there's a really nice kind of– the final chapter of the budget was discussing all the ways that policy affects men and women differently. And, you know, budgets are not gender neutral. So, the way the money is allocated, for instance, if you're talking about something simple, like a tax cut, men usually benefit more because they make more money, right? So, I'm looking at where and how money is spent– is really important. So, what you talked about, the parental leave is definitely, I think, it's something like 92% of the time that's taken– is taken by women, which is a crazy majority. That really surprised me. So, it's good to give them the option of "do you want to take an extra six months, even if it's like the same amount of money stretch just to give you the legal entitlement to be at home with your kid for that much longer?"
>
> (Mochama & Daro, 2017, March 24, 7:19)

Referring to the Canadian federal budget in 2017, guest Ansari's main takeaway was the budget's "gendered lens" on a "tax cut" and "parental leave" that is more often "taken by women." Daro did not solicit Ansari's perspective on the budget's "gendered lens." Rather, Ansari chose a gendered angle repeatedly: "gender lens on budget," "*women* are people too," "policy affects *men* and *women* differently," budgets are *not gender neutral*," "*men* usual benefit more [from a tax cut]," and "92% of the time that's [parental leave] taken– is taken by *women.*" Repetition is a form of "significance building" (p. 202) where a speaker uses multiple examples about the same topic to strengthen their argument (Gee, 2014). Ansari openly addressed the budget's breakdown historically (e.g., "Australia has been doing it since the '80s") as a gendered issue that frames her political viewpoint about the current policy at the time of the podcast's recording. Whereas someone else may have addressed the "innovation clusters" introduced in the budget that Daro mentioned, Ansari's choice to focus on parental leave and tax cuts that she argued are historically gender-biased exhibited what she thought were significant budgetary aspects. *Safe Space* openly invited Ansari's approach to the budget grounded in her identification as a woman.

Later in the episode, *Safe Space*'s panel discussed writer Andrew Potter's opinion piece in *Maclean's*, titled "How a Snowstorm Exposed Quebec's Real Problem: Social Malaise" (2019). The article received public backlash across Quebec, which *Maclean's* addressed at the beginning of the article's edited version: "controversy that erupted in Quebec immediately after this piece was published caused the author to write a Facebook post" (Potter, 2017, par. 1). The public's criticism about Potter's article incited his employer, McGill University, to release him from his directorial role at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada. *Safe Space* discussed the opinion piece and its fallout related to boundaries of "academic freedom":

> **ID [to panelists]:** Two weeks ago, there was a snowstorm that stranded hundreds of cars on a freeway in Montreal and some people were forced to stay in their cars overnight in freezing conditions. And they waited to be bailed out and it was just a huge, epic fiasco. One week later, *Maclean's* magazine ran an online opinion piece by Andrew Potter, who was the Director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada and of course, a former editor of the *Ottawa Citizen*. Potter wrote that the snowstorm revealed an "essential malaise eating away at the foundations of Quebec society," and that "compared to the rest of the country, Quebec is an almost pathologically alienated and low-trust society" now.
> **VM [to panelists]:** Yeah, that is– that's a lot. But a day later, he apologized for the column after some very needed criticism and said that he had generalized about Quebec culture based on some personal anecdotes and observations. He was also denounced by many Quebecers, including a lot of prominent politicians and on Thursday, he resigned as Director of the McGill Institute [for the Study of Canada]. Now that resignation, it appears, was voluntary, but not quite in that the school seems to have given Potter the choice between leaving peacefully or being fired. Now, he stays on as an assistant professor at McGill, but that's the lay of the land as it stands right now. And so, there's questions about, you know, the university, which tweeted out that they know the views of Andrew Potter did not represent the university. Did they [McGill] infringe on his academic freedom?
>
> (Mochama & Daro, 2017, March 24, 22:58)

Daro contextualized Potter's opinion piece from March 2017 about Quebec being "an almost pathologically alienated and low-trust society" to inform listeners about the article's original comment. Daro also included quotes to accurately represent Potter's opinions. Fairclough (2003) argues that contextualization is an important tactic for speakers to make their arguments clearer for listeners who may be unaware of a topic's original context. The intertextual introduction of Potter's quotes framed the article in this new podcast space. Despite the outcry over Potter's remarks, *Safe Space*'s inclusion of the quotes and its discussion about the piece demonstrated the podcast's ethos to facilitate open political discussion, even Potter's "bad takes" in the minds of many Quebecois. Cohost Mochama then took the conversational reigns from Daro. Mochama exhibited what Gee (2014) calls "context is reflexive" (p. 201), which occurs when a speaker frames something to influence what others will interpret as the relevant context. Mochama commented initially that Potter's "resignation, it appears, was voluntary," but then inserted immediately afterwards, "but not quite." Mochama shaped a narrative that Potter was essentially forced out of his directorial position because of the feedback towards his *Maclean's* piece since "the school seems to have given Potter the choice between leaving peacefully or being fired." This tactic incited the panelists to address Mochama's question, "Did they [McGill] infringe on his academic freedom?" since he was potentially "forced" to leave despite his "voluntary resignation" because of how his opinions were publicly received. Mochama inserted an alternative narrative grounded in her interpretation of the story's unfolding.

An issue with this section of *Safe Space*'s episode is that "academic freedom" was not defined, so it is potentially difficult for the audience to understand what is specifically being argued about. Additional difficulty arises because there are no universal definitions of academic freedom in Canada. Rather, academic freedom is defined differently across associations, scholars, and universities.[30] Academic freedom is commonly proposed as freedom from

[30] Here are three definitions of "academic freedom" to contextualize what I believe is the general sentiment of *Safe Space*'s discussion:

1) UNESCO's "Recommendation concerning the Status of Higher Education": Academic freedom is "the right, without constriction by prescribed doctrine, to freedom of teaching and discussion, freedom of carrying out research and disseminating and publishing the results thereof, freedom to express freely their opinion about the institution or system in which they work, freedom from institutional censorship and freedom to participate in representative or academic bodies" (1997, p. 10).
2) Canadian Association of University Teachers's "Academic Freedom – Policy Statement": "Academic freedom includes the right, without restriction by prescribed doctrine, the freedom to teach and discuss; freedom to carry out research and disseminate and publish the results thereof; freedom to produce and

institutional censorship in teaching and research. However, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (1997) and Judith Butler (2017) frame academic freedom *within* the institution, whereas the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) suggests academic freedom also pertains to producing "creative works," engaging with "the community," and "always" precedes institutional censorship (n.d.). *Safe Space*'s debate about Potter's potential infringement on "academic freedom," as Mochama directly posed, would have benefitted from an established definition so the panel and listeners could understand the conversational context about whether Potter's article written and published for *Maclean's* outside McGill's institution should have avoided university punishment.

Daro invited Ansari to share her political opinion on Mochama's question:

> **SA [to panelists]:** I think this is like a cautionary hot-take tale of our time. Basically, I think that– I mean, I think that the public is hungry for hot takes and we're all publishing them all the time and everyone's coming up with them all the time. And I think this is like, what's the threshold that makes you lose your job or lose a position like, what's– what is that like? You know, for some people, it's very extreme, it's child porn. For other people, they can say whatever they want. They don't seem to. And for this, it seems like it really, I think, hit a nerve for people because people are on either side of it. Either you're like a diehard Quebecer and you're like, "What? I can't believe he said this. He should," like, "lose his job and be totally discredited." And I think for others– are like, "not really that big of a deal." So, I think that that's the kind of rub for me, I think, in terms of him losing his job and losing his position, because he's still a professor, like that should be noted. Um, I think the one interesting thing for me is that I don't know that this is about academic freedom completely because, I mean, one: he's keeping his position as a

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perform creative works; freedom to engage in service to the institution and the community; freedom to express one's opinion about the institution, its administration, and the system in which one works; freedom to acquire, preserve, and provide access to documentary material in all formats; and freedom to participate in professional and representative academic bodies. Academic freedom always entails freedom from institutional censorship" (n.d., Article 2).

3) Judith Butler's "Academic Freedom and the Critical Task of the University": Academic freedom "allows faculty to pursue lines of research and modes of thought without interference from government or other external authorities. … In other words, academic freedom implies a right to free inquiry within the academic institution, but also an obligation to preserving the institution as a site where freedom of inquiry can and does take place, free of intervention, and censorship" (2017, p. 857).

professor. But two: he was like the head of something called the Institute for Canada Studies.

ID [to SA]: The Study of Canada.

SA [to panelists]: The Study of Canada. And if you're kind of, like, writing something that sort of craps on a province and the province that you have to be– happened to be in, like that can be seen– that's a huge PR problem. So, I don't know if that's an– that goes beyond academic freedom to me personally. Like, I think I can, I can see the University's problem with what he wrote. I don't necessarily agree or disagree with their decision. I think it was a complicated one.

(Mochama & Daro, 2017, March 24, 24:37)

Ansari's initial approach was to balance both sides of the debate, but she concluded in her first response that academic freedom is not even in question in this story because Potter "was keeping his professorship." This comment about Potter's partial termination is a form of "significance building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202), which occurs when a speaker connects two events to strengthen their argument. Ansari connected Potter's article to his maintained professorial employment to insist that his academic freedom was not affected, which is "the kind of rub" for Ansari. However, her understanding of Potter's removal from the Study of Canada due to his location of employment and the Institute's focus suggested that, in tandem with her previous comment, she believed complete termination would have been arguably justifiable. Ansari did not voice a definitive position during her response initially, stating that "I don't necessarily agree or disagree with their decision. I think it was a complicated one." Immediately afterwards, Ansari theorized that Potter's specific termination at the Study of Canada could be justified because he criticized "Quebecers as minorities" in a province "he happened to be [working] in."

Ansari later shared that:

SA [to panelists]: If you sub in what he said about Quebec with any other minority group, I think sometimes we don't see Quebecers as minorities. And whether or not I think that, that's a whole other debate, right? But I think we don't have empathy for Quebecers. So, if you sub in like "Muslim," for example– so if you say, like, "Muslims are pathologically– are pathologically alienating in low-trust societies," like that would

be really offensive. And I think that that's something that we're not really thinking about in the rest of Canada because we don't necessarily have empathy for Quebecers.

VM [to SA]: I think that's an interesting point, because it's been brought up elsewhere that like, "yeah, if you do sub in other groups," it is, you know, that "that particular piece is equally as offensive." But, like, this isn't *Maclean's* particular first run at Quebec or even at particular groups, you know? Scott Gilmore has written many pieces about how the North is a shithole.

(Mochama & Daro, 2017, March 24, 26:07)

Ansari established multiple approaches to the topic to work through her political position. Later, Ansari's rationale that criticism of another minority group would be equally "offensive" to the public was a form of "relationship building" that established her position. Ansari foregrounded "Muslim" identity to equate any situation where a minority group is being potentially discriminated against, whether provincial or religious, as problematic and open to negative reception and potential termination. She therefore insinuated that Potter's termination from the Study of Canada was justified because the community he addressed, Quebecers, are a minority group that was equally attacked. *Safe Space* helped Ansari voice her concerns openly, even if she did not *explicitly* align with a particular side of the argument for or against termination related to academic freedom. Mochama valued Ansari's final remarks as qualification for Ansari's official position despite Ansari's potentially "bad take" in the minds of the other panelists and listeners.

Ansari later revisited the fallout from Potter's article to address the phenomenon that has been popularly termed "cancel culture":[31]

SA [to panelists]: How do you come back from a bad take? Like, he apologized on Facebook and he was like, "Man, I was wrong." Like, "I just took that too far." And then he like, again– and then he resigned and wrote this other note. Like, so what– what do you need to do to come back from a bad take in that, like, even though that was, like, you know, the ideas and that, like, we've already kind of picked this apart, but like, I think

[31] According to Pew Research Centre, the American public has debated what "cancel culture" means, "including whether it's a way to hold people accountable, or a tactic to punish others unjustly, or a mix of both. And some argue that cancel culture doesn't even exist" (Vogels et al., 2021, par. 2).

> we're all kind of susceptible to bad takes. So, like, do we, do we– like, are you okay with writing people off or, like, how do we– how do we treat people once they're, like, actually apologetic about it?
>
> (Mochama & Daro, 2017, March 24, 33:14)

Ansari shifted the conversation about Potter's article and partial termination to ask: "How do you come back from a bad take?" Ansari's opening question in this passage asserted her position that Potter's take was "bad," yet she takes an empathetic approach to try understanding the line between "writing people off" and forgiving them if they've apologized. Her rationale about Potter's apologies, like his Facebook post and McGill Institute resignation, exhibited intertextuality used to strengthen her argument through multiple examples (Smith and Watson, 2010). Ansari stated that "we're all kind of susceptible to bad takes," which demonstrated her belief that everyone could unknowingly have unpopular opinions open to public ridicule. This statement directly articulated *Safe Space*'s potential to provide an open podcast space for potentially bad takes. Potter's "bad take" published in a national magazine was publicly chastised, which begs the question as to whether this same "bad take" would be publicly ridiculed if it was voiced on *Safe Space* or another podcast instead. Overall, Ansari's empathetic approach illustrated what Gee (2014) terms the "Big C Conversation" (p. 204), which is a communicative approach to branch from a specific case (e.g., Potter's article) to a larger debate (e.g., "cancel culture" and "academic freedom"). Ansari previously demonstrated her political viewpoint about Potter's specific bad take and his "rightful" termination. However, her remarks in this passage afterwards indicated that in the larger conversation about "how to come back from a bad take," she is unsure about the public's willingness to forgive an opinion that "we are all susceptible" to in some way.

Mochama inserted her own experience as a writer when responding to Ansari's question:

> **VM [to SA]:** I write three columns a week, and so, you know, every– not– every time I wish I could say that it worked, but not every single one of them is a gem. And so, like, what do I do if, like, the one time I'm like, you know, just thinking aloud about, I don't know – what am I always thinking about? – like "men and how they're garbage." What if the one time I do that, you know, it just catches enough attention. How do I– how do you

> come back from that? And I think Andrew Potter's way is probably the best way to do, is to, like, take in the criticism where it's valid and address that, which he did, I guess, in a Facebook note. And I think him, or *Maclean's*, stepped in to say, like, "Parts of this are not great." I think that's the way you're supposed to do it. Now, what it sucks for is when you are part of a whole bunch of other institutions, and they just give you repercussions for it. But I think what he's done and what him and *Maclean's* have done is take responsibility for the bad take. It was bad. Now, I wish they [*Maclean's*] did that for more of them [bad takes] because on that same day there were plenty more on *Maclean's* website that I was like, "Y'all owe people an apology."
>
> (33:51)

Mochama's career informed her political approach to this part of the debate. This positioning illustrates what Gee (2014) terms "identities building" (p. 202), or the foregrounding of one's self-concept to support their argument. Mochama's vulnerability about fearing the same consequences as Potter when she questioned, "How do I– you come back from that?" implicitly aligned with Ansari's notion that everyone is susceptible to a bad take. Her quick correction from "I" to "you" transitioned her position as the inhabitant of a bad take to the rest of the panelists, specifically noting that "it sucks" when "a whole bunch of other institutions...give you repercussions for it [your bad take]." This insight indirectly addressed the question of academic freedom since, as UNESCO (1997) and Butler (2017) both argue, academic freedom should be applied *inside* the institution. In Potter's case, McGill University was a separate institution that doled out "repercussions" for his piece in *Maclean's*. Mochama did not explicitly state if writers should be reprimanded for opinions they share outside their institution. However, her phrasing that "it sucks" is a form of "integration" (Gee, 2014, p. 201), or the optional inclusion of an opinion, illustrating her disagreement with McGill's decision. Her negative reaction to Potter's directorial termination from the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada was a subjective imposition grounded in her previous insight about being a writer herself, which combined her professional and political sense of self.

Mochama explicitly concluded that she thought Potter apologized enough to mitigate further reaction or punishment. Others who believed the professional "repercussions" were justified but still not enough could view Mochama's opinion negatively. Yet Mochama still

voiced this opinion because the podcast, aptly named *Safe Space*, offered her an open forum to voice her own, and potentially "bad," opinion about Potter specifically and academic freedom generally. Overall, the podcast exhibited aspects of Mochama's, Ansari's, and Daro's political views on topics like voting ages and academic freedom that their personal experiences helped inform. Specifically, these episodes did not foreground the podcasters' and guests' racial or ethnic identities but were concerned with other social constructs like age and profession and their intersections with politics.

Colour Code (Globe and Mail) was another show that addressed political positions. The podcast's bio states that "if there's one thing Canadians avoid, it's talking about race. This podcast is here to change that" (Apple Podcasts). In the episode "Your Turn" (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 16), cohosts Hannah Sung and Denise Balkissoon invited listeners to provide feedback about the show, much of which was political when discussing race. One caller voiced their opinion about a previous episode when singer MIA's comments from the *Evening Standard* newspaper about Black Lives Matter were brought up during *Colour Code*'s interview with the singer:[32]

> **Caller One (C1) [to Hannah Sung]:** Basically, I heard the MIA episode and in it she said things like, you know, "Kendrick Lamar and Beyoncé and all these folks are talking about how Black Lives matter," and that that wasn't interesting to her and that was something she had heard before, and she would be much more intrigued when she heard things like "Muslim lives matter," "immigrant lives matter," "Tamil lives matter." It's just inappropriate and kind of flipped to me to say that, you know, this is old news because it's not like there's so much in our reality showing us that we need to keep saying "Black Lives Matter" again and again and that it's not a fact for many people. I feel it's really

[32] In *Colour Code*, cohost Sung quoted MIA's original comment from the *Evening Standard*: "It's interesting that in America the thing you're allowed to talk about is Black Lives Matter. It's not a new thing to me. Is Beyoncé or Kendrick Lamar going to say, 'Muslim Lives Matter" or "Syrian Lives Matter" or "This Kid in Pakistan matters?" That's a more interesting question" (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, September 20, 18:18).

important, you know, when these things are said for us to question them. And I felt that that wasn't questioned [during your interview with MIA].

Hannah Sung (HS) [to C1]: Mhm. Yeah, I thought about your email a lot, and I think it's totally a fair criticism. Just to clarify, I mean, I didn't think that she was saying "Black Lives Matter" is unimportant. I felt that she was saying all of these things are important and that's what she was trying to get across.

(Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 22, 10:14)

This exchange between cohost and caller exemplified different interpretations people can have about the same comment based on their political disposition.

Caller 1 (C1) interpreted MIA's comment to mean that MIA dismissed the public's need to reinforce "Black Lives Matter" and instead shift focus towards "Muslim lives," "immigrant lives," and "Tamil lives." C1's political view that "we need to keep saying 'Black Lives Matter' again and again and that it's not a fact for many people" grounded her disdained interpretation of MIA's comment. This caller's response to MIA demonstrates the use of "relationships building" (p. 202), or the act of connecting two things to show how they work with or against each other. For C1, Black Lives Matter was not "old news" and MIA's propositions for other movements were not necessarily "new." Cohost Sung acknowledged C1's perspective but disagreed, using her own form of relationship building. Sung's comment that "I felt that she [MIA] was saying all of these things [movements] are important and that's what she was trying to get across" built a relationship between Black Lives Matter and MIA's proposed movements. Sung's connection suggested that these idealistic movements are not mutually exclusive and that they work towards the same political goals for different groups. *Colour Code* invited criticism from fans based on the cohosts' political takes and actions, which exhibited the podcast's openness to learn about race from a political lens as a learning process. C1 and Sung both voiced their stances openly and listened to the other, first in Sung's interaction with MIA on the previous episode, and then Sung's interaction with C1's feedback.

Colour Code then addressed the political sentiment behind racial labels in the same episode:

> **Caller 2 (C2):** I'd like to express concern over your [cohost Denise Balkissoon's] use of the word "brown" when describing individuals with darker skin. I'm quite disappointed that you've chosen to perpetuate the use of this poorly descriptive word when referring to me and people like myself. I find it troubling that you use such a terrible descriptor to reduce multiple diverse races to one word. I'm of mixed origins. My mother is Polish and Czech German while my father is South Indian. I hold much identity in being Canadian in a part of our diverse home. This is a product of growing up in a diverse up-and-coming neighborhood in Edmonton where every one of my friends is ethnically different from one another. We didn't openly discuss our differences, but rather concentrated on our similarities. I believe, as a show attacking the covert prejudice that lives in our country, you should be held to a higher standard of language use. While you believe it's okay to refer to someone as "brown," are you comfortable with referring to people as "black?" Is "African American" more appropriate? Would you refer to an Asian person as "yellow?"
> (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 22, 32:29)

Caller 2 (C2), identified briefly as "Brett," voiced his "concern" over cohost Balkissoon's "use of the word 'brown'" in a previous episode "when describing individuals with darker skin." C2's position was that the label "brown" homogenizes "diverse races to one word." This phrasing about the label's homogenization is a semiotic form of "identities building" (p. 202) that Gee (2014) believes foregrounds one's sense of self to strengthen their authority within an argument. Simply put, C2's identity grounded in his self-concept could be interpreted to validate his position. He foregrounded his identity multiple times in this passage to attack the use of labels that he believed reduced large groups of people since he identified as more than "brown": "I'm of mixed origins. My mother is *Polish* and *Czech German* while my father is *South Indian*," and "I hold much identity in being *Canadian*." These various labels, loaded with meaning themselves, situated C2's self-concept as being more than "brown" and demonstrated this label's insensitivity to him. He reiterated his position when questioning if Balkissoon would use other racial labels like "black," "African American," and "yellow." Reference to these labels exhibits the rhetorical use of "significance building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202) by comparing the use of "brown" to other racial labels. This comparison signified that any colour-based or geographic

labelling of someone else could homogenize their identity and inaccurately reflect how they self-identify.

Cohost Balkissoon immediately responded to C2 with her rationale for using the label "brown":

> **Denise Balkissoon (DB) [to HS]:** So, yeah, I mean, obviously there's Brett [Caller 2] who is racialized and he does not agree with me. So, I mean, just very briefly, I use the word "brown" because I actually find it a really comforting word to use. I think it's a diasporic word because, you know, my parents are from Trinidad, but I have shared experiences with people whose families are from India and Sri Lanka. And, you know, the way that my family got to Trinidad is through indentureship. And actually, people went to Fiji in the same way. And so, to me, that shared experience is, like, very global and very historical. And it's something that I take actually a lot of comfort in. I also think that it is becoming increasingly a political word, the same way that Black is. And I actually would say "Black." I also say, "African American." I sometimes say, "African Canadian." For myself, when it comes to using a word to describe race, I just think: number one, all words are imperfect because race is imperfect. And so, number two: I think the most important thing is being able to be comfortable with the word yourself and being able to describe that when someone asks.
>
> (33:38)

Balkissoon's comment that "brown" is a "diasporic" word suggested that she frames her racial identity around "shared experiences" moving to Canada ancestrally alongside other immigrants. This connection between a racial label and diaspora illustrates "identities building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202). Like C2 explaining what the label "brown" means to them, Balkissoon framed her connection to the label "brown" as "really comforting." Balkissoon's explanation about "brown" being "an increasingly political word" also suggested that she believed racial labelling can describe and encourage cohesion amongst a larger group of people. Balkissoon's use of the word "brown" ultimately illustrated that people define identities differently and use these labels for specific ends. Balkissoon addressed this when stating that "all words [used to describe race] are imperfect because race is imperfect." Simply put, any social identity like race is difficult to

define or apply universally because people have different ideas about what an identity label means to them. The podcast offers a space to explain and debate these definitions and applications.

Balkissoon and C2's disagreement with using "brown" indicated this difference in how a racial label may be "comforting" to one person (Balkissoon) and "troubling" to another (C2). Balkissoon's identification with the label "brown" authentically illustrated how she views herself since, as she concluded in this passage, "I think the most important thing is being able to be comfortable with the word yourself." This "integration" (Gee, 2014, p. 201) or commentary she optionally inserted demonstrated the value she places on being able to self-conceptualize using language based on the meanings one personally derives from that language. Balkissoon used the word in this episode to represent her authentically consistent application of the term in previous *Colour Code* episodes and in everyday life.

Balkissoon's final remark in the above passage about the importance to "be able to describe that [word] when someone asks" can be considered a commentary on podcasting's openly expressive space itself that Balkissoon and C2's exchange exhibited. Both speakers used the podcast to describe their connection to the racial label "brown" despite its potentially contentious consequences. *Colour Code* mirrored *Safe Space* in this way about the desire to authentically voice potentially unsettling opinions and political viewpoints in good faith. In the same episode, *Colour Code*'s cohosts explained that the podcast was a learning exercise for them more than it was a platform to exhibit political expertise:

> **DB [to HS]:** I think it's been extremely gratifying to learn so many things from so many smart people across the country, to fill in some holes in my own knowledge, to realize that there's an audience for these kind of stories and that people feel very passionately about these issues of identity in Canada specifically and want to talk about it. Uh, yeah, I mean, I'm very proud of this project. How do you feel?
> **HS [to DB]:** I feel really great now that it's done. I feel [laughs] like, yeah, it is something that I can be proud of, you know, the work that we did here. There were some surprises, for sure. I think we went into it knowing that some of the conversations would be uncomfortable, but you can't really predict in what way you'll be challenged. You know, if you're– if you're really doing your work, like if you're really being reflective,

> which I think is a theme that emerged over the entire course of the series, then yeah, it's going to be tough because you really have to confront yourself. I think I also realized how much I can't stand confrontation and conflict. And, you know, I'll get into that in a bit with, um, some constructive criticism I got back from a listener saying that maybe I should have confronted one of our guests [MIA] a little, you know, with, like been a little tougher. But I just think that when it comes to race overall, it's such a minefield, an emotional minefield and whatever I can do to kind of have conversations that are calm and therefore maybe longer and broader, maybe– then like really fast, knee jerk, inflammatory kinds of reactions, you know, that's just my style. But everybody can have different styles.
>
> (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 22, 3:16)

Sung confirmed that "we went into it [hosting *Colour Code*] knowing that some of the conversations would be uncomfortable." Sung's transparency about the podcast's critical approach to "issues of identity in Canada," as Balkissoon phrased it, demonstrated the cohost's discomfort addressing this subject matter because "you can't really predict in what way you'll be challenged." These remarks demonstrate what Gee (2014) terms the "Big 'C' Conversation" (p. 204), which occurs when a speaker used minor examples to identify a macro issue, debate, or claim. Discussing the use of racial labels like "brown," for example, was a micro example reflecting the macro, "big" conversation about identity in Canada that was uncomfortable and unpredictable for the cohost Sung who "can't stand confrontation and conflict." Sung described that these uncomfortable and unpredictable exchanges could occur because race is "an emotional minefield." Her phrasing is a type of "relationships building" where a speaker connects two items (e.g., race and minefields) to illustrate their opinion (Gee, 2014, p. 202). Sung's use of the term "minefield" suggested that any discussion she had about race could have exploded emotionally, without warning and with serious consequences, because "race" was present everywhere in the conversations and she was unsure how to navigate the conversational terrain. Yet both cohosts chose the podcast format to have these conversations, which exhibited their confidence in the platform for openly expressing their political viewpoints.

Sung's final comment about the desire to have "calm" and "longer" conversations reflected podcasting's overall structural affordances. *Colour Code*, like *Safe Space* (Torstar) and

The Red Road Podcast (The Red Road Podcast), took advantage of podcasting's free-form structure to address political viewpoints over longer episodes rather than be confined by the commercial and structural limitations of television, newspapers, and radio. *Colour Code*, *Safe Space*, and *The Red Road Podcast* all had differing episode lengths across their three episodes in this study without commercial interruption (Table 8). This indicated that podcasters were able to control the pace and tone of the conversation about potentially unpredictable and uncomfortable political subject matter rather than conform to commercial restraints on episodic structure and content.

Sung's goal in *Colour Code* was to eliminate "really fast, knee-jerk, inflammatory kinds of reactions." The long-form structure of *Colour Code* and other podcasts in this section helped people express themselves beyond one-word or one-sentence responses and provided time for detailed and nuanced exchanges. Sung's sentiment in this comment appeared to be that other media or everyday conversations addressing identity in Canada are reactionary rather than nuanced. Podcasts in this section helped parse out complex political conversations. Sung's final comment that this longform conversational approach is "just my style. But everybody can have other styles" again reflected the essence of podcasting's non-standard and unstructured format where people can address topics like "identity in Canada" from different viewpoints organized and voiced differently. Hosts and guests from *The Red Road Podcast*, *Safe Space*, and *Colour Code* similarly voiced their political viewpoints through collaborative exchanges where each participant explained themselves in detail in their own words.

Table 8: Episode Lengths of *Colour Code*, *The Red Road Podcast*, and *Safe Space*

Podcast Name	Episode Title	Run Time	Average Run Time
Colour Code (Globe and Mail)	"Race and Real Estate"	45:34	49:10
	"Surface Tension"	47:50	
	"Your Turn"	54:07	
The Red Road Podcast (The Red Road Podcast)	"The Good (NDN Kids), the Bad (Child Welfare Legislation),	44:18	42:07

	and the Ugly (Traffic)"		
	"On Violence"	41:16	
	"Settlers Interrupt-Us"	40:49	
Safe Space (Torstar)	"Bill's Budget and Burying Quebec"	48:08	32:23
	"Corny White People"	29:47	
	"No Votes for Teens and Old"	19:14	

Mental Health

Podcasters and guests in this study addressed their mental health intersecting with other parts of their self-concept. Although mental health is not an identity marker per se, it is closely related to the social identity of "ability." Ability refers to a person's physical or mental capability to function every day. I apply "ability" to podcasters verbalizing how mental health affected their everyday lives in tandem with other parts of their sense of selves. Podcasters and guests shared how mental health intersects with other parts of their identity but that are rarely represented or acknowledged publicly, especially within Black communities (Alvidrez et al., 2008). Four podcasts in this study addressed mental health: 1) *My Blackness, My Truth* (CKDU), 2) *Black Tea* (Frequency Podcast Network), 3) *Born and Raised* (HuffPost), and 4) *Campus* (CBC).

My Blackness, My Truth's (CKDU) "Mental Health: The Bleakness of Black Representation" (Symone, 2018, March 13) episode between podcast host Jayde Symone and guest Adena Cox had the largest discussion about mental health. Cox is an "African Nova Scotian medical researcher" (3:11) who discussed "why Black representation at all levels of mental health service is important" (3:12). Smith and Watson (2010) argue that collaborative speech helps interlocutors build a unified message. Symone and Cox used the podcast to collaboratively share their personal experiences having mental health issues in school and the importance of accessible medical resources. Gee (2014) uses the phrase "Big 'C' Conversation"

(p. 204) to describe when speakers share anecdotes and examples that connect to a large historical or social issue. *My Blackness, My Truth*'s examples about individual mental health experiences from Black, female, Nova Scotian perspectives extended to a larger conversation about the systemic issue of access to mental health resources for Black communities across Canada (Alvidrez et al., 2008). The episode began with a soundscape Symone created to sonically represent dreams she had about her mental health, which she contextualized afterwards:

> **Jayde Symone (JS) Narration:** I created that soundscape about a dream I've had upon falling asleep with anxiety many, many times. It got me thinking about mental health and how it plays a role in my life. It also has me thinking, how is society approaching mental health awareness and service in my Black communities? As this is *My Blackness, My Truth*, I am left with the same thought I've had before any show: is my Black experience a shared truth, or am I alone on this one?
>
> (Symone, 2018, March 13, 2:36)

Symone initiated the conversation about mental health in her life so that listeners knew she experienced anxiety. This use of autobiographical "I" foregrounded Symone's sense of authentic authority over, and relationship to, mental health in Black communities based on her personal experiences. Symone specifically extended the conversation to how "Black communities" are "approaching mental health awareness and service" to better understand if her "Black experience [is] a shared truth, or am I alone on this one?" Her reflection simultaneously built identities and relationships (Gee, 2014). Symone personally identified with her own "Black experience" while questioning her experience's connection to other Black communities, which together framed her inquiry into whether she and others receive quality mental health service or are even aware of mental health's prevalence.

Part of *My Blackness, My Truth*'s conversation addressed the need for more Black mental health professionals like Symone's counsellor in university who helped her:

> **JS Narration:** From 2012 to 2016, I had a phenomenal mental health counsellor. This was an opportunity I received through my undergrad degree. I was actually forced to see a counsellor. This was because I wasn't doing so well academically. To this day, I look back

> and think, "Wow, Dalhousie forcing me to walk down that long hallway and enter the office of my counsellor, Catherine, that was the best education I could have ever received, one that was worth every single penny." But being able to unpack my long time struggles with anxiety and to determine my triggers with not only a certified counsellor, but a Black woman who has both the academic and cultural contacts to really serve me, I recognize that was a great privilege. But for other people in the community, other people in the Black community, is that even an option for those who are not so lucky? What are the implications of a lack of representation in mental health care?
>
> (Symone, 2018, March 13, 6:07)

Symone questioned individual versus shared experience of mental health struggles when explaining that she received counselling in university to "unpack my long time struggles with anxiety and to determine my triggers." This is a type of "self-knowledge," which Smith and Watson (2010) suggest results from reflecting on and understanding one's experience retrospectively. Symone reflected on the importance of interacting with a trained medical professional who she felt understood her based on shared racial identity. The comment "not only a certified counsellor, but a Black woman who has both the academic and cultural contacts to really serve me" suggested that Symone equally valued her counsellor's professional expertise and her perceived cultural similarities. Symone again reiterated her unique circumstance of having had a Black counsellor, repeating her thought about "other people in the community, other people in the Black community, is that even an option?" Gee (2014) argues that repetition builds significance because it signals to listeners that what is being repeated is important and needs to be understood. Repeated comments about mental health services signalled the episode's overall theme. Furthermore, Symone's self-correction from "other people in the community" to "other people in the *Black* community" indicated her mental and cultural identification with the episode's subject matter for and about "the Black community."

Cox responded to Symone's question about the available mental health resources for Black communities:

> **Adena Cox (AC) [to JS]:** There aren't a lot of Black people from the community who have– who are healthcare professionals. We have lots of social workers. There are a few

> nurses, but if you look at the kind of, I don't want to say higher level, but the more, like, medically-oriented fields, we have very few doctors. We have very few psychologists. We have very few other clinicians in general, like any of those specialized services, child health specialists, speech pathologists, any of those types of things, they simply don't exist. So, there's a huge gap in the availability of people of colour who are from these communities, who kind of grew up understanding the types of things that affect people from the community and can go in and say, "Hey, I know we're experiencing this, how can I look at it to get a better understanding of how it affects people?" So, that's what I'll say is one of the main barriers is just simply that we don't have enough people within healthcare who are able to do the research.
>
> (Symone, 2018, March 13, 9:00)

Cox estimated that one barrier to mental health awareness and resources is a lack of specialized healthcare workers who are Black and can connect to, or do research about, Black patients. Cox explicitly noted that patients "of colour who are from these communities" do not have access to professionals "who kind of grew up understanding the types of things that affect people from the community." Cox stated that disparity between the number of Black healthcare professionals to potential patients is problematic because, as Symone similarly commented, there may be a disconnect for a medical professional who had not "kind of grew up" in the same environment. Smith and Watson (2010) argue that a speaker can establish a relationship with listeners using explicit identification, which helps structure a sense of community. Cox's use of the plural pronoun "we" referred to a singular Black community that she associates with, which connected her racial identification to her views about mental healthcare. In a sense, Cox presented herself as someone "who kind of grew up understanding the types of things that affect people from the community" and therefore established her perception of her positional authority to, and identification with, the subject. Overall, Symone and Cox connected their mental health perspectives to their identification with Black communities to raise awareness about the need for more Black professionals in the medical field who are adequately trained and share an understanding of a supposedly unitary "Black" experience growing up in "the community."

Cox later addressed how mental health can intersect with race or ethnicity when she explained her research goals:

> **AC [to JS]:** What is the prevalence of things like depression or anxiety in Black youth in general? Because a lot of the times those types of– I shouldn't say those types, but a lot of mental illnesses present differently in Black youth because of societal factors that have shaped how they express themselves and their emotions and their behaviours. And a lot of the time they're misunderstood. So, if people are being– not only disproportionately being able to access services, but if they're also going to see someone and they [the doctor] have a skewed view of what their behavior looks like, then they're not only losing access to treatment, but they could be being mistreated and be diagnosed with something else. Or they could be referred to a resource that isn't useful to them, or it could end up being something like they end up going into the justice system.
>
> (Symone, 2018, March 13, 14:10)

Cox specifically identified "Black youth" as a group that may have "mental illnesses present[ed] differently because of societal factors that have shaped how they express themselves and their emotions and behaviours." Here, Cox separated herself from "Black youth" based on age difference with the use of "their," which highlighted another intersectional makeup between race, mental health, and age. Cox also explicitly stated in this sentence that social factors related to perceptions of race structure how one expresses themselves. Race, mental health, and social identity all intersect again alongside her professional observations as a psychology student. Later in the passage, Cox repeated her and Symone's position that Black patients need to have access to professionals who don't "have a skewed view of what their [the patient's] behavior looks like." This comment signalled how Cox values common cultural identification between a patient and a medical professional for minimizing mistreatment. Simply put, Cox believed that if the doctor does not have shared lived experience with the patient, they will not understand the patient's needs based on social position since Black communities are supposedly socially alike. Cox's argument would benefit from data about the guidance non-Black doctors provide to Black youth patients, but her comment nonetheless foregrounded the mental health disparity she witnessed as a psychology student.

Symone and Cox's Black, Nova Scotian, female identities influenced their experiences and opinions shared in the podcast. However, both speakers identified commonality amongst

other Black women dealing with mental health issues across Canada. According to Dalon Taylor and Donna Richards (2019), "The stigma and oppression caused by the negative perception of mental illness does not bode well for Black families, especially for many Black women who are the backbones of their families" (p. 2). Symone echoed this concern in the podcast when referring to the social perception of mental health and weakness:

> **JS Narration:** Sometimes I wince when I hear some people's definition of what it means to be a strong Black woman. As a Black female with a voice, I know that when it is time to rumble, everyone looks at you. They look at you to take the first swing. And if you don't show up, some folks are upset or suspicious, wondering whether you've lost your superpowers or maybe cut a deal with "the man." And as well, you have the pressure to calibrate that showing of strength just so you don't become falsely marginalized as an angry Black woman. The title takes up so much space that there's hardly anything left. Where's room for vulnerability? Where's room for self-care? Where is there room to ask for help? Where is there room to make mistakes? This is a frustration I have.
>
> (Symone, 2018, March 13, 23:19)

Symone situated her intersectional positionality as a "Black female" to contextualize her relationship with "strength" and "vulnerability." Her identification provided a sense of authentic authority to the topic from her lived experience, especially related to "some people" and "some folks" who do not have that experiential context. Vulnerability is a term commonly associated with mental health because people may be expressing a personal side of themselves that is receptive to judgements of weakness and instability. Symone argued that discussing mental health, and thus being vulnerable, is especially difficult for women who are expected to be strong or are otherwise "falsely marginalized as an angry Black woman." Thus, being an angry or strong Black woman leaves no emotional availability for "self-care" and to "ask for help" because of cultural expectations about what a Black woman is supposed to be or how to act. In this episode of *My Blackness, My Truth*, Symone expressed vulnerability that she applied to her Black woman identity, which would otherwise be unexpected or uncharacteristic in the ears of others. The intersectional characteristics of race and gender provided a different meaning for Symone as race and age did for Cox earlier.

Symone used the podcast to address these issues and express her connection to mental health likely because the format facilitates a potentially safe space for personal storytelling. Symone voiced her understanding again about being a "young Black woman":

> **JS [to AC]:** I feel like in our communities we– already there's such a strong sense of support in other ways and I don't think it's a stretch to have that translate into something else. But at the same time, there's this desire for strength all the time, and there's this desire to constantly be seen as tough and strong, as if you got it together. And not wanting to be a burden for family or friends or other people, you know, who also are going through things because being, you know, – being a young Black woman in this world isn't always easy. So, you're constantly cognizant of that and don't want to add to anyone else's issues. But I feel like that's the biggest thing that we need to just get over, because I have never met one person in my own life that wasn't willing to listen and didn't want to listen.
> **AC [to JS]:** So true.
> **JS [to AC]:** But in our own minds, we assume what we're going to be a burden– or my own mind – we need to be strong for the greater good for everyone else and be seen as "this person is a rock." But, you know, people become rocks through being soft and vulnerable. And I think that that's a big piece that we need to overcome.
>
> (Symone, 2018, March 13, 24:15)

Symone shifted from the general addressee of *the* Black Nova Scotian community at the beginning of the podcast towards the specific addressee of Black women across her listenership and across Canada when criticizing the notion that "*we* need to be strong." Symone also used the second-person "you" when discussing cultural and social expectations. She addressed herself indirectly here and placed the listener in her position: "be seen as tough and strong as if *you* got it together" and "*you*'re constantly cognizant of that." Symone connected these words and their meanings to build a relationship between herself and others (Gee, 2014). Symone connected being a "young Black woman" with the expectation to be strong, which listeners could identify with or feel empathy towards. Again, Symone controlled her vulnerability when discussing her mental health experiences and her views toward mental health awareness and support connected

to Black communities and being a Black woman. As she stated in the "Mental Health: The Bleakness of Black Representation" episode, "On this show, we use the many existential conundrums of my Black lived experience to have frank and candid conversations about race and identity, with an added focus on the African Nova Scotia populace" (Symone, March 13, 00:08). Symone's perspectives and values associated with her "Black lived experience" about mental health connected to how she partially views the intersection of her race and gender.

Black Tea's (Frequency Podcast Network) "Race, Gender, and Canadian Politics" (Williams & Higgins, 2020, August 25) podcast episode with Canadian politician and former Liberal Party member Celina Caesar-Chavannes also addressed mental health. Cohost Dalton Higgins prefaced his position to mental health as a member of what he terms "the Black community":

> **Dalton Higgins (DH) [to Celina Caesar-Chavannes]:** I mean Celina too, you know, outside of the political realm, you know, you've been sort of commemorated, celebrated in our community. For example, you know, you've been on this mission to sort of shed more light on the mental health issues, because you came out, you said you'd been diagnosed with depression in 2015. And I think the reason that we in the Black community doubly or triply commended you for your work in this area is that it almost feels like to this day, it's just something that does not get talked about enough, if at all. You know, I have immediate family members, you know, as far as mental health issues, we all do, it's widespread. But in the Black community in particular, it's still very much treated as something that's taboo. I mean, I remember growing up, you know, I come from a Caribbean background, and I would hear things like– I'd always hear these statements, you know, if there's somebody around you that is affected by mental health issues, you know, back home, you would just sort of send them off to the "madhouse," you know? And a lot of people from throughout the Caribbean would hear this and the quality of that kind of conversation leaves an impression with you, you know?
>
> (21:20)

Although Higgins did not identify having mental health issues himself, he explained the lack of communication about mental health in "our community." This phrasing of "our community,"

rephrased to "the *Black* community" moments later, suggests that podcasters may view mental health awareness as a community issue, just as Symone and Cox explained in *My Blackness, My Truth*. In both podcasts, cohosts and guests directly connected cultural identification to mental health because it "is just something that does not get talked about enough, if at all," and is "treated as something that's taboo." Higgins situated himself as part of "the Black community" when reflecting on his experience of not talking about mental health because people from the Caribbean who had mental health issues were considered "mad." Higgins explicitly addressed the relationship between race (Black), place (Caribbean), and mental health that left "an impression" with him about how the groups he identifies with approach mental health, which influenced his own approach.

Like *My Blackness, My Truth* host Symone, *Black Tea* guest Caesar-Chavannes also recognized a community expectation for Black people to be mentally tough. Caesar-Chavannes suggested that mental health issues and the expectation to be mentally tough are often conditioned by, and a defense mechanism against, systemic racism:

> **DH [to Celina Caesar-Chavannes]:** So, can you speak on some of the work, perhaps, you might be doing that's happening in this [mental health] area? And is it enough, you know– how do we gauge if it's being successful, if you know, these conversations you're having are happening more and more in our community or not?
>
> **Celina Caesar-Chavannes (CCC) [to DH]:** So, there's always two sides to this conversation. One is the community aspect. I think that the conversation needs to be elevated in our communities, especially for Black women who are told they have to be "twice as good," "twice as fast," "work twice as long," "do everything twice," and it's not a sustainable model for living. And if we're not talking about what the impact of that is on our health, on our sanity, on our physical well-being, then we end up paying the price in other ways. So, from a community's perspective, I think we need to change the way we have these conversations. I'm not saying that we need to– that we should let up and be relaxed and assume that, you know, we're going to get equity by not working twice as hard. What I'm saying is that we just have to have the other side of the conversation and understand that if we're not speaking about our mental health challenges, that we are going to pay the price at some point for it. The other side of that though, is if we're not

> talking about the impacts of racism, of microaggressions on our mental health, the systemic racism that we deal with every day that impacts our mental health, we will never have an opportunity to truly change systems that impact us.
>
> (Williams & Higgins, 2020, August 25, 22:33)

Caesar-Chavannes referred to mental health's prevalence and the lack of awareness about it as a "community aspect" that requires collective address within "our," or Black, communities. Caesar-Chavannes foregrounded her racial and gender identities using the phrase "Black women" to express that she and other Black women specifically have certain mental health needs. Smith and Watson (2010) argue that inserting one's lived experience in a narrative helps establish their sense of self because they can contextualize their feelings in relation to the subject matter. Caesar-Chavannes foregrounded her position using autobiographical "I" to inform the audience about her authentic authority on the subject matter grounded in her lived experience. Her experiences shaped her understanding of what being a Black woman means and how this position relates to mental health and mental health challenges. Caesar-Chavannes may have approached this topic differently if she identified as something other than a Black woman.

Like Symone in *My Blackness, My Truth*, Caesar-Chavannes switched from the macro "Black communities" to the micro "Black women" when explaining that "*we* are going to pay the price at some point" for not discussing mental health effects grounded in the expectation to be "twice as good, twice as fast, work twice as long." Caesar-Chavannes directly correlated racism and mental health in this conclusionary comment. According to Crenshaw (1991), women of colour are especially unaddressed in discussion about both gender and race because conversations are traditionally structured to respond to both categories individually rather than cohesively. Crenshaw's (1991) research indicates that racial discourse typically focuses on the experiences of Black men and gender discourse typically focuses on the experiences of White women. These conversational approaches create dominant discourses omitting women of colour and limit antiracism and feminist approaches when discourse does not account for patriarchy and race together (Crenshaw, 1991). Although Caesar-Chavannes does not provide examples of "the impacts of racism or microaggressions on our mental health," she situated her Black woman identity specifically as a crucial factor contributing to how mental health affects her. Simply put, her statement suggested that experiencing mental health issues as someone who identifies as

non-Black is due to reasons other than racism. For Caesar-Chavannes, "racism or microaggressions" impact Black mental health specifically. This comment was a form of "identities building" (p. 202) that Gee (2014) argues foregrounds a speaker's identity to demonstrate their understanding of, and authority over, the subject matter based on personal experience and observation.

Caesar-Chavannes broadened the mental health conversation back to Black communities as a whole and institutional influences:

> **CCC [to DH and Melayna Williams]:** So, if we're not having these elevated conversations about health outcomes around how the racism in our education system kills our kids' opportunities by the thousands because they are– they are told all sorts of things in school, by administration, not just by students, and the employment opportunities. You know, all of these things impact our mental health. We know that– we know how racism impacts our mental health. If we as a community are not going to raise the alarm on these issues, how do we– and we keep conforming to fit into society's narrative of what is "acceptable" or not– how are we going to change a system that is fundamentally flawed? We have, as a community– need to be talking about it. We need to be raising the alarm and it just can't be some of us raising the alarm. It has to be all of us raising the alarm. And mental health is one of the areas that is tied directly to racism. And it's a way that we can push this agenda forward in terms of systemic change.
>
> (Williams & Higgins, 2020, August 25, 24:10)

Caesar-Chavannes consistently used "we," "our," and "all of us" to identify with the cohosts and other Black communities, which aligned with the podcast's goal to "bring important and uncomfortable Black community conversations out in the open" (*Black Tea*, n.d.). For Caesar-Chavannes, many people may be uncomfortable talking about their mental health since it has been historically associated with weakness. She repeated that "racism impacts *our* mental health," again insinuating that she views poor mental health as a collective Black community issue. Gee (2014) argues that speakers repeat items to signal the importance of what is being said and ensure listeners hear it. It is difficult to definitively prove all people who identify with a specific group experience poor mental health or experience it for the same reasons. However,

Caesar-Chavannes's repetition of plural pronouns signified the importance she placed on the connection between race and mental health grounded in her own experiences.

Caesar-Chavannes also explained that there needs to be a collective effort in "raising the alarm" to "change a system that is fundamentally flawed" because "we keep conforming to fit into society's narrative of what is 'acceptable'." Plural pronouns encouraged a collective move against dominant systems so that "we," or Black communities as Caesar-Chavannes conceived it, can have agency. She is not specific on what is deemed "acceptable" versus unacceptable in "society's narrative," but her sentiment appeared to be that multiple institutions like employment and education negate, and contribute to, mental health issues. This comment suggested that Caesar-Chavannes viewed these institutional spaces as racist since she believed mental health issues stem from racism. Thus, Caesar-Chavannes implicitly connected institutional change to enhanced mental health. She also implemented a form of "relationship building" (Gee, 2014, p. 202) to indicate that mental health issues have specific causes and consequences for "our [Black] communities." Caesar-Chavannes recognized in the podcast that voicing individual mental health struggles can be a collaborative practice for erasing mental health stigma in Black communities while simultaneously acknowledging that mental health issues contribute to Black experiences and self-understandings.

My Blackness, My Truth and *Black Tea* were not the only podcasts to frame their conversations about mental health around community. *Born and Raised* (HuffPost) also featured an episode about mental health focusing on community and cultural influence. The bio of the episode, titled "Self-Love," states that "second-generation Canadians share how they are learning to love themselves: the words they say, the habits they build, and the immigrants they draw inspiration from" (Donato & Sawhney, 2019, October 13). This episode concentrated on how cultures, especially immigrant cultures, affect the way people think about, and identify with, their mental health and sense of self. Guest Josephine Mwanvua, a first-generation Congolese Canadian born in Quebec, self-represented her identification with mental health struggles that affected her ability to function in everyday life:

> **Al Donato (AD) Narration:** At a young age, Josephine noticed something was happening to her:

> **Josephine Mwanvua (JM) Narration:** Deserted, and the mind feels exhausted from your thoughts and your burdens. Really quite exhausted and just wants to find relief. It just wants peace. I'm not sure how I familiarized myself with the term "depression" anymore, but I knew I was depressed.
>
> **AD Narration:** Josephine had a lot to deal with. Her mother died when she was little. She was getting teased at school about her weight and she was shamed from eating the foods she liked. It made her feel awful about her body. She started pulling away from friends.
>
> (11:01)

Mwanvua's first comment in the podcast noted the mental health effects of her depression. "Mind" was the subject of multiple clauses in this passage. Gee (2014) argues that repeating the same subject is a speech tactic signalling the speaker's main argument that they want listeners to understand. Mwanvua focused on her mind and mental state because of the podcast episode's theme, but the implementation of phrases like "feels exhausted," "want to find relief," and "wants peace" all reflected her specific relationship to mental health. Gee (2014) also argues that word choices reflect a speaker's unique approach to the subject matter selected from a multitude of potential sentence constructions with different meanings. Mwanvua could have stated that *she* "feels exhausted" or *she* wanted "to find relief." Yet her description about her mental state animated her "mind" as a separate entity possessing its own feelings and desires. This phrasing could be interpreted as Mwanvua believing she could not control her depression. Donato contextualized that Mwanvua's mental health likely stemmed from her mother's death and being bullied about her weight and eating habits that triggered her social isolation. Connecting Mwanvua's depression and its causes contextualized the potential causes for others who may be experiencing something emotionally similar.

Mwanvua explained the familial influence on her (mis)understanding of her mental health:

> **AD Narration:** By the time Josephine was 16, she was spending most of her time holed up in her room alone.

> **JM Narration:** Unbeknownst to me, the– some of the teachers noticed it [the depression]. One day, my father actually had a meeting with both the principal and vice-principal. They told him that they think that I should see a counsellor because they thought I was depressed. My father, he told me this, and when he told me this, he said [to me] that he said [to the principal and vice-principal], "No, Africans don't get depressed." He started telling me that "Africans don't get depressed because we go through a lot of hardships, we've gone through a lot of wars, and yet, we can still smile at the end of the day." Throughout the years, I've heard Africans around me say different variations of it: "Oh, you're in this first-world country. What do you have to be depressed about?" That's another variation of that [my father's] sentence. Eventually, I started thinking, "That's right! I'm not depressed, and I should really be inspired by this because I'm in Canada and I have so many opportunities for myself here."
>
> (11:51)

Mwanvua noted that "unbeknownst" to her, "some teachers noticed" her depression. This reflection indicated that at 16 years old she was unaware about the symptoms of depression that she felt. Smith and Watson (2010) note that speakers reflect on past events that shape their current understandings of their lives related to the subject matter. Mwanvua's use of the term "unbeknownst" suggested that she was previously unaware about the public signs of her depression but could now identify them, just as her teachers did, and deal with them appropriately. Mwanvua also explained how her depression was unaccepted as a mental health issue culturally when her father claimed that "Africans don't get depressed because we go through a lot of hardships" and that she "heard Africans around me say different variations of it." This exchange with her father and other "Africans around me" highlighted Mwanvua's invalidation of her depression and mental health because of cultural influence. Mwanvua's phrasing of "Africans don't get depressed" and "Africans around me" specifically connected her misunderstanding about her depression to her cultural identity that shaped how her father and other Africans she identified and interacted with conceived of mental health.

Like Symone in *My Blackness, My Truth*, Mwanvua recognized the difficulty for Black women in school to seek help for, or even be able to identify, mental health issues like depression. Both Symone and Mwanvua asserted that these conversations are often stigmatized

or dismissed in Black and African communities respectively. Mwanvua's interactions with her family and friends who suggested that "we've [Congolese] gone through a lot of wars" and "you're in the first-world country" inferred this cultural intersection with mental health. Gee (2014) argues that a speaker builds relationships between items to indicate how they inform one another. Both of Mwanvua's comments build a relationship between Africa as "difficult" to live in and North America as "easy" to live in, which led to the question for Mwanvua's interlocutors, "what do you have to be depressed about?" Some people may view mental health issues as a global problem, whereas others may view mental health issues as specific to certain regions. This relationship between mental health and cultural expectations illustrated how one's intersectional identity influences the way they view their sense of self in the world since Mwanvua was influenced to believe after her familial conversations that "I'm not depressed, and I should really be inspired by this [opportunity] because I am in Canada." Mwanvua's outlook on mental health related to her sense of self may have been different if she had a different cultural influence or cultural reception to her depression.

Mwanvua explicitly shared her self-knowledge about the intersection between culture and mental health:

> **JM Narration:** I do believe that there are a lot of people in the Black diaspora who are, um, starting to realize the importance of mental health because, um, I've witnessed, read about, watched videos on a lot of, um, Black and people of colour who are actively fighting the stigma in our, uh, POC communities, which is absolutely beautiful. I believe that eventually one day, we will come to accept that our children– like, it's not okay to tell our children not to be depressed. In terms of my body image, it's still a real struggle to look in the mirror and call myself fat. I just feel like it's been engrained in me so much. And I'm trying really hard, I really am. Just go back to those painful moments and you say, "I love you, it's OK, I'm here for you." Self-love feels uplifting, light, sometimes it feels like warm tingles.
>
> (16:04)

Mwanvua observed that culture influences how Black communities think about mental health, that there are "a lot of people in the Black diaspora who are starting to realize the importance of

mental health." The phrases "*a lot* of people" and "*starting* to realize" suggested that Mwanvua believed there have been initial strides in popularizing conversations about mental health in "Black" communities specifically. However, she acknowledged that there is still work to do because not *all* people have realized mental health's importance and that it is only "starting" to be addressed rather than having already been addressed for a long time. Her observation exhibits what Smith and Watson (2010) term "self-knowledge," or a speaker's recognition of new information that explains a topic clearly and relates the topic to the speaker's position. Mwanvua used the term "we" to situate herself within the "Black diaspora" alongside others who are, or have already, confronted mental health issues. Her high school anecdote about "my body image" that is "still engrained in me" reflected this affiliation, which led to a (mis)understanding about her depression. Mwanvua concluded that she wanted to stop the cycle of depression by coming "to accept that it's not okay to tell our children not to be depressed" and by sharing "self-love." Her optimistic outlook again situated herself alongside other "Black and people of colour" with her reference to "*our* children." Overall, Mwanvua concentrated on her cultural identity during this conversation to frame the existence of, and work towards, her own mental health and the mental health of Black communities that this podcast episode addressed.

Later in the podcast episode, *Born and Raised* guest Kamini Murthy-Korteweg, who identified as Indian Dutch, shared their alcoholism connected to mental health and a cultural identity crisis:

> **Kamini Murthy-Korteweg (KMK) Narration:** Culture has an ability to give people answers and directions. Whether or not you agree with them, culture is a beautiful thing that gives you a sense of rootedness, a sense of place, a sense of time, a sense of who you are in the universe. So, when you come from a family of so much disruption, so much immigration, so much change, so much cultural loss, you don't have that foundation that things like self-love come from. You don't really know how to define those things. So, when something like alcohol comes into the picture, that gives you this ability to choose, "here I am," yes, you absolutely– or I absolutely used it to define self-love. Because it gave me the ability to make choices in a world that I felt had taken so much of that.
>
> (Donato & Sawhney, 2019, October 13, 21:35)

Murthy-Korteweg used the second-person "you" in this passage to position themselves alongside other people who have access to their culture's guiding power. Explicitly noting that culture "gives you" "a sense of who you are" reflected Murthy-Korteweg's belief that their environment and practices structured their sense of self. This assertion about self and culture echoed Mwanvua's earlier comments that culture can influence how one approaches mental health. In Murthy-Korteweg's situation, they addressed how a lack of cultural influence can also be detrimental because "you don't have that foundation that things like self-love come from." Self-love is related to mental health because it is a practice of "giving attention to oneself, being at peace with oneself, and being protective of and caring for oneself" (Henschke & Sedlmeier, 2021, p. 1). Indeed, "lacking self-love can cause depression and anxiety, as well as inauthenticity and guilt" (Henschke & Sedlmeier, 2021, p. 3). The difference in Mwanvua and Murthy-Korteweg's approaches was that Mwanvua viewed cultural influence as potentially debilitating towards understandings of mental health. Murthy-Korteweg believed their lack of cultural influence incited destructive behaviours, like alcohol use, to deal with mental health issues because there is no "foundation" for, or teachings about, self-love. Murthy-Korteweg built a positive relationship between culture and mental health in this passage (Gee, 2014). Their concluding remark that alcohol "gave me the ability to make choices in a world that I felt had taken so much of that" also echoed Mwanvua's sentiment about her lack of control due to her mind's fatigue. Both speakers understood their mental health issues, its causes, and its reception in different ways related to cultural influence.

Shortly afterwards, Murthy-Korteweg explained their alcoholism as a coping mechanism because of their cultural disconnect that shaped their self-perception:

> **KMK Narration:** You know, having lived through all these different separations and movements and you know, cultural questions of not knowing who or what I am, knowing I have brown skin but no other relationship to it than that, when I started drinking as a teenager, that sensation was there and I kept chasing it. … I liked beer and I liked whiskey, but what I really liked about them was they erased my existence and being. That's what I was looking for when I was drinking. You're this weird mixture of so many things, you don't belong anywhere, you're uncomfortable, you move all the time, you don't know who you are, what you are, where you're from, how do you answer any of

> that? And then introduce something like the drug called "alcohol" that can smear those edges so that you can almost disappear. And that moment feels so good.
>
> (22:42)

Murthy-Korteweg's notion about "not knowing who I am, knowing I have brown skin but no other relationship to it than that" indicated that they place their cultural identity at the centre of their self-concept. They recognized their physical appearance, but they did not know what deeper meanings their "brown skin" possessed beyond a visual connection to other Indians. Murthy-Korteweg's drinking became a coping mechanism that "erased my existence and being" due to this lack of cultural knowledge. This comment explicitly connected their lack of cultural knowledge to their mental disposition that they thought alcohol could remedy. Smith and Watson (2010) suggest that life narratives help speakers learn about themselves and produce self-knowledge about their identity. Murthy-Korteweg referred to their self-knowledge when reflecting on their search for "who you are, what you are, where're you're from" that alcohol helped eliminate. Reference to "who" and "where" they were replicated their previous sentiments about not being able to grasp their sense of self. Gee (2014) argues that repeating a word or phrase signifies its importance and encourages listeners to pay special attention. Murthy-Korteweg used repetition to philosophically propose that a sense of who one is and their relation to others affects their actions. In their concluding remark, Murthy-Korteweg's stated purpose to "almost disappear" reflected a depressive mental state to forgo any pain that existed for them because they did not know who they were or their "place."

Nancy Thumim (2012) argues that self-representation can "provide therapeutic benefits to individuals. … [W]hen a self-representation is produced it becomes a text that has the potential for subsequent engagement" (pp. 4, 6). Murthy-Korteweg could be heard to have used the podcast as performative therapy to share self-knowledge about the importance of culture related to mental health. Murthy-Korteweg's self-representation constructed meaning from experiences about self-love to inform their sobriety that was then available to Donato, Sawhney, and listeners for subsequent interpretation and identification (Mastro, 2015).

Like the other podcasts analyzed in this section, *Born and Raised* concluded Murthy-Korteweg's self-concept related to mental health with calls to action that others may identify with and enact:

> **Alisha Sawhney (AS) Narration:** Their [Murthy-Korteweg's] turning point was joining a group therapy program. In group therapy, Kamini is free to unpack their feelings and find constructive ways to deal with past trauma. Kamini is now two years into sobriety.
> **KMK Narration:** Once a week I would go to "group" and learn how to cope with life without alcohol. And I had to go and learn how to be a person. How to cope with stress, how to figure out what's safe, what's not safe, understand boundaries. All these things I believe culture helps you learn, "Okay, there are practical skills to learn how to sit in a body." Like breathing, like drinking water. All these "basics." And as I master them, they allow me to exist in the world in a way that's actually kind of comfortable. And therefore, I have time to go and see my noni and ask her questions. Because I now will do that instead of running to the bar for three hours, six hours every single day, seven a week, when I was running away from existing.
>
> (25:07)

Cohost Sawhney contextualized that Murthy-Korteweg's therapy program allowed them "to unpack their feelings and find constructive ways to deal with past trauma." The phrase "past trauma," which was discussed in Chapter 6, refers to a potential cause of mental health issues like Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Murthy-Korteweg's therapy introduced in this passage incited optimistic treatments for helping them deal with mental health issues that affect how they viewed their sense of self. Murthy-Korteweg stated, "I had to go and learn how to be a person." The word "how" suggests that they did not know what actions were a functional baseline for everyday life. The phrasing "learn how to sit in a body" is insightful for understanding how Murthy-Korteweg viewed their mental connection to their physical presence. Disconnection between these two items contributed greatly to their "stress." Murthy-Korteweg offered tips and tactics in this passage that they use to better understand and deal with their mental health issues that previously caused them to "run away from existing," tactics which they believe "culture helps you learn." They repeated the sentiment that culture is a grounding force for addressing one's mental health and for understanding one's sense of self.

This chapter's findings highlighted how podcasters and guests self-represented their intersectional identities in a variety of ways related to and beyond singular, essentialist categories

of race and ethnicity. Sport, politics, profession, and mental health are not the only factors that intersect with race or ethnicity to shape one's self-concept. However, these podcasts illustrated how cultural identities can be self-represented and applied from within group memberships in unique ways against exterior institutional representations (Fleras, 2011; Frances & Tator, 2009; Hall, 2021a, 2021b; Lopez, 2020b; Mahtani, 2001; Mastro, 2015; Tukachinsky, 2015; Wilson III & Costanza-Chock, 2012). Podcasters and guests shared their self-representations with each other and with listeners who may identify with such representations or learn from them across sociocultural groups (Swiatek, 2018). Although podcasters and guests often discussed each identity aspect in relation to *their* communities, the findings illustrated that podcasters can self-represent beyond monolithic racial or ethnic labels by incurring specific meanings from their individual experiences related to profession, athletics, politics, and mental health.

7.3: DISCUSSION

The findings in this chapter help answer the third research question: do podcasters in Canada self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity? To answer this question, I divided the findings into four sections based on the four most dominant episodic identity themes after race and ethnicity found in this study: 1) Profession/career, 2) Politics, 3) Athletic/sport, and 4) Mental health/ability. I use these findings to answer how podcasters *self-represent* their intersectional identities, followed by how podcasters identify a sense of *community belonging* related to their intersectional sense of selves.

Self-Representation

Identity is not inherently determined but is socially constructed through language that attributes certain meanings/values to certain groups in relation to others. John Hartley (2020) notes that authentic self-representation "is a carefully constructed product of semiotic and generic processes" (p. 119). People apply different meanings using language to how they identify, which is grounded in their experiences and interactions with others. Self-concept becomes especially prominent when individuals apply various labels to define themselves that work with and against

one another simultaneously. For example, a person may identify with a specific race, which they apply specific meaning to based on their experiences and interactions that they feel engage with that part of their self. The same person may also identify with a specific profession, which they also apply meaning to based on their experiences and interactions related to that profession. Yet there may be instances where a person applies meaning to their sense of racial identity based on how they feel their race has been enacted while inhabiting their professional identity. Similarly, there may be instances where a person applies meaning to their profession based on their interpretation of how their race has been engaged with. Both instances demonstrate intersectionality at work.

While one's interactions and experiences with others shape their sense of self, representations can also shape self-concept. People may dissect meaning from how others have used labels or images to represent a specific identity "on-screen" and in-person. Thus, the meanings one applies to intersectional labels they identify with are always changing based on context, both from personal experience/interaction and from cultural context and exterior production. Podcasters in this study used language as an open system of representation to express how they conceptualize their own identities based on their personal experiences and interactions with others and with popular representations. Many times, podcasters exhibited identity implicitly through their opinions that reflected different aspects of their sense of selves. Paul Gilroy (2000) notes that the power of language separates chosen identity from determined identity exteriorly "thrust upon you" (p. 106). Podcasters and guests across sociocultural communities used the medium to self-represent their opinions and perspectives grounded in their sense of selves rather than being spoken for by others (Fleras, 2011; Henry & Tator, 2009; Mahtani, 2001). Podcasters were authentic in these self-representative instances because they were communicating their "true self," as van Leeuwen (2001) suggests, or expressing how they felt about themselves in relation to the subject matter from self-controlled positions.

Podcast episodes analyzed in this chapter exhibited people's authentic expressions about different subject matter grounded in their intersectional positions reflecting their self-concept. Erving Goffman (1981) uses the term "talk" (p. 137) to describe the collective production of authentic speech from composition to utterance reflecting a person's attitudes, values, and beliefs. The production of "talk" establishes three potential roles: 1) Animator, 2) Author, and 3) Principal. An animator "is the talking machine" (Goffman, 1981, p. 24) or the speaker, an author

is “someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded” (p. 144), which resembles a “writer,” and a principal is a person who “believes personally in what is being said and takes the position that is implied in the remarks” (p. 167). Podcasting offers unique potential for producing authentic talk because a podcaster or guest can embody all three roles simultaneously. Podcast hosts and guests are almost always animators because their voices are literally audible. They are authors when they say something that is their original thought or that they wrote beforehand. Podcast hosts and guests are almost always principals too because what they are saying likely reflects their opinions or “sentiments,” especially in unrehearsed and conversational podcasts with relatively free flowing exchanges. A podcaster or guest’s personal sentiments can also be transmitted in scripted content if they believe in or agree with the meanings of words they are speaking. Thus, podcasts offer special opportunities for people to authentically talk and self-represent because they can literally speak about topics and share *their* opinions that reflect *their* “sentiments” towards those topics and their potentially deeper meanings.

All podcasters and guests analyzed in this chapter fulfilled Goffman’s three roles for authentically talking about themselves and sharing their opinions and perspectives related to each podcast’s subject matter associated with a specific identity label. In the “career/profession” analytic category, podcasters self-represented their job’s importance to who they are and how their job influences their worldview. For example, *Campus* (CBC) guest and forensic pathologist Kona Williams expressed the importance of her scientific profession related to her Mohawk and Cree identity because she was the first First Nations forensic pathologist in Canada and encountered Indigenous victims of abuse and violence. Williams spoke about this in her own words that self-represented her sentiments about the importance of her career to who she is and how she connects to other Indigenous people. In *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network), Chantal Smith-Amsterdam described her editorial role at online magazine *Neri*. Smith-Amsterdam explained in her own words through a free-flowing conversation with host Sherley Joseph that her curatorial role helped establish her sense of Blackness because she was collecting and popularizing Black creative work that opposed popular representations defining "Blackness.” The spontaneous conversation exhibited the importance Smith-Amsterdam placed on her work as an editor that reaffirmed her sense of being Black through the creative work of

the people she collaborated with. Ultimately, Smith-Amsterdam was an animator, author, and principal for authenticating her career's significance.

In *Mic Drop* (CBC), guest Malik shared how his brand "Write or Flight" was a guiding principle for his science-fiction writing. Malik foregrounded his aspiring writing career that was foundational to his self-concept rather than being a student or anything else despite being only 12 years old. Malik's speech was recorded "in the field" when he sold his books house-to-house and was recorded in-studio when answering interview questions that were later sliced for narration. Malik was the speaker, author, and principal of his writing career during the podcast in both instances. Similarly, *Born and Raised* guest Salima Jivraj shared aspects of her career as a food critic that connected her to her Tanzanian Indian background. For her, reviewing food was a gateway into cultural resurgence, which she expressed in detail as a response to the cohosts' questions. In the same episode, Mike Tan prided himself on his entrepreneurialism and cooking career at his restaurant Tuk Tuk. Tan explained that his culinary profession caused him to lose relationships and forego much of his personal life, so he judged and valued himself primarily off his career. The podcasts encouraged explanations of how these podcasters and guests understood their careers and professions in their own words.

Self-representation through authentic talk was equally evident about people's political views that inform, and are informed by, their intersectional sense of selves. Recognizing one's position becomes foundational to authentic expression. A person can choose to interpret their position differently from others because of the experiential and cultural influences they are exposed to, but this position is nonetheless authentic in its recognition. Katharina Bauer (2017) argues that a fundamental component of authenticity is recognizing right and wrong, and "considering different perspectives" (p. 571). There were multiple examples of authentic positioning in this study, especially related to political podcast conversations. In *Safe Space'*s (Torstar) "No Votes for Teens and Old" (Mochama & Daro, 2017, February 24), cohosts Mochama and Daro expressed their opinions about expanding or restricting election voting in Canada. Mochama's desire to limit the voting at 60 years old reflected her political view that "elders" are influencing election results that will affect other people beyond each elder's biological clock. She also stated that "disenfranchised" groups should be allowed to vote after 60, suggesting her specific approach to political equity. Daro voiced that 16-year-olds should be allowed to vote because they have a lot to say about the future of the country. Mochama and

Daro's perspectives reflected their political viewpoints that their observations living in Canada and witnessing election results over time informed.

In another *Safe Space* episode, guest Sadiya Ansari expressed that federal budgets have traditionally had a "gendered" lens. Here, Ansari expressed her political opinions that her identification and experiences as a female helped inform. Later in the same episode, Ansari and cohost Mochama expressed their political views on the dismissal of Andrew Potter from McGill's Institute for the Study of Canada. Mochama's opinion especially intersected with her professional identity since she based her argument about Potter in her own career as a writer. Again, politics and profession were not always isolated, but worked with and against other labels and experiences that possess specific meanings individually. Mochama, Daro, and Ansari all exercised *Safe Space*'s openly conversational format to voice their opinions reflecting sentiments of their sense of selves and their positions in the world using their own words. Podcasters and guests also considered others' opinions openly, which was mirrored in *Colour Code*.

Colour Code's (Globe and Mail) "Your Turn" episode (Balkissoon & Sung, 2016, November 22) included multiple instances of authentic, intersectional self-representation. Cohost Denise Balkissoon explained how she racially identified as "brown," which situated her use of racial labelling to express cohesive social and political movements grounded in diasporic movements. One guest explained how racial labels like "brown" homogenize people, which he felt subsumed him into an all-encompassing group despite not identifying as "brown" himself. He expressed his sense of self in the very act of rejecting someone else's use of "brown" for categorizing people who share a skin tone. Cohost Hannah Sung self-represented her political position when stating that conversations on race produced awkward feelings for her because she was unsure of how people would react to her comments. *Colour Code* helped podcasters and guests collectively self-represent their political viewpoints related to "identity in Canada," as the show's bio stated. This was especially notable for guests who were given the opportunity to literally be heard directly rather than be spoken for by the hosts. Thus, cohosts and guests were all mouthpieces, or animators, for their own words reflecting the political sentiments they had about the podcast's political conversations on racial identity in Canada.

Mental health conversations had a relatively even approach to expressing self-representation and community belonging. *My Blackness, My Truth* (CKDU) host Jayde Symone intimated her mental health experiences. Symone used the podcast to explain how her past

anxiety framed the way she viewed the world. She questioned whether *her* mental health experience was common amongst other Black people in Nova Scotia rather than speaking *for* other Black people. Symone self-represented further when explaining the cultural expectation for Black women to be mentally "tough." Symone's experience as a Black woman partially informed her understanding of her anxiety, just as her anxiety informed her understanding of what it means to be a Black woman against cultural expectations. In *Black Tea*'s "Race, Gender, and Politics" (Williams & Higgins, 2020, August 25), guest Celina Caesar-Chavannes self-represented her intersectional race, gender, and political positions related to her mental health experiences. Caesar-Chavannes also self-represented her mental health related to her former position as a Liberal politician to suggest that there were limited resources for her to functionally engage with her mental health issues. Caesar-Chavannes authentically spoke about her mental health experience in her own words that reflected her overall sentiment about racism's effect on how she perceived her mental health and how racism is perpetuated institutionally. Both Symone and Caesar-Chavannes used their podcasts to authentically talk about their mental health separately from, and in relation to, their understandings of being Black women. *My Blackness, My Truth* and *Black Tea* facilitated each speaker's animator, author, and principal roles.

Born and Raised (HuffPost) had an episode dedicated to self-representing mental health as well. In these conversations, like *My Blackness, My Truth* and *Black Tea*, the guests revisited their mental health experiences framed around cultural influence. Guest Josephine Mwanvua explained that her mother's passing incited her depression in high school, a depression that her father argued was nonexistent because she is African. Guest Murthy-Korteweg suggested that her lack of cultural influence caused her depression and alcoholism. The podcast episode facilitated both these testimonies about mental health that reflected larger sentiments about cultural influence and community support. Each speaker's mental health structured their sense of self in relation to cultural expectations imposed on them. Both speakers reflected on their own experiences in their own ways and the episode foregrounded each speaker's sense of accomplishment and resilience against mental health issues and addiction that although influenced how they view themselves, did not outrightly define them. Mwanvua ended the *Born and Raised* episode explaining that she is now cognizant of her depression and can safely address its triggers, just as Murthy-Korteweg expressed that she dove into spiritual practices and therapy that allow her to successfully manage her mental health issues. Both speakers controlled their

situational outcomes and outlooks that they then shared in the podcasts in their own ways from a multitude of possible interpretations.

Podcasters and guests were the mouthpieces for their own athletic identities and relation to sports that intersect with other facets of their self-concepts. *The Next 150* (CBC) guest Hadiya Roderique shared how her experience playing ultimate frisbee, a sport with self-refereeing, instructed her understanding of political, interpersonal communication. Although Roderique identified as more than an athlete (i.e., Black – 34), her identification with her ultimate frisbee experiences informed the way she views the world. Without this athletic sense of self, Roderique's political viewpoints may have been different since she would likely avoid using the ultimate frisbee tenets as guiding points for how she empathetically and politically communicates with others. In *Seat at the Table*'s (CBC) "Hockey's Diversity Problem," journalist and guest Salim Valji explained how hockey shaped his sense of self growing up as the child of immigrants and how it molded his "Canadian" sense of self. Furthermore, Valji's love of hockey influenced his journalistic profession covering the NHL. Valji used the podcast to collectively explain the intersection between his profession, his ethnicity, and his nationality and how these labels worked together to inform the meanings he derives from his analysis on hockey's lack of diversity.

In the same episode, hockey players Matt Dumba and Anthony Duclair spoke. Duclair voiced his interpretation of how his race intersected with his professional hockey career and how his physical appearance enticed environments that informed his interpretation about hockey's lack of diversity. Dumba's reposted public speech before an NHL game about being a Black player and recognizing the political injustice for Black communities inside and outside hockey illustrated his understanding of what it means to be a Black hockey player "in the game" and a Black man generally. These guests self-represented the intersection between their physical appearance and their experiences related to sport that shaped their political viewpoints about hockey in Canada. The podcast afforded each person the opportunity to express these self-concepts in their own words as animators and authors rather than being spoken for by others. Sentiments about the lack of diversity that these guests observed through their hockey professions intersected with their racial and cultural sense of selves.

This study's podcasters self-represented beyond homogeneous racial or ethnic identities. These podcaster anecdotes and perspectives underscored why diverse intragroup representations

are needed to combat generalizations. Each podcaster had intersectional experiences and opinions that they shared publicly through counterpublic podcasts (Fraser, 1997; Squires, 2002). Herman Gray (2017) argues that people must "search for alternate imaginations with which to build different accounts of human variation and their role in social worlds" (p. 164). People may better understand their positions related to others and their experiences if they continually acknowledge intragroup diversity (Kennedy, 2014). Crenshaw (1991) suggests that the problem "is not the existence of the [identity] categories, but rather the particular values attached to them and the ways those values foster and create social hierarchies" (p. 1297). Race and ethnicity are open to a multitude of meanings through language that inform, and are informed by, intersections like athletic identity, professional identity, political opinions, and mental health. This intersection constructs unique people with unique perspectives and meanings that they place on shared labels. Podcasters authentically expressed such intersections because they were able to speak in their own words that reflected their sentiments about such intersections related to their lives.

Community Belonging

Group membership under a shared identity marker always has intragroup diversity, which Patricia Hill Collins (2003) terms "heterogeneous commonality" (p. 221). Heterogeneous commonality suggests that because people have intersectional identities (Crenshaw, 1991), the representations produced about a singular identity group are not universally applicable to all its members. However, individual perspectives can reveal patterns within and across identity groups and spatial and temporal contexts. In this way, people can produce self-representations containing similar meanings to other representations that coalesce towards the same social, political, and cultural ends. Martin Spinelli and Lance Dann (2019) argue that "a podcast exists as a contribution to a community" (p. 143). Podcasts offer representative coalescence through online production. Many podcasters and guests in this chapter framed their individual sense of selves in relation to others and to communities that they identify with. Thus, there were often connections made between what one experienced or thought, grounded in and shaped by their sense of self, and how they felt this reflected the communities they identified with. Podcasters and guests did not appear to speak for whole communities, but their self-concepts were

constructed through identification with specific groups and the meanings others placed on those group affiliations in relation to each podcaster's own meanings.

Podcasts offered the chance for podcasters and guests to authentically express how their identification with a particular community shaped their opinions and perspectives. Marina Oshana (2007) explains that "inauthenticity is a matter of not giving enough attention to aspects of one's identity that are central" (p. 425). Oshana argues that authentic expression includes the foregrounding of labels that hold meaning about people's self-concepts. In this chapter, many podcasters foregrounded or named a specific label to represent the meanings they applied to this label in relation to others with the same affiliation. Oshana (2007) further states that:

> One is inauthentic or lives inauthentically when one is not honest with oneself and, perhaps, others about one's position in the world and about one's ability to transform or even take a stance with respect to that position. Similarly, one is inauthentic when one refuses to acknowledge facts about one's legacy and about one's position in the world, particularly in circumstances that pressure one to do so. (p. 425)

Naming or foregrounding a podcaster's identity "position" suggested that they placed particular emphasis onto these labels and how they relate to one's self-concept overall. Podcasters or guests would not reflect on their positions otherwise. Speakers in this chapter often noted aspects of their identities because these aspects had such importance for the experiences, stories, and perspectives they shared related to a podcast's subject matter. Furthermore, podcasters and guests transformed or chose a stance related to that identity aspect or "position." Such podcasts can be conceived as authentic if they are heard as:

> symptomatic, as a true expression of experiences or identity features of its author. Such a symptomatic reading may transcend the individuality of the author and include collective identities (nation, race, class, gender) which the author shares or is taken to be a part of. (Martínez, 2020, p. 523)

Following Matías Martínez's assertion about authenticity, multiple podcasters and guests in this chapter identified with a community when discussing professions, politics, mental health, and sport to transform an aspect of the community's sociocultural perception that they are "taken to be a part of." A podcaster or guest can be considered an audio equivalent of an "author," particularly in Goffman's theorization, when they are able to speak their own words reflecting their sentiments related to the podcast's subject matter.

Discussion of professional identity intersected with community belonging multiple times in this chapter's podcasts. In *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network), guest Smith-Amsterdam expressed an affiliation with Black artists and creators she published in her magazine that reflect her understanding of Black excellence. Smith-Amsterdam grounded her professional work in the goal to celebrate Black creativity that attacked, contradicted, or transformed violent media images she believed to be stereotyping Black communities. Her professional identity as *Neri* creator and editor informed, and was informed by, her belonging to Black communities whose work in the magazine she wanted to represent her. In *Born and Raised*'s (HuffPost) episode about culinary professions, guests Salima Sivraj and Mike Tan both expressed community belonging related to their cultures. Sivraj noted that her work as a food critic of Tanzanian Indian cuisine connected her to her Tanzanian Indian culture and that with the diminishing amount of multigenerational food spots, this cultural connection had been partially severed. Tan connected his professional identity as an entrepreneur and head chef of Cambodian-inspired restaurant Tuk Tuk to his Cambodian heritage. He stated in the podcast that his visit to his mother's homeland and the cooking practices he learned there insighted community belonging in the village that he wanted to emulate in Canada. The meaning and emphasis these podcast guests put on their professional identities were partially grounded in a sense of community belonging around, and connection to, race and nation.

My Blackness, My Truth (CKDU), *Black Tea* (Frequency Podcast Network), and *Born and Raised* (HuffPost) included podcaster and guest testimonies about one's experiences with mental health issues, which were then extended to conversations about *community* mental health. In *My Blackness, My Truth* (CKDU), host Symone framed each episode around her experiences as a Black Nova Scotian woman to question whether her experiences mirrored other people in Black communities. In the episode "Mental Health: The Bleakness of Black Representation" (Symone, 2018, March 13) specifically, Symone's experiences with anxiety and her relationship with her guidance counsellor extended to a larger conversation about the availability of mental health resources for other Black people. Guest Adena Cox was the connective tissue between Symone's experiences and Symone's larger question about community resources because of Cox's psychology schooling. Cox expressed the need for more "representative" mental health professionals that can identify with and understand patient experiences based on their own lived experiences. Thus, Symone and Cox expressed their experiential and professional relation to

mental health, which then transformed into a conversation about resources for Black communities that they identified with. Both Symone and Cox tried to use their cultural identifications with other Black communities to raise awareness about mental health stigma and how Black communities are being underrepresented and underserved, which shaped Symone's understanding of her own mental health experiences earlier in the episode.

In *Black Tea* (Frequency Podcast Network), guest Caesar-Chavannes similarly connected her mental health struggles to mental health awareness in Black communities overall. First, Caesar-Chavannes expressed how her mental health issues formed during her political profession, which then transitioned into a conversation about how she believed she was one of many Black people in Canada who has mental health issues that have largely gone unaddressed. Rather than speaking to the lack of mental health resources available for Black communities, Caesar-Chavannes concentrated on how she believes mental health issues in Black communities stem from racism that institutions are simultaneously failing to teach about and are perpetuating themselves. Thus, Caesar-Chavannes addressed her experiences with mental health that reflected the racial violence she believed fuels mental health issues in Black communities that she identifies with as a Black woman. Caesar-Chavannes and Symone's personal experiences reflected their individual understandings of how mental health and race are (dis)connected for the Black communities they explicitly name and semiotically identify with when repetitively using pronouns like "we" and "ours." *My Blackness, My Truth* and *Black Tea* podcasts authentically expressed each guest's position to mental health and their identification as Black women to transform, or even introduce, representations about the prevalence of mental health issues in Black communities. Thus, these podcasters simultaneously facilitated individual and group identity.

Born and Raised guest Mwanvua connected her mental health experience to communities within the African diaspora as she identified as Congolese Canadian herself. Mwanvua's stories about her depression included her father's comment about how Africans do not have mental health problems. Mwanvua interpreted her father's comment to mean that Africans have many hardships to deal with and therefore are perceived to have mental strength diasporically. She connected this interpretation to comments she received from other "Africans," as she stated, who told her that she had a comfortable life in Canada and should therefore not have mental health issues. Mwanvua's collection of conversations that she shared in the podcast affirmed her

community belonging when she stated that Africans are only now addressing mental health issues in their communities. Like Caesar-Chavannes's *Black Tea* conversation, Mwanvua recognized that the response to her mental health is common amongst Africans who have been misinformed about mental health issues. Mwanvua used *Born and Raised* to connect her personal mental health experiences with her cultural roots in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the "Black diaspora," as she phrased it.

Born and Raised guest Murthy-Korteweg connected her mental health to her initial lack of Indian Dutch community belonging. Murthy-Korteweg argued that eventually her Indian culture was now a source of health through meditative and rehabilitative cultural practices. She extended her personal anecdotes about mental health and addiction to community belonging as a source of strength. Murthy-Korteweg believed that a lack of community perpetuated mental health issues, whereas Symone, Caesar-Chavannes and Mwanvua believed current community understandings exacerbated mental health issues or helped ignore them altogether. These podcasters and guests collectively used their platforms to authentically connect their individual experiences to conversations about the communities they identified with, which related to the podcast's overall subject matter on mental health. Group identity grounded these podcast conversations that aimed to transform representations of, and conversations about, these communities.

Conversations grounded in athletic identity and sport extended to community belonging as well. In *Campus*'s (CBC) "Hockey's Diversity Problem" (St-Victor & Racicot, 2020, August 26), journalist Salim Valji situated his experience as a child of "East African" parents who grew up in Edmonton loving hockey as a generally "immigrant experience." Valji's experience engaging with sport connected him to others in his environment in Canada due to the sport's prevalence. He used his experience to suggest that other immigrant children can learn about hockey to feel "Canadian" through their fandom, yet the sport still historically favours White Canadian players. NHL player Duclair shared his experiences with racism as a Black hockey player growing up in Canada. His stories were grounded in his identification with being Black and connected to non-White community belonging generally when using the phrase "minority hockey players" to suggest that this specific community shares the experience of receiving discriminatory remarks. Duclair also exhibited community belonging to other non-White hockey players, suggesting that he viewed his identity in both racial and professional terms. NHL player

Dumba's repurposed live speech before a hockey game during Black Lives Matter responses to the death of Breonna Taylor connected his experiences of racial discrimination in hockey with racial injustice in North America generally. Thus, Dumba extended his identification as a Black hockey player to Black communities that experienced police brutality and racial discrimination. The inclusion of this audio clip in *Seat at the Table* demonstrated the technical possibilities to authentically self-represent. Dumba authored and animated his own sentiments that reflected his self-representation and affiliation with Black communities within and outside of the sport despite not being recorded in *Seat at the Table*'s studio. Valji, Duclair, and Dumba all used the platform to try transforming these conversations about racial discrimination from their own perspectives as fans and athletes that contributed to community narratives grounded in sport.

The Secret Life of Canada (CBC) and *Portraits of Black Canadians* (RCI) hosts did not self-represent athletic identity in this chapter, but they did profile athletes whose experiences and successes framed community connection. For example, *The Secret Life of Canada* cohosts Falen Johnson and Leah-Simone Bowen discussed the athletic pursuits of Onondaga runner Tom Longboat (Johnson & Bowen, 2018). The episode discussed Longboat's athletic success in multiple marathons and asserted his Indigenous identity multiple times. Part of this biography included the discrimination Longboat faced being an Indigenous athlete, which reflected larger conversations about racial discrimination experienced in sport. This episode resembled the *Seat at the Table* episode on hockey because both podcasts focused on the intersectional influence of sport and culture on one another that spoke to a phenomenon of discrimination across sports. *Portraits of Black Canadians* episode about boxer Sam Langford, whose success was celebrated alongside his resilience against racial discrimination being a Black boxer, further evidenced this intersectional influence. In all these athletic testimonies, sport and culture worked with and against one another to create a community belonging for athletes who face racial or ethnic discrimination but overcome this obstacle. Resilience against this phenomenon was an especially important facet of each podcast episode because the athletes were celebrated for what they overcame, but they were also celebrated primarily as being successful athletes.

Podcasts demonstrating political viewpoints were primarily self-representative in nature. However, *The Red Road Podcast* (The Red Road Podcast) addressed community belonging with their discussion about Indigenous responses to mistreatment in Canada. Cohost Courtney Skye demonstrated community belonging beyond self-representation when explaining that "violent"

Indigenous responses have existed for a long time, including in her Mohawk community. Skye connected her opinion to her affiliation with her Mohawk identity to suggest that "violence" is a resilient form of community sustenance against government tasks. She also suggested the adjective "violent" itself is inappropriate given the forced circumstances of such historical responses to oppression. Cohosts Skye and King also identified a sense of community belonging with other Indigenous people nationally when using terms like "we" and "our" in reference to assertive responses against government imposition. The episode connected Justice Murray Sinclair's interview to a larger affiliation with Indigenous community belonging across Canada. Skye and King each shared their opinions that were grounded in their understandings of Indigenous identity and sustenance on local and national scales. Simply put, *The Red Road Podcast*'s "On Violence" (Skye & King, 2019, May 15) episode situated Indigenous belonging around a shared struggle for equity and fair treatment in Canada. This episode exhibited authenticity because the cohosts foregrounded their sense of selves to address the larger conversation of Indigenous action. Both cohosts aimed to transform how people think about "violence" as "assertive" Indigenous responses instead, as cohost King stated.

Overall, podcasters and guests in this chapter inevitably invoked community belonging since anyone using a label to self-represent are doing so in relation to others who also use such labels across cultural and social contexts. However, the meanings associated with such labels are not always aligned or stable since people have different experiences and interactions that inform such meanings individually. Simply put, podcasters can use labels to associate themselves with others, but the meanings they derive from such labels and the subject matter they discuss in relation to such labels can be different. In this section, podcasters spoke about their belonging to certain communities that were grounded in their individual experiences. Their opinions and experiences, and the meanings that come from those opinions and experiences, were not necessarily shared with other people who applied the same labels to their self-concept. Yet there was nonetheless a sense of group belonging demonstrated in the podcasts on behalf of the speakers. Podcasts that thematically gathered around shared racial or ethnic identity possessed different opinions, stories, and perspectives on similar topics between each podcaster and guest. Catherine Squires (2002) argues that although there may be a public that shares racial identity, their intragroup intersectionality automatically constitutes multiple public spheres rather than *the* public sphere, whether due to other identity markers or differences of opinion and experiences.

Florini (2015) additionally notes that podcasts function as alternative public spheres for racial communities discussing social, political, and cultural life constituting their collective identities. The podcasts in this chapter functioned as multiple publics applying individual experiences and opinions to communities around race, ethnicity, politics, profession, mental health, and sport.

It can be said that these podcasters and guests spoke authentically in their personal belonging to community because they transparently foregrounded their identities related to the subject matter and tried using the platform to transform understandings about race or ethnicity related to these intersecting labels. Achieved transformation depends on the listener's response to each podcast episode, but the podcasters and guests were nonetheless speaking authentically because they shared their experiences that they believed truly related to the communities they identified with. Furthermore, if we use Goffman's assertion, these podcasters and guests were also authentic in their talk as animator (speaker), author ("writer" of the words spoken), and principal (words reflect speaker's overall sentiment) across all episodes in this chapter.

7.4: CONCLUSIONS

As St-Victor indicated in her podcast and this chapter's preface, "The Black community is not a monolith. We're not speaking for the Black community. Our experiences are very personal, very personal and unique" (St-Victor & Racicot, 2020, August 26, 3:05). Podcasters in this study self-represented in their own ways and engaged with the world in relation to their positionalities and experiences. Referring to African American podcasts, Kim Fox, David Dowling, and Kyle Miller (2020) argue, "Whereas confessional storytelling speaking to the inner emotional life of individuals plays a key role in Black podcasts, show content also addresses a larger communal experience defining Black identity within culture" (p. 301). This notion can be applied to all podcasts addressing common concerns within specific communities (Florini, 2015). This chapter exhibited people using podcasts to focus on issues within specific cultural communities, but podcasters are not confined to only discuss these identities.

Overall, the findings from this chapter suggest that yes, podcasters in Canada do self-represent race or ethnicity and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity. Podcasters in this study discussed profession, politics, athletics, and mental health to represent their values and beliefs applied to these labels that are

grounded in their experiences. Podcasters often represented how racial or ethnic identities inform, or are informed by, these other categories, yet this was not always the focus. Dowling (2019) notes that podcasts create "participatory culture to enable fresh voices new to audio media to tell their own stories" (p. 119). Podcasters and guests represented their identities in their own ways using the medium's openly dialogical structure. Podcasters and guests can also address their racial or ethnic identities based on a podcast's theme (e.g., a podcast for Black representation) like in *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network), *My Blackness, My Truth* (CKDU), *Portraits of Black Canadians* (RCI), and *Black Tea* (Frequency Podcast Network).

Yet podcasters can also employ their racial or ethnic identities voluntarily since these associations may contribute to how podcasters experience the world alongside other identity categories, like in *Campus* (CBC), *Born and Raised* (HuffPost), *The Next 150* (CBC), *Seat at the Table* (CBC), and *Mic Drop* (CBC). All these cases indicated that podcasting can be an alternative site for people to authentically represent themselves since these spaces can be self-directed and self-controlled where podcasters and guests can simultaneously animate their authorship that reflects their sentiments about the subject matter (Goffman, 1981). Matt Sienkiewicz and Deborah Jaramillo (2019) state, "While by no means an idealized Habermasian salon, the world of podcasting offers a space in which interlocking counterpublics and sphericles are afforded a chance to rigorously advance public discourse" (p. 268). Even if race or ethnicity was foregrounded, podcasters and guests controlled what race or ethnicity meant to them in tandem with, or beyond, their other identity aspects. Identity is constructed through open systems of representation like language equally available to dominant and alternative media practitioners. Directly affected people in this study subjectively voiced their individual and cultural representations against homogenous constructions.

CHAPTER 8: AUDIO EXPRESSIONS AND SONIC SUBJECTIVITY

"This idea of *masking* comes in where, as a Black woman, I have to almost hide who I am in order to enter into non-Black spaces. So, what does that mean? How I speak, again, what I wear, what I bring in to eat, but especially *how I sound*." – Letecia Rose, *Decoding Black*, "Racial Boundaries in the Workplace"

In *Decoding Black*'s (Centennial) "Racial Boundaries in the Workplace" (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 25) episode, Leticia Rose revealed that she alters the way she sounds to avoid being stereotyped as an "angry Black woman" at her White-majority workplace. Rose *masks* her voice to avoid a potentially negative response from her non-Black coworkers for communicating or sounding differently since professional spaces contain certain expectations of "proper" speech and tone often associated with White cultures (McCluney et al., 2021). Frantz Fanon (1952/2008) refers to "masking" as hiding or shedding one's racial identity by assimilating to the practices and expectations of the dominant group. For example, the Martiniquais's "usually raucous voice gives way to a hushed murmur. For he knows that over there in France he will be stuck with a stereotype" (Fanon, 1952/2008, p. 4). Rose masks because the "angry Black women" stereotype has become a symbol of unprofessionalism contrasting her coworkers' expectations of "appropriate" linguistic and sonic characteristics in a White-majority space (Casillas & Stoever, 2020).

Rose's anecdote paralleled the plot of Boots Riley's *Sorry to Bother You* (2018), a dark comedy about a Black telemarketer, Cash (played by Lakeith Stanfield), who masks his "Black" voice to sound "White." Cash uses the telephone's visual anonymity to tonally and linguistically perform "Whiteness," which feeds customers' sonically interpretive biases of Whiteness being more trustworthy and professional. Customers are thus influenced to buy more products from him. Nick Couldry (2010) argues, "The fundamental deficit in neoliberal democracies is, then, not one of voice but of ways of valuing voice" (p. 144). Listening encourages assigning value to voices using linguistic descriptors to represent meanings in different temporal and spatial contexts (Eidsheim, 2019). Sound can become another marker of difference and encourage people to change their voices to align with listeners' cultural expectations within certain

environments and based on listeners' previous experiences. Rose and Cash both expected racial discrimination grounded in the valuing of *oral* expression as much as *visual* appearance.

People have also altered their voices in media spaces to align with editorial and audience expectations. This auditory transformation, which is referred to as "code-switching," is a common practice for people to mirror standardized sonic and verbal norms in patriarchal North American mainstream media production (Rao, 2018; Casillas & Stoever, 2020). These norms include an objective, dispassionate, lower tone accompanying "proper" English that White male broadcasters popularized (Brekke, 2020; Llinares, 2018; Mottram, 2016; Rodero, 2013; Thompson, 2017). However, people can purposely use their voices to signal identity rather than mask their voices as Rose and Cash felt obligated to do in workplace settings. Gloria Khamkar (2015) argues, "When ethnic minority communities become active producers, they themselves are in control, more or less, in portraying the real – and not stereotyped – image of ethnic minority communities" (p. 160). Podcasters from different cultures can voice themselves sonically in their own ways, which combats standardized "White" vocal production heard in mainstream media that a small majority control (Mahtani, 2001).

Intonation and accent are vocal techniques that podcasters in this study employed to produce additional meanings to their linguistic content. Podcasts also functioned as "soundworks" (Hilmes, 2013a, 2013b, 2017, 2020, 2021) that represented podcaster identity and experience through vocal techniques, music, and actuality sound.[33] This chapter discusses how sound can represent individual identity and experience as a system of representation beyond linguistic content alone. The findings on voice and soundworks answer the fourth research question: how do podcasters use sound to represent identity and experience through voice, music, and additional audio?

8.1: RESEARCH FINDINGS – VOCAL TECHNIQUES

Podcasters in this study used intonation and accent to convey meaning through voice beyond language. Certain vocal techniques are heavily engrained in podcasting culture and have become "naturalized" (Neumark, 2010, p. xxi) despite being used differently across production spaces. For example, podcasters have employed intonation to convey emotion and portray characters.

[33] Actuality sound is "sometimes referred to as ambient sound, or noise" (Hilmes, 2017, p. 180).

Podcasters have also used accents (Crook, 2012; Dolar, 2012; Moylan, 2018) to represent cultural affiliations (Florini, 2015, 2020). These techniques naturally arise in some instances, whereas other times they are consciously performed to produce a particular listening experience. Norie Neumark (2010) states, "Culture colors the voice, contours its performative capacities, and leaves deep imprints on its character – it *mediates* [original emphasis] the voice" (p. xviii). Simply put, podcasters can implement vocal techniques to entice specific listener experiences in diverse cultural contexts based on the normalized production and reception practices in those cultures (Mertens, Hoyt, & Morris, 2021). Vocal techniques accompany linguistic content to offer an additional layer of meaning to podcaster representations through podcasting's audio.

Podcasters in this study, including Rose (*Decoding Black* – Centennial), Brittany Luse (*Safe Space* – Torstar), Maria Qamar (*Campus* – CBC) and Hayden King and Courtney Skye (*The Red Road Podcast* – The Red Road Podcast), used intonation for mimicking and purposely "calling attention to the sound of" (Casillas & Stoever, 2020, p. 65) voices. Intonation refers to vocal tone conveying meaning and representing identity through emotional affect (Crook, 2012). Mladen Dolar (2012) argues that "the tone of the voice, its particular melody and modulation, its cadence and inflection, can decide meaning" (p. 544). For example, two podcasters can read the same script using their own intonation and produce two different sounding texts with potentially oppositional meanings. Podcasters used intonation as a prominent tool in this study. In *Decoding Black*'s (Centennial) "Racial Boundaries in the Workplace" (Rose & Taylor, 2020, February 25), cohost Rose changed her vocal tone when mimicking her White coworkers' reaction to her use of the word "dope":

> **Letecia Rose (LR) [to cohost Christopher Stuart Taylor]:** I do remember a time in a meeting where the Blackness slipped out and I said, "That's a dope idea."
> **LR (as coworkers):** *Huuh* [exaggerated gasp].
> **LR [to CST]:** Everyone looked at me like=
> **LR (as coworkers):** *=Letecia's Black?!*
> **LR [to CST]:** And it's like they almost hadn't realized until that moment because I was "passing" so well or I was masking it [my Blackness] so well that they hadn't realized it beforehand.
>
> (6:18)

Although listeners do not hear her coworkers in the podcast, Rose raised her tone mid-sentence to represent her coworkers' shocked realization. One podcaster's tonality may be comedic when reading this transcript, whereas Rose intonated White shock and disgust.

Safe Space (Torstar) also performed White mimicry in its episode "Corny White People" (Mochama & Daro, 2017, October 13). During a conversation with *Safe Space*'s cohosts and additional guest Sajae Elder about the "Me Too" movement, podcast guest Brittany Luse changed the tone of her speaking voice to sarcastically imitate actor Ben Affleck's calming attempt at distancing himself from colleague Harvey Weinstein's sexual assault scandal:

> **Sajae Elder (SE) [to panelists]:** So, like, a lot of them were full– well-aware of what was going on. And they're just kind of, you know, old boys club, whatever it is, and covering it up. Or I guess when you know somebody, you start to justify their fuckery in a different way.
> **Brittany Luse (BL) [to panelists]:** Well, you know somebody who's paying your bills. ... So of course, you're going to be like=
> **BL (as Ben Affleck):** =*Huuuh* [exaggerated gasp]*, I am so shocked to learn of this in 2017, even though I've had an Oscar for twenty years. I had no clue*.
>
> (6:43, 7:17)

Luse code-switched into a stereotypical "White male" voice using a "low, monotone, and exaggeratedly polite" (Casillas & Stoever, 2020, p. 65) delivery to comedically and critically represent Affleck's supposedly shocked public response. Miming Affleck was tonally (Crook, 2012; Dolar, 2012) distinct and quieter from the rest of Luse's explanation about Hollywood's historical acquittal from abusive behaviour. In *Campus*'s (CBC) "No Curry in the Dorm Room" (Leung, 2016, January 12), podcast guest Maria Qamar delivered a parallel "White male" voice to impersonate a guidance counsellor she interacted with:

> **Maria Qamar (MQ) Narration:** He pulls a Barbie off the shelf and it's a typical Barbie wearing a sari. And I go, "Oh, cool," like, that's totally not relevant to my courses or my grades or anything like that, but that's cool, like [sarcastic] "thank you for showing me

that." And I thought it was going to end there, but then it kind of continued on to, you know=

MQ (as guidance counsellor): =*I love Indian women. They're so exotic, they're so attractive and just exotic*.

MQ Narration: And I'm standing there like, this literally has zero percent to do with my GPA or my courses, like this is something that, I should probably tell him to stop.

(21:15)

Qamar and Luse shared their opinions about abusive White men in a serious way that was undercut with lower tonal impersonations typically attributed to White males, which was used to represent the absurdity of the original statements.

Similarly, *The Red Road Podcast*'s (The Red Road Podcast) cohost King impersonated what he believed to be a stereotypical "White person" in "Settlers Interrupt-Us" (Skye & King, 2019, May 2), an episode about different types of White settlers that Indigenous people must interact with in different social situations:

Hayden King (HK) [to Courtney Skye]: And there is this phenomenon where it's often old White men, but not always, but often old White men will– will come up to you and explain, you know, "I, I really believe there's momentum towards reconciliation and this is..."– Hmm hmm [clears throat]. Sorry, I should do a White person voice.

Courtney Skye (CS): Mhm.

HK (as old White man): [nasally] *I, I really believe there's momentum towards reconciliation* [stops himself]=

HK [to CS]: =Sorry, I can't do that [laughs].

CS: [laughs]

HK [to CS]: [reverts to regular voice] "And you know, you people have come so far"… Basically, they, they want me to validate their ongoing colonial behaviours.

(7:35)

King changed his dialect and pitch using a nasally tone to mimic what he believes old White males sound like when they discuss Indigenous affairs (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005; Crook 2012).

King and cohost Courtney Skye used sarcastic tones afterwards to express their interpretation of White enthusiasm about supposed Indigenous-Settler progress. For example, Skye commented on land returns:

> **CS [to HK]:** I would think that, you know, this White person is having a lot of, you know – a position of power and influence – would think a little bit more critically about their direct work, because we were there calling out the entire process that they were undertaking as being incredibly racist and violent. And they were like=
> **CS (as White person):** "*Well, let us do this racist and violent thing to you in this policy sector. But I will personally give you a little,*" [regular voice] you know, "*a postage stamp of land that you can't have but you can use*."
>
> (11:39)

Reading this conversation on paper without tonal cues could suggest that Skye agreed with her interlocutors. However, Skye's vocal sarcasm provides aural context about her internalized frustrations during these settler interactions. *The Red Road Podcast* (Skye & King, 2019, May 2) also referred to experiences of White intrusion into Indigenous public conversations:

> **HK [to CS]:** Don't make any sudden body movements that might be interpreted as an opening for White people. You have to maintain discipline.
> **CS [to HK]:** Because, yeah=
> **HK [to CS]:** =Even if you do those things, you'll still get interrupted.
> **CS [to HK]:** Because you're like, trying to have a conversation. Like, it's like if we were to go out, people always are trying to eavesdrop on your conversation or-
> **HK:** [laughs]
> **CS [to HK]:** if you move in a certain way, they're like=
> **CS (as White Person):** ="*Oh, I kind of overheard you saying you guys are*," [regular voice] or, "*I thought you we're talking about this*."
> **CS [to HK]:** Right? And they want to jump in and, like, inject their perspectives into like=

CS (as White Person): =“*How do,*” [regular voice] you know, “*How do you feel about land acknowledgments?*”

CS [to HK]: And that kind of stuff, right? And it’s just the mo- [frustrated] it’s the=

HK [to CS]: =There's the linger, the linger is bad.

(13:37)

King lowered his tone to mimic how he believes a White male typically sounds, whereas Skye raised the tone of her voice to mimic how White women sound to her in these situations (Crook, 2012; Dolar, 2012). These podcasters employed a “White” voice both times in relation to their regular speaking voices to distance themselves sonically from Whiteness. King’s impression of a “White” voice and the podcast’s use of sarcasm collectively acknowledged the absurdity of settler beliefs about cross-cultural progress while also inserting comedic jest for Indigenous listeners who may have experienced similar interactions or heard similar-sounding voices.

Like intonation, accents refer to tonal “differences among national groups (Gill, 1994, p. 348). Accents signal shared cultural and educational engagement within specific geographic regions. Yet accent is potentially unstable for interpreting national or cultural identity since it is learned. People can manipulate their voices to sound like they are from a particular region or to mask themselves in various social settings (Llinares, 2018; Newmark, Walker, & Stanford, 2016). I listened to multiple episodes from each podcast in this study to detect patterns of how podcasters episodically maintained or changed accents. Listening across episodes was important in identifying each podcaster’s authentic or “regular” speaking voice versus deviations that signal impersonation. I did not recognize any specific international accents from my subjective listening position. The study’s sample of “Canadian” podcasts hosted by people who likely grew up in and experienced Canada’s educational and/or cultural systems likely led to this accented omission. Podcasters sounded different from one another in other ways, but the accents heard were, for lack of a better term, “Canadian.” The term “Canadian” is problematic because it homogenizes various accents across Canada. I use the term “Canadian” in this chapter to insist that the accents heard in this study were non-British despite the country’s colonial ties (Rogers, 2016). The “Canadian” accent more closely aligns with traditional “American” accents heard in popular culture and media texts. However, even historian Philip Resnick (2005) notes that “the Canadian accent is sufficiently distinct from the American, to Canadian ears at least and often to

foreign ones" (p. 75). Quebecois and Indigenous accents that were outside what Mladen Dolar (2012) terms the "ruling norm" (p. 544) of dominant Canadian culture were the only deviations from the English "Canadian" accent.

One form of accented difference in Canada is conceived through an English/French binary where the Quebecois accent represents Quebec provincial identity. Thomas Rogers (2016) notes that "since Ontarians were largely responsible for settling Western Canada in the following decades [during the 19th century], their Americanised accent spread across the country and eventually became the de facto accent for the majority of Canadians" (n. pag.). Quebecois accent thus became a minority. This study's English-language programs consequently made the CBC's *Seat at the Table* the only Quebecois-accented podcast. Moylan (2018) states that voice is "both structure and topic" (p. 286) creating a personal narrative through story and sound. Cohosts Martine St-Victor and Isabelle Racicot's provincial enculturation informed their Quebecois accents just as their provincial experiences likely informed their opinions about topics like Black Lives Matter (BLM). Listeners can aurally interpret *Seat at the Table*'s narratives through both sound and language as co-constitutively representing the cohosts' French-Canadian identities. One of Michaëlle Jean's audio clip in the *Portraits of Black Canadians* (RCI) episode "Michaëlle Jean" (Radio Canada International, 2020, March 1) also demonstrated Quebecois accent. Jean's accent complemented the podcast narrative about her immigration from Haiti to Quebec at 10 years old, and her professional success as a CBC anchor on the French-language network and as Canada's former Governor General. These episodes illustrated how the podcasters' Quebecois accents signalled regional identity shaping, and shaped by, their experiences within Quebecois culture.

Indigenous accents were also spoken and impersonated in this study. Eric Armstrong et al. (2020) identify one Indigenous accent or code-switch they term "Rez accent." They refer to this voice as the "accent of people who live on a reserve" (p. 7), which can incite a discriminatory assumption that "Rez accent equates to a lack of education" (Armstrong et al., 2020, p. 7). This cultural accent is often impersonated in comedy routines and movies like *Smoke Signals* (Eyre, 1998) and is recognizable to many Indigenous peoples in North America. Tristan Ahtone (2017), writer and member of the Kiowa Tribe, states that the accent "is meant to be a little exaggerated" (para. 7) and represents Indigenous identities of English-speaking communities, especially those who do not know their cultural language. Armstrong et al. (2020)

and Ahtone (2017) note that residential schools likely informed this accent when Indigenous communities unwillingly adapted colonial accents and languages to their tribal accents and languages. The accent explicitly signals Indigenous identity against European and American settler accents that Indigenous peoples learned through standardized education.

After listening to examples of this cultural accent through limited online resources, I heard similarities between these accented voices and *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) podcast guest Geraldine King's impersonations in the episode "Bush Love and Powwow Snags" (McMahon & King, 2018, October 18-b):

> **Geraldine King (GK) [to live audience]:** So, having said all that, I will read some of my erotica…
> **GK (as Character 1):** *Oh, so this one time, eh, me and you know that one guy from Rocky Bay*?
> **GK (as Character 2):** *Yeah. That guy with the real deadly snaggletooth?*
> **GK (as Character 1):** *Well, anyways, one night we're walking back from the hall and then all of a sudden he just grabbed my hand and I'm thinking, "hoooolllehh." So, I says, "Do you want to go back to my place?" ... of course, he says, "yes, eh?"*
>
> (6:40)

> **GK (as Character 1):** *I just started laughing so hard. I guess that kind of made me loosen up a little bit because then I just started putting the blocks to him, eh? I mean, I guess he knew he was going to get poonched once I started hanging the sheet up on the doorway of the bedroom, just holding it in place with butter knives* [contained laugh]. *Well, I had to be careful, eh?*"
>
> (8:03)

King increased her rhythm and tonally altered her regular speaking voice after her interview with podcast host Ryan McMahon to code-switch her short stories for the live audience (Crook, 2012; Dolar, 2012). Siobhán McHugh (2022) suggests that "accent can build character" (p. 64). King repeated the term "eh" (underlined in these passages) in her short story when performing this accent to culturally identify an informal or rhetorical question from her characters. This code-

switching partially signalled a distinct cultural accent and dialect from her regular speaking voice in between the stories she tells on the podcast. Her regular speaking voice sounded more commonly like an American-influenced "Canadian" accent (Rogers, 2016). King was the only podcaster to code-switch into a distinctive cultural accent and dialect in between bouts of her regular speaking voice. Most Indigenous podcasters in the project spoke with a typical American-influenced "Canadian" accent, whether consciously or not. King used podcasting's audio modality to code-switch and emphasize the characters' Indigenous identities that are not easily identifiable in the written text. Accent was clearly audible in the podcast to signify cultural identity.

Intonation and accent have been predominantly studied from phonological and linguistic perspectives where sounds are scientifically mapped to syllabic patterns to understand cultural communication. My cultural studies approach to podcast communication heavily favoured qualitative aural observations. A difficulty with interpreting accent outside scientific or mathematical observations is vocal nuances that are unrecognizable to everyone in their individual listening practices cross-culturally. Dolar (2012) argues that an accent is noticeable within a culture because it is outside the ruling norm. Simply put, a particular sounding voice becomes a non-accent when a culture shares it, to which all other voices deviating from this sound are considered "accents." Intonation and accent conveyed specific emotions or signalled specific regional or cultural groups to transform the linguistic meaning of podcaster experiences in this study, whether they were spoken normally or impersonated.

Podcasting's audio modality can produce additional layers of meaning through a shared system of sonic representation that conveys meaning via intonation or group identity via accent (whether unaltered or purposely transformed). For podcast guests like Geraldine King (McMahon & King, 2018, October 18-b), accents were performative identity markers that signified national and cultural affiliations. Accent can also represent resistance to the American-influenced "Canadian" accent that has been perpetuated through colonial education for Indigenous peoples. In *The Red Road Podcast* (The Red Road Podcast), *Decoding Black* (Centennial), *Safe Space* (Torstar), and *Campus* (CBC), podcasters also used accent and intonation to mock vocal qualities popularly attributed to White communities while purposely differentiating themselves as non-White sonically. In both ways, accent and intonation aimed to represent cultural identities in podcasts that written texts cannot easily emulate.

8.2: RESEARCH FINDINGS – SOUNDWORKS

Podcasters also compiled other sounds to produce additional meanings in tandem with linguistic content. I conceive podcasting as a "soundwork," which Michele Hilmes (2020) defines as "a sonic *construction* [original emphasis] – a work that uses the elements of aural expression (voice, actuality sound, music) to compose meaningful audio experiences that can be heard, understood, and analyzed as distinct, purposed texts" (p. 341). Soundwork "designates texts that shape, package, and circulate audio elements in expressive ways, such as music presentation, discussion, performance, documentaries, features, and drama" (Hilmes, 2017, p. 180). Podcasters used various sound sources/techniques to create meaning in tandem with, and beyond, speech/language. *Campus*'s (CBC) "This is What Happens When You Steal People's Land – Part I" (Leung, 2017) and *Kiwew*'s (CBC) "Cree Awakening" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b) were two podcast soundworks in this study.

Campus – "This is What Happens When You Steal People's Land – Part I"

Campus produced a two-part oral history episode titled "This is What Happens When You Steal People's Land" (Leung, 2017) about the life of Métis Cree scholar and writer Jesse Thistle. The soundwork combined: 1) voice through host Albert Leung's narration and Thistle's storytelling, 2) actuality sound through "imitation" (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005, p. 59) and what Jean-François Augoyard and Henry Torgue (2005) term "convolution," or recreated acoustic environments of Thistle's various storied settings, and 3) music through the orchestrated backdrop of various narrative scenes. Together, these components produced a soundwork recreating Thistle's life experiences that informed his understanding of his Indigenous identity.

In "Part I" (Leung, 2017), *Campus* created an immersive listening experience for the audience being transported alongside Thistle's younger self to revisit his upbringing, his drug addiction, and his homelessness. Podcast soundworks like *Campus* combine high quality audio with skilled storytelling to facilitate narratives of "humanity, change, challenge, healing, doubt, and discovery" (Murray, 2019, p. 309). Thistle's autobiographical narrative addressed Indigenous "intergenerational trauma" (Lavallee & Poole, 2010; Mitchell, Arseneau, & Thomas,

2019; Nelson & Wilson, 2017) for listeners discovering its colonial context related to residential schooling in Canada (Bombay, Matheson, & Anisman, 2014; Menzies, 2020). The episode was both educational and immersive.

The opening scene was a flashforward in the episode's overall narrative where Thistle described robbing a 7-Eleven store and fleeing from the scene:

> [An engine is revved as a large automobile's brakes let out air. The engine starts to fade]
> **Jesse Thistle (JT) (as Narrator):** So, I get off the bus, [lighter being flicked multiple times] I light my pipe, watch the smoke cascade down my throat [coughing in background]. [lighter flicks continue] I got this addiction and I need money [something is burning in the pipe]. I've got no place to go [inhale and exhale] [bongo drums enter background with low synth pad]. How did it come to this? I only got one option left. That store, that 7-Eleven, there's money in there [bongo drums increase tempo, synth pad delay]. This is so bad; I can't do this. [pause] Screw it, I got to do it and [footsteps walking on gravel] I find the courage I'm looking for [footsteps move faster, a door slams open, followed by a doorbell ring]. Grit my teeth, [shuffling of feet] steal my will, turn to the cashier [synth pad delayed and panned] and screamed=
> **JT (as Younger Self):** [calm tone]="Give me your money right now or I'll kill you."
> **JT (as Narrator):** [synth pad is main backdrop] He looks at me and says=
> **JT (as Cashier):** [calm tone]="Listen, bud, we got insurance. [synth intensifies with bongo drums coming in] I don't care what you do, but I want to make it home to my family."
> **JT (as Narrator):** [shuffling of feet] I ran around the counter, hit the button on the till [cash register opening]. I reached down and grabbed the 20s, some 10s [bills being removed from register slots], some quarters [coins hitting a hard surface] and nickels bouncing off the floor around me. I look over and I see the teller [background synth and bongos still present]. He's on the phone with the cops. I grab the change I had, put it in my pockets, ran [footsteps shuffling] towards the front door [bell rings as door slams closed]. I could just [sirens lightly in the background] hear the sirens and the cops, now. [footsteps moving faster] I ran around the corner [background music still playing] to the dumpster out back, [metal slams] jumped inside [sirens still sound as metal clangs].

> Waited. [car drives by] Waited [synth and bongo drums suddenly cut out alongside fading sirens] and hoped [silence] I wouldn't get caught. [synth jabs with delay end scene]
>
> **JT (as Narrator):** [*Campus* intro music plays] My name is Jesse Thistle. For years, I was lost in a crack addiction until I found my Indigenous identity.
>
> (Leung, 2017, 00:09)

Listeners could simultaneously hear a bus driving away, its air brakes releasing, and its engine fading in the distance of their minds as Thistle's narration started in this passage. A lighter was then flicked multiple times, followed by coughing and a breathy inhalation. Again, Augoyard and Torgue (2005) term this recreation and emergence of acoustic qualities "convolution." This sound layering of Thistle exiting the bus and smoking sensorially places the listener getting off the bus alongside him. In his own journalistic production, Alan Hall (2017) found that "the sound of a struck match or lighter came to convey much more than the information that [the subject] Will was lighting another cigarette. It became a key indicator of character" (p. 127). Similarly, Thistle's impromptu lighter flicks immediately upon exiting the bus indicated the severity of his addiction. Additionally, the listener is aurally immersed in Thistle's physical world while simultaneously entering his mental state during the narration when he reflected, "How'd it come to this? I only got one option left. That store, that 7-Eleven, there's money in there. This is so bad, I can't do this. Screw it, I got to do it" (Leung, 2017, 00:32). Thistle's internal monologue throughout the scene retrospectively contextualized his mindset that is otherwise visually unavailable to listeners.

The sensorial experience intensified when Thistle recounted walking into the store and yelling at the cashier, "Give me your money right now or I'll kill you," to which the cashier responded, "Listen, bud, we got insurance. I don't care what you do, but I want to make it home to my family" (Leung, 2017, 1:04). Augoyard and Torgue (2005) note that "hyperlocalization" is a production practice where a sound is strategically placed in the sound mix to focalize the listener's attention. Alongside the performative dialogue, the listener feels tension from the hyperlocalized footsteps on gravel growing louder up to the door, the sound of Thistle opening the door and its accompanying doorbell jingle, and the register opening with the toll ring as Thistle removes plastic holders securing different bills while coins hit the counter. Michael Bull

et al. (2006) argue, "The senses mediate the relationship between self and society, mind and body, idea, and object. *The senses are everywhere* [original emphasis]. Thus, sensation … is fundamental to our experience of reality" (p. 5). *Campus* created a soundwork using convolution that mimics the aural reality of his experience so that the listener feels present with Thistle and understands his world. The listener's senses can engage in a shared understanding with Thistle about what each sound, or soundmark, represents in this intense and defining moment of addiction even though the narration and sounds are recreated.[34] Listeners share the same aural environment Thistle experienced and can visually imagine the scene through cultural cues that the sounds emulate.

"Imitation" (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005) achieved suspense through familiar aural characteristics recreating an intense public environment. Augoyard and Torgue (2005) state that imitation occurs when a familiar sound is produced for listeners who will understand its reference in a certain cultural context. North American listeners are likely familiar with how buses sound, how a shop's door rings a bell to inform cashiers that customers have entered, how cash registers sound when being opened, how the rustling of bills against human fingers create a scratching texture, and how coins echo when hitting a countertop. Suspense rose to the scene's end while Thistle fled out the door and hid in a dumpster during the teller's phone call with police. Tim Edensor (2019) notes that the "blaring pulse of emergency vehicles, felt in the body and exciting attention, produce speculation about what it is that has caused the urgency conveyed by the sound" (p. 161). The listener can understand the situation's severity when police car sirens become louder in the audio mix to signal the police's arrival. Listeners can also hear the hollow clanging of metal dissipate into silence as the police car sirens increase when Thistle reimagined silently hiding in the dumpster near the store he just robbed. Tim Crook (2012) uses the phrase "sound bridge" (p. 216) when referring to sounds that overlap to connect two different scenes. Thistle and the listener wait in anticipation together for the police to find them, but the storytelling pauses as synth chords enter the mix and become a sound bridge to Thistle introducing his name to listeners for the first time.

Campus and Thistle developed a soundwork implementing actuality sound imitating his lived environment (i.e., bus engine, pavement, doorbell, cash register, metal dumpster, and

[34] Soundmark refers to "a community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community" (Schafer, 1994, p. 10).

sirens) within the introductory scene alone. Additionally, narration developed plot and character, foreshadowing and signposting introduced Thistle's eventual downfall, and first-person reflection illustrated Thistle's emotional response to his actions (i.e., "Waited. Waited and hoped I wouldn't get caught") (Clark & McLean, 2020). These components were produced through digital techniques like sampling and cutting of disparate audio parts that podcasters select, alternate, and combine into a collective hi-fi work.[35] Spinelli and Dann (2019) argue that digital practices "remain most effective on a backdrop of carefully produced and familiar audio storytelling, usually in service of a larger narrative" (p. 40). *Campus* digitally recreated Thistle's auditory environment rather than recording a live "on-scene" re-enactment since digital sound banks have various prerecorded everyday sounds available (Crook, 2012). The podcast's engineering audibly recreated the environment's nuances underlaying Thistle's narration. Audio clarity is important since the "higher the differentiation between signal and noise, the easier it is to distinguish between what is 'information' and what is not" (Kelman, 2010, p. 216). Podcasters can add and edit sounds to highlight certain aspects over others at different moments and help listeners identify important "information" moving the story forward, like lighter flicks identifying addiction, and police sirens signalling criminal activity. Each audio piece contributed to the recreated event from Thistle's memory and what he felt at that historical moment that informed his future exploration and understanding of Indigenous identity that intergenerational trauma partially shaped.

The episode's pacing slowed down after the introduction with ambient synth chords sound-bridging into the next scene about Thistle's childhood long before the robbery. Augoyard and Torgue (2005) suggest that repetition helps listeners identify a specific sound's importance in a text's overall structure. Synths signalled changes in this episode's timeline to provide a chronological guide for listeners while affecting their emotional reception based on instrument tonal qualities. *Campus* purposefully combined environmental soundmarks, music, and Thistle's narration to creatively transmit his narrative. For example, Thistle remembered Christmas during his childhood:

> [winding of a cog, followed by toy bells playing "Jingle Bells"]

[35] Hi-fi refers to a "favourable signal-to-noise ratio. ... [D]iscrete sounds can be heard clearly because of the low ambient noise level" (Schafer, 1994, p. 43).

> **JT Narration:** [door opens and people audibly chat] I remember being at my grandparents' house and every year around Christmas ["Jingle Bells" still plays through toy], my grandmother would [wrapping paper rustles] wrap up Christmas presents for my dad and put them under the tree [wrapping stops, clanging of utensils begins]. She'd make way too much food and overprepare like she was waiting [chair briefly scrapes across floor] for her [water faucet runs] son to come home. And he never did, never did. And those Christmas presents lingered ["Jingle Bells" still plays through toy] under that tree for months and months. I remember just looking at them, wondering where my dad was. And she'd keep the Christmas tree up for a really long time, 'til like the end of February, you know? It was an ominous reminder that something bad happened ["Jingle Bells" fades out, only narrator's voice remains] to him and nobody knew. And as we grew, we always heard rumors that he had lost his mind with drugs and that he became homeless. And that was the story that we were eventually made to believe. And so that made me very resentful of my dad.
>
> (Leung, 2017, 6:04)

Listeners hear a dial moving before the narration and the song "Jingle Bells" playing through a toy radio or windup mechanism alongside the crunching of wrapping paper and children's voices. Hilmes (2020) argues that "a soundwork requires the kind of presentational techniques that go into other modes of expression – selection, sequencing, structure, pace, dynamics, mood, timbre, intensity – all through the combination of voice, actuality sound, and music" (p. 341). *Campus* contextualized Thistle's childhood memory through actuality sound of his grandparents' house at Christmas that the holiday carol "Jingle Bells" additionally signalled. His childhood Christmas memory aurally contrasted the introductory robbery scene because the listener is not waiting inside a dumpster with Thistle anticipating arrest but is instead being transported backwards to an innocent auditory environment. This childhood scene evoked memories of opening presents, listening to festive songs, and hearing family prepare a meal in the kitchen and move furniture around. *Campus*'s sound production incited what Augoyard and Torgue (2005) term "anamnesis," or the cognitive revival of a familiar atmosphere. Thistle's recreated scene can produce anamnesis for listeners who also celebrate Christmas. Although the holidays often represent enjoyable family experiences for people, Thistle and his grandmother did not share this

enjoyment because of Thistle's father's absence due to drug addiction and homelessness, which listeners later learn residential school trauma fuelled.

Listeners follow Thistle through childhood up until the robbery foreshadowed at the beginning, and then shortly afterwards to his escape from the crime scene, his drug addiction, and his eventual self-surrender to police for the robbery. Thistle's story in "Part I" (Leung, 2017) highlighted key memories from his life that shaped his drug addiction and his understanding of his Indigenous identity, including being separated from his parents, hiding from welfare services, and being bullied for his Indigenous heritage. Each aural memory combined Thistle's voice, his recreated auditory environment, and the use of popular and instrumental music to paint a sonic picture of his past. Music specifically signalled each memory's era, bridged different scenes chronologically, or encouraged emotional listener responses that accompanied voice and actuality sound. *Campus* shaped various sounds around Thistle's narration to digitally add layers of meaning to his story. Hilmes (2020) suggests that through podcasts:

> we as listeners hear deeply personal revelations of the experiences, feelings, hopes, and fears of people … often dealing with topics that are not only intimate but also marked as off limits by the broadcast media of the past: suppressed histories, dark secretes, terrible truths, on an individual as well as on a social scale. (p. 342)

Thistle's two-part *Campus* (Leung, 2017) episode arc spoke to the influence of residential schooling on Indigenous intergenerational trauma and its lasting effects (e.g., crime, drug addiction, imprisonment, homelessness). "Part I" was a soundwork laying an auditory foundation for how Thistle's childhood shaped his Indigenous self-concept while intimating Canadian colonization's dark history contributing to intergenerational trauma that other media infrequently acknowledged until recently.

Kiwew – "Cree Awakening"

The CBC has produced several high-quality soundworks alongside *Campus* contextualizing different cultural experiences from individual positions. Hilmes (2021) argues that soundworks produce "a form of intimacy that places an emphasis on emotion and affect, often enhanced by music and creative uses of editing and sound effects, through an increasingly sophisticated deployment" (p. 77). *Kiwew* was one podcast in this study that "sophisticatedly" combined voice,

music, and sound effects to intimately describe writer David A. Robertson's educational experience learning about his Cree identity from his father, Donald. Crook (2012) argues that producers combine auditory elements to create a specific listener experience. Robertson narrated the five-episode limited series that combined recorded phone calls with his family and friends, in-person interviews, "on site" recordings from his father's trapline, and music that collectively encouraged emotional responses. This combination created a unique auditory experience that sounded both "live" and "scripted." The title *Kiwew* is Cree for "he goes home" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b, 00:53), signalling Robertson's return to Indigenous land and to his Cree identity/history that he makes aurally accessible to listeners.

In the episode "Cree Awakening" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b), Robertson traced his childhood memories like Thistle did in *Campus* (Leung, 2017) that influenced how he perceived his Indigenous identity when returning to Norway House Cree Nation in Manitoba. Overall, the podcast was a hi-fi production with clearly audible narration recorded in-studio that contextualized Robertson's "resequencing" (McHugh, 2022, p. 96) of self-recorded interactions/interviews that had occasional background noise or what Crook (2012) terms "ambience" (p. 194). Live interviews moved the narrative forward while studio narration helped Robertson reflect on his different encounters when researching his family history. Robertson had an even rhythm to his storytelling that purported scripted/edited speech compared to vocal pauses, stutters, and quick phrasing located in many unscripted chumcasts (Crook, 2012). According to Neumark (2010), "A stuttering voice makes speech elusive, painful, never quite or wholly or transparently present, never easily or fully graspable" (p. xxvi). *Kiwew* produced clearly audible narrations that can help listeners easily grasp Roberston's speech and interpret the meaning of his existential journey that he linguistically identified in his self-recordings.

Like "This is What Happens When You Steal People's Land – Part I" (Leung, 2017), "Cree Awakening" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b) used foreshadowing/signposting in its introduction. Robertson sequenced voice clips from his cousin, Shane, and his dad, Donald, to foreshadow conversations that came later in the episode:

> [piano plays in ¾, higher octave single notes are underlaid with lower octave chords]
> **Shane (S) [on the phone]:** And at one point you asked her [your aunt] why your skin was different, why it was ugly or something. I can't remember exactly how she worded it,

and she basically told you that people died or paid lots of money to have that colour of skin. [piano still plays in background during transition]

Donald Robertson (DR) [in-person to David A. Robertson]: [natural wind or distorted background noise] You're gonna ha– make mistakes. You're not making those mistakes because you're Aboriginal.

David A. Robertson (DAR) [in-person to DR]: Mhm.

DR [in-person to David A. Robertson]: You're making those mistakes because you're a human being. [piano stops shortly afterwards, silent background]

DAR Narration: My name is David A. Robertson, and this is *Kiwew*. That's a Cree word, it means "he goes home." I'm the "he" in that sentence as I try to piece together my family history to better understand who I am.

(00:05)

Shane's distorted and sometimes crackly voice signalled that the conversation was from a recorded phone call with Robertson. Donald's voice was clearer than Shane's, but the listener can still hear background movement like wind, air conditioning, or cars moving. Crook (2012) argues that background noise often signals a live, "out-of-studio" conversation captured through a mobile recording device, which indicates a sense of "live" or unscripted dialogue. Both Shane's and Donald's clips created a montage of ideas from two sources underlaid with a piano playing in ¾ time that previewed the episode about Robertson's research into his identity and family history. The voice clips and music were collectively relaxed rather than suspenseful when listeners hear how Robertson thought about his skin tone as a child (from Shane's perspective) and discussed his father's belief about shared human experiences shaping individual identity. These introductory recordings emphasized the importance Robertson placed on his family's perspectives that educated him about his identity during his research process for his memoir, *Black Water* (HarperCollins, 2020). Although these recorded interviews were not originally intended for a podcast, Robertson noted that the information suited an audio companion piece to his memoir (D. A. Robertson, personal communication, August 4, 2021). Thus, Robertson initially recorded these conversations for his own notes rather than for public listening, which explains the unedited audio quality from some of these interviews that produce a "raw" or "authentic" essence of each person's true feelings rather than being a scripted performance.

Robertson introduced himself after the beginning voice clips, just as Thistle did after the opening robbery recreated in *Campus* (Leung, 2017), to contextualize that the podcast was Robertson's attempt to "try to piece together my family history to better understand who I am" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b, 00:58). Robertson briefly revealed his father's unexpected death, which was underlaid with delicate acoustic guitar notes lamenting his relationship:

> **DAR Narration:** [acoustic guitar alternates between triads] I've tried to think of the best way to address this, but there isn't a best way and there isn't an easy way, and in a lot of ways I'm still reeling. Most days I feel in a fog... [higher register acoustic guitar harmonizes] Dad passed away. We weren't expecting it, we weren't prepared for it. And I thought I'd have more time with him, but I didn't. What that means for me, for this journey I've been on for so many years now, is something I'm still trying to figure out. I think it's something I'll be figuring out for a while. But losing Dad is something I'll address somehow, next episode [guitars resolve the melody, fade out – silence]. For now, we are in Melita, a small agricultural retirement town in southwest Manitoba. Melita always felt like a second home to me.
>
> (1:00)

Robertson paused his speech numerous times for the acoustic guitar music to capture the emotional moment and intimate listeners with his sad news. Andrew Bottomley (2020) states,

> After a central idea or emotional peak in a story, editors will also often insert a "music post," where the music will play in the clear for a few seconds without any talking. In all of these cases, music is being employed as a narrative hand-holding device, directing audience attention and establishing pacing as well as mood. (p. 209)

Kiwew's five-episode arc revealed Robertson's connection to his father and his Cree identity, so Donald's sudden death became an emotional peak during the fourth episode. Adding acoustic guitar aurally emulated Robertson's emotional internalization during the recording while foreshadowing that "losing dad is something I'll address somehow, next episode" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b, 1:39). Music and speech collectively conveyed Robertson's difficulty grasping the situation since his father was still teaching him about his Cree ancestry that Robertson felt he was "still trying to figure out."

Augoyard and Torgue (2005) state that an audio "cut out" signals an obvious change in narrative. Acoustic guitar music was cut out after Roberston's revelation about his father's death to flag a transition into another part of the episode as the host indicated, "For now, we are in Melita, a small agricultural retirement town in southwest Manitoba. Melita always felt like a second home to me" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b, 1:46). Bottomley (2020) observes that often in podcasts, "music will be pulled back, the sudden silence highlighting a key moment in the narration" (p. 209). Stopping the guitar triads after Robertson's comments about his father's passing allowed him to chronologically revert the narrative back to his hometown's significance on his Cree identity separately from his father's influential testimony:

> **DAR Narration:** [finger-picking acoustic guitar] I've always felt like I belonged in the country. It's one of the reasons why in the last 20 years, Norway House Cree Nation has also become like a home to me [orchestral strings join guitar backdrop]. I've got family there, of course, so many cousins. But it's more than that. It's all the open space. It's the forest and the water. It's the quiet. It's how the darkness makes the night sky so brilliant. Everything's just comfortable out there and calm. For somebody with anxiety, calm is important. ... [dial tone cuts off the acoustic guitar] I called my cousin Shane to talk about the town.
>
> **S [on the phone]:** Hi, Dave.
>
> **DAR [on the phone]:** Hi, Shaney.
>
> **DAR Narration:** He doesn't live there anymore. He lives on a farm somewhere in Alberta.
>
> **S [on the phone]:** It was a good place to grow up at least. You didn't have the "helicopter" parents, it's like you woke up in the morning, if you wanted to go play with some friends, you just went out and played. You just let your mom know where you were, right?
>
> **DAR [on the phone]:** Mmhmm.
>
> **S [on the phone]:** That's why you didn't call to keep them updated. There is no play date, anything like that, you're able to roam around the whole entire town on your bike because it's, like, not that big of a town…

> **DAR Narration:** Shane's right, it was a good place to grow up. I grew up there for two weeks every summer, anyway. [acoustic guitar picking begins again] It's old school. It's familiar. And yeah, it's not that big. It's not the most diverse town either. I was pretty much the only brown-skinned kid for miles.
>
> (2:08)

Listeners hear Shane's comments interspersed with Robertson's studio narration that contextualize Melita's significance in shaping Robertson's identity. The interspersed phone clips did not have accompanying music like Robertson's narration did. Instead, listeners inhabit Robertson's position and are encouraged to listen intently to the ambience of Shane's slightly distorted words as if they are talking to him directly over the phone too. This phone call was a cultural code the audience can interpret as private and intimate, especially without music, because phone calls typically involve only two people. This intimacy suggested that Robertson valued his cousin's perspective while also providing authentic credibility to Robertson's interpretation of his own childhood. Robertson invited listeners to hear Shane contextualize Melita's significance towards Robertson's identity formation.

Kiwew combined various audio clips and music to emotionally affect audience mood and support the first-person narrative structure when Robertson voiced the internalization of his journey. Hilmes (2021) notes that "the first-person story told 'from the inside,' by someone deeply involved in the events, often focusing on subjects highly personal and deeply intimate, has become the signature form of the contemporary podcast" (p. 72). Furthermore, podcasting's soundwork:

> enables a wider spectrum of voices to be heard across a multiplicity of topics than ever before; [and explains] how yoking *sound* [original emphasis] to our experiences of life as it is lived by ordinary people changes the way that we understand the world around us. (Hilmes, 2020, p. 342)

The collection of voices from Shane, Donald, and even Robertson's mother later in the episode, represented Robertson's intimate relationship to his family that helped inform his Cree identity. These conversations also produced an intimate relationship between Robertson and the listeners since we are invited into these private conversations with personal information that Robertson trusts us to listen to and learn about.

Kiwew's phone calls and "live" recordings were audible, but their production quality would likely be unsuitable for radio broadcasts because of ambience and muffled background noises. As Crook (2012) states, ambience can either be an undesired background noise or a desired addition (typically in music production). The ambience was likely undesired in *Kiwew* since Robertson did not originally intend for his recordings to be heard publicly (D. A. Robertson, personal communication, August 4, 2021). However, the podcast still provided a space for Robertson and his family to literally be heard explaining their Cree identities and Indigenous experiences that are unavailable on traditional radio when a dispassionate journalist speaks for others (Llinares, 2018). *Kiwew*'s self-representations can therefore influence how listeners understand what family and Indigenous connection mean to Robertson. The podcast offered digitally added music and interview splicing between Robertson's narration to create a soundwork shaping how we understand Robertson's authentically lived world beyond language alone.

At one point in "Cree Awakening" (Robertson, 2020, June 18-b), Robertson addressed his inability to understand his Cree identity growing up:

> **S [on the phone]:** I know one story my mom told me was she had taken you out to [inaudible] this municipality?
> **DAR [on the phone]:** Yeah.
> **S [on the phone]:** And at one point you had asked her why your skin was different.
> **DAR [on the phone]:** Hmm.
> **S [on the phone]:** Why it was ugly or something. I can't remember exactly how she worded it.
> **DAR [on the phone]:** Yeah.
> **S [on the phone]:** And she basically told you that people would die or paid lots of money to have that colour of skin.
> **DAR [on the phone]:** [laughs]
> **S [on the phone]:** And that that's not something you should be ashamed of. You should be proud of it.
> **DAR Narration:** I should have listened to my Auntie Joan. I know that now. I should have been proud of everything that made me who I was. My black hair, my brown eyes,

> my skin color. But that's hard for a kid to do when they're getting teased about that exact thing.
>
> (6:32)

Robertson's studio narration interspersed with the phone conversation was the only audio played in this excerpt. This tactic produced "synecdoche," which Augoyard and Torgue (2005) argue is a sonic technique for emphasizing one audio element. The phone conversation without music or added sound encouraged the audience to focus solely on what was said and how Robertson and Shane said it. Robertson used a soft vocal tone and slow rhythm rather than a fast-paced and aggressive tone to intimate his anguish about being bullied and his childhood response. Brass horns and bongo drums were elevated in the mix a minute later when Robertson reflected:

> **DAR Narration:** I had incredibly low self-esteem. And it wasn't just how people treated me or what they asked me, what they said to me. It's what I learned about Indigenous people, whether it was directed at me or not [low-toned brass and bongo drums play] through comics, through television shows and movies, through Halloween costumes, through textbooks at school, through news media, all of it. All the stereotypes that were perpetuated, [flute joins brass and bongo drums] the savage Indian, the lazy Indian, the drunken Indian, the noble savage and no truth to teach me differently, no truth that would have given me the confidence to say [music cuts out], "Yeah, I'm an Indian. I'm half Cree, to be exact." I needed some truth because all this stuff was breaking me, even if I didn't realize it back then.
>
> (7:43)

Horns and bongos accompanied Robertson's reflection about internalizing negative Indigenous stereotypes during childhood (Lopez, 2020b). These sounds were cultural codes imitating television and movie scenes when villainous background music represents the appearance or presence of "bad guys" (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005). Standardized villainous themes heightened Robertson's internalized experience consuming stereotypical Indigenous representations of being "savage," "lazy," "drunken," and "noble." Music and narration collectively created a soundwork where listeners can imagine Robertson's internalized childhood to learn more about his current

understanding of his Cree identity. The listener intimately embodies Robertson's positionality to empathetically feel his subjective experience from within and across knowledge and context boundaries that shaped how he historically conceived of his Cree identity (Swiatek, 2018).

Robertson's and Thistle's first-person soundworks both demonstrated how podcasters can use audio techniques and devices to represent additional meanings around identity and experience (Spinelli & Dann, 2019). *Campus* (CBC) (Leung, 2017) recreated an auditory environment through "convolution" and "imitation" (Augoyard & Torgue, 2005) to immerse the audience and contextualize the narration informing Thistle's life experiences and understanding of his Indigenous identity. *Kiwew* (CBC) spliced together multiple perspectives recorded in-person and over the phone to transparently represent physical and experiential positionalities contextualizing Robertson's journey in understanding his Cree identity. Both programs digitally selected, alternated, and combined sounds from multiple sources to provide additional layers of meaning beyond language that represented these podcasters and the experiences that shaped their sense of selves through reconstructed, sensorial audio realities (Crook, 2012).

8.3: DISCUSSION

The two data sets in this chapter identified various ways podcasters used voice and audio to authentically represent their identities and experiences alongside language. David Dowling and Kyle Miller (2019) argue that "sound and the spoken word are the essence of the medium, undermining stereotypes of online culture as dominated by images and videos to the exclusion of language-driven narrative" (p. 180). Language is a prominent system of representation for articulating meaning and is open to analysis, but it is equally important to consider how sound as a system of representation in an audio-dominant medium expresses specific meanings in tandem with, and beyond, speech. Sound provides an additional layer of representative meaning through vocal techniques like intonation and accent, and combinations of speech, music, and actuality sound, that translate realities through sensorial immersion.

Podcasters used sound in multiple ways to elevate their storytelling and enhance audience understandings about personal experiences and identities. McHugh (2012) argues that:

> the affective power of sound and voice, combined with the intimacy of the listening process, means we can be moved by listening to oral history; this, in turn, affects how we absorb and retain its content, as well as how we judge that content. (p. 195)

McHugh underscores a broad theorization about all audio media genres where sound facilitates a particular intimacy between speaker(s) and listener(s) and encourages a different type of interpretation than other communication modes. *Kiwew* host David A. Robertson similarly suggested that podcasting is an "intimate form of storytelling because you typically listen to it alone and you're hearing somebody tell you a story directly from their voice" (D. A. Robertson, personal communication, August 4, 2021). Listeners can directly hear podcaster perspectives while being transported sensorially to podcasters' past experiences that they can learn from through culturally familiar sounds as a shared system of representation (Spinelli & Dann, 2019).

Vocal Techniques

A speaker's environment and the way they've been taught to speak culturally shapes the sound of their voice or is an imitation of another culture or environment's demographic. Many mainstream media corporations standardize a supposedly sonic Whiteness embedded in the ideological underpinnings of the "senior media workers (sub-editors, news directors, executive producers, etc.) [who] have remained almost exclusively middle-class males of the dominant cultures" (Mahtani, 2001, p. 115). The podcasts in this chapter transmitted multiple sounding voices outside mainstream expectations, likely because the medium is independent and unregulated online and does not require standardized production (Bottomley, 2020; Fox, Dowling, & Miller, 2020). Jonathan Sterne et al. (2008) recognize that "podcasting is like blogging … because it opens up cultural production to a whole group of people who might otherwise have great difficulty being heard" (p. 26). The medium helps people be authentically heard because they control how they sound that carries other ideological meanings about cultural identity against traditional broadcasting standards.

This chapter's findings suggested that podcasters can use intonation to authentically mimic or impersonate socially constructed understandings of "White" voice "as a position of decorum and order" (Corey, 2019, p. 100) through exaggerated pronunciation and a dispassionate delivery that is historically valued as "proper" and "educated" in mainstream

spaces. John Gumperz (2009) argues that "individuals are accepted as members of the group to the extent that their usage conforms to the practices of the day" (p. 70). Exaggerated mimicry of "White" voice in this chapter contrasting podcasters' regular speaking voices illustrated a conscious objection towards White-majority media spaces that often enforce conformity through standardized vocal production (Fox, Dowling, & Miller, 2020). Imitating accent and delivery can be authentic if a speaker accurately recreated the original source's sound (van Leeuwen, 2001). van Leeuwen argues that authentic imitation can be judged on its accurate miming rather than its originality. However, the difficulty of judging imitation is that people hear voices differently depending on their own encounters in-person and through representations. Thus, podcasters in this chapter could be considered authentic if their imitations reflect how they heard the original sources they are miming. Podcasters can also be considered authentic if they sound like their "true" selves symptomatic of their enculturation (Martínez, 2020).

One form of authentic imitation occurred when podcasters code-switched through sonic mimicry, which was possible in this unregulated digital industry that television and radio would likely disallow as unprofessionally mocking and exaggerated rather than seemingly natural (Bottomley, 2020). Letecia Rose (*Decoding Black* – Centennial), Brittany Luse (*Safe Space* – Torstar), Maria Qamar (*Campus* – CBC), Hayden King (*Red Road Podcast* – The Red Road Podcast), and Courtney Skye (*Red Road Podcast* – The Red Road Podcast) embraced podcasting's openly dialogical space to distance themselves aurally from mainstream cultural values of what voices are expected to sound like in media spaces rather than be prejudicial through sonic mimicry. Podcasters can perform exaggerated oral impersonations using intonation and accent directed at the absurd assumption that certain vocal sounds belong to certain races or are of higher social value than others (Crook, 2012; Dolar, 2012; Eidsheim, 2019; Stoever, 2016). Podcasters can *un*mask themselves in this way to speak and sound how they want to, or as their authentic "true" selves, while also satirically masking themselves by evoking multiple voices to relationally distance their cultural identities from White communities. Podcasters can use their voices to sonically represent their own thoughts and perspectives and distance themselves from those they are speaking about, whether White-majority groups generally (as Rose, King and Skye did) or specific people (as Luse and Qamar did).

This chapter's podcasts also employed accent and intonation to unmask authentic regional or ethnic identity that is culturally learned rather than inherent (Wright, 2022). This was

especially noticeable in podcasts with Indigenous Elder guests, including in *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada – residential school Survivors) and *Kiwew* (CBC – Donald Robertson), who voiced "ancestral" accents reflecting their cultural upbringings. The distinction between ancestral accent and "Canadian" accent is a potential product of English language education enforcing a normalized way of sounding in Canada grounded in colonial systems. Murray Munro (2003) argues that accent "may be used to identify someone as 'foreign' or 'different' and that can serve as an excuse for discriminatory treatment" (p. 39). Some Indigenous peoples have internalized this ancestral accent or sounding "Indigenous" as appearing uneducated and therefore have consciously altered their voices to align with the sounds and dialects of White-majority groups (Ahtone, 2017; Armstrong et al. 2020; Newmark, Walker, & Stanford, 2016). For example, Indigenous peoples may speak differently in familial (Indigenous-only) settings versus institutional (historically White-majority) settings where listener expectations vary based on the cultural context (Newmark, Walker, & Stanford, 2016). However, guests' accented voices in *Residential Schools* and *Kiwew* suggested that podcasts produced by and about cultural groups associated with a particular accent can invite people of that group to authentically unmask without conforming to settler expectations of "educated" sound and speech discriminatorily attributed to White communities.

This argument does not insist that Indigenous podcasters in this study who did not have an ancestral accent or who sound "Canadian" were purposely masking their voices to evade Indigenous identification. Rather, the prominence of the "Canadian" accent in this project, aside from Elder voices in *Residential Schools* and *Kiwew*, underscored the implicit influence of colonial speech education on various accents and dialects, potentially initialized in residential schools. Casillas and Stoever (2020) suggest that deviating accents and dialects "can end up promoting a form of social respectability defined by dominant White norms of language, voice, and sound" (p. 58). Contrastingly, *Residential Schools* Elders/Survivors and Donald Robertson from *Kiwew* voiced ancestral accents outside settler media spaces traditionally possessing normative expectations. Denis Dutton (2003) applies the term "expressive authenticity" to "an object's character as a true expression of an individual's or a society's values and beliefs" (p. 259). This chapter's findings suggest that people can use podcasting as an "authentically expressive" object to sonically express themselves as they regularly sound in everyday life

without having to conform to normative sonic expectations of settler communities in settler media spaces.

Overall, this chapter suggests that voice provides two functions for authentically producing identity. Dario Llinares (2018) argues that identity formation through voice is difficult to determine "because of the interchangeable allusion to the acoustics of the voice" (p. 139). A podcaster can use their regular speaking voice that authentically belongs to them, but they can also alter their voice to authentically impersonate others based on racial, ethnic, (inter)national, or regional affiliations. Voice can be used in either practice to embellish a culture's sound that is learned in certain contexts/environments rather than biologically or naturally determined. Podcasters therefore can choose to combat institutionalized standards of "proper" sounding voices and speech associated with White-majority groups while also contrasting multiple sounding voices in a conversational exchange or during a podcast episode to aurally distance themselves. Podcasting's unregulated industry and the voice's transformative ability complement each other since people can authentically represent themselves sonically in their own ways, which may not align with settler expectations of certain sounding voices associated with "educated" and "proper" values (Bottomley, 2020). Simultaneously, voice offers an additional layer of meaning beyond linguistic content grounded in podcasting's orally dominant communication mode.

Soundworks

Podcasters can also use the medium's digital capabilities to combine voice, music, and actuality sounds for authentically recreating memories/experiences, collating disparate conversations, and affecting emotional responses. Music and digital production support what podcasters say and how they sound to produce realities that are not attainable through words or images alone (Llinares, 2018). Rather, audio components from different texts can work together in different ways to produce unique soundworks that aurally mimic podcaster life experiences. Paddy Scannell (2001) argues that a production of or about an experience is authentic based on "whether that occasion 'comes off' as the thing it was meant and intended to be" (p. 408). For example, Jesse Thistle reimagined his childhood Christmas and his robbery in *Campus* (CBC) (Leung, 2017) through recreated scenes that sensorially "come off" as his lived experience.

Thistle's authentic recreations contextualized how his childhood, stemming from Indigenous intergenerational trauma, influenced his drug addiction and homelessness. The episode speaks to a larger narrative of perpetual crises across Indigenous communities sprouting from Canada's dark colonial past. David A. Robertson's podcast soundwork in *Kiwew* (CBC) was not a recreation of his past experiences but was instead a documentation about recent experiences, which "came off" as an existential journey for him to learn more about his Cree identity from his family. Robertson interweaved interviews from his memoir and studio narration to authentically intimate his relationship with his father, his experience on the trapline, and his research into his heritage that reflected his experience investigating and writing *Black Water*. He carries the listener through this journey, including through his childhood, using his voice and the conversations he has with others that melancholic music underlay to authentically reflect the difficulty but ultimate gratification he felt through this experience.

Podcasters can reproduce their realities through sensorial audio construction using actuality sound and music to represent identity (Spinelli & Dann, 2019). Hilmes (2020) argues that "sound remains the most analytically neglected of the major modes of human expression, especially when unaccompanied by a visual component (p. 340). Omitting visual cues forces podcasters to foreground sound for communicating meaning. Music is one soundwork component that podcasters in this chapter used to transmit identity and experience. Christmas music accompanied Thistle's recollection of his childhood Christmas holidays without his father whose absence Thistle articulated was a result of residential schools. Villainous music heard on historical television programs perpetuating a discriminatory image of the "Indian" accompanied Robertson's childhood recollection playing "indians and cowboys" when he misunderstood the game's discriminatory aspects. In both cases, music aurally situated the listener in a specific period that informed, and was informed by, individual cultural identity. Furthermore, music transmitted sonic cues from popular culture texts that aimed to affect an emotional response these podcasters felt themselves historically or during their podcast reflections. Matías Martínez (2020) explained that testimonies grounded in subjective experiences produce authentic "eye-witnesses" (p. 826). Podcasters can use music as a storytelling device to transport listeners narratively and as a representation of an eye-witness account at a particular moment that helped inform the podcaster's self-concept and worldview.

Kiwew (CBC) and *Campus* (CBC) also used actuality sound to repurpose and recreate older memories, conversations, and events. Actuality sound typically refers to audio recorded during a live event. I extend this definition to sounds that mimic what *has* happened historically because both live and recreated audio reflect a podcaster's subjective experience. Again, authentic podcast recreations benefit from accurate recreation or repurposing of old interactions (Scannell, 2001). *Kiwew*'s actuality sound came from repurposed phone conversations with Robertson's cousin and live conversations with Robertson's father. Both conversation types invited listeners into private moments with Robertson's family about his childhood interpretation of his Indigenous identity and his father's education about Cree history. *Campus*'s actuality sound spawned from the recreation of Thistle's adult experience robbing a convenient store and his childhood Christmas. *Campus* digitally constructed various sonic elements mimicking Thistle's lived experiences since the original robbery and childhood holidays were not recorded when they happened. Listeners relive these scenes with the podcasters rather than simply being told what had happened. Photini Vrikki and Sarita Malik (2019) argue that knowledge is rooted in lived experiences. Indeed, being authentic "is tied to the ideal of gaining self-knowledge and thinking critically about who one truly is" (p. 570). Podcasters used actuality sound to represent lived experiences that demonstrated their self-knowledge. Self-knowledge reflects authentic expression because people can establish a "personal presentation of self" (Peterson, 2005, p. 1090) grounded in their lived experiences. Additional audio can accurately represent fleeting memories that contain knowledge from the perspectives of people who remember them. In this way, podcasters can repurpose or add actuality sound to reflect a "personal presentation of self" grounded in how they understand an experience that informed their sense of identity today while also sensorially transporting listeners to that lived reality (Spinelli & Dann, 2019). Actuality sound and linguistic content convey aural immersion together representing how podcasters understand their experiences through purposely selected audio elements that discursively reflect their sense of selves retrospectively.

Producing authentic sonic representations audiences can identify with requires using a shared system of representation. Generally, representations allow people to communicate how they understand the world through a shared system of language that other people interpret and make meaning from themselves. Stuart Hall (2013b) defines representation as "the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and

language which enables us to *refer to* [original emphasis] either the 'real' world of objects, people or events" (p. 3). A representation succeeds in communicating a person's idea if the interpreter is familiar with the representation and the discourse being used to produce it. Jenny Davis (2019) adds that "interactions are all premised on all parties agreeing on the definition of the situation, and agreeing on who each person is within the situation" (p. 95). In other words, listeners need to be familiar with sounds podcasters use to understand what meanings podcasters are trying to communicate based on the technical resources available to both podcasters and listeners.

Kiwew used a dial tone and static during Robertson's conversations with his cousin Shane that reflected a phone call, which in turn possessed multiple potential meanings like privacy, intimacy, or distance based on a listener's interpretive and cultural context. *Campus*'s use of police sirens may represent safety for the convenience store clerk being robbed as equally as danger for Thistle who committed the robbery and is now being chased. Charles Taylor (1992) argues that social norms dictate authenticity through relationship building. Simply put, a person's experiences and self-concept are deemed "true" or authentic based on their acceptance from others who judge such conceptions through shared social norms related to the experience or self-concept they are evaluating. Thus, listeners unfamiliar with the social norms of phones or police sirens and additional audio representing a particular emotion or experience may misunderstand the sound's meaning since sounds possess a variety of potential meanings that do not always align with a producer's intention. Yet in podcasting, voice helps podcasters contextualize why these sounds are employed and what they represent in the larger narrative. Sound can therefore be used as an additional layer of meaning to supplement what podcasters are already saying to represent and heighten authentic individual expression through a system of representation they believe they share with listeners. Podcasters can also use their voices to contextualize for listeners across cultural boundaries.

The multiple ways podcasters use sound alongside speech in this chapter suggests that there is no formulaic way to employ audio. Both *Kiwew* and *Campus* are unique podcasts despite their shared affiliation with CBC and its professional resources that fulfill listener expectations of high-quality content based on its broadcasting history (Clark & McLean, 2020). For example, *Kiwew*'s actuality sound in Robertson's personal recordings were not always high-quality audio, including the implementation of his visit to his father's trapline when the natural wind muffled

much of what was said. Contrastingly, *Campus* recreated scenes through studio production alongside host Leung's audible narration rather than recording live events. Thus, a major difference was that Robertson's narrative was based on live recordings of himself whereas Thistle's narrative was recorded in-studio retrospectively despite both podcasts sharing a storytelling format. Various audio implementations in this chapter indicate that podcasts can function as authentic soundworks in unique ways without having to conform to how people are expected to speak, and works are expected to sound, in other industry spaces. Martin Montgomery (2001) argues that traditional broadcasting is not a "natural" site for authentic representation because of scripted formats, confined scheduling, and news or programming bulletins. Podcasts do not have to conform to certain narrative structures or use high-quality audio consistently based on traditional broadcasting expectations.

Podcasters can use music and actuality sound to authentically represent lived experiences in their own ways that helped inform their self-knowledge while performing a storytelling function. Repurposing recorded events is one way for podcasters to represent themselves and their experiences as they actually happened. Alternatively, podcasters can use podcasting's digital capabilities to recreate lived experiences that are no longer accessible but reflect significant moments informing who they became. Both repurposed and reconstructed experiences offer authentically subjective representations to audiences about what podcasters find meaningful from their own memories that informed their lives today.

8.4: CONCLUSIONS

These findings suggest that podcast studies scholars can analyze how the sound of people's voices articulate cultural identities through learned characteristics like intonation and accent. Katie Moylan (2018) uses the term "accented radio" to insist that content and production are diverse across ethnic media as a form of cultural production. "Thus, accented radio enables us to listen for identity articulation through uses of voice and delivery within a localized format" (Moylan, 2018, p. 286). Moylan's term can be applied to podcasts since podcasts and radio share an audio modality (Bottomley, 2020; Hilmes, 2013a; Madsen & Potts, 2010; Markman, 2015; Sterne et al., 2008). Therefore, "accented *podcasting*" can be applied to how people use their

regular voice or impersonate others to distinguish themselves in relation to settler values of certain sounding voices typically associated with White communities.

Voice is a sonic tool available to everyone in podcasting who can speak "authentically" as they regularly do in everyday life without the incursion of societal values or who can impersonate others to referentially situate their own identities. As Llinares (2018) suggests, "personality, identity, experience and knowledge are intrinsically articulated, not just through the words spoken or ideas expressed, but within the very sound of the voice in all its textures, complexities uncertainties and emotional valences" (p. 141). Soundworks also help podcasters authentically represent experiences that have helped inform their understandings of their identities and their sociocultural positions. Podcasters can use sound as a system of representation to produce meaning about past experiences that have informed their self-concepts. Podcasting can be especially beneficial for authentically communicating identity sonically across communities that revert to oral storytelling practices rather than relying on the written and visual cues of colonial communication.

Podcasting is a pertinent space for transitioning from oral storytelling analogically into a mode of digital storytelling since digital storytelling is built for "empowering and giving voice to individuals and groups traditionally silenced, marginalized, or ignored by mainstream culture" (Clarke & Adam, 2012, p. 159). Podcasters can use recording and editing technology to circulate narratives widely that have been tethered to individual memory but contain specific ideas, lessons, knowledge, and perspectives that may be harder to access analogically or are unfamiliar to listeners. Dowling and Miller (2019) argue that "podcasting is part of an explosion of immersive storytelling in digital publishing, whose success is not only a factor of developments in audio technology, but also experimentation in reporting and storytelling" (p. 169). Productive freedom enables podcasters to use sound in different ways, to manipulate or unmask traditionally undervalued voices, to digitally impose audio samples, to redistribute live recordings, and to create immersive audio that authentically self-represent how they sound in everyday life. Additionally, podcasters can represent past experiences that have informed their current understanding of their identities through oral storytelling and sensorial audio immersion. Listeners can identify with podcaster experiences or learn from them using sound as a shared and familiar system of representation available in everyday interactions and online across

sociocultural boundaries. Listeners who are unfamiliar with the sounds they hear can still rely on a podcaster's contextual narration.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

"There are other stories that are out there, they're all across the land and they move like the waters right across the plains and through the woodlands. They're there, everywhere on the land, waiting. Like stores of buffalo meat, right? Buried under the snow, waiting to be found." - Jesse Archibald-Barber, *Stories from the Land*, "Jesse Archibald Barber"

In the *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) podcast episode "Jesse Archibald Barber," Cree professor Dr. Jesse Archibald-Barber from oskana kâ-asastêki shared Plains Cree Chief Thunderchild's stories that were unspoken for many years before Edward Ahenakew recorded them. Archibald-Barber's goal was to emphasize Indigenous literature's existence, much of which he believes is still waiting to be discovered in Canada. Archibald-Barber therefore encouraged Indigenous peoples to share stories grounded in their Indigenous identities across "the land." Podcasts can help people, like Archibald-Barber, share stories that may not be heard otherwise across geographical spaces. This dissertation's podcasts produced by, and about, various cultural publics in Canada demonstrated the medium's openly dialogical and expressive potential. Podcasters and guests approached subject matter in their own ways and expressed their opinions and experiences representing their authentic values and beliefs informing their sociocultural positions.

This chapter summarizes key findings related to the study's research questions, followed by a review of the dissertation's main contributions to podcast studies and potential areas for future research. Based on these summative goals, this chapter contextualizes this dissertation's four discussion chapters relating to podcasting's potential for people to represent themselves and their communities linguistically and sonically online in Canada. Additionally, this chapter provides a self-reflexive culmination of the study from my dual position as a settler researcher and as an avid podcast listener. I partially use this chapter to subjectively reflect on my analytic research process and writeup to provide context about the meanings I interpreted from my findings.

9.1: KEY FINDINGS

This study aimed to address if podcasters from various cultural groups in Canada used podcasting to articulate their own identities and represent themselves and their communities through sonic and linguistic production. Based on a sample of public and non-public podcasts produced between 2015-2020, the following research questions were proposed:

1) How do podcasters linguistically self-represent cultural identity?
2) Does podcasting help augment Canadian history?
3) Do podcasters in Canada self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity?
4) How do podcasters use sound to represent identity and experience through voice, music, and additional audio?

This section will summarize my key findings.

Research Question One

The first question the study posed was: How do podcasters linguistically self-represent cultural identity? National identity in Canada purports an innate connection and shared history between all people born or living on the landmass now called Canada (Hall, 1992). Yet the experiences of all people within Canada are different, including within and across cultural groups that have their own ancestral histories and experiences. People have the option to identify as "Canadian" with its various meanings and express how these affiliations inform their sense of selves in Canada through media like podcasting. From a national perspective, the findings from Chapter 5 indicated that non-Indigenous podcasters in this study often used the "Canadian" label to situate where they live or to establish an affiliation with other people in Canada, but they also extended their identification to local, multinational, and diasporic memberships that they argued informed their experiences and worldviews. Alternatively, Indigenous podcasters in this study never used the "Canadian" label when introducing themselves or when referring to their sense of selves. Instead, they used a pan-Indigenous label or named a specific tribal/national affiliation with a geographic region to situate their self-concepts informing the values and beliefs that they applied to their podcast topics.

The findings suggest that podcasters rejected the "Canadian" label or represented their regionally-, multinationally-, or diasporically specific cultural experiences outside the supposedly "shared" history of all Canadians constituting national comradery. Stuart Hall (2019) argues, "Identity is not something which is formed outside and then we tell stories about it. It is that which is narrated in one's own self" (p. 70). Furthermore, identity is always represented, and thus conceived, in relation to what it is not. People use language as a system of representation to articulate what their identities mean to them in relation to what they are not. Podcasters in this study linguistically conceived their cultural identities partially through the naming of geographical and cultural labels outside or in addition to the "Canadian" label. There was never discussion about being only Canadian or what being part of "Canadian" culture even meant. The use of additional affiliations suggested that podcasters defined themselves culturally beyond a homogeneous Canadian label since other locative identities informed how they understand the world and their sociocultural positions within it.

Indigenous podcasters in this study did not refer to themselves as "Canadians," but instead identified with national/tribal groups from specific regions (e.g., Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nation). Naming national/tribal affiliation linguistically related to what other nations or cultures are not, including Canada. Podcasters identified themselves through this labelling in opposition to the perceived shared culture and history of all people born in Canada or residing in Canada as Canadian when affiliating with non-Canadian localities. Podcasters within this study did not identify with any shared Canadian history that in dominant discursive constructions includes innocent exploration, peaceful settlement, and perpetual egalitarian coexistence (Mackey, 1999; Vowel, 2016). Indigenous podcasters in this study also self-represented their cultural identity in opposition to Canadian national identity using, or referencing, non-English and non-French languages.

Although naming or labelling is one form of expressing identity, spoken language as a shared system of representation also partially defines one's sense of culture. Eric Hobsbawm (1996) argues that national languages are implemented institutionally through education and other facets of public life for cross-national and cross-cultural communication. English and French languages are remnants of British and French colonialism that aim to homogenize linguistic cultural practices across groups through forced assimilation (Morton, 1972). Other languages can become used less frequently when standardizing English and French, even if these

other languages have been used on the land now called Canada before the country's institutional development. Thus, the use of, or reference to, non-English and non-French languages was as an explicitly oppositional cultural practice situating non-Canadian national and cultural identity.

Indigenous podcasters in this study used Indigenous languages intertwined with the English language. A podcast may selectively use indigenous languages because the podcaster does not have an extensive vocabulary of their Indigenous language or because they want to appeal to a larger audience that understands English. However, selectively using Indigenous languages demonstrated an attempt for cultural sustenance and colonial resistance. Recorded passages reasserted the languages' existence while also privileging certain information for listeners who understand the podcaster's cultural language. Indigenous podcasters also referred to the cultural power of Indigenous languages in their stories. The use of, or referral to, Indigenous languages affirmed Indigenous cultural identity and specific tribal identities. Podcasters represented their Indigenous cultural identities linguistically when not using standardized "Canadian" languages, whether consciously or not.

However, most podcasters across non-settler communities in this study spoke English. If we consider language as a system for representing culture, then using English as a Canadian national language partially exhibits Canadian cultural identity. In this way, podcasters across this study exhibited Canadian cultural identity, even implicitly. Yet the use of English in podcasting could have alternative interpretations that do not insist on a self-representation of a strictly Canadian identity because English is conceived as *the* global language. Simply put, English belongs to all Western-influenced nations rather than Canada alone. Thus, podcasters in this study may have used English because it was the only language they knew. Speaking English signals colonial influence that is difficult to avoid in a Western nation and may not reflect a podcaster's conscious effort to represent Canadian cultural identity linguistically.

Podcasters authentically represented their cultural identities when labelling themselves and explaining the meaning of such labels to their sense of selves or when using and referring to their cultural languages. Authenticity stemmed from podcasters telling original stories related to their cultural sense of selves, closely repeating languages authentic to their cultures, performing oration over colonially influenced writing, matching their "character" and values to the words and labels they shared, presenting themselves as they hear themselves to truly be, and controlling their own linguistic representations in their own ways that reflect who they are. Collectively,

these attributes demonstrated podcasting's support for people to be their authentic selves linguistically because they controlled everything that they said across episodes in their own ways rather than being linguistically defined by others.

Overall, this study forwards that podcasters can name self-concepts with local, multinational, and diasporic labels beyond a "Canadian" label and its cultural connotations. Podcasters can also outrightly dismiss the use of the term "Canadian" to self-represent opposing cultural identities. Furthermore, podcasters can critique, and thus reject, the institutional facilitation of Canadian cultural identity through tribal-specific languages. Podcasters can use or refer to non-English and non-French languages that contribute to Canadian national identity through a shared system of representation. There was a predominant use of English in this study that contrarily suggests podcasters using a standardized national language implicitly exhibit Canadian cultural identity. However, it could equally be argued that English as a global language does not belong to Canadian culture alone but represents colonialism on a larger scale. Thus, podcasters using English are not explicitly representing Canadian cultural identity, but using the medium to reassert their own cultural-languages or cultural labels in tandem with a global language to entice a wider listenership that can understand speech about their expressed cultural identities.

Research Question Two

The second question the study posed was: Does podcasting help augment Canadian history? National, institutional media and education often dismiss, control, or omit many community experiences in Canadian history (Vowel, 2016). The omission, dismissal, and control of different cultural group experiences in Canada is especially significant because history is a foundational component to understanding one's ancestral position related to national identity. People may feel like they do not belong in Canada if their cultural experiences in Canada are infrequently addressed or uncelebrated despite their existence. According to Hall (1992), national identity is partially constructed through a myth of shared history and experience for those inside the nation's borders. In Canada, British and French settler histories and cultural practices have represented Canadian national identity, automatically making all other histories and practices discursively non-Canadian. Histories and cultural practices deemed Canadian represent only a

fraction of the nation despite the multicultural demographic of Canada and the nation's recent rhetoric around Canada's multicultural image (Hogarth & Fletcher, 2018). This study was partially framed around podcasting as a potential mass medium for helping augment or expand on histories and experiences about non-settler communities from their own perspectives that have been historically excluded from institutional spaces.

Expanding cultural history through podcasting can offer more representative narratives about Canada's current demographic historically. Common themes in this study about various cultural histories included Indigenous land connection, residential schooling, intergenerational trauma, and Black history and education. These four themes represented multiple group histories that podcasters shared in their own ways to celebrate or acknowledge their ancestral existence in Canada. Based on these narrative topics, the findings from Chapter 6 suggest three ways that podcasting can help elaborate on and popularize more diverse experiences in Canadian history against the monolithic representations that settler institutions historically produced about British and French settler experiences in Canada as *the* Canadian history.

People can use podcasting to establish counter-discursive histories about the groups they identify with rather than having "outsiders" represent them. This study's findings suggested that podcasters can become authentically authoritative speakers of history who help represent ancestral experiences from subjective positions through (hi)storytelling (Cuffe, 2019). Black and Indigenous podcasters in this study became authorities about their own ancestral histories opposing traditionally institutional representations of non-settler histories in Canada that favour a supposedly "objective" approach. Podcasters subjectively expressed their experiences in Canada that contributed to a larger group history informing how they conceive of their cultural identities. Podcasters also contextualized other people's subjective testimonies that spoke to the lived experiences of directly affected people rather than having people outside their group histories speak for them. In both instances, podcasters from various cultural groups whose ancestral histories in Canada have been misrepresented or underrepresented used their podcast's free-flowing and unregulated nature to share their subjective experiences as authentically authoritative truth expanding understandings of a more diverse Canadian history.

This study's findings further suggested that podcasts themselves can function educationally. Podcasts allow multiple voices to be heard that may be unavailable elsewhere. This availability deepens what people can learn about different historical experiences and

cultural practices that may be infrequently taught or underrepresented in schools and by media outlets. Multiple histories transmitted in these podcasts, like residential schools, have been excluded from Canadian history's dominant discursive construction until recently. Podcasts can include authentic, repurposed audio recordings from people who have passed away, which allow the texts themselves to function educationally and be transmitted generationally within and across cultural groups through streaming or downloading (Swiatek, 2018). Distributing educational podcasts can expand citizen knowledge about Canada's history, the remnants of which are still felt today even within the education system itself. People are no longer restricted to in-person or visual modes of learning about Canadian history but can listen to people who have lived, or are directly affected by, underrepresented ancestral experiences. Thus, podcasts are available online to offer potential intragroup and intergroup education reflecting Canada's current demographic historically and currently that people see themselves reflected in or can learn about.

Yet despite the ability for podcasters and guests to become authentic authorities on their ancestral experiences and the ability for podcasts to function as authentically educational texts, there is no guarantee podcasting will encourage everyone to reimagine Canadian history. Hall (2013b) notes that representations of identities are more likely to be accepted as truth if they are transmitted abundantly and perpetuate the same narrative or idea. Abundant representations about the same narrative create a "regime of representation" (p. 222). Dominant constructions about Canadian history perpetuated through the same settler narratives have been widely accepted as truth institutionally through systems like media and education. Podcasts can similarly transmit narratives about non-settler histories and experiences in Canada, but it is not guaranteed that these narratives will be accepted publicly since these narratives have not been perpetuated on a national scale. A podcast can contribute to a "counter-regime" of representation, but its narrative must exist across consumptive spaces to expand its reach. This does not mean that podcast testimonies about different ancestral histories in Canada are unbelievable, nor that outsiders need to accept these histories. Yet narratives benefit from being abundantly transmitted in multiple spaces for others to increasingly encounter and engage with, which can encourage people to approach Canadian history from a different perspective on a national scale. Podcasts and their transmedia storyworlds can coalesce into counter-regimes that

exist online for deeper engagement with Canadian history outside settler experiences and perspectives.

This study suggests that podcasting helps augment Canadian history since podcasters tell educational stories from authentically authoritative and experienced positions. The fact that podcasts exist online means that anyone can hear these voices and authentic stories moving forward. There is no guarantee that national publics will engage with these counter-regimes due to the number of podcasts existing online. However, podcasts can, at the very least, attempt to enrich Canadian history for listeners who have access to these podcasts as educational texts that cultural authorities voice and make available online.

Research Question Three

The third question the study posed was: Do podcasters in Canada self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race or ethnicity? People's identity labels are typically defined in relation to others. For example, someone may identify racially as Black, meaning they do not identify with another race. Someone may identify nationally as Canadian, meaning they are not American, British, etc. An identity label is shared with some people and not with others in both these cases. However, just because people share an identity label does not mean they have the same opinions, perspectives, or apply the same understandings to what that label means. Everyone has an intersectional makeup of multiple identity labels that they apply their own meanings to and that their values and beliefs inform. These identifications uniquely shape worldviews and how people interpret their experiences. Thus, group representations do not always reflect the perspectives and experiences of everyone within that identity group despite members associating the same identity label with their self-concepts. Patricia Hill Collins (2003) terms this phenomenon of intragroup diversity "heterogeneous commonality."

Many cultural groups have historically been represented stereotypically and homogeneously through institutional representations that a small number of people, typically from settler communities, who have access to mass media have produced. Western representations of non-White racial groups and non-settler ethnic groups is especially impactful in perpetuating public understandings of these groups if these images and descriptions are

abundant and overrepresented. Popular narratives across social spaces can contribute to a regime of representation that illustrates settler communities as possessing supposedly superior social, cultural, political, and economic values (Fleras, 2011; Mahtani, 2001). My study was interested in how podcasters from different cultural groups in Canada used podcasting to authentically self-represent beyond monolithic representations of race and ethnicity that contest historically homogeneous and stereotypical Western representations. Critical discourse coding identified four prominent episodic themes across this study focusing on social identities related to, or beyond, race or ethnicity: 1) Profession/career, 2) Politics, 3) Athletics/sport, and 4) Mental health/ability. This study was also interested in how podcasters attributed their individual experiences and perspectives reflecting broader community concerns. Collins's (2003) "heterogenous commonality" and Kimberlé Crenshaw's (1991) "intersectionality" incited these analyses about diverse intragroup perspectives that authentically represent each podcaster's self-concept related to their identity communities.

The findings discussed in Chapter 7 suggest that podcasters addressed experiences related to their athletics, employment, politics, and mental health to self-represent their intersectionality beyond monolithic representations of race and ethnicity. If podcasters did talk about race or ethnicity, they contextualized how their understanding of their racial or ethnic identity influenced their athletic pursuits, their professional development, their political viewpoints, or their mental health approaches. For example, some podcast guests discussed how their race influenced their experiences playing sports or how their ethnicity influenced difficulty in the workplace. Podcasts in this study that were thematically centered around a shared racial or ethnic identity included *Black Tea* (Frequency Podcast Network)*, Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network)*, My Blackness, My Truth* (CKDU)*, Portraits of Black Canadians* (RCI)*, New Fire* (CBC)*, The Red Road Podcast* (The Red Road Podcast), *Residential Schools* (Historica Canada), and *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy). Otherwise, podcasters explained how athletics, employment, politics, or mental health independently informed their sense of self. Podcasts like *Campus* (CBC) and *Mic Drop* (CBC) did not concentrate on a particular racial or ethnic group, but the stories podcasters and guests shared included some explanation about how they racially or ethnically identified. Multiple podcast representations produced in this study suggested that the podcasters embraced podcasting's openly dialogical space to voice themselves how they wanted to rather than having others represent them stereotypically or homogeneously. Race and

ethnicity appeared to be key components of how podcasters identified themselves and understood their experiences, but there were additional identifications like sport, career, politics, or mental health that were equally informative in how one interpreted their experiences uniquely from others.

There was also commonality across cultural representations. For example, multiple podcasters in this study who identified as Black women addressed mental health, including Jayde Symone *(My Blackness, My Truth* – CKDU), Josephine Mwanvua (*Born and Raised* – HuffPost), and Celina Caesar-Chavannes (*Black Tea* – Frequency Podcast Network). Photini Vrikki and Sarita Malik (2019) argue that podcasts help hosts and guests "explore issues that interest or concern them. The presence of the audience offers new opportunities for public, personal and political articulations that often go unheard" (p. 285). Although being more than just a Black woman in Canada shaped each podcaster's own experiences with mental health, these podcasters commonly voiced the need for more mental health awareness and support across Black Canadian communities. This example suggested that there may be common concerns amongst shared identity communities that understandings of race or ethnicity socially/culturally inform. However, the individual representations of these podcasters' different experiences and perspectives illustrated how these common concerns can be manifested beyond racial or ethnic intersectionality.

Overall, this study suggests that people in Canada can use podcasts to self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race and ethnicity. Podcasts appear to be beneficial tools for people from various cultures to authentically define themselves within an open space in their own words. Podcasts in this study across public and non-public settings voiced intersectional representations and areas of common concern foregrounding individual perspectives. Podcasts like *Campus* (CBC) were explicitly developed for sharing people's stories related to a specific topic, but guests narrated and controlled their own representations that often reflected broader cultural identities. Podcasters and guests were invited to share their own perspectives beyond racial or ethnic labels even when podcasts concentrated on racial or ethnic identity as their driving subject matter. For example, *Black Canadian Content Creators* (Chonilla Network) focused on Black creatives, but each podcast guest shared their unique professional experiences. *Black Tea*

(Frequency Podcast Network) focused on Black communities, but guests expressed themselves beyond their racial identity to address broader themes.

Podcasters and guests embraced the free-flowing conversational format for people to authentically express themselves how they wanted to regardless of the podcast topic/theme (Florini, 2015). Podcasters exhibited common concerns within shared identity communities that were grounded in their own experiences and sense of self. All podcasters whose speech was analyzed in Chapter 7 were simultaneously animators, authors, and principals of the podcast's subject matter (Goffman, 1981). The podcasters were able to express themselves vocally using their own words that reflected how they felt about themselves and the subject matter related to each episodic theme around a social identity label. This communicative ability facilitated authentic expression since each podcaster defined their self-concept from a self-controlled position.

Research Question Four

The fourth question the study posed was: How do podcasters use sound to represent identity and experience through voice, music, and additional audio? The first three research questions were predominantly answered through critical discourse analysis. This research question was predominantly answered through sound analysis. Chapter 8 analyzed how podcasts produced an additional layer of meaning about identity beyond language as a system of representation. Part of this analysis was grounded in how podcasters used accent and intonation to sonically separate themselves from vocal characteristics that are associated with White communities and higher social values. Chapter 8 also employed Michele Hilmes's (2013b) use of "soundwork" to interpret how podcasts produced meaning through the sound of the voice, the use of music, and the implementation of actuality sound from live recordings and digitally added audio. These various sonic components functioned together as a system of representation beyond language when podcasters transmitted experiences that fundamentally informed their sense of selves.

Accented and intonated vocals were the first sonically analytic components of podcaster identity. Accent and intonation could be divided into two categories: 1) Regular and 2) Impersonated. Podcasters' regular speaking voices in this study did not lend themselves to any racial identification since sound is not biologically determined (Eidsheim, 2019; Stoever, 2016),

nor did these voices easily lend themselves to ethnic identification (Khamkar, 2015; Moylan, 2018). Podcasts in this study predominantly included a regularly spoken "Canadian" accent that reflected what most people internationally would term a northern "American" accent despite its distinction within and across North America (Rogers, 2016). In other words, there was no British-sounding accent despite Canada's colonial history. *Seat at the Table* (CBC) and *Portraits of Black Canadians* (RCI) were the only podcasts with French-influenced accents enculturated in Quebec.

Podcasters used impersonation to sonically distance themselves from sounds popularly applied to settler, White communities. Podcasters authentically voiced themselves how they normally sounded in other episodes and then altered their voices to a low monotone with "proper English" to impersonate their sonic observations of White men or used a higher tone to impersonate White women to sonically distance themselves. The exaggerated impersonation created a distinction for podcasters rejecting identification with White communities based on the way they perceived White people to sound in North America. Impersonation of a "White" accent had a dual function even though the sound of the voice is culturally influenced rather than biologically determined. Podcasters contrasted their regular speaking voice against the performative "White" accent to authentically represent their own cultural identity sonically since accent is learned. Simultaneously, podcasters and guests rejected and mimed standards of how people are expected to sound in other media like television and radio who perform with a dispassionate delivery while using "proper" English (Llinares, 2018). Podcasters appeared to be speaking in their own ways against these normative and mainstream expectations because podcasting does not require standardized diction.

Podcasters also represented their identities through music and additional audio beyond their voices. I grounded this analysis in *Campus*'s (CBC) "This is What Happens When You Steal People's Land – Part I" and *Kiwew*'s (CBC) "Cree Awakening" as case studies for podcast soundworks. In "This is What Happens When You Steal People's Land – Part I," guest speaker and Métis Cree scholar Jesse Thistle used music and digitally added audio to authentically recount his past, specifically transporting listeners sensorially to a robbery he committed and to a childhood Christmas. Both events formalized his understanding of his Indigenous identity that listeners can identify with or learn from. Podcasting's digital capabilities allowed listeners to sensorially experience Thistle's past even though listeners are unable to visually access Thistle's

memory firsthand. Using music to heighten drama and using familiar sounds to reinvent the robbery and his childhood holidays sensorially recreated Thistle's adolescent journey. Thistle expressed how everything he experienced growing up stems from, at least partially, Indigenous intergenerational trauma grounded in his father's residential school attendance. Thistle's narration and *Campus*'s (CBC) added audio provided key points of self-identification that were previously unrecorded and unavailable to listeners.

Kiwew (CBC) did not add much digital audio except for music to convey host David A. Robertson's emotions at various points when he learned about his Cree identity while researching his memoir, *Black Water*. Robertson's podcast instead included live audio recordings that were interspersed with his studio narration. Listeners were invited to experience Robertson's life and identity from his family and friends' authentic testimonies and perspectives just as he did while recording these conversations. Robertson's interspersed interviews authentically contextualized his childhood and how he neglected to acknowledge his Indigenous heritage that was misrepresented in stereotypical depictions like "Indians and cowboys." *Kiwew'*s soundwork represented Robertson's Cree identity through his personal conversations that he reflected on while also retransmitting his late father's voice that would otherwise have been unavailable to listeners. The original, authentic sound of his father's live recordings contributed to how Robertson understood his Cree identity and heritage and transmitted Robertson's authentic self-concept embedded in his father's insights.

Campus and *Kiwew* used sound to reconstruct and recreate moments that formalized how Thistle and Robertson conceived of their cultural identities. Representations around personal experiences and family histories sensorially offered inaccessible moments for interpreting each podcaster's lived experiences. *Campus* and *Kiwew* used sound as a shared system of representation for audiences to understand podcaster experiences through culturally familiar audio complimenting or supplanting speech. A podcaster can narrate to contextualize unfamiliar sounds for listeners who may not understand the podcaster's intended meaning transmitted in these aural signals. Overall, the study suggests that podcasters can impersonate a supposedly "White" voice that contrasts their regular speaking voice to sonically differentiate themselves as non-White since enculturated and not biologically determined. Podcasters can represent themselves through regular speaking voices that they use in everyday life to reject standardized voicing found in mainstream media. Podcasters can additionally use music and actuality sound to

reconstruct past experiences that informed the meanings they apply to their cultural identities at the time of recording. Podcasting is especially promising for expressing identity because podcasters can authentically and sensorially transport listeners to their unavailable past experiences that informed their sense of selves. Podcasters may even share live recordings that contextualize their past experiences or that were recorded at the actual time of the formative events that influenced their lives moving forward. Podcasting's sound offers an additional layer of meaning beyond language to authentically represent identity through a sensorial experience that listeners can either identify with or learn from through sound as a shared system of representation.

9.2: CONTRIBUTIONS

This dissertation concentrated on podcast production in Canada from various cultural perspectives to contribute globally to podcast studies. There has been an increasing amount of research on race and ethnicity in podcasting, but these studies have predominantly centered on United States and UK production (Barner, 2021; Bratcher, 2021; Brekke, 2020; Florini, 2015, 2017; Fox, Dowling, & Miller, 2020; Jenkins & Myers, 2022; Vrikki & Malik, 2019). My research focused on podcasting within a country that has its own colonial history, demographics, and creative processes. Although American and British podcasting's popularity has influenced podcast production in Canada, the podcasters in this study shared unique perspectives and addressed cultural topics in a Canadian context that are largely unaddressed elsewhere and required distinct cultural analysis.

Part of my analysis combined podcast studies with sound studies, building on the work of Nina Sun Eidsheim (2019) and Jennifer Lynn Stoever (2016) who both argue that voice produces cultural meaning about individuals because voice is learned and not biologically determined. Voice is the primary source of knowledge production and transmission in podcasting, but is a concept often taken for granted. My findings illustrated the voice's power to represent individual identity based on accent and intonation. Voice is culturally shaped and produces identity beyond linguistically and visually representative forms. Voice functions alongside language to produce meaning about lived experiences while respeaking historical and cultural narratives that have been represented institutionally or omitted altogether from dominant Canadian discourse.

Podcasting's ability to foreground voices does not conform to the production standards of institutional broadcasting. Podcasting supports cultural perspectives that have been traditionally peripheral in media production and representation. This study suggests that podcasting's relatively low barriers to access and its onus on creative audio production supports everyday people to voice themselves how they wish. Sonic freedom includes implementing added digital sounds and archival voices to literally hear how communities make sense of their positions in the world related to each podcast's subject matter. Podcasting's unregulated nature additionally offers a space to critically engage with cultural experiences in Canada while collectively confronting social and political issues at the forefront of identity conception alongside aurally produced representations.

My research findings from a cultural studies perspective build on the work of scholars like Stuart Hall whose theories on identity and representation suggest that media help name people using a shared system of representation the public can understand and identify with to construct meaning. These regimes of representation influence public knowledge since they are abundantly engaged with and are thus often understood as uncontestable truth through perpetual discursive dominance in broadcasting forms like radio and television. My study forwarded podcasting's emancipatory potential for podcasters to authentically express themselves openly online and represent their identities in an openly dialogical space against dominant discursive media production and control. Podcasters can accurately create social meaning nationally through language as a tool for distinguishing themselves between chosen identity and determined identity (Gilroy, 2000). Podcasters used the medium's linguistic component to redefine the meanings of their identities while also forming multiple publics around cultural representations communicated to potentially diverse audiences across Canada. In this way, podcasters were able to authentically represent themselves how they wanted to. Authenticity was applied to podcasters whose comments reflected their "true" opinions or how they self-conceptualized, as well as to how podcasters controlled their podcast speech while demonstrating authority over their subject matter grounded in their self-concepts.

These research findings also broadly contribute to Canadian studies with its emphasis on cultural production in Canada. There has not been extensive international influence on how podcasters in Canada voice themselves, their cultural identities, and their cultural histories given podcasting's relative infancy. Podcasters in this study notably centered themselves and their

experiences in their own ways related to Canadian institutional representations even though there are increasingly standardized production practices from the success of public radio and American mainstream podcasts (Mertens, Hoyt, & Morris, 2021). Podcasting's online existence helps podcasters confront Canadian institutions historically and their perpetuating effects on various cultural identities and experiences today that are often underrepresented or infrequently discussed in public Canadian discourse via media and education (Vowel, 2016). This research's Canadian context prioritized the heterogeneous commonality of a diverse demographic that can be heard online across the country.

My research also builds on Paul Gilroy's (2000) argument that a nation is a discourse that produces meanings organizing our ideas about ourselves and our resulting actions, which include stories and memories connecting the past to our present being through formulated, homogeneous images we can identify with. Frances Henry and Carol Tator (2002) add that only people with access to mainstream media production communicate these homogenized representations writ large. Podcasters in this dissertation self-represented against national discourse through audio images of their community histories. Podcasters also confronted the conception of Canadian identity that purports multicultural coexistent and a common history but has favoured European experiences and practices since settlement. Podcasting requires relatively low barriers to access and allows people to breach institutionalized journalistic standards and practices while critiquing the nation from culturally centered experiences because of non-existent regulations and licenses. Podcasts in this study demonstrated an inclination to address un(der)represented community histories across Canada in critical ways through a podcaster's own words.

Podcasting is uniquely experiential in its afforded opportunities for podcasters to openly voice common concerns related to their underrepresented existence in Canada. Vrikki and Malik (2019) argue in their research on Black and Asian podcasting in the UK that podcasters are motivated "to represent themselves and, as they themselves describe it, their 'communities.' The most obvious motivation is the curation of experiences" (p. 285). Narratives can help transmit individual experiences, identities, and cultural histories in Canada that shape understandings of race and ethnicity in the world. Podcasters in this study used the medium to share their opinions and stories in an unregulated and unlicensed industry. Podcasters preserved their cultural histories and ways of knowing that inform their sense of selves. These self-representative texts

now exist in the world, affirming podcasters' cultural identities while potentially creating multiple publics of belonging across Canada.

Overall, this study breached podcast studies, sound studies, cultural studies, and Canadian studies when demonstrating how podcasters within and across cultures can use the inclusionary medium to sonically conceive of and linguistically represent their intersectional identities. This study also underscored how podcasting supports cross-national communication in a relatively accessible format where people can literally be heard through freely accessible texts that address the country's diverse demographic and diverse history. In this way, the findings forward that podcasting enables a more self-representative and accurate audio image of a multicultural Canada from multiple perspectives. Podcasts can represent individual cultural identities rather than Eurocentrically homogenizing the national demographic. Podcasters can also critique institutional histories and rewrite stereotypical depictions of their cultural identities grounded in their experiences that reflect their sense of selves, their values, and their beliefs at the time of recording. Criticism and revision can oppose colonial understandings of Canada today and the homogenous depictions of communities that are a product of the country's history.

Podcast studies scholars can build on this research to emphasize podcasting's globalization. Scholars like Vrikki and Malik (2019), Kim Fox, David Dowling, and Kyle Miller (2020), Sarah Florini (2015), Tegan Bratcher (2021), Briana Barner (2021), and Bryan Jenkins (2022) recognize podcasting's potential for cultures to voice themselves in American and British contexts. My dissertation can be used alongside these works to create a broader understanding of the similarities and differences between nations and their demographics for how podcasters use the medium linguistically and sonically as forms of authentic self-expression, identity representation, digital storytelling, historical rewriting, political mobilization, and community building.

The presentation of my research focalizes the stories and voices of podcasters whose cultures have been traditionally underrepresented in academic spaces. The research process and presentation strived to foreground the podcasters rather than myself as a researcher. Thus, this dissertation model can be applied to future podcast studies research for those subjectively acknowledging their own positionality but hoping to focus on podcaster voices. Practically, podcast networks may adapt this research to identify different ways of producing online narratives and foregrounding voice and sound. Most importantly, this study recognizes and

celebrates the robust podcast community in Canada whose practitioners are creating authentically experiential narratives that represent themselves and speak to a variety of underrepresented demographics nationally. Podcasters in Canada are discussing a variety of topics, addressing multiple publics, and heightening their voices within distinct creative cultures that combat a historical subordination of Canadian media production within global markets.

9.3: LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This dissertation covered only a portion of podcasting in Canada. Although my research surveyed various podcasters and programs through critical discourse analysis (CDA), sound analysis, and interviews, limitations still existed. One limitation was that I only analyzed English-language podcasts because of my monolingual background. Although English is the dominant language across Canada, there are a variety of spoken languages. French-language podcasts are increasingly popular (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2019; Millette, 2011), and there are a variety of Indigenous language podcasts being produced, like the CBC's *Wiih'teh* spoken in East Cree. Future research on cultural podcasting in Canada would benefit from multilingual podcast analyses since language is closely connected to cultural identity and encompasses diverse Canadian demographics (Hobsbawm, 1996; Morton, 1972). My research also did not systematically cover podcasting from each province equally. My sample included geographical variety, but there were no Northern provincial podcasts in my research. Future research would benefit from a cross-national podcast sample highlighting similarities and differences in production and representation provincially.

My White, male positionality potentially limited my research and understanding about the perspectives and experiences of various podcasters who identify with non-settler racial and ethnic communities. Although I analyzed podcaster discourse in episodes, my interpretations were subjectively grounded in my own listening experiences outside these communities. I tried to be cognizant of my biases through the research process to avoid what Dylan Robinson (2020) terms "hungry listening," but there were undoubtedly subconscious biases that informed my listening.[36] Moreover, there are likely certain cultural practices, languages, and sounds in the

[36] Hungry listening "names settler colonial forms of perception. ... [H]ungry listening prioritizes the capture and certainty of information over the affective feel, timbre, touch, and texture of sound" (Robinson, 2020, pp. 2, 38).

podcasts that I did not acknowledge in my analysis. My study highlights the increased need for various communities to conduct this cultural podcast work beyond a settler context like my own despite my belief in the value of intercultural engagement for learning beyond knowledge and context boundaries (Swiatek, 2018). Community-based academic research is needed given the colonial nature of academic institutions and the history of settler researchers mining and representing non-settler cultures in scholarly work. This extraction historically may discourage communities from conducting such research within or alongside academic institutions.

Multiple podcasters in this study indicated issues with settler academia in their podcast episodes. *The Red Road Podcast* (The Red Road Podcast) cohost and scholar Dr. Hayden King noted:

> **Hayden King (HK) [to Courtney Skye]:** We've also got the extractive White person that takes from communities, exploits the labor of communities, the ideas of communities. … People lock their accounts because what was happening is, especially young Indigenous women, were putting all these ideas out on Twitter, and then the next thing you know, they're appearing in academic journals written by non-Native people without, of course, any citation or acknowledgment.
>
> (Skye & King, 2019, May 2, 24:48, 25:03)

Referring to Cree scholar Edward Ahenakew's writing, *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) guest and scholar Dr. Jesse Archibald-Barber also contextualized:

> **Jesse Archibald-Barber (JAB) [to live audience]:** He [Edward Ahenakew] wasn't just some, you know, White anthropologist, you know, from Harvard or Oxford, you know, coming into the prairies to collect some stories for his doctoral dissertation. Ahenakew was off the land, right?
>
> (McMahon & King, 2015, 23:35)

Both King and Archibald-Barber emphasized the importance of having non-settler people write, research, tell stories, and share information about their own communities. Settler Canadians should listen more to different communities in academic spaces while shouldering a large portion

of the burden to build trustful relationships. Opening academic spaces could include continually encouraging creative research outputs rather than requiring written, and thus colonial, knowledge transmission (Smith, 2018). Podcasting itself has been used for research dissemination to literally hear participant voices. Future podcast studies research would benefit from podcasting as a creative output (Cook, 2020; Day et al., 2017; Kinkaid, Emard, & Senanayake, 2020; Lundström & Lundström, 2020; McHugh, 2022; Rogers et al., 2020). Future studies would also benefit from a collaborative methodological design where researchers work with communities and build relationships with podcasters to facilitate participant-centered research across sociocultural, racial, and ethnic boundaries. It was difficult to implement this approach here due to the COVID-19 pandemic during the research phase from 2020-2022. Researchers should increasingly acknowledge their position to the content at the very least.

Finally, future research would benefit from a global comparison of how different cultures across nations self-represent themselves while voicing their cultural histories and experiences. Qualitative methods would be beneficial for this task since, as my research showed, the heterogenous commonality across cultures can differ further across additional intersectional associations like profession and politics. Global comparisons could also be made between different podcast models. For example, future research may benefit from comparing public service media podcasters across geographic regions (e.g., the ABC – Australia, the BBC – Britain, the CBC – Canada, and NPR – United States). Quantitative methods could also build on Kris Markman (2011) and Caroline Sawyer's (Markman & Sawyer, 2014) survey work to capture podcaster motivations across specific podcast models globally. There have been multiple qualitative and quantitative research projects in podcast studies, but this dissertation's qualitative approach sought to understand individual audio expressions and sonic subjectivities across cultures. Qualitatively studying how identity is represented linguistically and sonically through the voice and other podcast audio components is an important, but undertheorized, variable that could reveal interesting insights into how people express themselves sensorially outside written and visual contexts.

CONCLUSIONS

The significance of this dissertation's findings indicate that podcasts help people from various communities in Canada authentically express their cultural sense in Canada related to other "Canadians." Podcasting helps people augment and expand Canadian history through counter-regimes of representation, but the vast number of podcasts online does not guarantee a wide listenership. Yet podcasters in Canada can still use the medium's unregulated structure to apply identity labels like profession, politics, sport, and mental health to their sense of selves that their experiences partially informed in comparison to others within and outside of their communities. Thus, podcasters can authentically self-represent their intersectional identities and identify a sense of community belonging beyond monolithic representations of race and ethnicity. Podcasters can even use the regular sound of their voices or impersonate others to demonstrate their enculturation. Podcasters can also employ music and additional audio in their own ways to recreate informative experiences that helped shape their sense of selves, which listeners can sensorially access. This dissertation revealed podcasting's potential for various communities to authentically express themselves openly and represent their identities in an openly dialogical space. Furthermore, the findings illustrated the power of the voice and audio to communicate lived experiences and restory historical and cultural narratives that have been underrepresented institutionally or omitted altogether from popular Canadian discourse.

Scholars can study multilingual or non-English speaking podcasts as forms of identity representation to extend these findings and contributions. Studies can widen sample sizes geographically across Canadian regions for a more representative audio picture of national podcast production. Additionally, researchers can conduct global comparative analyses on podcast production, narratives, and models. Researchers can even implement more observational and collaborative methods with podcasters to build meaningful community ties while learning about various creative processes. Methodologically, researchers can conduct quantitative analyses to understand people's motivations for podcasting globally or use mixed methods to collect statistical data while maintaining the individual and unique qualitative aspects of podcasters, their productions, and their programs. Podcast research from a broader perspective could benefit from creative delivery outputs, like podcasting itself, where participant voices are literally heard in traditionally exclusionary spaces.

Overall, this dissertation emphasized podcasting's potential as an online space for different communities in Canada to represent their authentic selves, their communities, and their

cultural histories against dominant discourse institutionally produced over time. This dissertation has additionally celebrated Canada's creative linguistic and auditory podcast cultures. The findings offer encouraging insights into how underrepresented and misrepresented people in Canada can use the medium's flexible structure in an unregulated and unlicensed industry moving forward to represent unique and shared experiences and opinions on individual and community levels. Podcasting's potential is especially promising for people to produce stories that are meaningful to their communities beyond monolithic representations in openly dialogical spaces. Podcasters in this study authentically addressed Canada's demographic while publicly contesting the very definition of, and mythologies contributing to, Canada's current standing. Referring to Indigenous stories, *Stories from the Land* (Indian and Cowboy) podcast guest Archibald-Barber stated in this chapter's opening remarks:

> **JAB [to live audience]:** There are other stories that are out there, they're all across the land and they move like the waters right across the plains and through the woodlands. They're there, everywhere on the land, waiting. Like stores of buffalo meat, right? Buried under the snow, waiting to be found.
>
> (McMahon & King, 2015, 28:07)

This dissertation listened to various podcasts demonstrating Canada's heterogenous commonality, but there are undoubtedly more podcasts out there across Canada waiting to be found.

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APPENDIX A: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA) PROTOCOL

Authorial Content

1. **Autobiographical "I":** What identity markers do the podcast participants discuss?
    a. T4: Subject: Main topic/subject, and why it is chosen. What is said about the subject?
    b. T11: Topic + Theme: Topic and theme for each clause (subject and verb) and what the theme is of a set of clauses. Why were these choices made? When the theme is not the subject/topic, and, thus, has deviated from the usual (unmarked) choice, what is it and why was it chosen?
    c. T14: Significance Building: Words and grammatical devices being used to build up or lessen significance (importance, relevance) for certain things and not others.
    d. T16: Identities Building: Socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get others to recognize. How other identities are framed, what identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to their own. How is speaker positioning others? Identities the speaker is "inviting" them to take up.
    e. T19: Relationship Building: Words and grammar being used to connect or disconnect things or ignore connections between things. Words and grammar being used to make things relevant or irrelevant to other things or ignore their relevance to each other.
2. **Agency:** Does the podcast episode transform the meaning of the identity or representation in question?
    a. T8: Vocabulary: Distribution of word types to mark style (register, social language). Contribution to overall meaning.
    b. T9: Why This Way Not That Way: How else this could have been said and what the speaker was trying to mean and do by saying it the way in which he or she did and not in other ways.
    c. T13: Context: How is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it helping to create or shape (possibly even manipulate) what listeners will take as the relevant context?
        i. How is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it helping to reproduce contexts like this one (e.g., podcast interview), that is, helping them to continue to exist through time and space?

ii. Is the speaker reproducing contexts like this one unaware of aspects of the context that if he or she thought about the matter consciously, he or she would not want to reproduce?

iii. Is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it just, more or less, replicating (repeating) contexts like this one or, in any respect, transforming or changing them?

d. T16: Identities Building: Socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get others to recognize. How other identities are framed, what identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to their own. How is speaker positioning others? Identities the speaker is "inviting" them to take up.

e. T25: Intertextuality: How words and grammatical structures (e.g., direct or indirect quotation) are used to quote, refer to, or allude to other "texts" (that is, what others have said or written) or other styles of language (social languages).

f. T26: Figured World: Typical stories or figured worlds the words and phrases of the communication are assuming and inviting listeners to assume. What participants, activities, ways of interacting, forms of language, people, objects, environments, and institutions, as well as values, are in these figured worlds?

3. **Knowledge and Self-Knowledge:** Does the podcast episode provide "new" knowledge or self-knowledge of the podcaster?

a. T1: Diexis: general words used to tie what is said to context and to make assumptions about what listeners already know or can figure out. Aspects of their specific meanings that need to be filled in based on context.

b. T4: Subject: Main topic/subject, and why it is chosen. What is said about the subject?

c. T8: Vocabulary: Distribution of word types to mark style (register, social language). Contribution to overall meaning.

d. T16: Identities Building: Socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get others to recognize. How other identities are framed, what identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to their own. How is speaker positioning others. Identities the speaker is "inviting" them to take up.

e. T17: Relationship Building: Words and various grammatical devices being used to build and sustain or change relationships of various sorts among the speaker, other people, social groups, cultures, and/or institutions.
f. T26: Figured World: Typical stories or figured worlds the words and phrases of the communication are assuming and inviting listeners to assume. What participants, activities, ways of interacting, forms of language, people, objects, environments, and institutions, as well as values, are in these figured worlds?

Historical Contextualization

1. **Authorship and the Historical Moment:** Does the podcast episode refer back to cultural stories that have scripted people as particular kinds of subjects?
    a. T16: Identities Building: Socially recognizable identity or identities the speaker is trying to enact or to get others to recognize. How other identities are framed, what identities the speaker recognizes for others in relationship to their own. How is speaker positioning others? Identities the speaker is "inviting" them to take up.
    b. T26: Figured Worlds: Typical stories or figured worlds the words and phrases of the communication are assuming and inviting listeners to assume. What participants, activities, ways of interacting, forms of language, people, objects, environments, and institutions, as well as values, are in these figured worlds?
2. **Memory:** Is memory accessed? If so, how? (Personal sources: dreams, photos, objects, genealogy, family stories; Private sources: documents, historical events, collective rituals).
    a. T9: Why This Way and Not That Way: How else this could have been said and what the speaker was trying to mean and do by saying it the way in which he or she did and not in other ways.
    b. T15: Activities Building: Activity (practice) or activities (practices) this communication is building or enacting. Activity or activities this communication seeks to get others to recognize as being accomplished. Which social groups, institutions, or cultures support and set norms for whatever activities are being built or enacted.

c. T19: Connections Building: Words and grammar being used to connect or disconnect things or ignore connections between things. Words and grammar being used to make things relevant or irrelevant to other things or ignore their relevance to each other.
d. T20: Cohesion: How cohesion works to connect pieces of information and in what ways. How the text fails to connect other pieces of information. What the speaker is trying to communicate or achieve by using cohesive devices in the way they do.
e. T25: Intertextuality: How words and grammatical structures (e.g., direct or indirect quotation) are used to quote, refer to, or allude to other "texts" (that is, what others have said or written) or other styles of language (social languages).
f. T26: Figured World: Typical stories or figured worlds the words and phrases of the communication are assuming and inviting listeners to assume. What participants, activities, ways of interacting, forms of language, people, objects, environments, and institutions, as well as values, are in these figured worlds?
g. T27: Big D Discourse: How speaker uses language, as well as ways of acting, interacting, believing, valuing, dressing, and using various objects, tools, and technologies in certain sorts of environments to enact a specific socially recognizable identity and engage in one or more socially recognizable activities. What kind of person (what identity) is this speaker or writer seeking to enact or get recognized. What sorts of actions, interactions, values, beliefs, and objects, tools, technologies, and environments are associated with this sort of language within a particular Discourse?

Narrative Structure

1. **Narrative Plotting and Modes:** What is the narrative structure of the podcast episode?
    a. T15: Activities Building: Activity (practice) or activities (practices) this communication is building or enacting. Activity or activities this communication seeks to get others to recognize as being accomplished. Which social groups, institutions, or cultures support and set norms for whatever activities are being built or enacted?
    b. T20: Cohesion Tool: How cohesion works to connect pieces of information and in what ways. How the text fails to connect other pieces of information. What the

speaker is trying to communicate or achieve by using cohesive devices in the way they do.

c. T24: Social Language: How words and grammatical structures (types of phrases, clauses, and sentences) signal and enact a given social language. The communication may mix two or more social languages or switch between two or more. In turn, a social language may be composed of words or phrases from more than one language (e.g., it may mix English and Spanish).
d. T25: Intertextuality: How words and grammatical structures (e.g., direct or indirect quotation) are used to quote, refer to, or allude to other "texts" (that is, what others have said or written) or other styles of language (social languages).
e. T28: Big C Conversation: Issues, sides, debates, and claims the communication assumes listeners know or what issues, sides, debates, and claims they need to know to understand the communication in terms of wider historical and social issues and debates. Does communication carry out a historical or widely known debate or discussion between or among Discourses? Which Discourses?

Dialogic Organization

1. **Collaboration:** Is the podcast narrative individualized or collaborative? If collaborative, what is the conversation structure?
    a. Integration: Optional arguments included and excluded. Perspectives communicated by information packaged into main, subordinate, and embedded clauses.
    b. T17: Relationship Building: Words and various grammatical devices being used to build and sustain or change relationships of various sorts among the speaker, other people, social groups, cultures, and/or institutions.
2. **Relationality:** Who else is discussed in the podcast episode besides the podcaster/host? Are additional speakers actually heard, or are they being represented by the podcaster?
    a. T10: Integration: Optional arguments included and excluded. Perspectives communicated by information packaged into main, subordinate, and embedded clauses.

b. T17: Relationship Building: Words and various grammatical devices being used to build and sustain or change relationships of various sorts among the speaker, other people, social groups, cultures, and/or institutions.
c. T25: Intertextuality: How words and grammatical structures (e.g., direct or indirect quotation) are used to quote, refer to, or allude to other "texts" (that is, what others have said or written) or other styles of language (social languages).
d. T21: Systems + Knowledge: How words and grammar are used to privilege or de-privilege specific sign systems (e.g., Spanish vs. English, technical language vs. everyday language, words vs. images, words vs. equations, etc.) or different ways of knowing and believing or claims to knowledge and belief.
e. T26: Figured World: Typical stories or figured worlds the words and phrases of the communication are assuming and inviting listeners to assume. What participants, activities, ways of interacting, forms of language, people, objects, environments, and institutions, as well as values, are in these figured worlds?

Audience

1. **Audience and Addressee:** Is anyone explicitly addressed? Is anyone implicitly addressed?
    a. T1: Diexis: general words used to tie what is said to context and to make assumptions about what listeners already know or can figure out. Aspects of their specific meanings that need to be filled in based on context.
    b. T2: Fill-in: Information listener needs to fill in to achieve clarity? Information assumed to be known or inferred. Knowledge, assumptions, and inferences listeners have to bring to bear for this communication to be clear and understandable and received in the way the speaker intended.
    c. T3: Making Strange: Unclear, confusing content if person does not share the knowledge and assumptions that render the communication natural and taken-for-granted by insiders.
    d. T17: Relationship Building: Words and various grammatical devices being used to build and sustain or change relationships of various sorts among the speaker, other people, social groups, cultures, and/or institutions.

e. T23: Situational Meaning: Situated meanings of words and phrases what situated meanings they have. Specific meanings listeners have to attribute to these words and phrases given the context and how the context is construed.
f. T28: Big C Conversation: Issues, sides, debates, and claims the communication assumes listeners know or what issues, sides, debates, and claims they need to know to understand the communication in terms of wider historical and social issues and debates. Does communication carry out a historical or widely known debate or discussion between or among Discourses? Which Discourses?

Paratextuality/Intertextuality

1. **Paratextuality:** What are the physical and additional materials of the podcast episode?
    a. T27: Big D Discourse: How speaker uses language, as well as ways of acting, interacting, believing, valuing, dressing, and using various objects, tools, and technologies in certain sorts of environments to enact a specific socially recognizable identity and engage in one or more socially recognizable activities. What sorts of actions, interactions, values, beliefs, and objects, tools, technologies, and environments are associated with this sort of language within a particular Discourse?
2. **Intertextuality:** What is said or introduced in the podcast to help the listener contextualize the information?
    a. T1: Diexis: general words used to tie what is said to context and to make assumptions about what listeners already know or can figure out. Aspects of their specific meanings that need to be filled in based on context.
    b. T2: Fill-in: Information listener needs to fill in to achieve clarity? Information assumed to be known or inferred. Knowledge, assumptions, and inferences listeners have to bring to bear for this communication to be clear and understandable and received in the way the speaker intended.
    c. T3: Making Strange: Unclear, confusing content if person does not share the knowledge and assumptions that render the communication natural and taken-for-granted by insiders.
    d. T8: Vocabulary: Distribution of word types to mark style (register, social language). Contribution to overall meaning.

e. T9: Why This Way Not That Way: How else this could have been said and what the speaker was trying to mean and do by saying it the way in which he or she did and not in other ways.
f. T10: Integration: Optional arguments included and excluded. Perspectives communicated by information packaged into main, subordinate, and embedded clauses.
g. T11: Topic + theme: Topic and theme for each clause (subject and verb) and what the theme is of a set of clauses. Why were these choices made? When the theme is not the subject/topic, and, thus, has deviated from the usual (unmarked) choice, what is it and why was it chosen?
h. T13: Context is Reflexive: How is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it helping to create or shape (possibly even manipulate) what listeners will take as the relevant context?
    i. How is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it helping to reproduce contexts like this one (e.g., podcast interview), that is, helping them to continue to exist through time and space?
    ii. Is the speaker reproducing contexts like this one unaware of aspects of the context that if he or she thought about the matter consciously, he or she would not want to reproduce?
    iii. Is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it just, more or less, replicating (repeating) contexts like this one or, in any respect, transforming or changing them?
i. T14: Significance Building: Words and grammatical devices being used to build up or lessen significance (importance, relevance) for certain things and not others.
j. T19: Connection Building: Words and grammar being used to connect or disconnect things or ignore connections between things. Words and grammar being used to make things relevant or irrelevant to other things or ignore their relevance to each other.
k. T23: Structured Meaning: Situated meanings of words and phrases what situated meanings they have. Specific meanings listeners have to attribute to these words and phrases given the context and how the context is construed.

l. T25: Intertextuality: How words and grammatical structures (e.g., direct or indirect quotation) are used to quote, refer to, or allude to other "texts" (that is, what others have said or written) or other styles of language (social languages).
m. T28: Big C Conversation: Issues, sides, debates, and claims the communication assumes listeners know or what issues, sides, debates, and claims they need to know to understand the communication in terms of wider historical and social issues and debates. Does communication carry out a historical or widely known debate or discussion between or among Discourses? Which Discourses?

APPENDIX B: SOUND ANALYSIS PROTOCOL

Overall Audio

Ambience: the background sound in any recording; particularly on location and usually consisting of noise, reverberation and atmosphere.

Audiogenic: A component of multimedia narrative that concentrates or determines meaning by sound alone.

Hi-fi: "Favourable signal-to-noise ratio. Discrete sounds can be heard clearly because of the low ambient noise level." àcan hear distant sounds clearly.

Lo-fi: Individual acoustic signals are obscured in an overdense population of sounds. Perspective is lost.

Mixing: A compenetration of different and simultaneous sound sources. In everyday life, the mixing effect implies close levels of intensity between the diverse sounds present. The effect can be found particularly in spaces of transition that are likely to receive sound ambiences originating in different places. The concurrence of sounds can create indecision; the listener is in a paradoxical situation in which it is difficult to choose what he or she wants to hear. In the context of a musical or cinematographic production, mixing refers to an operation in which all the various instruments, sounds, and noises are mixed together, each attributed a specific intensity, equalization, and effect. Once this intervention is accomplished, the "mixed" sound is placed on a final, generally stereophonic, medium called a master.

Selection, alternation and combination: Juxtaposing, multi-tracking and mixing of music, soundscape and effects, speech and manipulation of 'in the gap' space or the imaginative spectacle of the listener for the purposes of narrative. This can be achieved by forwards, backwards, flashbacking, overlapping, jump-cutting, paralleling, sound tagging, transitional cross fading, and fading up and down techniques.

Signals: Sounds listened to consciously. Transmit a message.

Simultaneous Sound: Sound occurring parallel to the story/words.

Sound Event: An object that is heard in a particular context; a soundscape is multiple events.

Soundmark: "A community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community."

Sound Object: "Smallest self-contained particle of a soundscape" à has attack, body, and decay.

Soundscape: "Any acoustic field of study"; "events heard, not objects seen". The unwanted noise that creates the backdrop of an environment, and the need to revert back to the natural.
Soundwork: Creative audio presentations that employ sound as their primary expressive tool, combining elements of voice, music, and actuality sound (sometimes referred to as ambient sound, or noise).
Synchronicity with Parallel Media: Position of sound in multimedia texts for the purposes of determining and constructing overall meaning. Many techniques can be applied including contrapuntal, ironic interplay, emphasis, emotional colouration, additional and expansive information provision.

Sonic Techniques

Blurring: blurring (*estompage*) effect refers to the progressive and imperceptible disappearance of a sound atmosphere. In contrast to the decrescendo effect, the auditor usually only notices the absence of sound once the effect is completed.
Convolution: recreating the acoustic qualities of a space and the merging of different sounds using computer editing software.
Crescendo: an effect produced by a progressive increase in the intensity of a sound. This well-known effect, which has specific notation in music, can be found in the most diverse contexts: in the approach of a sound source, the acceleration of a vehicle, the start-up of a machine, the rise of a murmur, etc.
Crossfade: while the cut out effect describes an abrupt change from one sonic state to another, the term crossfade refers to a more progressive transition between states, accomplished through a decrease in intensity of the first state and increasing apparition of the second. We can experience this effect when crossing a mid-sized square in which reflections from the street or the façade behind us slowly crossfades with sounds from the opposite direction.
Cut Out: refers to a sudden drop in intensity associated with an abrupt change in the spectral envelope of a sound or a modification of reverberation (moving from reverberant to dull spaces, for instance). This effect is an important process of articulation between spaces and locations; it punctuates movement from one ambience to another. Two types of cut out can be distinguished:

- Cutting of Sound Source: the effect can take place at the level of utterance.
- Space Organization: it can be determined by conditions of propagation.

In both cases, the cut out effect produces a clear and obvious change in the surrounding sound ambience. The level of intensity of the voice can diminish notably and speech may even stop for a moment. Shortly after the cut, a wait, seeming excessively long, can take place. The effect articulates itself through silences and pauses that give the listener a short rest, an interval necessary for the emergence of meaning.

Decrescendo: an effect produced by a progressive diminution of sound intensity. Often indicated in music at the end of a phrase or a movement, a decrease in sound intensity can also be found in varied contexts, whether it is caused by the sound source moving away or by something like a machine stopping.

Delocalization: a form of the ubiquity effect, implies recognition of an error in localizing a sound source. As with the ubiquity effect, the listener does not know where the sound comes from; however, with the delocalization effect, the listener knows exactly where the sound seems to come from, while at the same time being conscious that it is an illusion. There can be delocalization without ubiquity, but there cannot be ubiquity without delocalization.

Desynchronization: characterizes the emergence of a sound emission that breaks the regularity of a rhythm or a well-established sound structure, creating a feeling of incongruity. The event may have the same sonic nature as the elements it disrupts, as when someone interrupts another person without respecting the rhythmic alternation of a conversation. The social dimension of the desynchronization effect is crucial. Any discontinuity in the phrasing of the sequence provokes a feeling of desynchronization.

Drone: refers to the presence of a constant layer of stable pitch in a sound ensemble with no noticeable variation in intensity. Linked to music in its designation (the drone is a permanent bass note over which other elements are laid), the drone effect can also be observed in urban and industrial soundscapes. Many technical systems generate constant sounds that are close to a drone, even if the frequencies concerned are not limited to the bass range that originally characterized it.

Emergence: a generic effect that includes the totality of sound occurrences that appear in a given context. Often coupled with another effect, emergence not only implies the irruption of a loud sound in a low-intensity context; it also characterizes the appearance of sounds that differ in pitch, timbre, or rhythm. The singularity of the emergence effect is marked by the affirmation of

a new sound rather than the modalities of its appearance, the latter being linked more closely to other effects with which it is combined.

Extension of Dramatic Space/Time: used to establish locale (bird songs, traffic noises).

Fade: disappearance of a sound through a progressive decrease in intensity. A fader is a potentiometer that controls volume. In English, the term "fade" also refers to the wave effect caused by fluctuating radio reception, particularly with short wave.

Hyperlocalization: a perceptive effect linked to the sporadic character of a sound source that irresistibly focalizes the listener's attention on the location of emission. When the source moves, the listener continues to follow it. This effect is often found in transmission through solids (for example a marble rolling on the floor upstairs.

Imitation: a semiotic effect referring to a sound emission that is consciously produced according to a style of reference. Imitation implies the use of a cultural code that allows recognition of this style in the sound emission. This reference is characterized by a remarkable emission style, or a particular use of certain acoustic parameters that allow its recognition and its differentiation from other sources. The effect exists insofar as there is a reciprocal relationship between the sound element (style of reference) and its interpretation (perceptive and productive activity). In any case, the imitation effect activates a feeling of belonging to a group or collective and fulfills a function of socio-cultural cohesion and integration.

Incursion: refers to an unexpected sound event that modifies the climate of a moment and the behaviour of a listener in a characteristic way. This effect is to time as the intrusion effect is to space. Even with its generalized use, a telephone ring remains an aggressive sound event for many people, not so much because of its timbre, which has softened over time, but because of its unexpected and imperious character: a call not only interrupts the present state, but also dictates new behaviour for a given moment.

Leitmotif: a short, repeated melody that acts as a narrative device signalling to the audience the main characters in the unfolding drama. A sound or phrase that is attributed to a particular person or text based on repeated use.

Loudness: acoustically plotting and signposting foreground and background and applying dramatic emphasis.

Montage: programme narrative where the interviewees and actuality itself unfolds, discloses and generates meaning rather than being explicitly directed by a narrative and linking voice.

Niche: an occurrence of a sound emission at the moment that is the most favourable and that offers a particularly well-adapted place for its expression. The niche (*créneau*) effect, which merges a sound message and a sound context, is one of the key instruments of sound action, and can operate on any component of sound: intensity, pitch, timbre, rhythm. The context must be considered in two dimensions: spatial and temporal. Spatial context involves opportunities linked to the configuration of the milieu. The factual or temporal context involves opportunities linked to the moment, the temporality of the occurrence.

- The *intensity niche*: allows a sound actor to exploit an acoustic situation during which a temporary diminution of ambient sound makes it possible to emit a signal toward the listener, either at a level lower than he or she would need to produce at another moment (economy of means), or at a level that is the maximum of his or her acoustic possibilities at that moment, and that would not have been perceived in the preceding context. In these two cases, the aim is an increase in the signal-to-noise ratio.
- The *pitch niche*: a sound actor emits a signal in a range of frequencies such that there is enough sound emerging to be perceived and to capture attention. Note that the emitted signal does not have to be louder than the ambient noise; it is the difference in pitch that allows the sound to be clearly audible. In this case, the aim is also an increase in the signal-to-noise ratio, but in a precise range of frequencies.
- The *timbre niche*: is when the entry of a new instrument creates a variation in sound material in which the elements of melody, rhythm, and harmony are relatively stable. The niche effect is a result of an emerging sound colour.
- The *rhythmic niche*: concerns the emergence of signals linked to chronology. A sound actor who is conscious of the rhythmical punctuation present in an environment will choose the appropriate niche to emit a message, either by making it stand out against the context to individualize it, or by superimposing it to merge with the general ambience.

Radio commonly uses the niche effect by taking advantage of the musical introduction of songs. Timed in advance, such a modality of diffusion develops as an instituted effect in which songs follow each other seamlessly with speech layered over.

Pathetic Fallacy: expression of natural elements such as the weather represents human attributes, moods and emotions.

Quotation: a sound fragment for which the semantic reference is confirmed. It is easily identifiable in musical and verbal contexts. Quotation effect will always be accomplished in the scope of a known cultural product; it is conventional and is recognized in a given culture. This excerpt of another expression is accompanied by signs that make it possible to recognize the original source. The quotation effect is located at the level of the content, the sonic figure. Reprise, another related effect, differs from quotation because it repeats a sound motif in an identical way. Reprise implies a self-reference, since the pattern that is re-played has its founding in the work itself.

Release: Release (*traînage*) is an acoustic effect that describes the residual duration of a sound, from its cessation until silence or background noise. This period of time is variable, depending on sounds and spaces of propagation, and includes diverse modes of progressive disappearance of a signal through different frequency zones. In electroacoustics, we also speak of release as the duration of the extinction of a sound once its emission has stopped.

Repetition: A reappearance of similar sound occurrences. It marks phenomena of automatism involving subjection; on the other hand, it characterizes phenomena of return, reprise, and enrichment by accumulation. The negative pole reveals a submission to an external event, the repetition of which is passively suffered by the listener. The positive pole emphasizes the revival, the new beginning of something. The repetition/reprise then appears as a reappropriation, a recovering. To restate is to produce a difference (contrary to the negative pole for which to repeat is to reproduce the same). In a chronological evolution, the positive pole perceives the repetition as a return that includes, as valorization, the time that separates the sound motifs. Repetition is one of the key expressions of any social life through the integrative role of habit forming. First listening establishes a reference, a basis for comparison: never again will there be a perceptive innocence over which the sound object, unheard up to that point, is inscribed. Successive listening brings a progressive sedimentation that allows mastered apprehension of structure and the sometimes-complex comprehension of the play of elements.

Reprise: A musical marking indicating the strict repetition of a sound motif (phrase, chorus, air). The reprise may take place either immediately after the exposition of the theme and be quickly repeated, or after one or more developments. The reprise does not imply any modification of the original motif but may be performed by another instrument, or at different octaves.

Resonance: The adjective "resonant" is often used to describe a place filled with sounds of exceptional amplitude. By metaphor, resonance is also used to refer to the effect of representations of the mind. The term can also refer to a person who amplifies sensations, ideas, or theories, and is thus a resonator.

Sound Bridge: Sound that overlaps two difference scenes, connecting them.

Spatiality: Determining the imaginative dimensions of the sonic world through a pattern and design of sound elements and the movement of sonic tracks in terms of proxemics (position) and kinesics (movement, strength and characteristics of the sound signal) sometimes described as sonic ostension.

Suspension: A semantic compositional effect characterized by the feeling of nonfulfillment of a heard sound sequence: the sound seems to be suspended, awaiting continuation. This effect leaves the listener in a state of uncertainty, indecision, or powerlessness. In its aesthetic dimension, suspension corresponds to the principle of incompletion of a work; in its psychosociological dimension, it refers to waiting. Sound signals and sonic punctuation (jingles) are types of tamed suspensions.

Synecdoche: For someone listening to a complex sound ambience, the synecdoche effect is the ability to valorize one specific element through selection. Selective listening, a fundamental capacity, is involved in all everyday sound behaviours. The valorization of certain sounds necessitates partial or absolute deletion of the other sounds. It makes it possible to create a gap between the physical sound of reference and the object of listening. To a certain extent, the synecdoche effect affirms itself through significant sounds for a given culture, language being their archetype. The culture to which an individual belongs has an important effect on which sounds are valorized. The soundmark constitutes the sign of a cultural specificity. It is possible to list particular sounds for a given city. In this way, cultural dimensions of the synecdoche effect are underlined: cultural codes participate in the structuring of perception, and the valorization of certain sound productions accounts for the condition of a community at a given moment. Whether listening is "primitive" or "cultural," the synecdoche effect is part of the relationship between the individual and his or her (natural or social) environment, by underlining its fundamental characteristics. The sound designer must select sounds that will allow the better illustration of a situation. Whatever technique is used, the choice between one sound and another is the first act in the construction of a sound organization. Sound elements mentioned in a

description alert us to the specific listening of the author. The use of a specific sound event to express the ambience of a scene is not an arbitrary choice; it highlights elements that are important for the author in the perception of the atmosphere.

Ubiquity: An effect linked to spatiotemporal conditions that expresses the difficulty or impossibility of locating a sound source. In the major variant of this effect, the sound seems to come from everywhere and from nowhere at the same time. In a minor variant, sound seems to come simultaneously from a singular source and from many sources. For the ubiquity effect to occur, we must consciously look for the source location of the sound, and fail, at least for a moment, to identify it. (It is not sound we forget it is there, but it is sound we cannot locate).

Vocal Substitution: To establish atmosphere (wind and rain).

Wall: A composite effect in which a continuous high intensity sound gives the listener an impression of facing an ensemble of sound materialized in the shape of a wall. This feeling of solidified sound, accompanied by a feeling of powerlessness and crushing, can be easily experienced at a rock show or when facing an urban street with multiple lanes of dense traffic.

Special FX

Chorus: an electroacoustic effect that consists of mixing a direct signal with a portion of itself, slightly delayed and modulated through a low- frequency oscillator. The variable phase displacement thus produced enriches the original sound by seeming to multiply the sound sources – hence its reference to chorus, sum of individual voices.

Compression: an electroacoustic effect: a compressor reduces the dynamic range of a signal by raising low-intensity signals while lowering high-intensity ones. Generally speaking, compression makes it possible to raise the average energy of a recording by avoiding the strict use of peak signals in the calibration of its maximum volume. It allows the adaptation of a signal to media supporting different dynamics: vinyl disc, cassette, or compact disc.

Delay: In its generic sense, this effect refers to any delay between the emission of a sound and its repetition. Echo and reverberation are thus two types of delay. As an electroacoustic effect, delay can be applied at the level of milliseconds; generally, it is less than a second. Delay is used to give depth to a sound or to spatialize it in the stereophonic field.

Distortion: a distortion of specific frequencies of the spectral envelope of a sound that affects the totality of a sequence. In comparison with filtration, distortion acts through addition rather

than subtraction. Distortion manifests itself as an electroacoustic effect, either in an involuntary manner in the electrophonic chain, when saturation is produced during amplification, or as a specific additive intended to voluntarily transform the sound of an instrument such as an electric guitar.

Filtration: a reinforcing or weakening of specific frequencies of a sound. A filtration effect is perceived when the frequency of a sound that we are accustomed to or that we have heard previously is modified. Various features of the environment separating the source and listener can filter sound. In terms of sound production, practices of imitation involving the phonatory system are derived from listening to particular voices. In these cases, filtration is a creative act. To acquire language, we use specific frequencies privileged by our mother tongue; other languages develop different frequency selections. Therefore, we learn to speak through a spectrum that is related to our culture. Every technique used in the transmission of sound, and more specifically of voice, uses filtration to great effect. Radio, for instance, uses filtration to make the timbre of voices warmer.

Flange: a musical electroacoustic effect in which direct sound is combined with its own delayed reinjection, thus creating a phase effect. By balancing the intensity of reinjection and modulating the filtration of frequencies, it is possible to control the progressive evolution of a sound. This effect was developed in the 1960s from the simultaneous diffusion of the same message over two tape players and the possibilities of de- synchronization that this innovation offered.

Rumble: an effect characterized by the inopportune whirring of a phonograph's motor, picked up by the needle and added to the musical signal, literally creating a rumble.

<u>Voice</u>

Accent: sound of a voice in comparison to the standardized norm of how people within a specific culture sound. Heard vocal surrounding, communicating regional and social identity, but also [cultural] affiliations. Pronunciation and inflection.

Dialect: style of language with features of vocabulary, grammar and intonation that associate the speaker with a specific geographic area; vocabulary, syntax, pronunciation, dialect, accent are key signifiers of class origin.

Dilation: refers to the feeling of the emitter concerning the space of propagation and the hearing sensitivity of others: the emitter feels that the sound he or she produces will carry and be clearly

perceived (diastolic movement). This effect can be anticipatory as well as perceptual. Human ethology is swarming with representative cases of this preventive sound marking: for instance, a person who is not accustomed to using a telephone and speaks loudly as the correspondent is far away.

Emanation Speech: words are not necessarily heard and understood clearly but they convey mood or attitude.

Intonation: tone of voice, its particular melody and modulation, its cadence and inflection. The use of the tone of the voice to convey meaning and represent identity.

Pitch: the sense of highness and lowness of sounds that can communicate tension, gender and human mood. With loudness these elements determine sonic texture. Is the voice high or low?

Proximity Effect: distance from mic alters feeling of the communication. Close: deep/bassy; Far: distant/clearer. "Generated when a host leans into the microphone creates a heavier bass, as if the host whispers privileged knowledge directly into the ears of each listener.

Rhythm: plotting the beat or pulse, accent or stress and tempo or pace of the sound text. Does the voice rise and fall or keep continuous pace and tone?

Timbre: specific quality of a sound as determined by the combination of its fundamental resonating tone and pattern of harmonic overtones. A musical tone that is sometimes described as the colour or feel of sound. It characterises the emotional interpretation of sound.

Whisper: enhances the sense of intimacy.

<u>Emotional Affect</u>

Anamnesis: an evocation of the past, refers to situations in which a sound or a sonic context revives a situation or an atmosphere of the past. The effect is not based on the sound or on its meaning. It is the listener who gives it an anamnesic value. Specific sounds can produce common references for a given culture: sounds of flowing water, rain, crackling fire, thunder, and singing birds, but also sounds of industrial automatic devices, cars, and urban drones. There are many shared backgrounds over which individual perceptions are laid.

Cocktail or Cocktail-Party: Refers to our ability to focus attention on the speech of a specific speaker by disregarding irrelevant information coming from the surroundings.

Erasure: The erasure (*gommage*) effect refers to one or several sound elements in an audible ensemble that are deleted from perception or memory. This selective suppression is a

fundamental effect of hearing. The majority of audible sounds in a day are heard without being listened to and are then forgotten.

Phonotonie: This effect, also called the phonotonic effect, characterizes the feeling of euphoria provoked by a sound perception. Sometimes it induces a behaviour directly, such as a renewed activity, a collective movement, or a reflex gesture. Musical listening often plays this functional role in individual or collective work.

Repulsion: psychomotor effect referring to a sound phenomenon that produces, in an uncontrolled or conscious way, an attitude of rejection and behaviours of flight, whether mental or real. There are numerous examples in the human and animal worlds: for cats, the crumpling of an aluminum sheet; for humans, a high-pitched squeaking produced by chalk on a board or a metal point on a hard surface.

Sharawadji: An aesthetic effect that characterizes the feeling of plenitude that is sometimes created by the contemplation of a sound motif or a complex soundscape of inexplicable beauty. The sharawadji effect is unexpected and transports us elsewhere, beyond the strict representation of things, out of context. In this brutally present confusion, we lose both our senses and our sense. Coming from an unknown and uncontrolled elsewhere, it is their strangeness that opens the unlimited. Sharawadji is a subjective effect: as with any aesthetic judgment, only subjectivity may declare that it is under the hold of the sharawadji, to which it will attribute a universal value. The control of sonic experience depends on an identity acquired in the remote period of childhood, in close relation with the group to which we belong. Thus, it seems that sharawadji, a semantic effect, requires a supple and usually controlled relation with the environment.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Basic Information:

1. Time and Date:
2. Interview Location:
3. Name of Interviewee:

_____

_____

_____

_____

General

1. How were you initially introduced to podcasting?
2. Why did you start your podcast?
3. What is/was your daily work routine as a podcaster?

Narrative/Storytelling

4. What is the process for producing an episode?
5. How do you select guests to interview (if there are any)?
6. What circumstances might prevent you from telling a particular story?
7. What circumstances would encourage you to tell a particular story?
8. What social and cultural factors influence the way you present your stories?
9. How does your podcast provide a space for marginalized perspectives?

Motivations

10. Do you think your podcast has the potential to influence cultural or social change? If so, how?
11. How does podcasting allow you to self-represent?
12. What do you think is podcasting's greatest asset for communicating?
13. How do you identify yourself? (e.g., racially, ethnically, nationally)