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A Tool for Community Development

UNIVERSITY. Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED. M.A.

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED. 1973

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

COMMUNITY ANTENNAE TELEVISION:
A TOOL FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

By

© DOROTHY ZOLF

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE IN

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1973

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Community Antennae Television: A Tool for Community Development" submitted by Dorothy Zolf in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development.

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Date Oct. 3/73

ABSTRACT

It has become a cliché to state that we live in a rapidly-changing society. Scholars of social evolution, the so-called 'Futurists' describe our 'post-industrial society' as being built and shaped by new technology. Technological change is now so rapid that individuals and social institutions are no longer able to adapt to it. Recent decades have already witnessed great transformations in our community life, due in no small part to the revolution in communications technology we are presently experiencing.

Despite these ever advancing systems of communication, difficulty in communicating is probably what most characterizes urbanized mass societies, where the medium of exchange is no longer face-to-face contact, but a technological apparatus. As social organizations in our 'post-industrial' society grow in size, scale, and complexity, these conditions favor the emergence of mass relations at the expense of community relations. As mass organizations replace communal groups, so mass communications must replace primary forms of face-to-face communications. Yet face-to-face communication is vital in the processes of decision-making and in the clarification and implementation of community goals. What is missing is a medium of communication that supplies the specialized, particularized interests that reflects the needs and concerns of the variety of 'communities of interests' that comprise a modern complete society.

The major development in communications technology in the last twenty years has been cable television. New applications of this product of communications technology could make it a more useful vehicle

for individual as well as community communication.

The Canadian Radio-Television Commission has furnished a basis for significant local programming by the provision of community channels on cable systems to which the community must have access. The concept of 'community programming' which they have introduced represents a great leap in farsighted communications policy. They have encouraged the utilization of community channels for stimulating citizen involvement, thereby providing an important vehicle for participation in the democratic process. Use of community channels as public forums could create the means for dialogue and face-to-face communication so essential to problem solving and decision-making.

Community development which is democratic in principle and practice, serves to foster the maximum involvement and participation of people in determining their future. This thesis is, therefore, an exploratory study of the potential of Community Antennae Television (C.A.T.V. or Cable) to function in the processes of social change and as a tool for community development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the following people:

To Dr. A. S. J. Johnson, my thesis committee chairman and adviser, who helped conceptualize the form of the thesis, and whose insight and patient guidance were invaluable throughout the period of its writing.

To my committee members, Professor Glen Eyford, who suggested the thesis topic and encouraged its study, and Professor Hayden Roberts, whose helpful comments during the writing of the study were most appreciated. To both I am much indebted for the time spent in reading and criticism.

I am also indebted to Mr. Burke Nagle and Mr. Lynn Zelmer for their inspiration during the period of field research for this thesis. To Ms. Wendy O'Flaherty and Mr. P. Moorecroft of the Calgary Cable T.V. Company, whose co-operation was much appreciated.

And last but certainly not least, to Miss Cora Arends, whose painstaking typing of the manuscript made all this possible.

This thesis is dedicated to my husband Michael, and my three children, Janice, Patricia, and Stephen, who have consistently encouraged my endeavours and always understood.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> Cable television may be our last chance to develop a real communication system within a community, to use technology to help citizens reach one another .... Television has the potential for being a technological town meeting .... an important instrument in re-democratization.[1]

Historians and social scientists are fond of coining phrases designed to capture the essence of the times with which they are dealing. In this vein, our age might well be entitled The Age of Communication. The mushrooming growth in available information, the demand for access to this information, coupled with recent innovations in communication technology, are bringing about a revolution in communication which can produce profound changes in the way society is structured and in the way we live.

The Communication Revolution, of recent origin, represents a set of rapid technological changes unique in the history of mankind. The increasing spread in the distribution of knowledge to all strata of society, and the dramatic increase in the pace of communications for the majority of people in Western societies has already resulted in a fundamental change, the impact of which remains yet to be fully assessed.

The Communication Revolution is bringing with it the prospect of a "wired nation". In addition to the telephone, radio, and television we now have in our homes, it is possible that in the future we will also be provided with a total communications system which will supply an infinite number of services to every subscriber. As this electronic

revolution[illegible] in a new era of communications and the prospect of a "wired ci[illegible] phenomenon of cable television may change television as much as television changed wireless radio, for the miracle of the wireless is about to be replaced by the necessity of the "wired city".

Developments in the technology of telecommunications and computers hold possibilities of a more convenient and satisfying way of life. New and emerging techniques can offer access to information on a scale hitherto unimaginable, together with opportunities for a much wider participation in community affairs and the democratic process. These expanding services resulting from the new technology can greatly facilitate individual contacts with governments and other institutions of authority in our society.

The technology of communications will, no doubt, continue to evolve and the demands society wishes to make upon communications will evolve with the technology. One result will be a heightened rate of acceleration in the ease and speed of transmission of communication which leads communications expert J. R. Pierce conclude: "Technology will provide us with increasingly cheap communication that knows no limit of distance and will serve man with increasing efficiency and flexibility."[2] Advances in communication technology are already quietly and rapidly demonopolizing communications. The invention of electronic video-recording, xeroxing, and audio-recording, has made it possible for every man to be his own film-maker, publisher, and even broadcaster. If we combine our mass media with these new communications technologies we will have the means to help restore responsibility to the individual and a new sense of community to our society. Through the wired-city's capacity for such two-way communications, people can be encouraged

to participate in the decision-making process. Such systems could thereby be used to create a sense of community participation in, and responsibility for, decision-making.

In human terms the rapid advances in communication taking place can greatly extend connections between individuals in a community and between individuals and government, and bind men much more closely. If future communications systems are planned most carefully, and if the full potential of their technologies is exploited, the quality of life could be vastly improved for everyone.

The Problem

Despite these ever-advancing systems of communication, difficulty in communicating is probably what most characterizes our mass society. Rapid advances in the technologies of our 'post-industrial' society are increasingly resulting in a lack of effective communication. More complex decision-making processes result in a more highly centralized organizational structure in all levels of government. As a consequence, the masses are excluded from engaging in effective participation in the process of decision-making, which in turn results in the inertia and apathy so characteristic of "mass-man"[3]. The fostering of citizen participation under these conditions of growing apathy towards local issues and political processes generally becomes harder.

There has been much concern expressed of late over "the failure of government and other institutions in Canada to meet the basic needs of its citizens".[4] Such terms as "involvement", and "participation" have always been integral components of the ideal of liberal democracy, however the complexity of our society and its accelerated rate of techno-

logical change, growth of knowledge, expansion of bureaucracy, and the development of large governing units, has served to remove government even further from the people. Our society is not a true participatory democracy, though citizen participation is a fundamental belief of a democratic society. Although liberal democratic theory has traditionally asserted the need for the free expression of ideas in order that an informed citizenry might play an active role in the governmental process, it is apparent that such a theoretical conception of freedom of expression is not congruent with current realities. Although it has been generally assumed that citizen participation is at the core of democratic practice and one of its main strengths, our institutions have been moving further and further away from the democratic ideal of participation toward centralized decision-making.

This malaise of our time has been discussed by many. The literature on the subject is vast. The theme repeatedly revealed is one describing the tendency of technology to produce undesirable social effects. Technological change itself is seen as contributing to feelings of estrangement and alienation from the physical world as well as from a society strongly affected by continual innovation. Much current work being published[5] concerns itself with the resulting frustration and alienation experienced by people attempting to cope with rapid social change.

Alvin Toffler has described the corresponding "acculturation" trauma that accompanies rapid social change as "future shock"[6]. The fact of our time - the rapid technological change we are experiencing - has not allowed individuals or institutions to adapt to it. He sees the parallel need for adjustment, adaptation, and control as being the

most characteristic and central phenomenon of our time.

Every new technology interacts with the total society. Adaptations to integrate each new technology must be made at all levels of society in order that their maximum benefit might be realized. Human ingenuity has shown itself to be vast and men of every age have shown a remarkable ability to take the technology of their times and apply it in some fresh way to the solution of the social problems of their day.

As social organizations in our "post-industrial" society grow in size, scale, and complexity, these conditions favour the emergence of mass relations at the expense of community relations. As mass organizations replace communal groups, so mass communications must replace primary forms of face-to-face communication. In an urbanized society characterized by greater diversity of needs and interests, the medium of exchange is no longer face-to-face contact but a technological apparatus. The need, therefore, has grown for augmenting human means of disseminating and acquiring information. This has led to the invention and adoption of the wide range of communication media which we now take for granted. These media, which are comprised in our systems of communication, take on a new and greater significance in a world in which "primary" experience has been replaced by "secondary" communications. A distinguishing feature of a modern social system is the existence of elaborate and centralized means of communications, the output of which circulates rapidly throughout segments of the population. In studying the functions and impact of the mass media, the investigator of mass communications is thus, in fact, exploring a central characteristic of modern society itself. This will be explored in detail in Chapter IV of this thesis. It is sufficient, at this point, to mention the obvious

fact that a modern industrial society is characterized by technologically and institutionally-based mass production and distribution of not only goods and services, but of mass-produced message systems, to groups so large and widely disbursed in time and space that they could never interact face-to-face, to any other but their technologically produced and mediated message system.

Today the radio or television set occupies a considerable part of what used to be time for interpersonal contacts or what sociologists call "primary" forms of communication. Man's physical contacts with one's neighbour have become more difficult. The number of potential human contacts have increased enormously, but they are of a different nature, depending more and more on pre-selected choices made by our network of telecommunication. Our media of communications have amplified and extended man's reach and control over his complex environment, but future development will demand even more highly sophisticated communication systems.

Technology is a major agent of social change. It extends man's understanding and control over himself and his environment, and alters his institutions, his values, and his very life styles. Advances in communications technology can better equip man for improved control over his environment, and therefore for a better quality of life, yet despite the potential communication technology holds, the communication gap between institutions and groups in our society is steadily widening. Despite the "information explosion" and "communication revolution", the paradoxical situation exists that less real communication is taking place.

A number of urgent problems with which our society is confronted can be looked upon in part or in whole as problems in communications. Among them may be counted problems in uses of the political process and in the relationship between government and the governed. The new technologies have relevance to this problem. If they can aid in participation they can form an integral part of new institutions for democratic participation. The role played by communication technology then becomes part of the reconstruction of democratic practice and structure in which reliable feedback mechanisms are a necessary prerequisite. In so doing they can supply a means by which two-way communication between the government and the governed can come about.

Television, an instrument of social power, has proven itself a purveyor of the most important symbols and images of our age, but due to the necessity of the market place, has become tuned to mass tastes and needs. This leaves no room for minority audience programming, for when communication channels are in short supply the need for community expression goes unanswered.

At the present time, the monopoly, or near monopoly of the major media of communications by a small group representing similar economic, political, and social interests, has created a serious distortion in a system which has become overwhelmingly entertainment-oriented. Television programs have become an imposition of a social minority on the majority - of what they think the public taste is. Commercial television forces each minute of television to become an element competing against the most skilled stimulation of quick attention the world has ever known. This, coupled with the high cost of broadcasting, makes broadcast television an impractical medium for extended contact between

government and citizens.

What is missing is a medium of communication that supplies the specialized, particularized interests of the community. There are signs that this is being achieved, particularly in the print media, where we are witnessing the demise of the mass magazine and the flourishing of special interest publications. These options are not currently available in the electronic media.

There is a need for information that reflects the interests and concerns of the variety of "communities of interests"[8] that comprise a modern society. There is a need for a means of enabling people of common interests who form "a community of interests" to communicate together even though they may be separated geographically in a metropolitan area. This could go a long way in diminishing the sense of alienation which characterizes a mass society, and in enabling people to feel they are part of such "communities of interest". Most measures for participation to date have failed to be fully effective, due to inadequate communication in a society which has become increasingly complex and segmented. The modern community still suffers from a serious breakdown in communications, while boredom, apathy, and indifference on the part of the average citizen prevail. Neither the community nor the state can flourish in such an environment where participation is weak or non-existent. In order for discussion to flourish in our society, there must be a reasonable spread of information and knowledge among all members of that society. Citizen participation in a democratic process is not possible without significant knowledge of prevailing conditions. An informed public will make its own decisions if given the facts on which to judge. An extension of the means of communication

could therefore provide an extension of democracy.

In an age of total information, access to information and the ability to manipulate it are equivalent to having and exercising power. Therefore, for a system to be truly democratic, there should be a larger inflow than outflow, in terms of quantity of messages. In order for discussion to flourish in such a society, certain conditions must be present. There must be a reasonable spread of information and knowledge among all members of that society. In our society, however, information springs from very few sources with little possibility of feedback built into the system. Traditional systems of mass communication have been organized hierarchically. Information-flow has tended to be unidirectional, outward from a central production core, arrangements for feedback being either fragile or non-existent. Such centralization does not lend itself to responsiveness to social needs at the local level. Few attempts are made to connect local action processes with regional or national decision-making bodies. The lack of access to the mass media is perhaps the major weakness in the existing system. A more democratically structured communication system would allow for larger quantities of message-inflow and would reduce the dangers of centralization that come with highly organized electronic systems.

Such a system could create the means for dialogue and the effect of face-to-face communication so essential to participatory problem-solving and decision-making. If a democratic system is to flourish, the right to communicate must be regarded as a basic human right. The implementation of such a philosophy, however, in a mass society is another matter, where the rights of assembly and of free speech no longer suffice. A town meeting once provided a forum for such an exchange of ideas, but our

towns and cities have grown far too large and too complex for gigantic gatherings in a town hall to provide satisfactory dialogue. Today many people are unable to communicate; they do not receive the messages distributed by communication systems, they lack the knowledge to use them, and above all, they are denied of the opportunity to send messages through them.

Unless a vehicle is provided for the co-ordination of new technical innovations in the field of mass communications, with mechanisms that will implement a two-way process for use in community dialogue, then the forth-coming years will show an even greater gap between our powerful instruments of communication and the publicat large.

Purpose

The primary purpose of this thesis is to explore the potential of community antennae television (CATV or cable) as one sub-system in the larger system of mass communications, as having the potential of "plugging" contemporary man back into his community. This will be accomplished by looking at the potential of cable television from a community development perspective.

The major development in communications technology in the last twenty years has been cable television. New applications of this product of communications technology could make it a more useful vehicle for individual as well as for community communication. The unique technological advantages offered by cable systems lie in their multi-channel capability. The method of distribution inherent in CATV systems makes obsolete the situation of scarcity of channels characteristic of broadcast television systems, and provides a means of access

to open channels - a phenomenon which heretofore has not been available. These open channels could provide a vehicle for fostering a reversal of information flow; that is to say, those people who have traditionally been at the receiving end now have the opportunity of initiating programming - "community programming". Thus this new technology holds promise of transforming broadcasting as we know it, now a one-way medium that treats viewers as largely passive homogeneous groups, into an interactive medium. The opportunity to engage in community programming offers citizens the advantage of developing and effecting a two-way process of community dialogue by putting individuals and groups into communication systems as well as providing them with the information required in order to engage effectively in decision-making.

Private individuals originating their own programming can have a catalytic effect in mobilizing their communities. The difference, in short, becomes one of active participatory democracy, instead of passive participatory democracy:

> Citizen participation means the involvement of more people in dialogue.... communication is not a one-way process. To achieve dialogue government must build into its own structure, channels for the citizen to react and express opinions; the mass media and cable television must think about two-way circuits.[9]

The whole question of the community use of cable television will be viewed from the perspective of community development. There is a wide range of definitions from which to choose.[10] Many will be mentioned in the Review of the Literature, Chapter IV of this study. Worthy of mention here, however, is the fact that "community development, however defined, has been a change agent."[11]

Community development, a means of bringing about social change,

has a number of principles that are basic to its philosophy; they are the encouragement of self help, the participation or involvement of as many people as possible in a process, and the implementation of a program focused on the total "felt" needs of a community. Community development is thereby an effort to help people jointly obtain greater direction over their environment including more satisfactory patterns of social relations and institutions. The principles of community development can be implemented in a variety of ways; however, because community development is democratic in principle and practice, the community developer in functioning as a change agent, must utilize various social change techniques to stimulate and motivate the fullest participation possible. In order to foster citizen participation by the above mentioned principles, the change agent must select those techniques or tools which can best serve the community development process in leading to these objectives. It is the purpose of this thesis to propose that CATV offers such a tool and a vehicle for social change. If community development people are change agents, CATV opens up unlimited opportunities for them to effect change.

Community development presupposes through the above-mentioned principles that community change may be pursued through the broad participation of a wide spectrum of people at the local community level, in determining their needs, their goals, and their courses of action. Face-to-face participation and interchange are vital in the process of decision-making and the clarification and implementation of community goals. As already established the possibility of such confrontation becomes increasingly more remote in today's large urban setting; yet in the large

urban areas, there is greater need for communication as there is less sense of community. It is this very lack of face-to-face communication that prevents co-operative action, causing alienation, apathy, and the sense of futility, so characteristic of today's Western society. The central problem faced by community developers in a large urban setting is communication. Any tools or techniques that will help him to communicate more effectively in his role of helping the citizens of a community to adapt to a world of rapid social change, must be utilized. Our modern age demands an intensification of efforts to inform and educate citizens for living in a complicated environment. The need is for a better information flow and an improved access to both information and communication facilities.

The acquisition of a kind of "civic literacy", that is, an understanding of how one's community operates, is therefore an essential first step in order that every citizen might come to understand and thus be able to cope with the ever-increasing complexity of our society. The mass media have helped provide such a literacy, but since commercial restrictions on time and format, coupled with their inability to provide adequate mechanisms for feedback, have rendered them inadequate in coping with today's social problems, a new medium must be provided.

The Report of the Sloan Commission on cable communications in the United States, recently pointed out the prospects of an entirely new communications complex which cable offers. Freed from the constraints of radiated signals, the increased capacity of the system that comes with additional channels, offers a "television of abundance."[12] The copiousness of "the television of abundance" makes it possible to conceive of far broader access to its channels, and thus a broader expres-

sion of opinion. With "television of abundance", communication can become a two-way street, and feedback can become built into the system. The fact that this new technology multiplies the possible points of origination of communications - the number of channels available for transmission - can thereby effect a radical transformation in the shape of our communications systems. With channel space available on a medium of mass communication, the problem of permitting the community to participate in the political process vanishes for the existence of public access channels can provide a means for the need to communicate to be realized. Thus cable television can serve as perhaps no medium has before been able for those who wish to participate in the political process. In this manner cable has the capacity of moving our society to an entirely new level of communications capacity, thereby making accessible a vehicle for two-way communication to ordinary people for dialogue in meaningful local debate.

Research Procedure

The idea for this thesis was germinated during the summer of 1971 through a field work experience. The writer was first introduced to the whole area of community television as a member of a research study team of "The Community Television Study Project". This study was undertaken jointly by the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary, and the Alberta Human Resources Development Authority. The overall purpose of the study was to accumulate information which would help determine the best use of the community access feature of cable television. The central problem towards which the study was directed was to prepare a descriptive profile of the development and the use of cable television

for community access programming in Alberta and to determine the level of awareness about it. The study surveyed five Alberta communities through a combination of videotape and conventionally recorded open-ended interviews.

This experience led the writer to delve more deeply into the whole area of communications. A general survey of related literature pertaining to communication, mass communication, social change, community development, cable television, and history and legislation of broadcasting in Canada was launched, and in-depth study of the material took place over the ensuing two-year period.

The Calgary cable company was chosen as a case study representing one of the new companies in Canada engaged in community programming. This company was chosen because at the time the research was undertaken there were as yet no cable systems franchised in Edmonton, and Calgary offered the closest possibilities for study. Of the two systems licensed in Calgary, the facilities of the Calgary Cable Company were chosen because of the reputation that company had already established for imaginative and innovative community programming.

The following research techniques were used in the analysis of the Calgary cable T.V. company:

1. In-depth interviewing, interviewees including the company's program director, production manager, company manager, various staff personnel and volunteers engaged in community programming.

In addition to in-depth interviewing, the writer was able to observe closely the operation and activity of the community programming department of this company and gain an insight into underlying attitudes and values of the staff and volunteers associated with community

programming. This close observation (for a period of two years) provided insight into the social atmosphere and inter-relationship of staff personnel with volunteers from the community.

2. Participant observation - the writer had an opportunity to be a participant observer through a two-day unique community programming project which was undertaken by this company on September 18, 1972. A simulation was run on the Calgary cable company's community channel sponsored by the Community Planning Association of Canada. Various Calgary citizens' groups and individuals were asked to participating as volunteers in the simulation and the community at large was asked to become involved by telephoning in their responses.

3. Library research - to supplement the data collected by interviews and observation techniques, an extensive file was accumulated which contains articles, news releases, and correspondence with the program director, company print-outs, in-staff memos, program schedules and newspaper clippings. To augment this file, a personal diary and field notes were kept during the period that this study was undertaken. Extensive background materials concerning broadcasting legislation and regulations, CRTC policy statements, and current up-to-date public announcements, and documents have provided an increased breadth of understanding of the entire field of mass communications in Canada.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Colin Low, "The Question of Television Violence" Challenge For Change Newsletter: Access. Issue No. 10, Autumn, 1972, National Film Board of Canada, p. 8.

[2]J. R. Pierce, "Communication" in Toward The Year 2018. The Foreign Policy Association (ed.) Cowles Education Corporation, N.Y., 1968, p. 59.

[3]Many social thinkers have elaborated on the concept of "mass society" and the decline of community which results in large scale activities which favour the emergence of "mass man", beginning with Tonnies' (1887) highly influential analysis of "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft", the atomization and depersonalization of social organization resulting from modernization. This has been a central theme of urban sociology. Social alienation, and the pathology of community in modern society was reported by many, for example, Nisbet, who will be discussed in Chapter IV of this study.

For an analysis of the various meanings of the term 'alienation' see Melvin Seeman, "On The Meaning of Alienation", in the American Sociological Review, Volume XXIV, No. 6 (December, 1959).

[4]E. R. McEwen, "Citizenship Development and the Disadvantaged", in Citizen Participation: Canada, ed. by James A. Draper, New Press, Toronto, 1971, p. 57.

[5]For examples, refer to Ellul, Drucker, Seeman, Nisbet. (Cited in Bibliography)

[6]Alvin Toffler, Future Shock. Random House, N.Y., 1970.

[7]C. H. Cooley coined the phrase "primary" groups (which are characterized by primary, face-to-face associations). His followers adopted the term "secondary". This distinction is a profound one for as Warren points out: "a shift toward association of the secondary group type has characterized the necessary differentiation of interests and associations. The implications for the individual and the community are important." (In Warren, Roland L., Community in America, Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, 1963. p. 60.)

[8]This concept will be elaborated in Chapter IV of this study.

[9]James A. Draper, Citizen Participation in Canada, New Press, Toronto, 1971 p. 17.

[10] For an extensive list of definitions of community development see Du Sautoy, The Organization of a Community Development Program. Oxford University Press, London, 1962.

[11] R. A. Sim, "The Innocence of Community Development" in Citizen Participation: Canada, ed. by James A. Draper, New Press, Toronto, 1971, p. 175.

[12] Report of the Sloan Commission on Cable Communications. On the Cable: Television of Abundance, McGraw-Hill Book Company, N.Y., 1971.

[13] The study resulted in the publication of a formal written document The Sleeping Medium: A Report of the Community Television Study Project, Alberta, 1971

CHAPTER II

CATV: A NEW FORCE IN COMMUNICATIONS

Community Antennae Television (CATV) has emerged as a powerful new force in our nation's vast broadcasting system and every day is experiencing impressive growth. Although it began as a minor adjunct to the present system of over-the-air broadcasting, it is now on the verge of becoming a major communication medium in its own right.

CATV is a system whereby the set owner receives his signals through a coaxial cable, instead of over the air. Persons who wish to have their set hooked to the cable pay an installation fee and a monthly service charge. The components of the CATV system can be divided into three phases: the 'head-end', the 'trunk-line', and the 'home-distribution'. The 'head-end' consists of a tower and master antennae network, strategically located on high ground to capture the off-air television and FM radio signals and these are relayed by microwave. A variety of amplifiers, signal processors and electronic filters, strengthen the signals. The 'trunk-line' consists of coaxial cables attached to poles or strung on conduits provided by telephone and/or electric utility companies.[1] In the last phase, broadcasts are distributed to subscribers' homes by means of house-drops leading from the main trunk-line network.

Development of CATV in Canada

The industry has been built in Canada mainly on the Canadian appetite for United States television stations. As in the United

States, Canadian systems are privately owned and operated (except in Saskatchewan)[2]. The origination of CATV dates back to the early 1950's after the introduction of broadcast television. Although commercial television in the United States started to grow soon after World War II, there were no television broadcasting stations in Canada until 1952. Most major Canadian cities are close to the U.S. border, and Canadians soon found that they could receive television stations from major adjacent U.S. cities. Many areas, however, were unable to receive signals "off-air", therefore some enterprising TV servicemen in small towns and rural areas, where reception was either poor or non-existent, constructed antennaes on hilltops to receive off-air broadcasts. This is a natural situation for the development of cable television systems in Canada.

> The earliest cable television systems in Canada were started in Ontario and British Columbia in 1952 - soon after the pioneer systems of the United States, and the number of cable systems grew rapidly in the absence of restraining government regulation. Today, some twenty years later, cable systems serve more than 1,000,000 households, almost 25% of <u>all</u> households in Canada.[3]

Thus cable television originated as a technical innovation to enable remote Canadian cities and rural communities to draw in distant TV signals from American cities. The demand for CATV, however, grew rapidly with the proliferation of new television channels, and choice became a primary requisite in the growth of the cable industry. Another was the quality of reception in large cities where sky-scrapers interfere with the TV signal reception. An added impetus was provided by the introduction of colour, for a "closed-circuit" system, which cable provides, improves the quality of both colour and signal reception.

Basically most CATV systems offer these features, - more uniform picture quality on all channels delivered on the cable; additional distant channels that the subscriber would not be able to receive on his own devices; and extra local channels, which bring us to a discussion of the major advantage such systems have to offer.

One of the limiting factors in the technology of broadcast communications is the availability of channels to carry all the messages men need to transmit. Television is a colossal hog of the electronic frequencies. The "elbow-room" required by each channel is what makes the over-the-air very high frequency (VHF) TV spectrum the scarcest of our natural resources. No more than twelve channels can be carried out of this choicest part of the TV transmission spectrum.

One of cable TV's great potentials is its inherent ability to end this economy of scarcity on which the power of the present TV broadcasting oligarchy is solidly based. Experts believe that cable could carry as many as eighty channels with present technology. If more were needed, they could be tacked on by using more sophisticated equipment. In addition, cable TV greatly facilitates more diversified use of television by cutting the cost of transmission; for in a CATV system it is possible to transmit directly over the cable without receiving any signal from the air. "Cablecasting" is thus possible while eliminating the high cost of building and running an over-the-air transmitter. Public access channels are thereby provided for cablecasting, or "narrow casting", as it is sometimes called, to indicate the increasing decentralization and fragmentation of audiences which results from such use of cable when used as a medium for the direct engagement of people with

people as an institution which allows the separate voices of the community to be heard. By freeing television from the limitation and scarcity of radiated electro-magnetic waves, cable creates for television a whole new situation of copiousness which makes possible far broader access to its channels.

Community Programming - A New Concept

In the early years of its development, the cable industry did not originate programs over their wires. In time, however, some systems began to make use of their empty channels, and now the industry has become actively involved in locally originating programming, or "cablecasting", i.e. feeding programming directly into the cable systems (as distinguished from those broadcasts received "off-air"). A cable operator with a direct line to thousands of homes and several free channels at his disposal is in an excellent position to originate programs and air them at little additional cost. Cablecasting is a logical extension of CATV services. The cable company's primary motivation for providing local origination in the past appears to have been a desire to build good community relations and to offer an additional service that would attract subscribers. More recently, however, the approach of the Canadian Radio Television Commission, (which regulates broadcasting and the cable industry in Canada), has presented a policy which encourages the cable operators to become actively involved in community programming and to provide free access to individuals and community groups who wish to come forth to make use of this new facility.[4]

As a result perhaps the most significant issue facing the burgeon-

ing cable television industry is the question of "free-access". The basic ideology of this concept is that free broadcasting time be set aside for any individual or group that wishes to put its message across on television. Traditionally these rights have been imbedded in the principles of liberal democracy which demand participation of citizens in the political process. The right to receive information is correlative to the right to convey information, and both are necessary for participation. The need for the free expression of ideas within the political system, in order that an informed citizenry might play an active role in the democratic process of government, is basic to such a philosophy. The underlying assumption is that the whole structure of pluralistic democracy rests on the belief that multiplicity is desirable in the presentation of a broad range of opinion to the public, and would serve as a balance or check in the abuses of power, offering a forum for dissident views.

In the United States, right of access to the media is imbedded in the right of free speech, guaranteed by their Constitution. Thus free speech and freedom of the press are fundamental rights which are protected by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. The Federal Communications Commission[5] has taken steps to implement this basic right by the recognition of a right of access to radio and television, and by developing a "fairness doctrine" which its broadcast licensees are required to observe. The U.S. Federal Communications Act requires a broadcasting station to give equal time to all candidates for political office, also providing opportunity for discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance.

Access to the media in the Canadian context differs in that we have no constitutional provisions analogous to those found in the Constitution of the United States, no statutory provisions being explicity entrenched in the British North America Act. The regulatory process[6] is our only recourse, and the legal position of the right of access to existing communications media by the public is closer to a privilege rather than a right in Canada.

To rectify this situation some steps have been taken in this direction with the passage of the latest Broadcast Act in 1968. Under its provisions the Canadian Radio Television Commission was created and charged with the responsibility of the "imposition of obligation upon broadcasters in order that the need for balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern."[7]

The CRTC has thereby made possible the phenomenon of direct access to one medium of communication - that of cable television. Their move to integrate cable television into the broadcasting system was a policy illustrative of the central role this body plays in the shaping of the kinds of communication systems that evolve in Canada. As a recently tabled communication policy, the "Green Paper" notes:

> All forms of communication are intimately interwoven with the social, cultural and economic fabric of the country, and any change in one has repercussions, sometimes unexpected and often unpredictable, in others. Thus while the CRTC, in fulfilling its responsibilities under the Broadcast Act, can only be concerned with cable television undertakings as part of the Canadian Broadcasting System, its decisions may have a significant impact on the future nature, structure, and ownership of telecommunications systems in all parts of Canada.[8]

Concomitant with this policy, the next Chapter will examine the CRTC and its relationship to the CATV industry.

FOOTNOTES

[1] See Appendix for discussion of "The Common Carrier Issue" where the battle between telephone companies and cable companies regarding ownership of cable is explained.

[2] The Saskatchewan NDP government has declared its intention to establish a provincial cable television system for operation by non-profit community controlled co-operatives, the latter of which would be subject to CRTC licensing. Mr. Pelletier, Minister of Communications, has expressed his concern about this policy, as he would toward any development which would produce provincial variations for eligibility of licenses. (Sask-Tel owns the "hardware" of the cable system. See Appendix I "The Common Carrier Issue".)

[3] Israel Switzer, "Canada" in T.V. Communications, the professional journal of cable television. (U.S.), July 1972, Vol. 9, No. 7, p. 45.

[4] See Chapter III for a detailed discussion of this point.

[5] The U.S. counterpart of our CRTC which regulates all forms of electrical transmissions in the U.S.

[6] The regulatory process is discussed in detail in Chapter III.

[7] The CRTC Public Announcement, July 9, 1970, p. 1. The Broadcast Act will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter III.

[8] Proposals of a Communications Policy for Canada, a position paper of the Government of Canada, The Honourable Gerard Pelletier, Minister of Communications, Ottawa, March, 1973.

CHAPTER III

THE BROADCAST ACT

THE CANADIAN RADIO-TELEVISION COMMISSION AND CABLE POLICY

"Canada is leading the world in developing new forms of direct democracy in its use of cable television."[1] The concept of 'community programming' which the CRTC introduced, represents a giant leap in far-sighted communications policy. Thus the growth of the CATV industry in Canada is strongly related to the legislative and regulatory climate established by the CRTC whose philosophy is one of protecting the public interest.

In its Annual Report of 1970-71, the CRTC noted:

> In dealing with the problems of broadcasting in an accelerated age of social, cultural and technological change, it is imperative to evaluate from time to time the more general contexts and its effect on broadcasting.[2]

In this vein it is therefore essential that consideration be given to the regulation of broadcasting in Canada as it has shaped the development of the CATV industry.

A Brief Overview of the History of Broadcasting Regulations in Canada

"In North America radio and television developed primarily as a commercial media. Typically the programs exist to sell goods, and the stations and networks are private ventures, only lightly touched by state regulations."[3]

In the United States, the Communications Act set up the present Federal Communications Commission to regulate all forms of electrical

transmissions. This is in contrast to the present Canadian system where the Canadian Radio-Television Commission has authority over broadcasting only, other matters being regulated by other government agencies and departments.

In the United States, broadcasting policy has allowed the commercial factor to dominate the development of the broadcast industry, direct advertising being its means of support. The hand of the state has been much heavier in Canadian broadcasting where we have a combination of regulatory methods used in both Britain and the United States.

The Canadian system of broadcasting thus did not develop entirely after the American model, but diverged from it, having a distinctive policy of its own, government commitment to a Canadian approach having strengthened this divergence. A unique Canadian system of broadcasting still endures, reflecting values different from those prevailing in the British or American systems. The Canadian broadcasting system is not entirely State owned. The pattern has been rather to combine the public and private sectors to produce a national system subject in its private and public aspects to direct government regulation. It is this view of the two sectors which has subjected it to public scrutiny through a series of government agencies.

Over the last thirty years successive Canadian federal governments have stated that this country could not exist without a strong and cohesive broadcasting system. They have maintained that such a link is necessary for binding together our people and our territory, and producing a feeling of community.

The task of providing a public service is a very expensive proposition in a country as vast as ours in sheer physical size combined with a relatively small population. Only government can provide a service which, because it must reach all Canadians, is not a viable economic enterprise. This can be accomplished either through its own system or through a heavily regulated private and public system. To compound the difficulties, Canada's bicultural nature means providing two different services to quite distinct cultural groups, both of which must be of a high standard. The main programming problem which is the aim of the Canadian Broadcasting System is the provision of a truly Canadian system reflecting our own values. The economic forces, if the system were left to be private and non-regulated, would dictate a large reliance on American program production and advertising. Thus a state-regulated system has been the only available conclusion arrived at by the various Royal Commissions and special committees set up since the inception of broadcasting in Canada. Since then, Canadian nationalism is the primary aim of government policy on broadcasting. Various reports have stressed that the frequency spectrum is a public resource, and because of this, the State has the responsibility to ensure the proper use of the allocated frequencies.

Historically, the regulation of broadcasting in Canada has evolved from the allocation of radio frequencies by a government department, to state broadcasting by the CBC and its predecessors, to a regulation by a government department on the advice of an independent agency, the Board of Broadcast Governors, and finally, regulation by a truly independent regulatory body, the Canadian Radio-Television Commission. Thus the evolution of broadcasting in Canada has moved from government

licensing and control, to recommendation by the Board of Broadcast Governors, and finally to an almost completely independent body, the Canadian Radio-Television Commission. It is a system that allows government to maintain a watchdog role without having to be itself involved in the day-to-day management of the broadcasting business.[4]

The Broadcasting Act of 1958 established the Board of Broadcast Governors to ensure the 'continued existence and efficient operation of a national broadcasting system'. The Board was to develop a high quality broadcasting service that was 'basically Canadian in content and character.'

Although broadcasters in Canada have been subject to the control of a regulatory body for many years, it was only in 1968 that a new Broadcast Act was passed in Canada and the current regulatory body - the Canadian Radio-Television Commission - was established. The Broadcasting Act of 1968 also included cable television in broadcasting, thereby giving the Commission the responsibility of integrating CATV into the Canadian broadcasting sytem.

With regard to CATV specifically, the objectives expressed by the many Commissions, and reflected in the Broadcast Act, led to the CRTC being concerned as to the impact of CATV on the television broadcaster and how CATV could be developed in a manner that would help the overall broadcast system. The Commission's concern has been reflected in a desire 'to restore the licensing logic of the Canadian broadcasting system.' They wished to strengthen Canada's television service to help develop national unity and identity.[5]

The 1968 Broadcasting Act sets out the extent of the delegation of

parliament's powers over the broadcasting system to the newly created Canadian Radio-Television Commission. Section two sets out a broadcasting policy for Canada, establishing what it calls "a single system .... composing public and private elements", and the aims of the system being "to safeguard, enrich, and strengthen the cultural, political, social, and economic fabric of Canada...."[6]

The Structure and Function of the Canadian Radio-Television Commission

"The chief function of the Commission is to regulate and to supervise all aspects of the Canadian Broadcasting System, including its private and public elements. The public hearing process is an important aid to this function, not only because it assists the licensing aspects of the function, but also because it enables the Commission to communicate regularly with broadcasters and the public in an open forum."[7]

Public hearings are held at least once a month (with the exception of July and August). They take place anywhere in Canada, and where possible the Commission attempts to hear applications in the regions of Canada to which they are applicable. Where such scheduling is possible, it accommodates not only the applicants, but interested members of the public who might wish to intervene in certain applications, or make general representation to the Commission concerning the broadcasting needs in a given locality.

The CRTC thereby functions as a mini-government where the rules are of its own making, restricted only by broad policy as outlined in the governing legislation. This independent Commission has been designed to remove certain subjects from politics by putting the decision-making power in this body which is removed from pressure group

and partisan influence; thus decisions in the regulation of private enterprise are made by Commission members considered to be 'experts' who are above the exigencies of day-to-day government decisions and partisan politics.

The CRTC, like other regulatory bodies, has a mandate to protect the public. Various reports by the many Royal Commissions on broadcasting which have existed in the past have stressed that the frequency spectrum is a public resource, therefore the state has the responsibility to ensure the proper use of allocated frequencies. The CRTC must not only meet certain roles in its dual role of adjudication and administration, but it must also define its goals and by so doing, becomes in reality a judiciary body, or mini-legislature.

The Commission is made up of fifteen members, five of whom are full-time and have seven year appointments, and ten who act on a part-time basis and are appointed by Cabinet to represent the various geographic regions of the country. While all decisions on licenses are made by the permanent Commissioners, the part-time Commissioners must be consulted in this regard.

Since its inception the Commission has taken a number of very strong, and often contentious, positions in regard to who should have broadcasting licenses and how the responsibilities of licensees should be fulfilled.

The Nature of the CATV License

Cable television undertakings come under exclusive federal jurisdiction, a CATV system is 'a broadcasting undertaking' within Section 3 (e) of the Broadcasting Act of 1968 and comes under the licensing

authority of the CRTC; but a cable television operator must obtain two licenses from two different federal authorities in order to do business. Prior to April 1, 1968 when the new Broadcasting Act of 1968 came into effect, the cable television operator only needed to obtain a license for his radio apparatus from the Minister of Transport. With the change in licensing policy initiated by the CRTC, the cable companies are required to submit proposals for application in detailed outline of projected operating income, expenses, and other financial estimates, as well as programming plans, to the Commission prior to a public hearing.

The CATV license in Canada can be for a period of up to five years. It specifies the physical area to be served and the signals that are to be received and distributed by the licensee. It stipulates the site of the head-end tower and studio. It also contains a number of general terms and conditions, particularly one requiring that any change in the ownership of the licensee is subject to Commission approval. A licensee, in accepting a license, has supposedly also accepted the Commission's general policy statements as in effect being conditions of his license. However, there is some considerable legal doubt as to this matter and it appears that such policy statements must be incorporated into regulations which have to be gazetted and be the subject of a public hearing. Nevertheless, in practice, an aspiring applicant would clearly only ignore policy at his own jeopardy. Further, if the Commission asks an applicant at a hearing how he intends to implement any aspect of Commission policy, and he responds, then his response technically becomes part of his applica- and he is bound to fulfill such commitment.

Thus the licensee technically is subject to a hearing for renewal within five years of being awarded the license, and must answer at that hearing a number of questions pertaining to his operations under that license. In particular, he is required to have wired his full service area within the term of his license. If he does not do so, then he will have to provide a good reason why the Commission should not take that area away from him and award it to some other licensee. Similarly, if he committed to do anything else as part of his application and did not fulfill the promise, then it would be a matter for discussion at the time of the renewal hearing.

CATV Regulation and Its Implementation by the CRTC

Historically, broadcast television has always been a heavily regulated industry, the necessity for regulation being a direct consequence of the nature of the radiated television signal (which requires space on the electro-magnetic spectrum). Hence there must be allocation through some means. The history has been for the government first to allocate, then intervene, in order to assure that the power it transfers with its allocation is not misused.

The cable signal is not radiated over the air; therefore, the stance taken by the government toward the regulation of the CATV has been one that might be described as 'relaxed'. Some regulation to assist in promoting the beneficial uses of cable and encouraging diversity in those uses, has been exercised, in order to ensure the orderly growth of cable; because in any locality cable television has many of the aspects of an orderly monopoly, regulation can be a source of protection for the public interest.

The Commission has, in general, taken the view that additional regulation is not desirable simply for the sake of regulation. Thus they have approached the subject with the common agreement that special legislation with respect to cable television is unnecessary, relying instead on existing laws and statutes.

The Broadcasting Act of 1968 which created the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, also empowered it to supervise and co-ordinate the growth of the Canadian CATV industry. Specifically, the CRTC was charged with the responsibility of assuring 'the harmonious integration of cable television into the Canadian Broadcasting System', Section 3(d) of the Act entrusting the Commission with regulating Canada's growing CATV industry.

The CRTC, because it is an administrative tribunal, faced with what was obviously a very important new dimension in communications - the rapidly expanding cable television industry - reacted with a series of policy statements or guidelines, the industry being self-regulated to a high degree. Enforcement of Commission policy is thus accomplished by the regulatory process, (the issuing and renewing of licenses), a licensee being required to satisfy the Commission that he has lived up to his license commitments made in his application. If not, he is theoretically in jeopardy of not attaining a license renewal.[8]

> In 1968, the Parliament of Canada enacted the Broadcasting Act. Part I of the Act contains a declaration of a broadcast policy for Canada which sets out in perhaps the broadest terms to be found in any federal statute, the policy objectives to be achieved by the legislation. The central declaration is that 'broadcasting undertakings in Canada make use of radio frequencies that are public property and such undertakings constitute a <u>single system</u>, herein referred to as

the Canadian Broadcasting System, comprising public and private elements'."[9]

The role of the CRTC (which the Broadcast Act created) is a supervisory and policy-making one, whose task is to implement Canadian broadcasting philosophy as it is embodied in the Act. This philosophy envisages all aspects of the Canadian broadcasting industry as constituting a 'single system' which includes the CATV industry.

Despite the fact that the CATV industry was at the time of the implementation of the Broadcast Act only in its initial stages of development in Canada, it had already become an extremely viable and competitive force within the broadcasting system. Therefore, in an effort to move cautiously during the long and difficult process of developing a comprehensive CATV policy,[10] many sets of 'guidelines' or 'interim policies' were proposed by the Commission in the years from 1968 to 1971. Finally the July 16, 1971 policy statement on cable established the basis of Canadian cable television policy which is elaborated within the framework set down by parliament in the Broadcasting Act. The Commission does not see itself as vested with any other authority than that of implementing the basic policy decisions laid down by parliament. In their Policy Statement, the Commission states that it intends to shape cable television policy so that the industry can forcefully contribute to the achievement of the fundamental objectives laid down in the Broadcasting Act; namely "to safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social, and economic fabric of Canada".[11] As a consequence, the Commission has adopted certain policies, the most innovative of which maintains that CATV systems provide "access to a channel for community expression and information".[12] This channel is

included in their list of priorities which spell out the basic services each CATV system must provide to its community.

The CRTC requires that cable distributors apply a priority system in the allocation of channels. In any given community a cable company must carry local stations before regional ones.[13] The significance of the priority system is that it protects local stations from losing their audience to out-of-town channels in the case of duplication of programming.[14]

In its first policy statement, the Commission encouraged local programming and developed the concept of cable companies as local programmers "enriching community life by fostering communications among individuals and community groups."[15] (It is important to note here that implicit in such a directive is the fact that community participation is a factor in shaping community programming if it is to succeed.)

This theme matured with subsequent policy statements wherein interim policies and sets of guidelines gave meaning to this concept through a priority list. This list is used as a basis for determining the channels carried by a system, one consequence of which is that it has been made mandatory that at least one channel be left open for community programming.

The list of signal priorities contained in the May 13, 1969 Public Announcement was revised in a public announcement issued April 10, 1970, as follows:

(a) CBC network service
(b) Canadian private network service
(c) Canadian B contour ~~TV~~ stations
(d) A channel for community programs

(e) The Commission may require reception from additional Canadian stations which have significantly different program schedules from those stations which come within categories (a) to (c)
(f) Service from one non-Canadian commercial station
(g) Service from one non-Canadian non-commercial station
(h) If a system carries FM stations, it should carry all available Canadian FM stations in both official languages
(i) A CATV system may be required to carry, at the discretion of the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, the signals of AM broadcast stations where they are needed because of special circumstances

A later policy statement brought into clearer focus the problems posed by cable in relation to television and radio. Working with broadcasters and cable operators towards methods by which problems could be overcome and the potential of both sectors could best be realized, the CRTC proposed a policy which it hoped would help to strengthen Canadian broadcasting within the framework of the present Broadcast Act:

> One of the objectives of Canadian Broadcasting should be to encourage more diversity, more choice, more variety of subject matter, opinions, of ideas - rather than to reduce choice and diversity. The aim stated in the Broadcasting Act, namely to "safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada" is a positive one, which if fulfilled, would add to the spectrum of views and creativity offered to Canadians.[6]

Emphasis in this policy statement for cable television is on the implication of the role of CATV both as 'broadcast receiving undertakings' and as 'originators of programming' for the broadcasting system as a whole. As a consequence, this document is essentially one which approves the growth and development of the CATV industry within its broader context, and in a manner to design and strengthen the total broadcasting system.

Concerning the Locally Programmed Channel, the statement reads as

follows:

> The Commission has consistently emphasized the opportunity available to cable television system licensees 'to enrich community life by fostering communication among individuals and community groups'. It has also encouraged cable television systems to provide programs which are substantially different from those available from off-air sources.[17]

The CRTC has distinguished between the commercial local programming of the conventional broadcaster and the community local programming of the cablecaster. Cable programming is seen as being more community originated and only supplemented by programs produced outside the community. A further distinction is made in the definition of 'community programming' versus 'local origination'. They define community programming as "a process which involves direct citizenship participation in programming, planning and production. Access to the community channel is the responsibility of the cable television licensee but the means which are employed to best further the use of the channel for the local citizen to establish fair access and to facilitate production, can be as varied as necessary to satisfy local needs."[18]

'Local origination' is defined as programming which "usually consists of coverage of local activities of all kinds. Whereas community programming involves local citizens in the planning and production process, local origination usually involves the coverage of organized local activity under the direct supervision of a cable television system staff."[19] This is particularly significant in that it recognizes that in the production of community programming, the people of the community must be senders of information, not merely receivers. They advise that "the amount of community programming should reflect the community's continuing needs, and should, therefore, take priority."[20]

Furthermore, the Commission has stressed two other features of community programming, first, that "CATV programmers will be motivated by innovation rather than imitation", and second, that "local programs should be based on access and freedom from the restraintive program schedules which are often less flexible in conventional broadcasting."[21]

Cablecasters are therefore encouraged to provide unfiltered community expression without trying to edit and compress programming content into the formats and routines of conventional television. Emphasis is given to the Commission's policy which precludes the use of commercials on the community channel, a non-commercial climate being regarded as a most important element in ensuring maximum free access and creativity by all segments of the community. They have stated:

> While there may be exceptional circumstances where it is desirable to permit the selling of advertising on the locally programmed channel, the Commission believes that, in general, the selling of advertising by cable television licensees would not be beneficial to the Canadian Broadcasting System at this time.[22]

The Commission has expressed the view that since advertising is a subtle censor, it follows that it would tend to place the cablecaster in the same position as a commercial broadcaster placing him in the same competitive markets; he would not then be fulfilling the Commission's directive to 'complement rather than compete' with commercial broadcasting. Furthermore, because the cablecaster has the advantage of producing and transmitting programs more cheaply than the commercial broadcaster, they would be in an unfair advantageous position vis-a-vis the commercial broadcaster.

In addition, advertising is seen as being, by definition, intended for mass reception. If such pressure is not brought to bear in order

to attract mass audiences, the Commission has stated that the cablecaster is then free to emphasize 'narrowcasting', catering to minority audiences. Therefore, to introduce a commercial element would be to lose the element of 'community' which has been created for cable programming.

Furthermore, if access to television is determined by economic factors, then commercial sponsorship would result in the exclusion of the many special interest groups which make up our fragmented pluralistic society. The expense of conventional broadcasting has meant that often only major or official points of view have had access to the mass media. The relative cheapness of cable means that a broader spectrum of views can attain visibility.

The Commission has expressed the view that it is hopeful that cablecasting can provide the opportunity to fully carry out the Broadcast Act's objective for public affairs programming - that of providing "a reasonable balanced opportunity for the expression of different views on matters of public concern",[23] thus placing a high value on diversity and a maximum flow of ideas. Furthermore, emphasis in Canadian broadcasting policy has always been placed on localization of broadcasting. One of the primary rules of CATV, since it is essentially local in nature, is envisaged by the Commission as one of providing a multiple outlet for ideas and information in its locality:

> Over the years, Canada has evolved a broadcasting system intended to serve local areas rather than vast regions. Successive regulatory bodies have preserved the concept of the local broadcaster, serving basically one population centre and its surrounding smaller communities... the rapid spread of cable television provides an opportunity for strengthening this concept of local broadcasting.[24]

Thus community television is seen as providing an opportunity for achieving a real community context which can compliment the broader programming provided by conventional television, and a prime means of giving citizens access to the media.

Summary

It has been shown that successive parliaments have decided that the air waves are a public trust, and that the broadcasting system should provide a balance of national, regional, and local programming.

The CRTC has provided a basis for significant local programming by the provision of community channels on cable television systems. They have been the main catalyst in this regard. They advocate that such channels should not be utilized for purposes of entertainment but should provide information and outlets which will enable people to communicate better with each other and with decision-makers. It should be utilized to stimulate involvement by citizens and ensure the citizens' right to be informed as well as the right to inform others, thereby becoming an important tool in achieving true participatory democracy.

The grass roots approach to broadcasting encouraged by the Commission in essence encourages 'process' rather than 'product'. That is, the process of putting out a program which best serves that community is nurtured in a climate of free and open access, whereas on the other hand concern with the 'product' or TV show itself results in a limited access situation. Community programming can be of real service to the public interest only insofar as it augments the diversity of programming made available via conventional broadcasting, i.e., increases the range of choice or options available. If it widens the scope of broadcasting

to include those aspects of communication which allow citizens to participate, then cable can make a great contribution toward the achievement of the fundamental objectives of the Broadcast Act, namely "to safeguard, enrich, and strengthen the cultural, political, social and economic fabric of Canada...."[25]

FOOTNOTES

[1]Local Cablecasting - A New Balance. A talk by Pierre Juneau, Chairman, Canadian Radio-Television Commission, at the Canadian Cable Television Association, 15th Annual Convention and Trade Show, Banff, July 6, 1972.

[2]Annual Report, Canadian Radio-Television Commission, 1970-71, p. 20.

[3]Frank Peers, The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting: 1920-51, University of Toronto Press, 1969, p. 3.

[4]Historically in Canada and the United States, two of the major subjects of government granted licenses to private enterprises have been transportation and broadcasting. In both industries there are examples of direct government ownership as well as control through government licensing and/or review of rates.

[5]However, in terms of responsibility to the viewer, they did not wish to reduce the choice and flexibility offered by CATV. As a consequence, the Commission issued a cable policy statement on July 16, 1971 which is essentially a document approving the growth and development of CATV within the broadcast system but in a manner designed to strengthen the total broadcast system.

[6]Statues of Canada, 1968. Section 2(c).

[7]Christopher Johnston, "Procedure at CRTC Hearings". A paper given at Osgoode Hall, Toronto, May 23, 1973.

[8]This was discussed in the preceding section The Nature of the CATV License.

[9]John E. Lawrence. "Some notes on CRTC Regulations, License Conditions and Developments in the Regulatory Process." A paper given at Osgoode Hall, Toronto, May 23, 1973.

[10]With regard to the regulation of program origination, Pierre Juneau, Chairman of the CRTC has, on various informal occasions, underlined the lenient and more relaxed position taken by the Commission in an effort to let forms develop themselves . . The view that a high degree of self-regulation in programming originating on cable system is desirable, is in line with the overall policy to help the development of cable television and strengthen the total broadcasting

system as a 'single system' as described in the Broadcasting Act.

The policy of 'self-regulation' has, however, left the regulatory environment of cable still fraught with uncertainty and ambiguity. Recognizing the need for improving communications at the grass roots level, the Commission wishes to encourage the industry to play a meaningful role in this regard, without discouraging the motivating economic factor which drives private enterprise. To strike such a delicate balance is not an easy task in the provision of communication services to the public by private enterprise. Such a situation engenders economic forces which tend toward the establishment of monopoly situations which, if left unchecked, would jeopardize the industry. On the other hand, the Commission wishes to serve the public interest. The attitude of the Commission is, therefore, one of moving slowly and cautiously in formulating policy.

[11]Policy Statement on Cable Television, CRTC Announcement, July 16, 1971, Canadian Broadcasting "a single system".

[12]Ibid.

[13]It is important to take note of the fact that the Commission has placed network service ahead of local signals, but a channel for local origination ahead of non-Canadian signals.

[14]Restriction of non-Canadian signals is motivated by concern for audience fragmentation and the resulting impairment of the economic viability of the local independent stations in the area affected.

[15]Canadian Radio Television Commission. Public announcement, CATV, May 13, 1969.

[16]Canadian Broadcasting "A Single System". Policy statement on Cable Television CRTC, July 16, 1971.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid.

[21]CRTC Public Announcement, May 13, 1969.

[22]Policy Statement on Cable Television, CRTC announcement, July 16, 1971, Canadian Broadcasting "a single system".

[23]Statutes of Canada, 1968. Section 2(c).

[24]Cable Television in Canada, January 1971 CRTC publication, p. 28.

[25]Statutes of Canada, 1968. Section 2(c).

CHAPTER IV

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The study of communications and community development is an interdisciplinary exercise. The theorists and researchers who are concerned with human communication represent a wide range of disciplines and conceptual orientations which we will presently discuss. The term 'communications' encompasses the bulk of social behavior, for the vital force of human relations is man's capacity to send and receive messages in countless ways. In this sense communication permeates the social environment and is part of every aspect of social life. This means that analyses of processes of communication represent one means of analyzing and studying social life.

Communication, the process by which messages are transferred from a source to a receiver, is not only a vital aspect of social change, it is necessary prerequisite for it. Because communication is such an essential part of social change, perhaps an analyses of social change must ultimately focus upon communication processes.

The perspective of the systems approach is now at the forefront of general sociological theory. The recent concern with 'systems', 'wholes', or 'organization', is reflected in the trend marked by the emergence of new disciplines such as cybernetics, information theory, and general system theory, which are increasingly being introduced to the social sciences. Modern systems theorists link closely the generalized concept of organization to that of information and communication

because it views the socio-cultural system as a set of elements linked almost entirely by way of the communication of information. Such an approach regards living organisms as essentially 'open systems'; that is, systems exchanging matter with their environment. With advances in technology a systems approach has become necessary. The complexities of modern technology and modern life have required a change in basic categories of thought: in one way or another we are forced to deal with 'wholes', or 'systems' in all fields of knowledge. This implies a basic reorientation of scientific thinking.

Consideration of social phenomena in terms of 'systems'[1] has been accomplished by both Walter Buckley and Ludwig von Bertalanffy[2] who offer excellent conceptual frameworks which can be applied to the study of the socio-cultural system. Their central unifying theme is an attempt to outline the development of a model of the socio-cultural system as a 'complex-adapative system' with fluid, ever-shifting, structures, whose viability as on-going systems depends upon this typical tendency to create, elaborate, or change their structure, subject to pressure from outside, that must be reconciled with internal pressures. Constant interchange between the various components is what characterizes social systems, i.e. 'in-puts' and 'out-puts' across the boundary su systems. Models of such 'open' systems follow a 'feedback' scheme, the basis of the open system model being one of dynamic interaction with other systems. (For feedback exists between systems that are open and thus contingent upon other systems).

Such application has been made in the closely related fields of cybernetics and information which have created so much interest in the past few decades du mainly to advances in technology. The central notion in

both fields is that of the mechanism of feedback as being the basis of purposeful behavior in machines, living organisms and social systems.

The term 'cybernetics' was first coined by Norbert Wiener[3] in 1948, resulting from the then recent development in computer technology, information theory, and self-regulating machines. Wiener chose as a vehicle for analysis of society to which he applied the cybernetic, feedback, and information concepts previously restricted to the field of technology.

Such ideas occurred about the same time to several writers, among them Dr. Shannon of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, and Dr. Warren Weaver of the Rockerfeller Foundation. Their mathematical theory of communication[4] developed for communication engineers, is closely connected with Systems Theory. The central notion of information theory is that of information as a commodity which circulates in a system. 'Entropy' or lack of information about the structure of a system is a concept from the second law of thermodynamics which states that a system naturally tends toward disorder, ie. is 'entropic'. The degree of a system's entropy is said to be equal to the negative of its information; that is, information contributes to the system, reduces entropy, and results in change. A system is said to be 'close[d] when entropy dominates the feedback process. It is a function of feedback mechanisms to control the tendency toward disorganization in closed systems, for feedback, as stated previously, exists between systems that are open and thus contingent upon other systems. Wiener points out that it is erroneous to talk about communication systems without the existence of a feedback channel and its use which can change a situation from one in

which real communication takes place: "Feedback is the property of being able to adjust future conduct by past performance."[5] Thus feedback which exists between open systems (which are contingent upon other systems) is the mechanism which provides useful information which can accelerate change.

Wiener's thesis is that "society can only be understood through a study of the messages and the communication facilities which belong to it."[6] He believes that "to live effectively is to live with adequate information".[7]

Information theory has been slow in gaining attention among the social scientists interested in large social systems. Cadwallader[8] sketches how some of the concepts and principles of cybernetics and information theory have been used in the analysis of social organization. One of the pioneers in this area has been Kenneth Boulding, who has demonstrated that cybernetics can be employed as a theoretical system in the analysis of social and economic institutions, distinguishing between 'entropic' and 'anti-entropic' processes in his exploration of the dynamics of society:

> Knowledge about the social system is an essential part of it.... by affecting our behavior it affects the course of the social system itself.... as we move towards more secure and exact knowledge of the social system the process of change is likely to accelerate. The rate of social invention is likely to increase, and in a relatively short time we may see profound transformation in social institutions and behavior as a result of cumulative knowledge about the system itself.... The key to development is knowledge.[9]

There are several basic conceptual models of communication which attempt to put in status schematic form what happens when an act of human communication takes place. Models provide us with a way of looking at, and abstracting from, the totality of communication; therefore

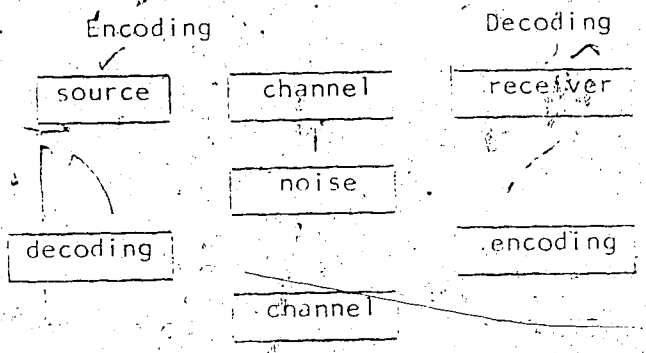
the model itself should be regarded as arbitrary, as it represents an act of creation. The difficulty with every such model is that it is grossly inadequate when applied to human communication which is a very complex process. Such attempts have been made by many; those of Abbey, Berlo, Cherry, Doob, Rogers, Thayer, Schramm, Wiener and Youngblood, to name but a few, were found to be particularly useful.

Berlo[10] has proposed that human communication involves an action-reaction interdependence. The action of the source affects the reaction of the receiver which in turn affects the subsequent reaction of the source. Reactions serve as feedback; thus communication sources and receivers are mutually interdependent for existence and for feedback.

If communication is to occur, a number of requirements must be met. There must always be a source, a message, a channel, and a receiver. What happens when the source tries to build up a 'commonness' (the word communication comes from the Latin 'communis', meaning common) with his intended receiver, require some explanation.

First, the source 'encodes' his message. That is, he takes the information or feelings he wants to share and puts it into a form or 'code' that can be transmitted. The receiver then 'decodes' the message after he receives it.

Abbey has drawn a simple model of communication which summarizes that process:[11]



This model can be utilized as one which represents an 'ideal' communication system, the existence of a feedback channel being the critical component which is central to a true communication system (To be truly termed communication, there must be interaction and exchange taking place.

Obviously person-to-person communication permits maximum feedback. All available communication channels can operate. The source has an opportunity to change his message on the spot as a result of the feedback he gets. In the process of communicating, as soon as the receiver enters into feedback, he becomes a source, and the original source becomes a receiver.

The degree to which the meaning responses of both source and destination is always less than identical and is called 'noise', which is almost always present, and which reduced correspondence.

Engineers speak of 'signal to noise' ratios in describing the 'fidelity' of a communication system. This is a useful notion for human communication for such problems always exist, human communication being less than perfect (ie. perfect correspondence is seldom achieved.

Many theorists have extended this applicability of information theory to a simple act of human communication, to include mass communications. They see information theory as providing a powerful analogue and assistance in the study of mass communications but lay stress on the lack of direct feedback possible from the receiver to the sender. To accommodate the mass communication process, the elementary theoretical system or model delineated must be somewhat elaborated and expanded. Essentially this is an elaboration of the channel, in both the major and the feedback set of components. The difference then becomes one involving large numbers of people.

The difference in quantity of people in the mass communications process does not involve a difference in underlying principles; it is a difference in degree rather than in kind. The relationship between a given mass communicator and his audience still following the same principles has been outlined above. This is not to say that significant differences do not occur. Much research in this area suggests that mass communication can differ considerably in its consequences, as it involves a mass medium, as compared to direct face-to-face communication:

Berlo[12] conceptualizes the mass media in terms of systems of human communication but notes two basic distinguishing features: face-to-face communication involves more sense modalities, and provides immediate feedback. Thus systems of mass communication have fewer kinds of stimuli coming into play and there is minimum opportunity for feedback.

Perhaps the most pervasive of existing models of the mass communication process is that of Harold Lasswell, whose classic essay

delineated the place the mass media occupy in our society. He does not divide the act of communication, but views it as a whole in relation to the entire social process. Furthermore, he distinguishes the specialized functions of mass communication to be: (1) surveillance of the environment; (2) the correlation of the parts of society in responding to the environment; (3) the transmission of the social heritage from one generation to the next. His classic formulation of the act of communication is:

> "Who
> Says what
> Through what channels
> To Whom
> With what effect?" [13]

This paradigm has stimulated much research focused mainly not upon the processes of mass communication per se, but upon the 'effects' of various media of mass communication on attitudes and behavior. Contemporary research in mass communication has thus uniformly stressed the effects of mass communications (as agents of persuasion) as their major object of investigation.

There are two extreme points of view taken in theories concerning the 'effects' of mass media. The first is that they are extremely potent, their effects being both direct and powerful on mass audiences and in the hands of advertisers, political propagandists, and mass educators, and manipulating man against his will: This is sometimes called the '1984 theory', or 'hypodermic needle theory', the effects attributed to the mass media bearing a close parallel to the stimulus - response ideas current in psychology. An early classical writer on public opi-

nion, Walter Lippman,[14] speaks of the 'pictures in our heads which are formed by the mass media, which serve to place an insertion between man and his environment of a 'pseudo-environment'. Katz and Lazarsfeld have described their theory as visualizing "the omnipotent media on the one hand, sending forth messages, and the atomized masses waiting to receive it - and nothing in between."[15]

In opposition to this is the kind of theory whose proponents such as Lazarsfeld and Merton[16] hold that the very nature of the mass media lead them to be conservative and to oppose change, rather than to bring it about, and to stay close to the status quo, promoting a strong allegiance to our social structure. This was the tack taken by most social scientists between the 1940's and the 1950's. They minimized the social impact of television and other mass media and discounted the power of the mass media.

In between these two extremes, research by Katz and Lazarsfeld showed that 'opinion-leadership' intensifies the effect of persuasive communication by the mass media in a "two-step-flow of communication."[17] The result is an interplay of personal influence via 'opinion-leadership' and the mass media. This concept replaces traditional images of the audience seen as masses of discrete disconnected individuals hooked up to the media but not to each other, and helped focus attention upon the indirect role of the mass media. Lazarsfeld, Merton, and Schramm have all elaborated on this notion of "opinion leaders" Lazarsfeld and Merton[18] describing them as recipients who are the centre of a web of primary group relationships within the community, who serve as connecting links to the outside world. Schramm[19] points out their enormous power as 'Gatekeepers' all along the sets of interlocking chains that

make up our communication networks. These gatekeepers select or filter out information that will be transmitted, thus having the right to open or close the gate to any message that comes along.

The demise of the 'hypodermic needle' model was brought about by the now famous classic study of voting behavior in Erie County, Ohio, during the 1940 presidential election, by Lazarsfled, Berelson and Gaudet.[20] They were the first to analyze in detail the process whereby personal influence interacted with an interpersonal network. They described the flow of mass communication as being interpreted and passed on by the 'opinion leaders' to their everday associates in a 'two-step flow'. This hypothesis suggested that the image of modern society needed to be revised to one which could reconcile the networks of interconnected individuals through which mass communications are channeled. The spuriousness of the Atomistic assumption of the masses as large bodies of disconnected individuals, which underlies the mythology of the mechanistic hypodermic model, became clear. Therefore, society could no longer be conceptualized as comprising large, undifferentiated masses waiting to receive messages injected by omnipotent media. The so-called 'masses' were seen as breaking down into many differentiated sub-groups.

While the mass communication research and theory of the recent past and of the contemporary period has almost uniformly stressed 'effects' as the major object of explanation, later research has gone beyond the identification of effects, and has been able to describe much of the dynamics of their occurrence.

Surveys of more recent literature and laboratory studies reveal

that it has been repeatedly demonstrated that by far the most common effect of mass communication is to reinforce its audience's pre-existing interests, attitudes and behavior, and that the least common effect is to convert audience attitudes and behavior. Thus a new orientation toward the study of communications effects has become more conspicuous. Klapper[21] describes this new approach as "phenomenistic", "situational", or "functional". He sees the effects of media as being "mediated" in a total situation, often working midst other influences which vary under different conditions. Central to this approach is the identification of those conditions or "mediating factors" which tend, for the most part, to make mass communications an agent but not the sole cause of reinforcement effects. He has proposed that mass communications in and of themselves do not significantly effect persuasion, but serve primarily as agents that reinforce whatever predisposition its audience members brings with them. This phenomenistic trend is now at the forefront of research in mass communication. Older orientations which attempted to assess a stimulus - response kind of relationahip, having now given way to assessments of the role of the stimulus (mass media) in a body of observed pehnomena.

A promising approach to understanding the relationship between mass media and the rest of society is provided by viewing the media as social systems which operate within a specific external system - the set of social and cultural conditions that is the society itself. This is in keeping with current general sociological theory's preoccupation with the nature of social systems; the functional relationship prevailing between parts of systems then becomes the focus of this strategy of investigation. Melvin De Fleur employs the perspective of 'func-

tional analysis' as a conceptual tool for exploring the function of the mass media as social systems. This perspective allows for the viewing of the relationships between the various components of 'sub-systems' of the larger social system which makes up a society. Functional analysis attempts to show how a specific phenomenon occurring within a social system has consequences that contribute to the stability and permanence of the system as a whole, within the context of the greater social system of which it is a part. This approach recognizes that the structure of each system of mass communication is influenced by the general social, political, economic and cultural conditions current during its period of development, and which remain as important socio-cultural forces in the society within which each media system operates. Thus to understant its operation, it is necessary to consider its relationship with other systems within the society. In De Fleur's words "the spread of the media is a set of social events which offer important data to the student of social change.... no medium of mass communication exists in a social vacuum. It is linked inextricably to complex and changing cultural constraints."[22]

De Fleur describes the 'diffusion curves' or patterns of adoption that the media, as cultural innovations, themselves trace as they spread through society, according to the same principles as other cultural innovations.

The studies of the diffusion of innovations, including the part played by mass communication, promise to provide an empirical and quantitative basis for developing more vigorous approaches to the order of social change. Everett Rogers has analyzed, in a social-

psychological framework the processes by which innovations are adopted, the role of "opinion-leaders" in influencing this process and the role of change agents in "diffusing innovations", thereby linking social change to communication. In his original work, Rogers proposes four crucial elements in the analysis of the diffusion of innovation to be: "(1) the innovation, (2) its communication from one individual to another, (3) in a social system, (4) over time."[23]

In a more recent work, his model of the "Innovation-Decision-Process" consists of four functions or stages: "(1) knowledge (awareness), (2) persuasion, (3) decision, (4) confirmation."[24]

> Communication is essential for social change.... the process of social change consists of three sequential steps. (1) invention, (2) diffusion, and (3) consequences. Invention is the process by which new ideas are created or developed. Diffusion is the process by which these new ideas are communicated to the members of a social system. Consequences are the changes that occur within a social system as a result of the adoption or rejection of the innovation. Change occurs when a new idea's use or rejection has an effect. Social change is, therefore, an effect of communication.[25]

> Perhaps all analyses of social change must ultimately center primary attention upon communication processes. In fact all explanations of human behavior directly stem from an examination of how individuals acquire and modify ideas through communication with others. The learning process, the diffusion process, the change process and so on, all basically involve the communication of ideas.[26]

Furthermore, he draws a distinction between the consequences of interpersonal communication and those of mass communication:

> Mass media channels are relatively more important at the knowledge function and interpersonal channels are relatively more important at the persuasion function in the innovation-decision process.[27]

> A combination of mass media and interpersonal communication channels is the most effective way of reaching people with new ideas and persuading them to utilize these innovations.[28]

The media are themselves cultural innovations which spread through societies according to the same principles as other cultural innovations, influencing each other in the process. Wilbur Schramm sees the rise of mass communications in a mass society becoming possible only when a society has emerged to the state where its social organizations and technological capabilities have developed to the state where they merge together for the production and distribution of mass messages. Every society develops specialized agencies or institutions for public communication which are central to public socialization and which answers the needs of that society. Each new communication technology interacts with the total society and serves as a force for bringing about social change.

Schramm sees each medium of mass communications as being inextricably bound to the complex and changing cultural constraints of the society of which it is a part. "A social system like mass communication always reflects the social and political structures within which it operates."[29]

Viewing the mass media in Buckley's terms then, we can understand one of the most notable features of our electronic media is their continuous change since "the typical response of open systems is elaboration or change of their structure to a higher, more complex level."[30] Thus their capacity to persist depends upon their being "adaptive systems", changing their structure to meet the changing needs of their environment. In an age characterized by change, and where change as

Toffler says, can be said to be our "only constant" - our "global institution"[31] it is not difficult to see why there are such rapid advances in communication technology.

With each forward step of technology, the field of social interaction widens dramatically. Yet it is only recently that scholars have come to pay substantial attention to the interplay between systems of mass communication and society and have begun to ask whether the quality of life has not been altered dramatically by their influence.

In this vein, a promising theory of social change was first introduced by Harold Innis,[32] a Canadian economist turned communications' theorist. He believes that the technology of communications is central to all other technology, and affects all social organization and culture.

Innis' disciple, Marshall McLuhan, also a Canadian, and a 'Futurist', has taken up this theory and carried it further, seeing its effect as being more basic; he sees its effect on sensory organization and thought as being most significant. Every age of man, he proposes, is shaped by the form of information available. These information modes, or 'media' are "extensions of man"[33] which alter our sensory life and therefore what we know.

The main thrust of McLuhan's argument is that history is profoundly changed by the means of communication utilized. His 'technological determinism' maintains that a shift in society's predominant technology of communication is the crucially determining force behind social change, initiating great transofrmations, not only in social organization but in human sensibilities. Since the introduction of electric modes of communication - telegraph, telephones, radio, movies, television, and com-

puters, civilization in the twentieth century is being reshaped from a linear mode to a multi-sensory one. Contemporary man experiences numerous forces of communication simultaneously, often through more than one of his senses, thus initiating sweeping change in the distribution of sensory awareness.

McLuhan maintains that with the use of electronic-information-feeding technology, man will once again come into a fuller life of the senses: "With the computer has arisen the possibility of extending man's consciousness itself as a technological environment." He sees our electronic age as now linking the world into a web of instant awareness - in effect the world has been transformed into a "global tribe" or "global village". Satellites and high-speed telecommunications annihilate time and space in an "all-at-once" environment or global village to which man has returned.[34]

From such beliefs, McLuhan derives his aphorism 'the medium is the message' which means that society is shaped more by the media through which men communicate than by what they communicate.

Significantly, McLuhan's stress on the effects on the media of communication themselves clearly differentiates him from most communication theorists who tend to concentrate on the 'effects' of media content. McLuhan does not deny that the content of the information communicated has an effect but he holds that changes in communication technology are the root causes in change of cultural perspective.

Many communications experts share these views. In a special issue on communication in The Scientific American, George Gerbner phrases it thus:

> Developments in communication not only have extended the human ability to exchange messages but also have transformed the symbolic environment of human consciousness, and are continuing to alter it.... Communication is the environment of social behavior.... For most people television is culture.... The dominant agencies of communication produce the message systems that cultivate the dominant image patterns. They structure the public agenda of existence priorities, values, and relations.... A significant change in this process takes place with a change in the technology, ownership, clientele, or other institutions, characteristic of the dominant communications agencies.... When it occurs, it stems from a change in social relations that puts the old symbolic patterns out of step with the new order.[35]

Other adherents to the fairly recent academic discipline of 'Futurism', such as Alvin Toffler, Jacques Ellul, Peter Drucker, Lewis Mumford, Daniel Bell, Aldous Huxley, and others, describe a society of the future which will be built and shaped by new technology. Jacques Ellul formulates a comprehensive social philosophy of our civilization, exploring the forces behind the development of it. He sees "technology as the real metaphysics of the twentieth century."[36]

What is distinctive about the theories of the 'Futurists' is their belief in the deliberate intervention of human instruments to control change for specific ends. Older theories of social change dealt with impersonal processes. With the growth of modern communications and transportation we are made more quickly aware of the linked consequences of change and the need for planning which presupposes choice and the existence of alternative futures. The Futurists make us acutely aware that the outcomes we will get depend on current policy choices.

These writers of "Post-Industrial" society, (a term first introduced by Daniel Bell) refer to what may be as important a future change as that which was caused by the industrialization in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries:

> Reviewing the prophets of the past, one finds lacking in almost all of them any notion of how a society hangs together, how its parts are related to one another.... they have no awareness of the nature of social systems: their boundaries, the interplay of values, motivations, and resources, the level of social organization, and the constraints of custom and privilege on change. If there is a decisive difference between the future studies that are now under way and those of the past, it consists in a growing sophistication about methodology in an effort to define the boundaries of social systems that come into contact with each other....
>
> The post industrial era is likely to be more of a learning society than that of an industrial society, in part due to the information explosion but also due to the rapidity of change.... The total rate of change and the need for large adaptations is becoming fantastic.[37]

The term 'future shock' has been used to describe the corresponding 'acculturation' trauma that accompanies such rapid change. Alvin Toffler[38] sees the parallel need for adjustment, adaptation and control as being one of the most characteristic and central pehnomena of the early post-industrial era. Technological change is now so rapid that indidivuals and social institutions no longer are able to adapt to it.

Paralleling this phenomenon it is generally recognized that as Daniel P. Moynihan phrases it: "the sense of general community is eroding and with it the authority of its existing relationships."[39] Many writers are currently expounding on the resulting alienation and estrangement experienced by modern man in a mass society. Perhaps Nisbet has best expressed it: "Political alienation among some individuals is an inescapable element of mass society.... feelings of isolations or boredom of being cut off from participation, or of the remoteness and meaninglessness of political order."[40] Nisbet describes the alienation which characterizes modern society as being a manifestation of 'entropy'. Thus in our increasingly information-dependent

Society, in order to develop our communities effectively, there is a need for community developers to function as 'counter-entropic' forces, improving communication. In the words of Thayer, "we know that the basic functions of communications are those intended to enable one to adapt to his environment."[41]

Wiener points out that "the process of receiving and of using information is the process of our adjusting to the contingencies of the outer environment and of our living effectively within that environment. The needs and the complexity of modern life make greater demands upon this process of information than ever before.... to live effectively is to live with adequate information."[42]

Recent decades have witnessed great transformations in our community life. The growth of large metropolitan centres renders older conceptualizations of community living inadequate. It is in this vein that Warren so aptly points out: "the traditional way of thinking about community is no longer adequate.... the notion of the community as a limited geographic area with relatively definite ascertainable boundaries has become less tenable."[43] Warren applies social systems analysis to community pehenomena (utlizing the social system concept which is based on the idea of structured interaction between two or more units, which endures through time) and utilizes Edward O. Moe's conception of the "community is a system of systems."[44] This 'system within systems' relationship of Moe's on which Warren elaborates, is of crucial importance in system analysis as applied to the community, as it must take into account not only the interrelation among sub-systems making up the community social system, but social systems beyond the community as well. Warren says,

> Over the years communities have grown larger and larger. The problem of direct as against representative participation arises in large social bodies not only in government but in various community affairs.... participation in community activities usually takes place through participation in some specialized interest group.[45]

With relation to the community, Sanders points out that "the basic unit analysis for the study of a community is the subsystem, and that the behavior of a community as a total system is greatly dependent upon the interaction among these subsystems."[46] Recognizing the quickening pace of industrialization and urbanization in the past twenty years, Brokensha and Hodge utilize an approach to the study of community which "starts with a notion of the community as a master system encompassing social forms and cultural behavior in interdependent subsiduary systems (institutions)."[47]

The term 'community' today, thus, necessitates a focus on despatialized selective communities rather than on spatial or geographical communities. This takes us beyond the concept of neighbourhood as the geographic and social unit within which urban community development can be undertaken. In such a setting a "community of ideas" or a "community of interests" which transcends geographical boundaries becomes the unit of analysis. Warren states: "A number of important community consequences arise from the processes of differentiation of interests and association, for in this process, the principle basis for social interaction shifts from locality to interest."[48]

Our communities are thus divided into countless communities and interests, and increasingly these communities can be looked at from an intellectual perspective rather than a geographical one.

It is this lexicon of "communities of interest" that necessitates

the development of a comprehensive definition of community development. Warren offers a promising approach:

> One way of describing community development is by saying that it is a process of helping community people to analyze their problems, to exercise as large a measure of autonomy as is possible and feasible, and to promote a greater identification of the individual citizen and the individual organization with the community as a whole. Through such a process, communities may be helped to confront their problems as effectively as possible.[49]

Historically, the first major statement on the subject of community development was accomplished by T. R. Batten, who sees community development as a "process of increasing people satisfaction.... an enlargement of individual freedom."[50]

Du Sautoy lists two of the standard UN definitions of community development. The first:

> Community development has come into international usage to connote the processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of government authorities to improve the economic and social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.[51]

The second is a shorter definition:

> Community development is a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community, with its active participation and the fullest possible reliance upon a community's initiative.[52]

The Canadian Welfare Council defines community development as:

> A process aimed at promoting citizen participation in social affairs, developing people's awareness of problems, enabling them to define their needs in relation to the total environment, making possible that enlightened choice among various options and channeling their results into effective action for social change.[53]

The official Alberta definition is:

> Community development is an educational-motivational process designed to create conditions favourable to economic and social change, if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, then techniques for arousing and stimulating in order to serve the fullest participation of the community must be utilized.[54]

A useful distinction is made by C.A.S. Hynam between community development as "process" (the above definition) which he terms "social animation", and one conceptualized as "program", which he calls "human resources development", and which may be defined as follows:

> Community development is the utilization under one co-ordinator, of a program of approaches and techniques which rely on local communities as units of action to purposefully change living conditions by making use of all available resources.[55]

Both, the author feels, are necessary in order for successful community development to take place.

Despite the many attempts to define the parameters of community development, however, the field is still fraught with uncertainty. Du Sautoy remarks that the term "community development" can have different meanings for different people. As a field of study, it also suffers from a lack of precision in its title."[56]

A reaction to the vague statements and theories of community development has been the emergence of some stringent criticism by such writers as Erasmus and Whitford.[57] Erasmus states:

> In this late hour of our industrial societies' drift into the complexities of post-industrialism.... that community development has as yet made no significant contribution to the tackling of these issues, is generally admitted. In fact, many voices are asking whether community development can help at all in solving the more important problems of Canadian society.[58]

> It is difficult to initiate community development where there is little sense of community. The sheer size of the

> rapidly growing cities and the heterogeneous mass of the urban population are but two of the factors of this complexity.[59]

The authors of the above statement, Brokensha and Hodge, summarize the aims and functions of modern urban community development to be "a process of civic and social education" .... to improve environmental conditions.... to bring resources into the community.... helping people to learn to use and improve the services that exist."[60]

They go on to say:

> Urban community development workers attempt to stimulate a lively sense of community, to improve environmental conditions; and in assisting the latter, to bring resources into the community.... helping people to learn how to use the resources that exist. In brief, this might be termed a process of civil and social education.[61]

Murray Ross defines the community development worker as an "enabler" who "seeks to facilitate the community process."[62]

As has already been established, inter-personal communication processes are essential to the formation and functioning of human groups. The modern urban industrial society could not exist as a social system without mass communication. It has become a deeply established part of every major social institution - political, economic, religious, educational, and familial -- as the social culture or patterns have taken shape in the advanced societies of the world.

Such consideration of systems of mass communication have been combined with an application of Information Theory to the phenomenon of urban life, by Richard Meier. He sees urban life as being characterized by its systems of public communication. In the large urban setting, much interaction occurs between 'anonymous actors' rather than the 'particularistic kind' that characterize those of villages and

tribes. He sees the evolution of cities to have been primarily for the facilitation of human communication. His is a system which views urban development from the perspective of social communications applying information theory for explaining the phenomenon of urbanization: ".... I arrived at the fundamental insight that if a city is an open system that must, if it is to remain viable, conserve negative entropy (information)"[63] His book represents a first attempt to express characteristics of urban organization within a communications-oriented framework defining the city as "adaptive or self maintaining.... each state being a function of preceding states." He fears that the social economic growth of cities, causing "an overloading of communications channels causes stress and disorganization" in bringing us to a crisis situation. What is required, he says, are "changes in the patterns of human interaction so as to reduce communication stress."[64]

In this regard, Meier is applying the concept of Information Theory and cybernetics to urban growth, for he is advocating a reduction of the natural tendency of open systems toward entropy which prohibits change. In order to grow, a system must maintain its adaptive property which he feels will be accomplished only by "increasing the communications rate which is a prerequisite of social economic growth." His index is one of "social communications representing the degree of interaction as information flow."[65]

Fagan discusses the relationship between communications, social change and political functioning. He comments on the fact that many are excluded from political participation:

> The scale, complexity and increasing centralization of a new technology create a host of what might be called problems of access and diversification. No matter how serious or well-

> founded one's 'cause' may be, even in a political system which purports to encourage diversity in public communication, it is neither easy nor cheap to get a national hearing.... access to media facilities is still more or less limited to those with money, influence, bright ideas, or the blessing of the political elite.... it is not in the nature of mass media systems automatically to be open to public participation.[66]

Whatever its effect in our increasingly complex world, information is becoming the basic building block of a society which places increasing emphasis on the production and distribution of information. It is not difficult to conclude, therefore, that if there is one salient fact about information technology, it is that it is bound to produce enormous social change - a change in the 'quality of life'.

Our society has moved from an age where political and economic power were measured in land, or capital, or labour, to an age in which power is measured largely by access to information which, in a mass society, becomes translated to the greatest access possible to our mass media of communication. If access to information becomes diffused, so does power. Particularly democracy then becomes a function of increased communications, and only realizeable in a complex society such as ours, by popular access to the means of mass communications. If knowledge is power, then making information massively available to all citizens by way of individualized two-way information systems - demand television, information retrieval, computer-aided instruction, etc. - could affect a major change in the power structure.

Many have speculated on the relationship between information and political power, and the change that information technology could compel in the social and political order. Some believe that communication and the effective exercise of political power are almost synonymous:

'In an age of total information, access to information and the ability to manipulate it, are equivalent to having and exercising power.'

McLuhan has argued that because the nature of electronic technology (computer-communications technology) is so different from that of older industrial technology, its impact on political and social processes is quite different: because it is instantaneous, simultaneous, 'all-at-once', extremities receiving messages almost as quickly as the centre, the exclusivity of information (which has always been the foundation of authority) is dissipated and dispersed. The implications, he proposes, promise a promotion of a more egalitarian society. Many adherents to this view predict that the technology of tomorrow could open up an entire new range of social and political opportunities and will generate the most profound changes in human history within the next few decades.

The wired city, many feel, could produce numerous positive major changes in the political order: "If information is power, then the more people who have access to it, the more will political power be dispersed.... people might be encouraged to participate in decisions, and by participating, accept the outcomes of decisions."[67]

Alvin Toffler is another proponent of this position, and describes the organizational upheaval and collapse of hierarchy which, he feels, characterize a post-industrial society: "We are moving from bureaucracy to ad-hocracy.... we are witnessing a revolutionary shift in power relationships.... What is involved in such a shift is a virtual revolution in organization structure and human relationships."[68]

Others have discussed this relationship between information and political power. Ben Bagdikian claims:

> Knowledge has always been a key to power. Traditionally political information has been restricted to the highest levels of leadership and only later has trickled down to lower echelons helping to pressure hierarchical authority.... Interchange of information within the population including between governing and the governed is the origin of vigor and creativity in policy, increasing the store of available ideas and testing their relevance. So not only are democratic societies better conditions to the impact of new information and therefore more stable in the face of it, but their system of government is dependent on it.
>
> The history of new modes of communication has been that new information reaching new audiences ultimately alters the status quo and broadens the participation of individuals in the social process. It is not tolerable to accept unified control of the mass media or their use exclusively for commercial purposes. In the future expansion of communications the lessons of the past would seem to be not increased rigidity in a futile attempt to force new channels into old practices but to create social and political institutions appropriate for a world in which all populations will begin to have access to the total knowledge of mankind.[69]

Norbert Wiener believes "that our adjustment to the world around us depends upon the informational windows that our senses provide."[70] "Our culture depends upon the relevant use of the vast stores of information that we have accumulated, and in a real sense access to specialized information is a form of feedback that may be equivalent to the advantages of economic, political, or military power."[71] Youngblood states: "Technology is decentralizing and individualizing the communication channels of humanity. Personalized communication means the end of 'official' communication structures.... The socio-psychological effects of decentralizing communication facilities could mean the beginning of creative living for all mankind."[72]

Toffler has described the trend toward increased diversity and destandardization to which technology is moving us:

> The advance of communication technology is quietly and rapidly de-monopolizing communication.... technical breakthroughs have altered the economics of television by producing more channels and lowering costs of production.... This medium too is therefore beginning to fragment its output and cater to increasing diversity.... The invention of electronic video recording, the spread of cable television, the possibility of broadcasting direct from satellite to cable systems, all point to vast increases in program variety.[73]

McHale writes:

> The copying machine allows every writer to be his own publisher. It also makes for an extraordinary flow of personalized information exchange between people.... associated with this is the phenomenal rise in the 'underground' newspapers, periodicals and books, which now form the autonomous information network of the younger generation. Again, this is made possible through the ubiquity and low cost availability of printing, duplicating, and other means.... Cameras tape recorders and movie-making apparatus are more available to more people at less cost.... at every level such developments are characterized by individual initiative and direct participation.[74]

Thus as a result of improved technology, more people can communicate more things to one another more effectively.

The arrival of cheaper and simpler technical equipment, in particular the portable 1/2" VTR and compact portable equipment and cameras have begun a process in community development which is capturing the imagination of people around the world.

That film could be a catalyst for social change, the instrument of consensus, was first actualized on Fogo Island, Newfoundland, in 1967, when the Extension Service of Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland, and the Challenge for Change unit of the National Film Board, converged on the island of Fogo, to introduce a new concept of community development:

> By 1972 the Fogo Process had been adapted for use all over North America; the NFB's Challenge for Change/Societée Nouvelle units seeded community communications groups all over the coun-

try, who produced local programs for CATV systems or VTR tapes for themselves.[75]

> By 1972, the Extension Service of Memorial was making a community development use of film in VTR that was easily the most sophisticated and fully realized in the world.... the other founding partners in a Fogo process - Challenge for Change/Societée Nouvelle had the whole of Canada for its mandate. Consequently, it had taken an entirely different tack.... instead of developing a centralized approach, Challenge for Change brought experimental film and VTR projects into being all across the country, and then nourished these until they could stand on their own feet.[76]

The Challenge for Change unit of the NFB has proposed that CATV systems be used for the implementation of the 'Fogo Process of Communication'. Their approach is one that localizes and emphasizes common concerns and aspirations by fostering self-awareness in people, hence promoting group awareness. They make use of the communications media - film, video tape, community television - to accelerate and reinforce their awareness and creativity. They believe:

> The means of communication, real two-way communication, must be made accessible to ordinary people for dialogue in meaningful local debate. In this way we would generate a much more vigorous problem-solving capacity based upon local initiative and creativity.
>
> Rediffusion on a broad scale of original and creative solutions, coupled with free information accessible to all, could alter positively the social and environmental situation.
>
> Cable TV offers the logical answers since the technology has now advanced to the point where 1/2" VTR could be plugged directly into the cable system or transferred and edited on 1" VTR for cablecasting.
>
> The technical breakthrough of the electronic video recording (VTR), the introduction of low cost and easy to use portable equipment, and the ever-rapidly improving technology involved, have altered the economics of television, thus being responsible for the spread of cablevision across the country. Recent technical development in 1/2" equipment have advanced to a point where.... this has brought down the cost of cablecasting. Added to this, the great advantage of the multichannel capacity - offers a new opportunity for specialized programming. The community channel, because it get a "free ride" provides an inexpensive yet powerful device for stimu

> lating community participation, involvement, the processes of developing communities.... We felt that the "Challenge for Change" philosophy adapted to true citizen access to the community channels would be a positive way of encouraging people to participate rather than spectate in determining their own present and future.77

In an article entitled 'Television as Town Meeting' in Challenge for Change Access booklet, this process is presented and clarified:

> Cable television may be our last chance to develop a real communication system within a country to use technology to help citizens reach one another. Television has the potential for being a technological town meeting .... an important instrument in re[illegible]ization.78

Director Colin Low writes:

> I believe the communication facility of a society is its most important resource. Surely we can adopt a more rational approach toward communication, knowing that communication has two elements - information and response - and that without both elements it is incomplete.... it locates and emphasizes common concerns and aspirations. By fostering self-awareness in people, it promotes group awareness. The communication media - film, videotape, community television - can accelerate and reinforce this awareness and creativity.79

Summary

In reviewing the literature on communication and community development, the processes of human communication were viewed as being fundamental to all social behavior and therefore to social change. (Community development is not synonymous with social change, but is generally regarded as a more narrowly delineated aspect of the broader processes of social change.)

The perspective of modern systems theory was utilized which views the socio-cultural system as a set of elements linked almost entirely by way of the communication of information. Its application in the

closely related fields of cybernetics and information theory revealed that a constant interchange, i.e. 'feedback', between the various components of open systems is the basis of purposeful behavior which acts to control the natural tendency toward 'disorder' or 'entropy'. The degree of entropy in a system is said to be equal to the negative of its information, thus information is seen as contributing to a system's maintenance, reducing entropy, and resulting in change. As a consequence, the key to development is knowledge, 'anti-entropic' forces acting to contribute to increase knowledge and therefore to encourage change.

Such application to human communication processes was extended to include those of mass communication. (For it was recognized that modern urban, industrial society could not exist as a social system without mass communication). The underlying principles do not differ when information is conveyed to large numbers of people; rather it is a difference in degree rather than in kind, that involves an elaboration of the channel component of a theoretical model of communication processes. (A consequence of which is a lack of direct feedback possible). In reviewing mass communications research, it was seen that the various theoretical orientations focus mainly upon the 'effects' of the media. Functional analysis was mentioned as a current perspective which analyzes the mass media or social systems which operate within the larger social system (i.e. society) of which they are a part.

It was seen that many writers of 'the post-industrial' era view the technology of communications as being central to all other technology, affecting all aspects of cultural and social change. 'Futurists' stress the importance of information in a world which will con-

tinue to place increasing emphasis on its production and distribution. Knowledge has always held the key to power. In our age of total information, because power is measured largely in terms of access to, and control of, information, it becomes translated to the greatest access possible to our means of communicating, i.e. our mass media, an extension of the means of communication could, therefore, provide an extension of democracy.

It became evident, however, that paralleling this phenomenon is the sense of eroding community which characterizes a modern mass society. Many have expounded on the alienation and apathy which accompanies this loss of community, Nisbet describing it in terms of a manifestation of 'entropy'. Such conditions necessitate new approaches to the study of community, with a focus on despatialized selective communities which transcend geographic boundaries. Warren's unit of analyses - that of "communities of interest" was selected as offering the most promising framework in which to evolve a more comprehensive approach to community development.

In examining community development principles, some of which are the encouragement of self-help, the participation or involvement of as many people as possible in a process, and the implementation of a program focused on the total 'felt-needs' of a community, it became evident that it is possible to identify common elements in all the various approaches to community development. It is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, to delve into these common elements in detail; for our purposes, it is sufficient to comment that all models of community development are democratic in principle and practice, and serve for the maximum involvement and participation of people in determining their

future.

The fact that recent decades have witnessed great changes in our communities; that the quickening pace of industrialization and urbanization have rendered direct participation in anything but specialized interest groups almost impossible, requires a more adequate means of implementing community development principles then can be provided by traditional approaches. The application of social systems analysis to urban community development was, therefore, viewed as furnishing a more hopeful avenue for future study.

Such consideration of urban development attempted by Meier, was reviewed. His perspective applies information theory to urban phenomena. He underlines the importance of conserving negative entropy, i.e. information, therefore advocating a change in patterns of human communication which will serve to reduce entropy and maintain the city as a viable open system.

Improved communication technology was shown to have already begun to function as a 'counter-entropic-force' in the sense that it is improving and increasing the information that flows through our society. It was noted that film and videotape have become tools for community development, giving a voice to people who have heretofore been voiceless in community affairs.

"The Fogo Process of Communication" has been adopted from its original implementation via film as a catalyst for social change to include the community use of CATV systems. The unique technological advantages offered by cable systems lie in their multi-channel capacity, which provides a means of access to open-channels - a phenomenon which heretofore has not been available. Access to information in this

context includes the capacity to send information as well as recieve it. The opportunity to engage in community programming offers citizens the chance of developing a real communication system in their communities; this would put individuals and groups into communication systems as well as providing them with the information required in order to participate effectively in decision-making.

Remembering that communication is vital to social change, and the provision of information an essential step in action and decision-making, this reversal of [illegible] effect a means of developing a two-way process for community dialogue; thus better communication could be fostered (reducing entropy) thereby serving as a vehicle for social change and a tool for community development.

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CHAPTER V

THE CALGARY CABLE TV COMPANY: A CASE STUDY

As mentioned in the previous chapter, "community programming to us means that EVERYONE has the privilege of using the local channel. It is not a favour to be granted by the owner. Community programming means citizen-participation - guaranteed by a truly representative body of all social strata that excludes neither the poor or the police. It must mean FEEDBACK and two-way communication. Perhaps it should be called community service."[1]

In this chapter, a cable system's community channel will be explored in terms of its ability to implement this philosophy in order that a process of community development might be realized:

> A process aimed at promoting citizen participation and social affairs, developing people's awareness of problems, enabling them to define their needs in relation to the total environment, making possible that enlightened choice among various options and channelling their results into effective action for social change.[2]

This case is but one of many cable television systems in Canada engaged in community programming.[3] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to delve into each of these systems; instead the Calgary system was selected as a case study as being illustrative of such systems engaged in community programming. Furthermore, this system was described as being [illegible] uniquely in Canada; the prime catalyst has been a cable company rather than a citizens' group.

[illegible] mention, however, should be made of various citizens' groups which have [illegible] significant contributions in the area of

community programming. To date, the most ambitious attempt by any citizen's group in Canada to put cable to community use has been Thunder Bay's 'Town Talk' venture. 'Town Talk' was a citizen's group which, from September 1969 to May 1970, produced daily a series of half-hour public affairs programming on their local cable station. On May 31, 1970, the cable company ownership changed hands and their programs were cancelled. Since that time, they have attempted (without success) to form a "Charter Board"[5] to regulate community programming and receive a cable operators' license in the Lakehead.

Elsewhere the development of community programming via cable by citizens' groups has been mostly sporadic. In Vancouver, a broadly-based community organization, committed to the application of media to citizens' communication 'Metro Media', supplies programming to the local cable companies. In Toronto, an organization called 'Downtown Community Television' has a contract with Rogers Cable Company which guarantees two hours of uncensored, uninterrupted programming per week. (It replaces a similar organization, 'Intercom', which was one of the first in Canada to begin the process of developing community programming). In Kitchener-Waterloo, since May 1971, a community organization called 'Wired World' has been providing half-an-hour to an hour of weekly programming to the local Grand River Cable Company. In Winnipeg, the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Manitoba, which uses VTR in its work with the citizens groups, produced three hours of programming nightly which they aired on the local cable channel. In Normandin, Quebec, an experiment in community TV was carried out where three villages were involved, initially receiving help from Societe Nouvelle. This project is now autonomous and is still operating [illegible]

cessfully.

Across the country, organizations have been established to provide technical and information services to citizen's groups, encouraging them to seek access to media. The Task Force Report noted that

> ....one of the most interesting and significant developments in citizen's communication we encountered was the emergence of a number of 'all-media resource centres' designed to provide advice, expertise and technical facilities to all groups who wanted to use the media, according to their specific needs. So far the most fully realized of these are Metro Media in Vancouver, Teled Video in Halifax, and Videograph in Montreal. In Newfoundland, the extension service at Memorial University provides roughly similar services within an institutional framework.[6]

The 'Parallel Institute' in Montreal provides information to citizen's groups. Working with 'Challenge for Change', they utilize the 'Fogo Process'[7] in an urban context. A group at Simon Fraser University has been studying new developments in media for public information needs.

In the national context, the 'Challenge for Change' unit of the National Film Board, which, as we noted earlier, launched the movement back in 1967, has since then been providing money and equipment to community groups. It has recently put its emphasis on a media counselling program via five regionally-based media experts. These resource bases and personnel are serving a clientele that are becoming increasingly broadly based.

In March, 1972, a two-week seminar, Film, Video-Tape and Social Change, was held in St. John's, Newfoundland, sponsored by the Extension Service at Memorial University and the Department of the Secretary of State. The purpose of this seminar, which was attended by nearly one hundred people from across the country, was to discuss problems related to media and community development, and to examine the philo-

base of the 'Fogo Process' of communication. At the Conference, it was reported, "One promise that has not worked out, the Seminar discovered, is citizen access to the media via cable television.... By 1972, the bubble had burst. At the Seminar, cable was being described variously as "a fable"; "the leftovers of someone else's system", "a plastic substitute for real experience".[8]

Historical Background of the Calgary Cable TV Company

[redacted] graphic isolation of the two urban Alberta markets, Calgary from American broadcast stations, and a previously ex- government ban on the use of microwave transmission, had tans had long been denied the benefits of increased which cable could provide and which was being en- parts of the country.

The Canadian Radio and Television Commission ended what was, in the opinion of many Albertans, this discriminatory practice when it invited applications for cable licenses, involving the use of microwave transmissions of distant (American) signals in both Calgary and Edmonton. Applications from both cities were heard in Calgary at a public hearing in May of 1970. Two licenses were awarded in each city, the CRTC having arbitrarily decided to divide both markets into two equal non-competitive geographic segments for purposes of licensing. Calgary Cable serves the northern half of the city of Calgary (see map included as Appendix III), Community Antennae Television serving the southern half. Both companies collaborate on a time-sharing basis in terms of community programming, each providing [illegible] week's programming on community channel 10, which serves subscribers

in the entire city.

Calgary Cable was awarded its license on July 23, 1970. It began community programming October 18, 1971 and has been undergoing an evolutionary experience with the Calgary community since its inception.

Organizational Structure

Cablecasting Ltd. of Toronto, headed by President David Graham, has a fifty percent ownership in Calgary Cable. The other fifty percent is owned by local Calgarians - fifteen percent by a board of directors composed of twelve local business men, and thirty-five percent was issued to the general public in Alberta in the form of public stocks by Nesbit Thomson Securities Ltd. (This arrangement satisfies an expressed desire of the CRTC to have sustained local participation in media ownership). The function of the board of directors is to contribute input into the operation and policy of the company. (See Diagram 1, Appendix 1).

The programming department enjoys a position of primary importance in the Calgary Cable operation with the studio and production centre occuping a high proportion of the physical space of the company's headquarters at 148 - 10th Street N.W.

Community Programming Policy

As in their other cable ventures in Winnipeg and Toronto, Cablecasting Ltd. placed heavy emphasis in their original application for licensing on local programming and stressed community involvement and

community programming in which they intended to participate. To illustrate, following are some excerpts from the application by David R. Graham (on behalf of a company to be formed):

> The applicant's programming policy consists of three basic elements:
>
> (a) to create Calgary community programming which will be "by people rather than at people" - the community will be the prime cablecaster;
>
> (b) to produce programming of value to other parts of the province, the region, and the country - to encourage people to speak with people from different geographic, ethnic, language and social backgrounds;
>
> (c) to recognize cable TV as an important instrument of social change and to provide access to the facilities to all responsible segments of the community.
>
> The Company will encourage community groups and individuals to create their own programming. Recent technological developments have made low cost equipment, such as the 8 mm. and super 8 mm. cameras and new video tape recorders, available to many individuals and groups. The applicant will instruct community members in the use of such equipment and provide them with technical programming ideas and support.
>
> The applicant believes that there is much information of a regional and national nature which is not being distributed by existing media. In Section V of this Report the Company has outlined specific programming plans for distributing this information to other cable systems.[9]

A program director, Ms. Wendy O'Flaherty, was hired as soon as a license was granted. She became immediately involved in a process of what she described as 'social animation' and 'community development'[10] by launching an extensive program of public education to increase public awareness of the community channel, and to stimulate citizens to action by taking advantage of the free access offered by this media of mass communications.

This program director placed great emphasis on free access to

the company's facilities. A 'blitz' of press releases and paid advertisements in local newspapers, and on local radio stations, was launched. Various community groups were contacted and speaking engagements with them were fulfilled by the director herself. A continuous process of on-the-job training of volunteers was carried out and training workshops in both 'hardware' (production equipment) and 'software' (program production) were organized. This program director, furthermore, went on to become one of the founding members of the 'Calgary Media Access Committee' formed to help citizens of Calgary increase their media literacy.

The program director also met informally with the Alberta Government Communication Services to discuss the possibility of video-taping the legislative sessions which would be transmitted for airing on channel 10. She has also submitted a proposal[11] to the Premier and the Minister of Telephones and Utilities regarding a government-funded pilot project of one year's duration consisting of the setting up and maintenance of a two-way communications system between government and the citizens of Alberta. No decision has as yet been made on either proposal.

Great emphasis was placed on the Canadian Radio-Television Commission's policy which precludes the use of commercials on the community channel. This objective has been rigidly enforced by the company as a very important element governing both the 'process' and the 'product' involved in community programming.

> With no restrictions on time and format by advertisers, individuals or community groups are free to create anything they desire - no one can dictate to them what to say and how to say it.[12]

The company has, therefore, stressed a non-commercial climate because it believes it provides an atmosphere which leaves the public free to create 'process' not just 'product'.

In order to finance community programming, the Calgary Cable Company initiated a system for financing its community programming which at that time, was truly unique in Canada. It is paid for by a fifty cent charge included in the monthly subscription rate. This provides a financial base to cover the cost of fairly extensive programming. This system, envied by programmers across the country, has been adopted by other major Alberta systems.

After operating about a year and a half, airing time grew to the point where programming averaged forty hours a week during 'prime time' hours (6.00 to 10.00 p.m.). The attempt was to provide a true community service with programs varying from those concerned with special interests, local sports, community events and issues, culture, the arts, and the weekly airing of both school board and city council meetings. (See Program Log, Appendix III). For the most part, 'in-studio' originations were confined to the production of simple talk shows or demonstrations. Cameras were taken out of the studio to carry local town council and school board meetings, as well as sporting and community events.

The technological two-way capacity of its major trunk lines allows this company to engage in live broadcasts from any point in its wired area. This led to some innovative experimentation in the fall of 1972. Another permanent or 'head-end' facility was set up in a major downtown hotel, and a live simulation was run as part of a national conference of The Community Planning Association of Canada.[13] To date this has

been the only time this two-way facility has been utilized.

For approximately eighteen months of its operations, Calgary Cable's programming department practiced an 'open-door', 'laissez-faire' access philosophy, accepting everyone who came into the studio, no matter what their point of view. The public was invited to participate in the use of its channel facilities on a first-come first-serve basis and urged to take complete charge of their productions, plan and run their own shows, both behind the scenes and in front of the cameras. Community people were encouraged to take complete charge of their productions in the hope that the more control they took, the closer they would come to attaining the ideal of "community programming".[14] These people were trained and given a free hand in the use of production equipment (hardware) as well as given instruction in program production (software). As a result, when a community group was producing a program, often the entire crew were volunteers from a particular group with only one staff person nearby to assist where needed.

Flexibility was mentioned as being the key approach of this company's program director, her philosophy being that very little structure should be provided in terms of control and direction, or an imposition of rigid adherence to time schedules. This would "facilitate a truly spontaneous and creative 'process' emanating from the community."[15]

In its application for a renewal of license, presented at the CRTC's hearings in Edmonton in October, 1972, various representatives of the company successfully demonstrated to the Commission (since its license was, in fact, subsequently renewed for a five-year term) it had fulfilled all of the conditions of its license within the framework of existing CRTC policy.

The document of renewal of license, as submitted to the Commission, quoted Wendy O'Flaherty's report on the Company's progress in community programming:

> We have been originating programs for exactly 11 1/2 months. During that time our attitudes and methods of operation have evolved enormously. But in summary, I think we can define several areas where we have attempted some worthwhile developments:
>
> 1. We have practised a real public access policy.
> 2. We have produced local programs which have had a significant impact on the city of Calgary.
> 3. We have purchased additional programming from outside sources which has amounted to a considerable addition to the regular service offered customers.
> 4. We have provided some truly alternate programming which has broadened the range of information and entertainment available to Calgarians via the media.

On the subject of public access, I think it is fair to say that we are one of a small number of cable companies in the country which have put into practice a very permissive policy of public access to airtime, equipment and production knowledge. We had the privilege of following an item concerning [redacted] Vice-Chairman and his Great Canadian Novel on the CTV sho[redacted] several weeks ago. Our item was about our public policy and one of the groups which has taken advantage of the policy, namely, the Klu Klux Klan of Alberta. We have had a huge reaction to our decision to provide the Klan with airtime on the community channel and, while I have no personal sympathy whatever with the Klan, I feel that the fact of their program well illustrates the degree of access which we provide and the non-discriminatory nature of the policy.

Perhaps I should reassure you, here, that we also have many other individuals and groups taking advantage of the public access policy, and that they represent a very broad cross-section of local society.

The local programming we have produced involves largely mobile production which we feel is so important to community television. The most significant local programming we have done, and continue to do, is coverage of City Council meetings and School Board meetings. Coverage of these meetings is aired, unedited, on as short a delay as possible. We have been waiting for some time to get permission from a provincial government authority to wire City Hall and the School Board building and, when this is possible, we will be providing live coverage of meetings of these local government bodies.

We have also offered many hours of local amateur sports and we have become involved in local issues such as the Vista Heights residents' lengthy protest against the building of a stockyard near their area. I think the videotape we played to the Planning Appeal Board in support of the citizens' appeal was a 'first' in Calgary.

We are providing our viewers with the Alternate News, which is co-produced by staff and volunteers and we will soon be airing the first episodes of a new series entitled the Wild Wild West, which is staff-written and produced. The series will deal in a very frank and direct fashion with local and Canadian issues.

We have been offering a large number of programs purchased from other sources which add to our regular service. These programs have been mainly international and Canadian sporting events. It is our hope that our regular service will be increased in the near future, as we have proposed in another application before the Commission during this hearing, and that when this happens, we will be able to increase the number of Canadian purchases made in this area of local programming.16

Policy Changes

Due to a lack of community response, a noticeable shift in policy became apparent. When asked to rank her goals for the coming year in terms of priorities, Ms. O'Flaherty placed "building channel awareness" at the top of the list, "promoting the community channel must be first and foremost on the company's list of priorities in order to benefit the viewer in the long run."17

A modification of the program director's attitude had become apparent, whereas originally 'process' was stressed more than the finished 'product', the program director's changed outlook had caused a shift in policy toward greater stress on 'product' and 'local origination'. A year of unrewarding experiences in trying to 'social animate' and 'community develop' had left her very discouraged. "The people just aren't there" she said dejectedly. "The Challenge for Change philosophy is

great in principle, it's beautiful, but it has no practical application. People don't want to be socially animated, and very few people have taken advantage of this free access to the medium".[18]

This had led her to conclude that after one year's operation of practicing a public access policy, with poor results, the need is there for greater to continue attempts to develop an awareness in Calgary of the community channel. This she hoped to accomplish by concentrating on the following areas:

1. Channel awareness - increased promotions of community channel, more news releases, production photos, extensive use of uniform visual identification, and special events sponsored by the community channel.
2. Public service -
   (a) increased sports coverage
   (b) increased childrens' programs
   (c) open-line counselling on FM radio carried by cable
   (d) request programs on FM radio carried by cable
3. Unique material -
   (a) Canadian talent and culture
   (b) alternate news program coverage by the company of interesting local 'happenings'.[19]

These were declared as major objectives for the coming year, thereby hoping to accomplish an increased public awareness of the open access community channel. The creation of 'process' then was still an objective of the company, but there was a noticeable shift toward a greater emphasis on 'product' in the professional sense. What contributed to this shift, in Wendy's words was 'product determines what happens on the other side of the communications' model. Without a decent production no one will watch, and without viewers, communication is not complete'. This program director emphasized the point that in order "to connect with viewers, a better quality product is necessary - not so

much that is getting in the way of process, we don't attempt to be slick or professional, but enough so that there will be an audience. The company intends, therefore, to become involved in more 'local origination'[20] and ideally provide a mix of the two, keeping two days a week, in terms of programming hours, for 'community programming', and we will originate the rest, emphasizing alternate news, public affairs type of thing".[21]

Objectives in terms of loosely structured time schedules had also changed. The Director explained that the original flexibility encouraged by the company brought 'public irritation with the lack of structure, so we are now having to move into more regular one-half hour, and hour schedules'.

The shift in policy became even more acute after the beginning of 1973. It soon became inescapably clear that there were fewer volunteers in the studio operating equipment, less 'community programming' in production, and more 'local origination' replacing it.

Finally in February of 1973 a crisis developed.[22] An about-face in company policy became apparent. The 'open' doors were closed and access to community groups drastically diminished. The situation then deteriorated to the point that the company began advertising that movies would replace what had previously been community programming during prime-time hours. From a situation in which an average of forty hours per week of both locally originated and community produced material was being aired during 'prime-time' this community channel intended to divorce itself from its community-programming partner.

The Calgary Media Access Committee, which had until that time remained dormant, immediately sprang into action. Telegrams were sent to

various CRTC officials and to members of the Board of Directors of the Cable Company, advising them this community channel was in violation of both CRTC rulings and the original terms upon which the license had been granted. Their efforts were quickly rewarded, community programming was hastily restored, though diminished in quantity from what it had once been. Then Wendy O'Flaherty resigned.

A new director, Kip Moorecroft, assumed his duties in March, 1973. His approach to community programming differed somewhat from that of his precedessor. He insists on the title 'program co-ordinator', not 'director' because, as he explains 'You are co-ordinating the efforts of others, not directing anything'.

The philosophy he holds, as did his predecessor, is one of community access and one of "real involvement of people talking to themselves". Over this, he insists, must be imposed "planning and structure", for "it is only in a structured situation", he believes "that freedom can flourish, and process rather than product can be stressed.... We've got to get away from o ating per - rather than letting people do it for themselves - and that involves a lot of straight organization." Before giving community people access, he feels "competent instruction in the tools of the trade is essential in order that they will take pride in what they are doing. Give people the correct tools and then build a structure around them."[23]

He believes the CRTC has encouraged Cable companies to develop their community channels "for the express purpose of giving ordinary people a basic understanding of the function of television. A chance to use the medium for their own purposes to teach their neighbours, utilizing the same electronics that have been alienating them." "Con-

tent" then, he feels, "should be geared to minority interests.... selective television is not overtly concerned with ratings".[24] Thus is is the 'who' watching, not the 'how many' that concerns him.

This Program Co-ordinator's approach to community programming is not rigid or professional. "Flexibility" he feels, is essential in co-ordinating the programming on a community channel, therefore, he is open to any new programming ideas that come his way. "Community television" he cautions "is amateur television, not a slick finished product. If it becomes anything other than just that, it becomes merely a pale imitation of broadcast TV and it will fail." He sees his role as one of being "a paid hired paper worker and exciter - a paid animator - not a paid professional television producer. If you put a professional-type program director in this job you will turn out a commercial type television station."[25]

"People must be made conscious" he says, "of channel 10's existence and the fact that we can be different .... I plan on going out and getting people actually involved in amateur television.... that will take a lot of time and a lot of people passing through; but we've got nothing but time."[26]

Kip Moorecroft admits that when he arrived on the scene, the situation "wasn't doing very well." There were no longer volunteers on the job, nor were they being trained. Furthermore, "the staff resented the volunteers concept."[27]

"The first thing to do" he said, "is to get back to where it was before Wendy began originating programming. This involves a lot of just straight organization."[28]

When asked to describe the kind of programming he had already managed to implement over the system, he answered "Most of the 'radical' (alternate) programming has disappeared and I'm going to see how the rest of the 'alternate' programming can fit into my system.... There is no easy answer to what we have to do, we will have to start by working through the other media.... Through active co-operation with them .... we can change our public image.... we want to get people involved, yet how can we when every time they pick up the paper a critic is saying it's garbage (technically) and who wants to get involved with garbage?.... The media want professionalism.... we've got to get them to understand where it's at from top and bottom.... I'll have to educate them.... to show them how we can compliment their coverage, not compete.... and do the things they can't do, behind the scenes.... our role is to provide backup information on professional coverage provided by the professional media."[29]

This program co-ordinator has drawn up a priority list of where he intends to take their system:

"1. The community becoming heavily involved.

2. Providing a service through coverage of local events.

3. Providing information about the community's interests.

4. Providing material on special occasions not available via network service.

5. Through the above, developing a community image (and as a by-product, sell more cable TV subscriptions)."[30]

"Emphasis is on the first priority" he explains, "and through the others, work through, so that in the future, we end up providing the first....gearing everything to number one, but maintaining the viabil-

ity of the others."[31]

He envisages a city as being made up of many little "micro-communities" or "cell" within the total community, the role of community television being to function on the most local level only, microscoping and examining the interaction of these "cells", in order to facilitate better communication and understanding. But, he warns, "the community channel acting as a microscope, must mirror and reflect the real community, not one which the program co-ordinator thinks it should become."[32]

Postscript

The programming department, at the time of writing this study, is still experiencing difficulties. Community programming once again ceased from August 13 to September 3, leaving the South Calgary Cable System to carry on the entire operation of Channel 10 for that period.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Brief to the CRTC Re: Community Channels on Cable Television. From Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle, p. 3

[2] F. H. Compton, Social Policies for Canada, Part I. Ottawa. Canadian Welfare Council, 1969.

[3] In a paper released by the CRTC, July 1972, The State of Local Programming. Interim summary of the 361 cable systems licensed in Canada; 116 were reported to be undertaking regular local programming.

[4] Report on the Task Force on Citizen's Communication. Draft. An unpublished manuscript edited by Tony Williamson, March 1973.

[5] The concept of "Charter Board" as described by Challenge for Change/ Société Nouvelle, is "a truly representative body made up of a cross-section of the community which could organize financial and legal liability for continuing programming and guarantee access to the channel (community channel) by all citizens". (This is from the brief to the CRTC Re: Community Channels on Cable Television. From Challenge for Change/Societe Nouvelle, p. 3.

[6] Report on the Task Force on Citizen's Communication. Draft. An unpublished manuscript edited by Tony Williamson, March 1973.

[7] For a discussion of the "Fogo Process", see Chapter IV.

[8] Sandra Gwyn, Cinema as Catalyst (A Report on the Seminar "Film, Video-Tape and Social Change"), March 13-24, 1972, p. 22.

[9] "Community Programming, Policies, Plans and Resources", by David R. Graham (on behalf of a Company to be formed), May, 1970.

[10] From an interview with Wendy O'Flaherty in the summer of 1972.

[11] Proposal to the Honourable Peter Lougheed, Premier, and the Honourable Len Werry, Minister of Telephones and Utilities, Government of Alberta, Re: Two-Way Communications System, from Wendy O'Flaherty, Program Director, Calgary Cable TV Ltd., 1972

[12] Interview with Wendy O'Flaherty in the summer of 1972.

[13]This was described in Chapter I in Research Procedures.

[14]See Chapter III for the CRTC's distinction between "local origination" and "community programming".

[15]Interview with Wendy O'Flaherty, Summer, 1972.

[16]"Renewal of License" Presentation to CRTC, October, 1972, Edmonton, Alberta, by Calgary Cable TV Ltd.

[17]Interview with Wendy O'Flaherty, Autumn, 1972.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid.

[20]See Chapter III for the CRTC's distinction between "local origination" and "community programming".

[21]Interview with Wendy O'Flaherty, Autumn, 1972.

[22]Such information was gathered through personal conversation with varous individuals connected with the community programming.

[23]Interview with the new Program Co-ordinator, June, 1973.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Ibid.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

EVALUATION

The relationship between a cable company and the community it serves is a very complex one, making the evaluation of such a system's community programming extremely difficult. The environment in which this system of communication operates must be looked at in total, and the solutions worked out will differ not only for each cable company and its community but with each situation as it arises.

Impact of Community Programming on the Community Development Process

To this point the findings of the research carried out by the writer have addressed the data to a general consideration of the community programming of the Calgary Cable System.

Having sketched suggested use of cable systems as envisaged by the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, and one such system's actual experience in community programming, the next step is to evaluate this system's effectiveness in terms of community development philosophy.

The writer's intention is, therefore, to connect these findings to the community development process as it was outlined in the review of the literature in Chapter IV of this study. Therein were delineated the parameters of community development which must now be reviewed in the light of the use to which this community channel was put.

The intent here is to reinterpret what is meant by the process of community development as it applies to this particular project, providing a framework whereby the project will be evaluated.

It can be safely assumed that the primary objective of community programming is not the product itself but the actual process which will eventually act to achieve selected goals described by the community itself. With community development understood in these terms, the process phase becomes a major dimension of a community development model utilized in developing community programming.

A process of community development simultaneously involves learning by individuals and change in their interrelationships. It is a process of education that requires a conscious act of participation and action on the part of all involved. Thus it is presupposed that community change may be pursued through the broad participation of a wide spectrum of people at the local community level in determining their needs, their goals, and their courses of action.

Community development principles furthermore suggest that citizen participation is the key factor in enabling communities to respond effectively to the rapid political, social, economic and technological changes which characterize an urban industrial society. The recent concern for citizen participation is based on the premise that the individual should be able to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. It is a vital feedback mechanism for all levels of government programs and a crucial inclusive process which enables the provision of the essential integrated forces of a pluralistic society. Citizen participation in the democratic process is, however, not possible without significant knowledge of prevailing conditions, i.e. a good information base. The need in every community is, therefore, for a good information flow, and access to information in order that all citizens might engage in participatory democracy. Only in such a situation can

community development occur. The increased awareness resulting from improved information flow will produce a civic literacy (an understanding of how the mechanism of all levels of government operate). Only the provision of such necessary information and knowledge will enable citizens to make intelligent decisions and become involved in community action.

To date, there have been surprisingly few effective channels of communication open between decision-makers and the community. Moreover, since they are one-way channels, as in newspapers and commercial radio and television, the opportunity to obtain feedback from the public is limited.

It is relevant, at this time, to repeat Draper's comment, "communication is not a one-way process: to achieve dialogue, government must build into its own structure channels for the citizen to react and express an opinion; the mass media and cable TV must think about two-way circuits."[1]

These comments become even more germane when one considers that with the 1/2 inch video-tape equipment now available, many more people can achieve the capacity not only to originate programs, but with the help of cable systems, broadcast them to a wide segment of the population. Thus a community channel can contribute to participatory activities because it makes possible an opportunity for people to engage in a proce whereby they can single out for attention issues in which they are interested. Once issues are identified and discussed, such dialogue can lead directly to a process of self-help, enabling people to create their futures.

The Community Programming of the Calgary Cable TV Company

The first assessment that can be made of this Company's activities is that they have succeeded in demystifying what has traditionally been a media surrounded by a mystique. Some ordinary citizens have become involved as participants, and many people in the city were given an opportunity to express their interests, ideas and concerns.

To date, although community people have not yet succeeded in coming up with too much in the way of 'product', the company policy of allowing community 'volunteers' to man the equipment during the production of a program certainly resulted, in this researcher's opinion, in a creation of 'process'. The increased initiative, confidence and skills exhibited by community volunteers prior to the change in policy, is in line with the community development principle of creating and encouraging 'self-help'.

A case in point is a program entitled 'Aquarium World' which was presented regularly by a group of people with a strong interest in the subject. Not only did this group provide all the program content, but they provided the film crew and audio-board operator, only the main switcher being a staff employee, whose function is to advise and guide the operation.

Another program produced by the Calgary School Board's Department of Adult Education, in conjunction with a national banking firm, had volunteers from both organizations sharing all production responsibilities as well as providing all program content.

Both these programs were written, directed, and produced by these people themselves with no help from the cable company's staff other than

that of a technical nature during airing. The community people have become proficient with all aspects of TV production including the provision of graphics.

This investigator was impressed with the naturalness of the productions, the competence of all involved, and particularly with the 'laissez-faire' attitude of the cable company staff. They seemed not at all concerned with the possible breakage or maintenance of equipment and the spontaneity that occurred was very refreshing. Everyone was having a good time.

It seems clear to this investigator that the attitude and objectives of the cable system owner and program director are determining factors in the implementation of open-access to a community channel. In this case the attitudes of the owner and program director have shaped basic company policy toward community participation. Their bias has clearly been one of free access and one of engaging in community programming.

Evaluation by this researcher reveals that this community channel did succeed to some extent in helping to provide some basic information to the community which would otherwise not have been available via other media. Specialized programming has been provided for specialized interest groups, or 'communities of interest'. The airing of local issues has succeeded in providing an opportunity for an increased civic literacy to the citizens of Calgary. This could have been extended to the provincial level had the provincial government agreed to comply with the proposal submitted to them regarding a pilot project for the setting up and maintenance of a two-way communications system between gov-

ernment and the citizens in Alberta.[2] Live broadcasting of administrative proceedings of all levels of government could do much in the way of contributing to an informed citizenry. The dissemination of such information could have gone a long way in improving the present situation.[3] Instead, the Alberta government has not replied to their proposal. Hopefully in the future, consideration will be given to providing such a modern form of electronic Hansard.

It can be concluded, that given the limitations within which they were operating, this company had succeeded in raising the information level of its community.

Much remains to be done, however, in acquainting the citizens of Calgary with the potentials which cable television has yet to offer.

There is still an enormous lack of knowledge in the Calgary community about cable television and especially about the locally programmed channel. Very few people have discovered this new available medium of community expression.

During the summer of 1971, this writer participated in a research study[4] which surveyed Alberta in terms of its awareness to community television. The level of awareness in all five Alberta communities studied, including Calgary, was so low that our Report's first recommendation was one of an extensive educational and information program to acquaint people with cable's potentials.

Another survey was completed in the summer of 1972. Its report commented that "In Calgary and in Alberta as a whole, citizens communication remains embryonic."[5]

The situation to date, it seems, has not changed markedly. After

surveying the Calgary Cable community to determine the community change awareness by means of a mailed questionnaire in the spring of 1973, Bill Knott comments: "The community use of cable television and its possibilities for use by community members in the process of information acquisition and dissemination is at a beginning stage in Calgary."[6]

Thus when this researcher interviewed the company's first program director in the fall of 1972, when asked to rank her goals for the coming year in terms of priorities, she placed 'building channel awareness' at the top of the list. 'Promoting the community channel must be first and foremost on the company's list of priorities in order to benefit the viewer in the long run.'

Her successor, Mr. Moorecroft, interviewed in the summer of 1973, reiterated these goals as being an essential first step before community involvement could take place.

After its first year of operation it has succeeded in breaking new ground in terms of creativity in programming ideas. In July of 1972, at the annual Canadian Cable Television Association Convention held in Banff, it was the only system in Canada to be awarded two first prizes out of the nine offered for some community programming in the area of experimental use of the media by local creative and dance groups.

It was described by the Task Force Report as being a unique prime catalyst in Canada for 'citizen's communications', and 'the only cable company in Canada to regularly broadcast city council and school board meetings in their entirety. Beyond this, Calgary Cable bends over backwards to encourage citizen participation.[7]

As time went by, however, the first program director came to be-

lieve they were wrong in over-emphasizing the public access feature. Whereas originally they had adhered very closely to the concept of 'community programming' as defined by the Commission, due to lack of community response, they began to shift more and more towards 'local origination'.

Few community groups came forth to demand their rights of access to this new medium of communication, and those few who have, were, in Ms. O'Flaherty's words "only those with a very strong interest and commitment prepared to spend the time it takes to produce a show. Most of those who showed enough initiative to utilize the community channel have done so in an unimaginative way. She commented "they continue to use the format of conventional TV-interview situation and have been concerned with fitting them into regular time-slots. Although encouraged by the production staff to take out the portable equipment into the community, most of them have refused, due to the extra time it takes to set up and take down the equipment."[8]

"Furthermore, community individuals and groups have not as yet caught on to the difference between conventional TV and community TV, and are trying to come up with what, in the end, becomes only a poor imitation of a professional product, and which, therefore, commands a very small, if any, viewing audience."[9]

The shift in the company's policy, therefore, leaned away from 'community programming' toward more and more "local origination".[10] Due to apathy and the lack of public demand for the utilization of the channel, and the relatively unimaginative 'product' that did result from those few community people who took the initiative to make use of the community channel, the program staff moved in to fill the

the void.

The end result of this can only mean, of course, an increased emphasis on the 'product' and less and less encouragement of 'process'.

To compound this reversal, Ms. O'Flaherty had once held the view "we tend to be down on the use of professionals. Any citizen media project requires great flexibility and very little ego" but public irritation with the lack of structure in programs forced her to assign a more professionally oriented time-structure, greatly reducing the flexibility she had once encouraged. When interviewed in the fall of 1972, she expressed the view that she had ceased to believe that the concepts of 'social animation' and 'community development' were workable in terms of promoting public interest in obtaining access to the community channel. Her experience had been one of very little response to her efforts of creating awareness of channel 10's potential.

Owing to the apathy she encountered, she then began to originate more and more programming, and in an effort to stir up the C gary community, became more and more involved in what she termed 'alternate' programming. This was, in reality, a 'Guerilla' or 'underground' kind of television, chosen more or less for its shock value. In this researcher's opinion, such programming does not reflect the community's interest, but in actual fact reflects only the interests of the program director, or what she thought the community's interest should be. It ends up in the long run talking at the community in much the same way as conventional broadcast media and cannot be classified as true community programming.

Perhaps Kip Moorecroft, her successor, summed it up most succinctly:

"Wendy was the right person in the wrong spot.... her downfall was that she was the most liberal program co-ordinator in North America in a most 'uptight' city in North America.... she tried to do very liberal (radical) programming in a very conservative market.... to illustrate, her biggest success was the Aquarium Show - what could be more harmless."[12]

Another problem in this researcher's opinion was, and still is, the inadequacy of this company's mechanism for feedback. This was admitted by both program directors. It is very difficult for them to evaluate their successes or failures in communicating with their public when reliance is strictly on the phone calls they receive. These are fairly significant in numbers when a program is of a special nature, such as 'Aquarium World', which invited questions via phone calls during airing time, or following a program of a controversial nature such as a recent interview with a member of the Calgary Klu Klux Klan, which raised such a furor that it gained national network coverage.

This inadequate feedback mechanism reinforced this investigator's opinion that the company is not truly in touch with its community's needs - it is not able to engage in a true process of community development. It is, after all, in the competitive market place, answerable to shareholders, its main priority, and therefore, must be a financial success.

Discussion

This researcher believes that during the first year of operation, the Calgary Cable Company has made an all-out effort to promote channel awareness, open access, and free use, with very limited controls, of community channel facilities. Due to a lack of public response and

imagination, the company began to shift objectives and thereby its structures, into a more conventional format such as that provided by the commercial broadcast media. It was becoming quite obvious that many of the groups who were getting programs on the channel were not really producing community programming at all but making second-rate imitations of conventional programming; in other words, using this new media unimaginatively to reinforce old forms instead of creating new ones.

The first program director's attempts to establish a working model for free public access to the cable system had failed. The project had seemed to burn itself out and most of the community programming ceased to be generated.

In this investigator's opinion, a process had been set in motion exhibited by the people who became involved in community programming on the Calgary Cable; however, they had not as yet undergone enough of a transition in their thinking, enough of an evolution in that they were indeed trying to squeeze community expression into the forms of conventional television. They had not progressed far enough to create a new format of their own, but clung safely instead to a structure that was known and familiar to them. It is important to remember that they were still in an embryonic stage of development groping for form.

This researcher concluded that only some real community development work would result in an increased level of communications awareness. Only an extensive motivational, education, and informational process and program which would acquaint the average citizen with all the aspects of community television, would enable a community to eventually create imaginative and innovative means of utilization of this relatively new

medium of communications.

Kip Moorecroft's tack of beginning with an educational process of the other media in Calgary is, in this researcher's opinion, an excellent starting point in the process of developing community awareness as, traditionally, one of the accepted rules of the community development worker has been that of educator. Ms. O'Flaherty, in all sincerity, believed she was engaged in 'community development' and 'social animation' during the initial stages of her company's operation, whereas in reality, in this writer's opinion, she was involved in journalism, advertising, and public relations, three areas in which she was heavily involved prior to taking this position. The problem lies in the fact that it is unrealistic to expect any one-man-team to create conditions for a community development process of any value in an urban community and particularly in the short time span of one year. Ms. O'Flaherty's expectations that these conditions would create a social process to be forthcoming within this short period of time were unrealistic when viewed from a community development perspective, and unfortunately, she used the yardstick of a professional with years of training and experience. Although she, and all her staff, (whom she selected not only for their technical ability, but for their facility to work well with volunteers from the community), were sincere in their efforts to promote community participation, they were forgetting that it will take years before an unsophisticated public can become proficient with this new process of communications.

The following comments by Frank Spiller are directly applicable to the situation encountered by the Calgary Cable TV Company.

> The cable television operator often finds it difficult to adjust to a development role rather than just being a distributor of services. Even when the role is accepted it is hard not to fall back on the traditional methods of evaluating results when it comes to programming, it is natural to look first to conventional radio and television programming. A commitment to programming is a commitment to experimentation. It is perhaps the cable television company's contribution to research and development on behalf of his community. It is the one aspect of a licensee's intentions that confronts him with the greatest frustrations....there is still an enormous lack of knowledge about cable television and especially about the locally programmed channel.... very few people have <u>discovered</u> cable television.... in such circumstances the cable television operator finds himself the catalyst and this role is not an easy one.
>
> As far as the public's attitude is concerned, we have to recognize that most of us are conditioned to regard television as something to be watched. Something that requires a passive rather than an active participating form of activity....[13]

Kip Moorecroft's statement indicates an understanding of this philosophy: "People must be made conscious of channel 10's existence and the fact that we can be different. I plan on going out and getting people actually involved in amateur television.... That will take a lot of time but we've got nothing but time."[14]

Furthermore, this program co-ordinator's view of the complementary kind of coverage to the other media in which he intends to become involved, is in direct agreement with the Commission's directive to 'complement rather than compete' with other media, and his emphasis on only very local issues and events is in sympathy with the Commission's view of cable's role.

This new program co-ordinator's 'grass-roots' approach, which is directly traceable to his volunteer background, perhaps promises the most hopeful view for the future of his community channel. His conviction - a belief in providing true community access - is grounded not

only in six years of volunteer experience with community channels in Ottawa, but in the great success he attained in terms of community involvement in his previous position as program co-ordinator for a Toronto cable company owned by David Graham.

His philosophy, which embraces the Commission's concept of 'community programming' as opposed to 'local origination' is very much in line with that of community development itself. His emphasis on 'amateur' as opposed to 'professional' television, leaves room for a 'process' to evolve in this company rather than the traditional emphasis on 'product', and a method by which citizens may seek their own formulas which will serve them best. If the intention is truly to reflect community life, then this can only be accomplished by letting the community itself decide what and how it wishes to program: "I will not program to the people rather than let them do it for themselves", he promises. "I would never use the phrase 'we have produced'."[15]

His view of the community channel providing a 'mirror' or 'microscope' for his community promises to enhance community awareness, or in the words of Kenneth Boulding "evoke an image of itself."[16] Such awareness can provide a doorstep to initiate future action whereby the citizens of Calgary can create their own future.

This new program co-ordinator has only been with the company for a short time. It will be interesting to see if he will be able to implement this philosophy in effecting meaningful social change.

Postscript

The Calgary Albertan recently described this Co-ordinator as "one sharp cookie sent in from the power-in-the-tower to give Cable North a new, exciting look. He is gearing his total programming towards 'more relevant forms of community programming for Calgarians', and if he gives life and air to his plans on paper, looks like a banner year for the North."

Her concluding remark, however, leaves us somewhat apprehensive: "Good luck Sir, You'll need it."[17]

FOOTNOTES

[1]James A. Draper, Citizen Participation in Canada, New Press, Toronto, 1971. Introduction.

[2]Proposal to the Honourable Peter Lougheed, Premier, and the Honourable Len Werry, Minister of Telephones and Utilities, Government of Alberta, "Re: Two-way Communications System, from Wendy O' Flaherty, Program Director, Calgary Cable TV Ltd.

[3]As discussed in Chapter I in The Problem.

[4]The Sleeping Medium. A report of the Community Television Study Project. The Inventory of Alberta, September, 1971.

[5]Report on the Task Force on Citizen's Communication. Draft. An unpublished manuscript edited by Tony Williamson, March, 1973.

[6]Bill Knott, Cable Subscriber's Attitude to the Community Channel. A thesis submitted to the School of Social Welfare, University of Calgary, Spring 1973.

[7]Report on the Task Force on Citizen's Communication. Draft. An unpublished manuscript edited by Tony Williamson, March, 1973.

[8]Interview with Wendy O'Flaherty, Program Director, Calgary Cable TV Ltd., Summer, 1973.

[9]Ibid.

[10]See distinction made by the CRTC re. 'community programming' vs. 'local origination', Chapter III.

[11]Interview with Wendy O'Flaherty, Program Director, Calgary Cable TV Ltd., Summer, 1973.

[12]Interview with Kip Moorecroft, Program Co-ordinator, Calgary Cable TV Ltd., June, 1973.

[13]Frank Spiller, "Community Programming", a presentation at the Canadian Cable Television Association's Annual Convention, Toronto, May, 1973.

[14] Interview with Klp Moorecroft, Program Co-ordinator, Calgary Cable TV Ltd., June, 1973.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Kenneth Boulding, The Image, The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1956.

[17] Shirlee Gordon "Views the Tube", The Calgary Albertan, August 2, 1973.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

A Proposed Model for the Community Use of CATV

In this thesis, we have explored community antennae television as a tool for community development. In so doing, basic problems were discussed which came to light through an analysis of the case study, the Calgary Cable TV Company.

It would be fruitful to conclude this study by delineating what can be considered basic conditions for an effective CATV system - a system such as would provide a tool for community development, the central question to which this study was directed.

The first essential condition for such a model would include extensive educational and informational programs to be conducted in order to acquaint citizens with the existence of community channels and the potential uses of these facilities.

The results of this study, the results of the community television study project,[1] and other experiences across the country, indicate that lack of public awareness is a major handicap precluding people from exercising their rights of access to community channels. Provision of free access channels alone will not be sufficient to bring public access television into use without a promotional force within the community. With such promotional forces absent, public access channels are likely to remain dormant. Therefore, commitment is required on the part of the cable operator to publicize his community channel and train citi-

zens to use it in order that volunteer participation and on-going programming can begin to build and be sustained.

Building community awareness is a slow process which takes a great deal of time and patience (as was evidenced in the case study cited in Chapter V).

"One must not be discouraged" Pierre Juneau reminds us, "we must learn to understand the origins of growing community awareness.... it was a beginning. It was the genesis of leadership in the community. One cannot expect a mass response." [2]

Community awareness and participation are built and maintained only after much time and effort have been expended. An important part of this process is the provision of training programs in both 'hardware' (technical production) and 'software' (program production) in order to build the 'media-literacy' skills required by citizens in order that they might make optimal use of community facilities. It is important to keep in mind when designing such training programs, that when people first participate in the production of community programming, they tend to think in terms of existing models of radio and television programming, therefore, training in program production must leave room for, and encourage creativity in the evolvement of new models of communication for this new media. Communication via community channels must not be patterned after one-way communication via the conventional broadcast media. As Pierre Juneau, CRTC Chairman, said: "Cable programming is at its best when it is acting only as an essential intermediary.... not when it is trying to squeeze community expression into the formats and routines and assumptions of conventional television." [3] He calls it "barefoot programming" and stresses that "to

achieve a real community context, we must stop giving the same name to what are really different things - community and conventional television."[4]

Community channels will not provide a community forum if they are operated with an attitude of professionalism which screens out that which is not considered to be a worthy or acceptable product. From the old approach to TV as product, the new emphasis must become one of TV as part of a process in the community. The cable operator must, of necessity, participate in training programs to utilize this medium for such community dynamics. They should, however, not be the responsibility of the cable operator alone, but of other institutions in the community, such as Extension Departments of universities, Community Colleges, or Departments of the Provincial Government. Every agency that has any contact with communities or cable television must become involved in on-going educational programs.

A second condition, however, is necessary to enhance the above-mentioned proposal. The results of this study have indicated that a large gap exists between the cable operator and the community he services. Some means must be provided to bridge this gap in order to bring the community and this new facility together. In this researcher's opinion, this will never be accomplished, even by the best intentioned cable operator, as he is not trained to develop and organize communities, nor do the restrictions of his job allow room for both 'task' and 'affect' maintenance[5] so essential for the sustenance of interpersonal relationships.

The need is growing for people who understand the interaction of

our systems of communication with other institutions in our society, to work with cable operators and community groups in order to facilitate communication between them and bridge the gap which is so evidently blocking any significant development in the use of community channels. An awakening of the public to the social utilization of this new medium could be accomplished by supplying 'animators' to help communities define and organize around their needs, thereby expressing the kinds of information inputs they wish to communicate. Therefore, the second essential condition for an effective CATV system must include the appointment of 'Community-Media-Counsellors' to aid volunteer citizens and groups in becoming involved in social action via the use of media. These Counsellors should possess a working knowledge and a mastery of 'media-literacy' skills, but more importantly, an understanding of the mobilizing and catalytic role of media and their interaction with social and political factors. Their training should consist of training not only in audio-visual techniques of communication, but their interface with the social sciences and community development. Their approach must be one that emphasizes community organization and community development. They should be assigned as field workers to co-ordinate activities in all communities served by cable companies. The appointment and funding for such a project should be the responsibility of provincial government agencies with a community development component, and not the responsibility of the cable operator. The Counsellor would act as liaison between the operator and the community. He would facilitate better communication, better information-flow, thereby functioning as a 'counter-entropic' force in his community.[6]

When communities reach a stage where they have become sufficiently informed and organized to make proper use of this new technology (via the two suggestions proposed above), then a third condition becomes essential for the creation of a model CATV system: that condition involves the creation of a "Community-Media Council"[7] representative of a broad cross-section of the community which would be granted decision-making powers concerning access to the community channel and programming content. The creation of such a board offers an alternative to control of community programming by the cable operator to one of the community itself controlling its channel operation. The board would constitute a public authority, comprised of a wide representation from various community organizations including the cable company, to control all access to the community channel and to supervise its programming. Such an arrangment would ensure maximum access to community channels for all citizens, and take the onus off the cable operators (who are, of course, businessmen and not producers and who would not be, in this writer's opinion, at all reluctant to hand over the control of programming to community boards).

There are a variety of means by which such Councils could be organized, each of which will differ in every community depending upon their individual needs. Whatever modus operandi is used, it would represent some form of mutual agreement between the cable operator and the community services.

The most effective means for funding of community programming, in this writer's opinion, is the 'formula-rate' scheme which all four major Alberta cable systems have adopted (both companies [illegible] and

Edmonton earmark 10% of each subscriber's fee, fifty cents per month, for community programming. This was discussed in Chapter V of the case study). Should extra funding be required, particularly in the initial stages of development, grants from private foundations or government agencies should be solicited in order to set up 'pilot projects' which would fund such ventures. Control of all financing would be placed in the hands of the community co-ordinating board, for they would administer all aspects of community programming and the community channel. Actual production, however, would continue to be handled by the cable company's production staff (which includes trained volunteers). They would work closely with the community programmers with the stipulation that the programmers themselves reserve the right to edit their material. In this way, ultimate control over what is broadcast would lie in the hands of those who have originated the programming. Such an arrangement would ensure the maintenance of a good working relationship with the community.

A further provision must be implemented in order to ensure and maintain such a relationship. Some means of obtaining feedback[8] must be provided so that a constant interchange of ideas is continually taking place. The experience cited in the case study[9] indicated that a lack of feedback was a serious drawback in the effective operation of their community channel. Feedback must be strongly encouraged as an essential part of community programming - whether in the form of wired locations with two-way capacity, phone-in reactions, or open-ended participation programs, etc.

The fourth essential condition for a model CATV system must involve a certain administrative and legal framework which would nurture

the conditions proposed above.

The CRTC, which is responsible for the regulation and future evolution of the cable industry in Canada, must continue to foster an atmosphere which encourages citizens to organize the use of community channels. Therefore, it is up to the CRTC to review its interim policies with regard to the issuing and renewing of licenses, with a view to ensuring optimal opportunities for community participation and access to community facilities. The CRTC must, therefore, continue to require cable companies to initiate 'local origination' as well as 'community-produced programming'[10] until sufficient interest has developed to allow the community based entity - the 'Community-Media Council' to assume this function. Until that time, the cable operator will have to act as regulator to determine who will appear on the community channel and when. However, when the industry has matured sufficiently, and when communities have become sufficiently informed and organized to make proper use of this new technology, then the CRTC should encourage a policy whereby the operational authority of the cable company turns over the decision-making powers concerning access to the community channel and programming content, to Boards representing the community.[11]

One solution which has been proposed by a committee on the media at Osgoode Hall Law School is the direct licensing of the CRTC of these boards. This would allow the 'Community-Media Councils' to assume legal responsibility for the community channel. They would be licensed as 'Programmers', and the cable operator would remain the 'owner'. CATV companies would then be primarily involved in 'hardware' rather than

'software' - the 'medium' rather than the 'message' - 'transmission' rather than 'programming'. The community co-ordinating council could thereby legally ensure maximum accessibility to the community channel to all individuals and community groups, hence providing the best possible means of living up to the objectives stated in the Broadcast Act.[12] Accordingly, the role of community broadcasting as a developer of community and group involvement could be realized because such a system of dual licensing might remove some of the cable operators' fears of losing their licenses for breach of the Commission's regulations. Should this system of dual licensing be implemented, then "the role of the CATV operator would require legal clarification with respect to his ownership of the distribution system and the function of his role as broadcaster."[13] As it now stands, CATV undertakings are considered to be 'Broadcast Undertakings' (as defined by the Broadcast Act, 1968, see Chapter 3.)

The exigencies of the impending 'wired world' of the future will no doubt necessitate such clarification. Cable TV as it now exists, is incorrectly set up to provide the full benefits of service to the public of which it is capable.

The conditions which will prevail in the future when the industry approaches maturity with the introduction of ancillary cable television services, bringing us closer to the wired city, will no doubt necessitate a change in federal policy.[14]

There is already a strong indication that in the future the direction of federal policy on cable may be toward removing the cable operator from the field of programming. Many have suggested cable television be-

come heavily regulated as a "common carrier"[15] and the owner of the cable system be prohibited from controlling programming context. Instead, they would have him lease channels to community groups encouraged to make use of them. The position taken here is that since ours is a free enterprise system, competition has an important role to play in the communication field. Private investment cannot be attracted without encouragement. It is my opinion that the imposition of common carrier status would at this time be an impediment to the desirable growth of cable, and would discourage the substantial investment capital necessary for participation in such undertakings. If the cable operator is limited to leasing channel space, then a cable system becomes a common carrier, its nature and function are therefore transformed, his rates becoming fixed and the cable operator rendered powerless to control his financial destiny. It is my opinion that legislation to this effect would, at this time, be detrimental to the optimal development of the cable television industry.

Furthermore, since cable systems are just beginning to develop new forms, the CRTC should continue its 'relaxed' policy toward the regulation of cable TV and its lack of a heavily structured legal environment in order to allow the future development of cable to evolve freely. However, the CRTC should continue its policy of not allowing advertising on the community channel, the rationale being that advertising by definition is intended for mass reception; to introduce this element of commercialism and mass reception would be to lose the element of 'community' emphasis which the Commission has favoured for cable programming. A model community channel is not designed primarily to provide entertain-

ment nor to sell products, but to privide information and to enable people of a community to communicate better with each other. This is in keeping with the CRTC policy of seeing the prime role of CATV as one of "developing a community identity through locally produced programs."[16]

Another means of fostering this policy is for the CRTC to discourage the showing of 'canned material' on community channels or the 'bicycling' of tapes between cable systems, except where they are of common interest to communities. Easy availability of a wide selection of nationally packaged material inhibits creative local programming and does little to promote cable TV's greatest potential contribution - its ability to cater to the specialized, particularized, interests of the community.

Community programming must be open to the criteria of an extension of the many 'communities of interest' which comprise modern society, providing a community mirror reflecting the community to its people. Community programming can only be a service in the public interest insofar as it augments the diversity of programming made available via conventional broadcasting, thereby 'complimenting' rather than 'competing' with existing broadcast media.

Conclusion

As evidenced in this study, cable television has a capacity to provide a vehicle for community development. In so doing, this new technology can effect a radical transformation in our communication's systems and thereby basically transform how people live. Optimal development of cable television furnishes the opportunity for a vast increase in

the facilities available to individuals and groups seeking access to the broadcast media. Greater public access will undoubtedly show us a different side of life, providing an opportunity for many people to have input into a collective bank of information that we form with our mass media, rather than leaving it up to a few networks to form our collective awareness. Unless determined efforts are made to ensure this outcome, the opportunity could be lost, and we will be left with a perpetuation of the existing system with its inherent distortion of limited access to the most powerful medium of communication ever known.

As a result of the findings of this study, I have concluded that although cable television holds the key to meaningful community communication, the industry is still in an embryonic stage in terms of its social development; although it holds promise of placing the most important communication media ever invented into the hands of 'the people' thereby generating a sense of community and involvement that the massiveness of network television has, by necessity, overlooked. It has not as yet lived up to its potential. Only a fraction of what could be done to improve the quality of life for everyone has as yet been accomplished by this new system of communication.

The paramount fact with which we are now faced is, as Nicholas Johnston points out, "If moves are not made very soon to channel the future growth of CATV along lines responsive to social needs, it will likely be too late."[17]

The need is for planned change which requires the involvement of a concerned society that is willing and able to share in determining its destiny and thereby influencing change. Our communication's environment is increasingly becoming the product of human decision, therefore,

forethought and care in its development are becoming increasingly essential. The future holds a multitude of possibilities and it is essential that sound planning create communication systems in which social objectives are paramount.

The use of community channels as public forums provides a vehicle of communication which can make significant contributions to the flow of information so necessary in decision-making. If one acknowledges the importance of acquiring information as a necessary first step in decision-making, then the use of cable TV for the purpose of dissemination of information becomes invaluable. The exchange of ideas and information could provide an effective means of activating citizens to solve their own problems; to utilize existing resources; and via participation, help to create their own future, all of which form the cornerstone of community development.

A PROPOSED MODEL FOR COMMUNITY USE OF C.A.T.V.

Essential Conditions	Implementation	Rationale
1. Education & Training	Extensive educational and informational programs to be conducted in order to acquaint citizens with the existence of community channels and the potential uses of these facilities. a) The cable operator must be required to publicize his community channel and train citizens to use its facilities. b) Training programs in both "hardware" (technical production) and "software" (program-production) must be provided by both cable operators and other institutions in the community such as Extension Departments of universities, community colleges, and departments of provincial governments. Every agency that has any contact with communities or cable television must become involved in ongoing educational and training programs. c) These programs must leave room for creativity and the involvement of new models of communication.	a) Lack of public awareness is a major handicap preventing people from exercising their rights of access to community channels. Therefore a promotional force is necessary which must be extended over time, for it takes a great deal of time to build awareness and sustain volunteer participation in ongoing community programming. b) Citizens must learn "media-literacy" skills in order to make optimal use of community-channel facilities. c) It is important [illegible] use old models of one-way communication. [illegible] must be from TV as product to TV as [illegible] Training programs must leave room fo[illegible] encourage, creativity.

Essential Conditions	Implementation	Rationale
2. Community-Media Counsellors	People with training in "media-literacy" skills, but more importantly, with an understanding of the interface of audio-visual techniques of communica[illegible] with the social sciences and community developmen[illegible] work as field workers in the community. a) Government agencies with a community development component would fund a project which would place these field workers in all communities serviced by cable companies. b) These counsellors would act as "social-animators" in the community. They would facilitate communication both within the community and between the community and the cable company servicing it.	A large gap exists between the cable operator and his community which blocks significant development of the use of community channels. Thus there is a great need for field worker who understand the interaction of our systems of communication, with other institutions in our society, bridging this gap. a) Cable operators are not trained or equipped to be "community developers" or "social animators." The funding of the counsellors should not be the cable company's responsibility, but one of the government's, as an aide in promoting "citizen participation" and "community development." b) By increasing the information flow, and facilitating communication, the counsellors would help their communities define and organize around their needs; they would serve as "counter-entropic forces" organizing "communities of interest."
3. Community-Media Councils	To be set up in each community, as a public authority representative of all segments of the community, including the cable operator, to govern access to the community channel and supervise its programming. a) Means of establishing such a board would differ in every community, but would always represent some form of mutual agreement between the cable company and the community it services. b) Funding should be by a "formula-rate." If additional funding is needed, grants from government agencies and private foundations should be solicited.	This council would be comprised of the widest possible representation and broadest cross-section of the community and would be modelled after the National Film Board's "Challenge For Change" "Charter Board" concept. a) Such an arrangement would take the ONUS off the cable operator, offering him the alternative of being part of a board which will control the channel's operation. b) The financing model used, that of the Calgary Cable TV co., has proven to be the most satisfactory, and has been emulated by other cable companies across Canada.

Essential Conditions	Implementation	Rationale
	c) Actual production would continue to be handled by cable company's production staff (which includes trained volunteers) with programmes retaining editing rights. Production staff would work closely with Community Council.	c) This would assure the maintenance of a good working relationship with the community, allowing volunteer programmers maximum leeway for creativity, and provide opportunity for the most effective means of communicating.
	d) A means of feedback must be created from the public back to the Community Council and the cable company. Provision for the phoning-in of audience reaction and audience participation programs are two means. Others would be questionnaires. The best would be to set up wired locations in the community, where citizens immediate reaction could be obtained.	d) Optimal information flow necessitates feedback. Dialogue is essential in order for a continuous process of interchange to be taking place, thus maximizing the communication taking place in this communication system. Such a process would ensure that the modifying of future programming would constantly be taking place to adjust to past performances.
4. Administrative And Legal Framework	The C.R.T.C. must continue to create a climate which fosters citizen involvement in cable TV, and one which ensures access to all citizens, to the facilities of Community channels.	Because the C.R.T.C. regulates all broadcasting in Canada, it is responsible for the evolution of the cable industry, and the form that community channels will take.
	a) The C.R.T.C. must continue to regulate cable operators to produce "locally-originated" programming as well as encouraging "community-produced" programming. The cable operator, for the time being, must remain the regulator of the community channel.	a) The C.R.T.C. defines the distinction between the two: "locally-originated" programming is initiated by the cable operator, or under his direction. "Community" programming is initiated and produced by community groups and individuals. Both are necessary until such time as a "Community-media Council" can be established. In the meantime, the cable operator will have to be in control of the community channel, for he is still legally responsible.
	b) When the time is ripe, the C.R.T.C. should encourage cable operators to turn over decision-making powers to "Community-media Councils." This could be accomplished by a policy of dual-licensing.	b) When communities have become sufficiently informed and organized to use community channels most efficiently, they should be allowed to control their new form of community communication. In (Cont.)

Essential Conditions	Implementation	Rationale
		b) so doing a community itself can best ensure maximum access to this facility and optimal community expression.
	c) The role of the C.A.T.V. operator would then regulate legal classification (with respect to ownership of the distributors system and the function of his role as broadcaster - as it stands now, he is legally liable as "broadcaster."	c) The Community Council would assume legal responsibility for the community channel. The cable operator would remain "owner." This would allow for the diversity of opinion to fluorish, which might not when a cable operator if fearful of being sued, or his biases might conceivably precede opposite points of view to be voiced.
	d) In the future, C.A.T.V. may be classified as "common carrier." At the present time, however, the C.R.T.C. should not impose such status on the cable industry.	d) The exigencies of the "wired world" of the future will someday necessitate such classification. To do so at this time, however, would discourage the substantial investment capital necessary for participation in such undertakings. In a free enterprise system such as ours, competition must be encouraged until the industry has matured.
	e) The C.R.T.C. should continue its "relaxed" policy toward the regulation of C.A.T.V.	e) Lack of a heavily legal structure will allow forms to develop themselves.
	f) The C.R.T.C. should discourage the showing of "canned material" or the "bicycling" of tapes between cable companies.	f) In keeping with the C.R.T.C. policy which sees the primary role of C.A.T.V. as being one of "developing community identity through locally produced programs." Early availability of outside material would do little to promote local production, but would in fact discourage it.
	g) The C.R.T.C. should continue its policy of not allowing advertising of the community channel.	g) Community programming can only be a service in the public interest in so far as it augments the diversity of programming made available via commercial television advertising by definition is intended for mass reception. The element of "community" would thereby be lost, and community TV would not in fact be "complimenting" rather than "competing" with the existing broadcast media - as the C.R.T.C. has intended.

FOOTNOTES

[1]See Chapter I under Research Procedures for an explanation of this project, the results of which indicated a very low level of awareness in the five Alberta communities. Its primary recommendation was for an educational and informational program.

[2]Local Cable Casting - A New Balance. A talk by Pierre Juneau, Chairman, Canadian Radio Television Commission, at the Canadian Cable Television Association, 15th Annual Convention and Trade Show, Banff, July 6, 1972.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Robert F. Bales sees groups functioning as social systems with basic problems to resolve or 'tasks' to accomplish; success at any of these involves adapting to pressure from the outside as well as solving internal problems. These he designates as 'task-oriented areas' of the interaction process. Groups also have to deal with emotional expression of feelings that arise in interaction. Tensions must be resolves, the handling of emotional stresses and strains involve a maintenance of integration. These Bales designates as 'social-emotional areas' or the 'effective' aspects of interaction. See Robert F. Bales, Interaction Process Analysis, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Reading, Massachusetts, 1950.

[6]See Chapter IV for a definition of 'entropy', also for a description of 'counter-entropic forces'. A counter-entropic force would serve to increase the amount of available information, thereby improving the process of communication and reducing entropy. See Meier's A Communication Theory of Urban Growth,

[7]The concept of "Charter Board" was first introduced by The National Film Board's Challenge for Change/Societée Nouvelle unit, and developed from the National Film Board's previous experience in Film Councils. The Board has traditionally set precedents which have served as successful models for many countries around the world for this type of grassroots activity. Their Film Councils were constitutive of very broadly based autonomous community boards located in 250-300 communities across Canada. They had grown out of the great public interest and need at that time for extensive distribution of films. The Council flourished in the years between 1945-1960. They were phased out with the introduction of television, and with regional libraries taking over the handling of film and equipment. The position taken by

Challenge for Change is that a community television service must not be owned and operated by the cable companies. They advocate instead the establishment of a co-ordinating body they call a "Charter Board"; a large committee representing various community interests including cable companies with a major representation from interest groups from the community.

[8]Feedback was defined in Chapter IV as 'the property of being able to adjust future conduct by past performance'. Thus feedback is the mechanism which provides useful information which can accelerate change, thus 'the key to development is knowledge'. The model of communication that was outlined in this Chapter showed feedback as being the critical component which is central for the operation of a true communications system.

[9]See Chapter V.

[10]The distinction between 'local origination' and 'community programming' made by the CRTC is discussed in Chapter III.

[11]To date, there is only one cable system in Canada which is community owned, the Campbell River Television Association in Campbell River, B.C., owns and operates its cable system.

In Saskatchewan, non-profit community groups are being encouraged to apply to the CRTC for licenses to carry on cable programming. Sask-Tel owns the cable facilities. (See Appendix I, the common-carrier issue).

[12]Provision of 'reasonable and balanced opportunity' for all members of the community to express their concerns. (See Chapter III).

[13]"Re: CRTC's Examination of Policies and Regulations for the Licensing and Operation of CATV Broadcast Undertakings - Community Broadcasting". A Submission of the Special Committee on the Media, Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, Toronto. This study also makes the point that the separation of ownership from control is not a new phenomenon in broadcasting, but exists in Great Britain where different TV companies program different time periods in the same commercial TV channel.

[14]"Communications Law". A talk by Peter Grant (Toronto lawyer and a member of the staff of the Faculty of Law, University of Toronto) at the Canadian Cable Television Association 15th Annual Convention and Trade Show, Banff, July 6, 1972.

This was one of the principle reasons behind the recently table "Green Paper' proposed for a single regulatory commission, combining the powers and functions of the CRTC and the Tele-Communications Committee of the Canadian Transport Commission. As it now stands, regulatory is divided between the two. Designed as a feeler to test

public reaction, the Paper stresses the need for a single body to be able to rule on the new developing services that will one day be operated by tele-communications and cable television systems.

[15]For an elaboration and definition of "common carrier" status refer to Appendix I.

[16]For an elaboration on this point, see Chapter III of this study.

[17]Nicholas Johnson, How to Talk Back to Your Television Set, Bantam Books, New York, N.Y., 1970.

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APPENDIX I

THE COMMON CARRIER ISSUE

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The term 'common carrier' status as defined here is assigned to enterprises "offering services deemed necessary to the public, and whose nature dictates that they be run as monopolies or near monopolies. When a communications system is designated as a common carrier, two things follow. First, it must be accessible on a non-discriminatory basis, and at standard rates, to anyone who wishes to use it. Second, the owner or operator may not interfere with the content of what goes over his system. The telephone system is a common carrier. Broadcasting and cable TV are not."[1] Neither government agencies nor common carriers can be granted licenses to operate cable television systems. CATV systems do not at present have the status of common carriers, and telephone systems as well as provincial governments are excluded from being actual owners and operators of CATV systems. They have, however, a weapon - their ownership of the poles or conduits by which their wires are brought into individual homes. It would be impractical for cable systems to create duplicate systems of poles or conduits, therefore cable operators must negotiate an agreement with the phone company. Telephone companies install, maintain, and own the micro-wave systems utilized by CATV systems. Because of the expense of the utility pole construction and maintenance, it is almost always necessary for CATV operators to enter into a contractual agreement with the pole owner, ordinarily the telephone companies.[2]

The telephone companies and the cable companies are engaged in a bitter battle as to which group would realize the opportunities that cable offers. Presently,

> CATV systems which are designated as "broadcast receiving undertakings" in the Broadcast Act, are subject to the authority of the Canadian Radio-Television Commission. However, the coaxial cable systems that distribute the broadcast signals are technically capable of being developed so as to carry other services, of a close-circuit nature, involving computers, databanks, and sophisticated display devices, which might otherwise be handled by telecommunication carriers.3

Thus, as cable television becomes as important to the day-to-day life of city residents as say the telephone services, the ability of the CRTC to utilize their regulatory powers (the sanction of non-renewal of license) becomes increasingly impaired. As Peter Grant has pointed out, "there will be increasing need for reappraisal of the precedures and sanctions of the Commission under the Broadcasting Act", for we will experience "increasing conflict between federal and provincial authorities.... spearheaded by the provincial carriers. Increased concern may also be expected with regard to involvement of the provincial governments in the ownership of cable systems."[4]

A great deal of controversy has surrounded the forced marriage of common carrier and CATV. "Isn't it ironic," McLuhan comments, "the early telephone companies had the same battles.... paralleling wire telegraphy."[5]

In order to reconcile the increasing dichotomy between broadcasting and common carrier, the "Green Paper"[6] proposed that in the future, a single federal authority be responsible both for the supervision of the broadcasting system and the regulation of telecommunication carriers.

So far, the only move in this direction in Canada has been in Saskatchewan where the NDP government owns the cable distribution systems; thus non-profit groups are being encouraged to apply to the

CRTC for licenses to carry on cable programming using Sask-Tel facilities.

Sask-Tel's intent is to install and operate a CATV system as a provincial crown corporation. Quebec and Alberta have also indicated that they wish to assume provincial regulatory powers over cable television, but have been told that they will have to take their case to the Supreme Court (for under the terms of the 1968 Broadcast Act, regulatory powers are vested in the federal authority of the CRTC. Before 1968 cable TV was considered to be a common carrier and was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Transport which is now the Department of Communication).

In the words of Gerard Pelletier: "As technology evolves the line between common carrier and broadcasting may become increasingly blurred, presenting a clear challenge to ensure that we make the best use of our total communications plant for the ordinary development and provision of all forms of service, while at the same time pressuring the integrity of the national broadcasting system of which cable is a vital constituent element."[7]

In keeping with the objectives stated in the Broadcasting Act, the Green Paper goes on to say:

> The Commission's policy (relating cable to broadcasting system as a whole of which it is part) is based on the necessity to supervise the development of cable television in relation to its effect on broadcasting, and attempts to establish mechanisms in a regulatory framework to achieve.... the development of the CATV system shall not destroy the base of the Canadian Broadcasting system.....the Commission has attempted to take into account the economic, financial, social, and cultural needs of Canada relating to the provision of broadcasting services.[8]

It must be remembered that CATV systems are licensed as monopolies

within their service area. (the Commission only licensing one company in each area. Because in any locality the cable television has many of the aspects of a natural monopoly, regulation can be a source of protection for the public).

The proponents of separation of cable system ownership from ownership of content believe that it is not in the public interest for the same party to own the facility and to have the power of decision over what it is to transmit. According to the advocates of separation, if the system owner is allowed to program the entire content of the facility, his power to exclude other users and to disclude the dissemination of information not to his liking, is too great.

Implementation of such a proposal would have an effect of turning cable operators into common carriers. Like the telephone companies, they would provide a wire facility, but would not exercise control over who uses it or what is transmitted over it.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Ralph Lee Smith, "The Wired Nation" in The Nation, Volume 210, No. 19, Chapter 5, May 18, 1970, p. 559.

[2]In Ontario, Quebec and Manitoba, the telephone company owns and controls the trunk and distribution cable installed, and the CATV operator owns only the amplifiers and the house drops. Saskatchewan has the advantage of owning its own telephone system. British Columbia is in the process of taking over theirs. In Alberta, Alberta Government Telephones is the owner of the micro-wave system which they lease to cable operators. The Alberta Government Telephone Minister presented a "ten cities plan" to the CRTC in April, 1970 which would see the AGT licensed as the exclusive common carrier between cities and the province. This plan avoids cost in duplication of services by individual operators. There has been no decision as yet regarding this matter. (To complicate the issue, the City of Edmonton is owner of Edmonton Telephones. It had wanted to build Edmonton cable systems itself and lease space on the systems to cable television operators, much as Bell Canada does in Toronto, for example. This, however, was denied and within the boundaries of this city only, Edmonton Telephones has entered into a contractual agreement with the two cable companies, leasing pole space to them with the cable companies retaining ownership of the cable facilities).

[3]Green Paper- "Proposals for a Communication Policy for Canada. A Position Paper of the Government of Canada", Ottawa, Minister of Communications, March, 1973.

[4]"Communications Law". A talk by Peter Grant, Faculty of Law, University of Toronto, at the Canadian Cable Television Association 15th Annual Convention and Trade Show, Banff, July 6, 1972.

[5]Phil Lind, "Cable Television as Viewed by Marshall McLuhan" in Cable Television, Vol. 38, No. 2, Toronto, May 1972, p. 72.

[6]Green Paper- "Proposals for a Communication Policy for Canada. A Position Paper of the Government of Canada", Ottawa, Minister of Communications, March, 1973.

[7]"Notes for a Speech" by The Honourable Gérard Pelletier, Minister of Communications, to the Canadian Cable Television Association's Annual National Convention, Toronto, May 23, 1973.

[8]Green Paper - "Proposals for a Communication Policy for Canada. A Position Paper of the Government of Canada", Ottawa, Minister of Communications, March, 1973.

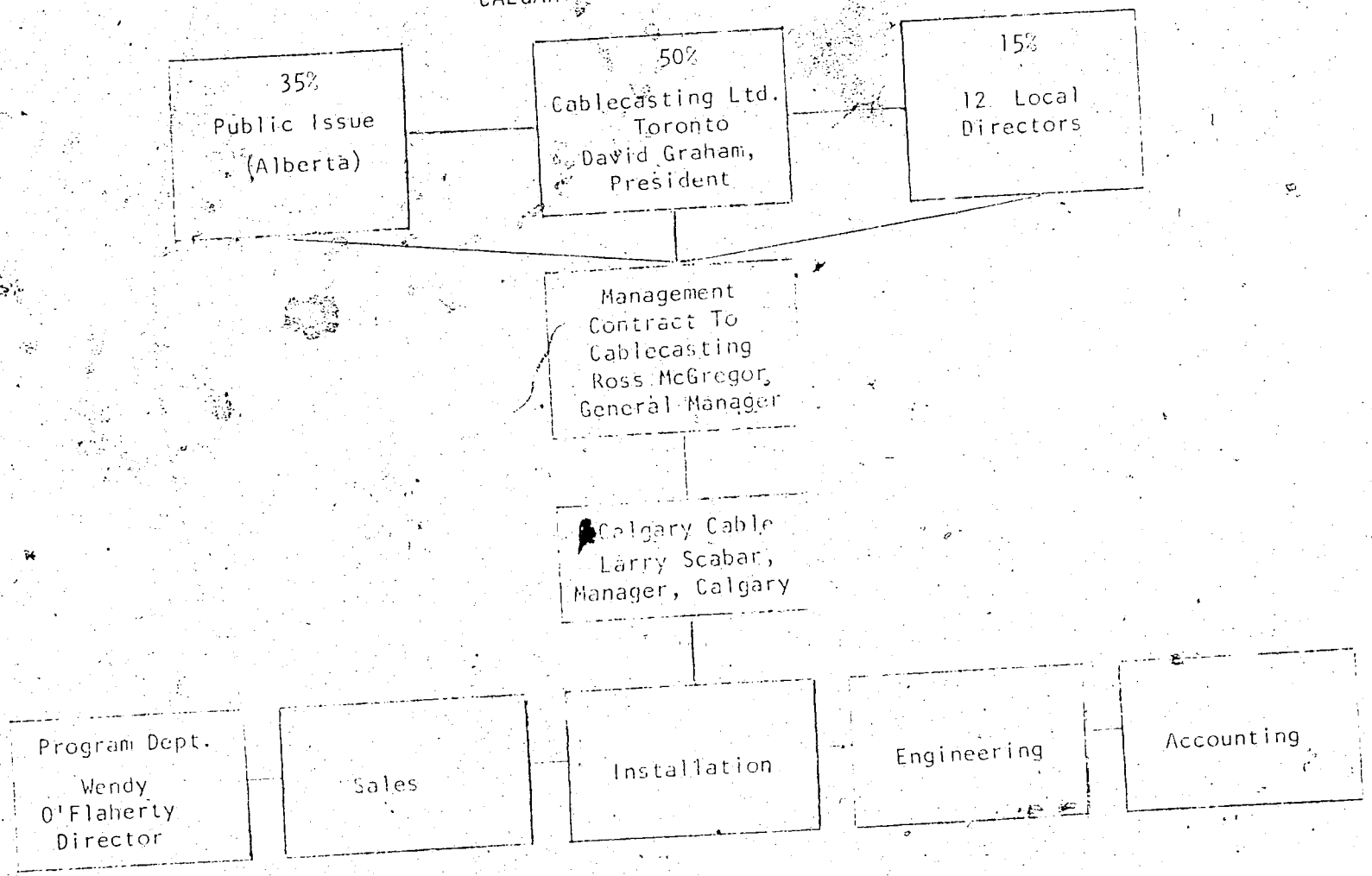
APPENDIX II

THE CALGARY CABLE TV COMPANY

APPENDIX "T" DIAGRAM I

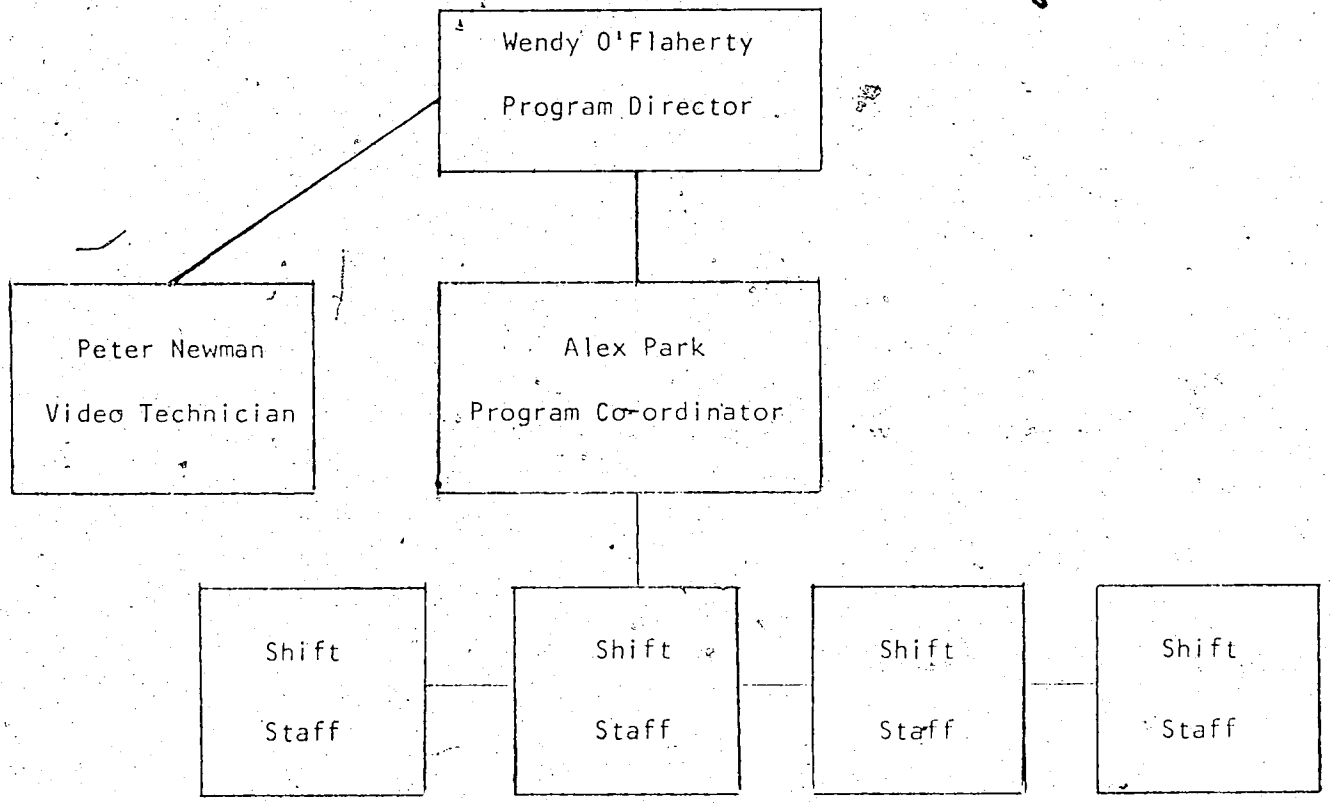
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF

CALGARY CABLE TV COMPANY LTD.



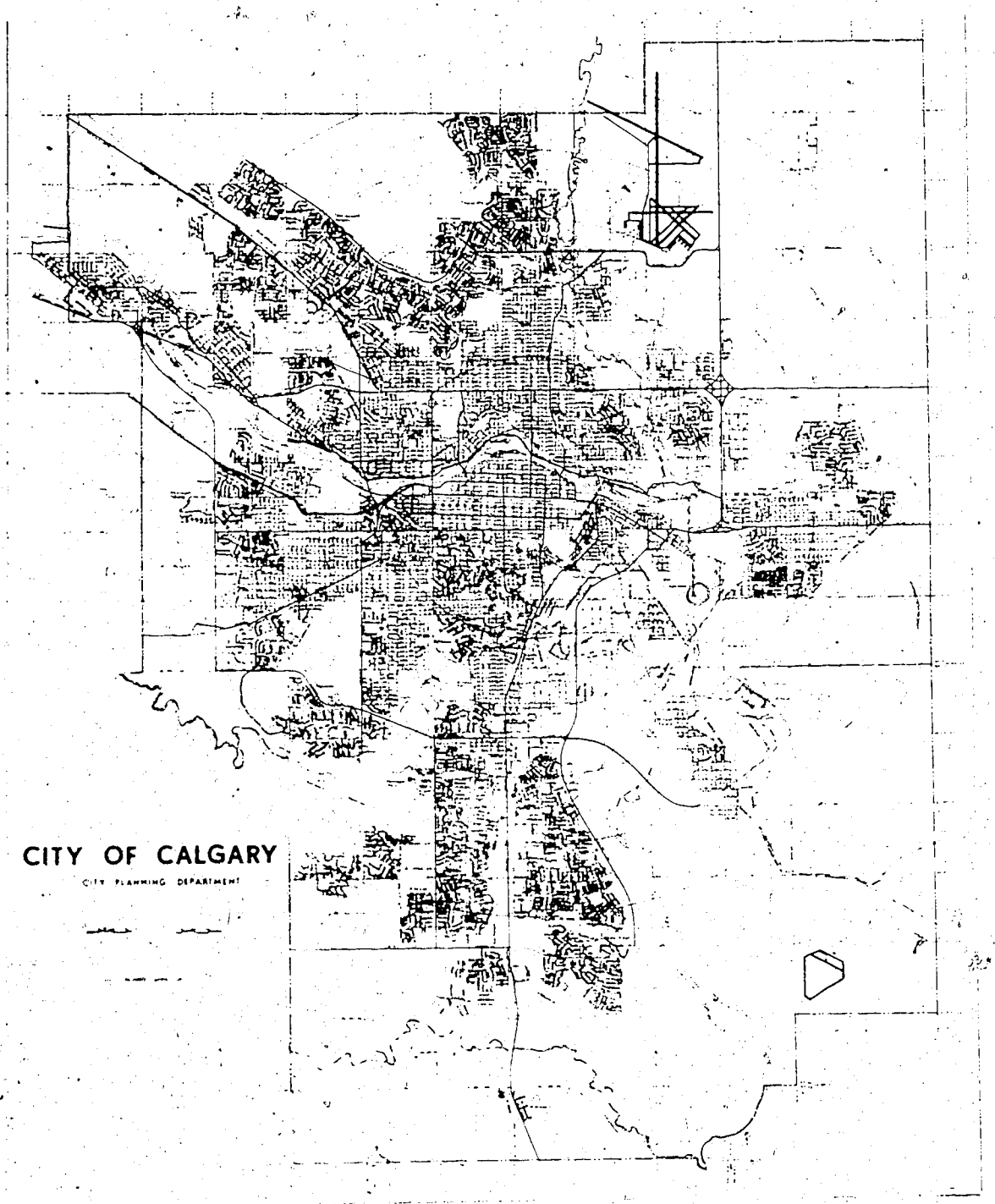
APPENDIX II DIAGRAM II

PROGRAMMING DEPARTMENT



Shifts

M - Mobile
S - Studio
R - Radio



APPENDIX II - Map of Geographical Area Serviced by

The Calgary Cable Company