



Communications
Canada

COMMINTERPHONE

by: Gordon R. Wensley, R.G.Williamson
et al.

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COMMINTERPHONE

RANKIN INLET

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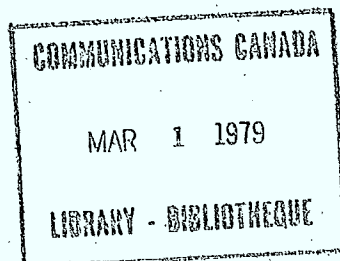
Report of Research

for

The Department of Communications

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Ottawa



Institute for Northern Studies
University of Saskatchewan
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I. INTRODUCTION

This is the final report on the operation of the "Comminterphone" portion of the Department of Communication's Northern Pilot Project. The larger Northern Pilot Project is designed to explore the inter- and intra-community communications needs of isolated northern settlements. To date, the Northern Pilot Project in the Keewatin consists of: provision for a two-way high-frequency radio system linking Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet, Eskimo Point and Whale Cove; the emerging community FM radio station at Baker Lake; and the Comminterphone experiment in Rankin Inlet.

"The [Comminterphone] experiment consists of a CBC-type Low Power Relay Transmitter connected to the switching equipment of the local telephone exchange. By dialing "0" a participant can connect with the transmitter equipment and broadcast to the community. The system will handle up to four participants simultaneously on a conference circuit. Reception is via a standard household AM radio receiver tuned to 1110 Kilocycles.¹" A report on an initial study conducted by the Institute for Northern Studies during the first stage of the experiment was submitted

¹
Comminterphone Report, May 31, 1972, Introduction, p.1

on May 31, 1972. This final report reviews the initial stages, and proceeds to a documentation and analysis of the continuing development and operation of the Comminterphone system to year-end 1972. Some descriptive observation of the meaning of Comminterphone to the community is attempted. Also offered are some conclusions and recommendations.

It may be desirable here to inject a reminder of the fact - referred to in Comminterphone I - that Rankin Inlet is a very recently-established settlement made up of the fragments of once-cohesive traditional groups, still in the process of acquiring a sense of community. No-one lived here before the mid-fifties, and many people are migrants who arrived over the last decade. All of the Eskimo belonged to small hunting-camp groups, mainly kin-linked. The Whites are with very few exceptions highly transient. Within the settlement are members of six Eskimo dialectal sub-groups drawn from ten different Arctic areas. All of these people tend to follow a habit of primary interrelationship with immediate family, further interaction occurring mainly amongst other kinsfolk and members of the dialectal sub-group to which they belong, with significant social contact for many diminishing substantially beyond that. Many of the phenomena described here are better understood in the context of an aggrega-

tion of people still adjusting to the processes of change from micro-social to macro-social living, while at the same time groping for equilibrium amidst the distractions, anxieties, hopes, stimuli and uncertainties inherent in their increasingly-complicated encounter with Canadian Euro-American culture.

It should be pointed out that this present volume is an integral part of a major report begun with Comminterphone I, and this must be read against the background of the first part of the report. These vital socio-cultural factors are dealt with in greater detail in Comminterphone I, and should be kept freshly in mind during consideration of the foregoing.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF COMMINTERPHONE

A. CONCEPTION

The concept of Community Interaction Telephone was generated by Gordon Thompson and Paddy Gardiner of Bell Northern Research Laboratories, in response to a growing concern for the communications needs of the social, cultural and political groupings which characterize Northern Canada. An experiment in one Arctic community was suggested. From an initial discussion of the use and effect of the telephone, the idea evolved through a consideration of the effects of sharing the telephone on a party-line hook-up, to the implications of attaching a broadcast unit which would be monitored by standard AM receivers. In conjunction with this concern for the existing communications needs of Northern residents, there too was an awareness of the need to determine the kinds of issues which would emerge in the wake of the introduction of southern television to remote Arctic communities.

In view of the impending launch of the Anik satellite, it was felt that it would be advantageous to anticipate the effects of unsolicited programming on the largely indigenous population. However, preliminary inquiries pointed up a more pressing need than had been anticipated for local and immediate communications facilities. These needs were sufficient to cast them in the guise of "life-support

systems" of far greater import than outside-oriented satellite broadcasts. Comminterphone thus emerged as a means of filling what had been a communications vacuum, and in the process serves double duty as both an immediately available community medium and as an experiment, in as much as its use by the community constitutes a test of the validity of the initial concept. This shift in the focus of the investigation must of course be regarded as a reflection of the dearth of functional communications in the Keewatin, rather than as a down-grading of concern for the implications of the introduction of southern television. The point to be made here is that the issues arising out of superimposing television on the traditional, and emergent, northern communications networks remain an area of vital concern.

B. IMPLEMENTATION

In May 1971, Rankin Inlet was selected as the site for the experiment. Its isolation, the absence of other media, the existence of a dial telephone system, and the presence of knowledgeable research resources already on site presented a favourable setting for research and experimentation. Next, each government department whose jurisdiction was intersected by the proposed experiment was approached for its individual cooperation. It was ultimately agreed that Bell Canada would make available its telephone equip-

ment; CBC would install and maintain the system; and DOC would allocate funds for an evaluation of the system.

In May a public meeting was held in Rankin Inlet to acquaint the community with Comminterphone and its possibilities, and to elicit its support for the experiment. An affirmative response from the Settlement Council paved the way for implementation. Then followed the organization of the experiment: the obtaining of a transmitter, the engaging of technical assistance, the obtaining of a unit to connect to the telephone exchange, erecting the antenna, applying for the licence, and selecting the frequency and call letters. These arrangements were soon completed, save for licencing, which remained an obstacle in that the CRTC found itself unable to distinguish between the largest commercial radio station and the smallest non-profit and solitary station in an isolated community. A solution was eventually found in defining the installation as a relay rather than a broadcast station, and the licence was obtained in October 1971.

On October 1, the Institute for Northern Studies, University of Saskatchewan, was engaged to conduct the evaluation of the experiment. A research assistant was established in Rankin Inlet and preparations made to carry out an assessment of the experiment. By October 22, final adjustments had been made and the system was activated.

C. DEVELOPMENT

Following the activation of the Comminterphone system, a Policy Committee was formed on October 27 for the purpose of managing the operation. The Eskimo Assistant Settlement Manager, who had been appointed Chairman by Mr. Gardiner, went on to appoint two Eskimo and two White members to share committee responsibilities. On November 3, the Committee was introduced to the community. A request for suggestions and comments from the general public met with no response.

On December 10, the Policy Committee held its first formal meeting, under a new chairman (the original incumbent having been transferred out of the settlement). A prime concern, after 6 weeks of broadcasting, was misuse of the system by people who had been drinking. A further issue, arising out of the dearth of broadcast material, was an expressed desire for programming along the line of a regular radio station, with an official operator. However, it was understood that the legalities regarding broadcasting would first have to be clarified, and funds elicited to support the desired change. At the same time, a plan to generate material support from local sources failed for want of volunteers.

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For an extended discussion of content and usage patterns for this period, see the report Comminterphone, Rankin Inlet, of May 31, 1972, pp. 28-43.

The Policy Committee did not reconvene until January 29, 1972, when it met to deal with the emergent problem of children interfering with the system during "dead air" time and during broadcasts by others. No effective solution could be devised, save for encouraging parents to admonish their children. The limited activity and effectiveness of the Policy Committee led to suggestions that it be subsumed as a sub-committee under the Rankin Inlet Community Association. This would have the added merit of official support, which would prove helpful in securing funds from the Territorial Government. This step was, however, not taken. There appears to have been no further initiative on this suggestion by either of the groups.

Early in the new year, however, a letter under the signature of Lucien Taparti, Chairman, Comminterphone Policy Committee, was sent to Andrew Cowan, Director, CBC Northern Services, requesting that the CBC make available a tape/play-back unit which would permit the broadcast of regular CBC program tapes from Churchill and Frobisher Bay. But neither Bell Northern Research, who first received the request, nor the CBC, to whom BNR then handed it, were prepared to respond. In that CBC and BNR had not yet decided on the hardware allocations, and inasmuch as CBC was reluctant to change the configuration of what they saw to be an ongoing experiment, pending the formulation of a

Community Radio policy, the request was rejected. For the fledgling Comminterphone Policy Committee, this combination of seeming rebuff and indecision, at a point where it was seeking meaningful ways of exercising its responsibilities, resulted in the virtual disbanding of the committee, and the curtailment of further community initiatives.

In this context, Mr. Taparti stated that he found it impossible to function in his role of Chairman due to an inability to detail to local people the course of the development process, an inability growing out of minimal information and assistance from the agencies concerned. Further to this was the disparity between the hoped-for radio station and the actual Comminterphone system. From the beginning the Comminterphone as described was still interpreted locally in terms of a radio station modelled on the experience many people had with short wave and AM radio reception, and on occasional visits to centres with regular radio reception. However, the idea of local input was understood from the outset, albeit as a supplementary rather than a principal capacity. In Mr. Taparti's words:

"I thought it was going to be bigger; I thought it was going to be a radio station.... I thought it was going to be used by the people to tell stories. The people who had been down south would say what it's like down there, and the old people would talk about the old ways of life. It would be good to talk about how the caribou are driven away, and how the south is developing, and also the old ways of life.... I thought the people would tape what they have to say and put it on the radio, and anybody who came in from other settlements would say what's going on in the place where they just came from."

When asked if he was able to get any information on how the Comminterphone could be used, Mr. Taparti went on to say: "No, because I never asked them about this; all I did was answer the questions they asked."

The Institute for Northern Studies noted in its report of May 31, 1972 that the community was quick to express a desire for a more structured broadcast format. When this did not develop in step with their perceived need, local interest waned and initiative and innovation were lost. Usage continued through the winter months at a nominally functional level, with the medium providing entertainment, sporadic information and serving on occasion as an outlet for aggressive behaviour. Non-Eskimo residents ultimately demonstrated an almost total withdrawal from use of the medium, utilizing it solely as a means of relaying information as occasion warranted. Eskimo residents continued to exploit the entertainment capacity of the medium, in spite of interference from children, and what was at times raucous adult participation. In addition they continued to utilize it as an information gathering and dispensing facility, although in a low-key capacity. In sum, further experimentation and innovation ceased, and the medium was turned to meeting immediate communications needs on a day to day basis. This pattern persisted through the winter months and was in evidence when Phase II of the

evaluation commenced in June of 1972.

At a meeting in Ottawa on April 20, 1972, the Institute for Northern Studies presented to the Department of Communications a proposal which followed up the recommendations of the report on the initial phase of the Comminterphone project. The proposal recommended that the evaluation be continued, that technical changes be made to the Comminterphone equipment to facilitate programmed broadcasts, and that a Program Director be appointed. Following on this, at a meeting in Saskatoon on May 30, John Gilbert, Manager, Northern Pilot Project, agreed to determine what support and advice would be available from DOC, CRTC, CBC, Bell Canada, and Bell Northern Research. At this latter meeting it was also agreed that the main points, and recommendations and conclusions of the report on Comminterphone I would be translated into Eskimo syllabics and made available to the community. It was anticipated that after a period of some weeks, possibly in early July, the community would be prepared to make a formal decision on the recommendations. Of particular importance was to be their agreement to take on structured broadcasting, and their presentation of alternatives. It was agreed that in the interval the interested agencies would prepare to meet community requests for advice and assistance with specific answers and commitments.

Thus in late June the summary of the report on Comminter-

terphone I was translated, printed and distributed to the residents of Rankin Inlet. Some days later, on July 3, Lucien Taparti, Chairman of the Comminterphone Policy Committee, invited responses to the report via the Comminterphone. The following week he went on the Comminterphone to read the text of the report summary in the Eskimo language. In both instances there was no response from the community. Nonetheless, in the light of renewed outside interest, Taparti went on to recruit new members to the Comminterphone Policy Committee, and , in his own time, continued to present the issues of Comminterphone to the community.

Meanwhile, and following on the agreements reached at the May 30 meeting between the Department of Communications and the Institute for Northern Studies, representatives of the agencies participating in the Comminterphone Project met in Ottawa on July 26, 1972. In addition to reviewing their individual interests in the project, the delegates undertook to discuss action that could be taken in the event that the Comminterphone Policy Committee should request a modification to the operational format. At the meeting it was noted that the summer months should not be expected to produce a great deal of community response to the initial report, as residents are necessarily preoccupied with intensive seasonal employment and hunting and

fishing ventures. There was also some concern that the proposed August 3 meeting with the community, which was designed to determine the community's readiness to take on the responsibility of structured programming, might be ill-timed, in that CBC was to clarify its policy regarding community radio at a September conference. Pending the outcome of that conference, there could be no clear commitment to the community. It was however agreed that the CBC, as licence holder for CBQR Rankin Inlet, would assume responsibility for both equipment and program materials. In addition, CBC Northern Service would call any further meetings to discuss Comminterphone. The Department of Communications would maintain its contract with the Institute for Northern Studies. In conclusion, there was expressed a definite desire to move Comminterphone toward integration with the CBC.

On August 2, 3 and 4, Pat Reilly of the CBC and John Gilbert of the Department of Communications met in Rankin Inlet with the general public, the Comminterphone Policy Committee, and representatives of the Institute for Northern Studies. Also present were Paddy Gardiner from the Northern Pilot Project and Al Simpson of the Department of Communications, Winnipeg Region. At the August 2 meeting, Lucien Taparti, Chairman, Comminterphone Policy Committee, reiterated the desire of the residents to retain the exist-

ing Comminterphone system, to upgrade it to the level of a radio station, and to engage a paid moderator to operate and manage the system. In response, Pat Reilly of CBC confirmed that agency's commitment to Comminterphone, and explained its new emphasis on community radio, albeit contingent upon the September policy conference. He went on to outline the concerns CBC was interested in presenting at the pending public meeting. There was first a need for an official request from the community to CBC to the effect that the CBC would assume responsibility for providing program material and technical assistance. There was indicated a further need for the community to consider the following: its information needs, the role of volunteer participants, the management of the station, the structure of the co-ordinating group for the station, and the type of equipment required. Community radio could then be planned to operate in terms of the expressed needs of the community, with due consideration to the multi-factional composition of the population.

A subsequent meeting the next day brought to light the fact that having the Comminterphone transmitter and tape-input facility located in the Administration Building served to associate the system with government, and hence tended to discredit claims that Comminterphone is subject to local control. Further, in that most residents were thus

effectively excluded from the physical presence of the equipment, it could lack an objective reality in their minds, sufficient to relegate them to the role of users and consumers, rather than planners and producers, of program material.

The public meeting took place in the Recreation Hall on the evening of August 3. A campaign to advertise the meeting through announcements on Comminterphone, by printed notices, and by personal contacts resulted in a turnout of 33 persons, of whom 29 were Eskimos and 4 were Whites. Among the Eskimo were 20 women and 9 men; among the Whites were 3 men and one woman. Significantly, only one member of the Settlement Council was present, indicating a possible reluctance on the part of its members to take a corporate interest in yet another activity, or conversely, a reluctance on the part of the community to associate the community station with the local power structure.

In the course of the meeting, the Eskimo participants attested strongly to the utility of Comminterphone as presently constituted, and went on to surmise that modifications to the equipment and the program format would further enhance its contribution to the community. Such functions as public service announcements, and the passing of information and messages were cited as uses within

the community. There was further reference made to the desirability of having sufficient power to reach nearby settlements such as Whale Cove and Chesterfield Inlet, where many Rankin Inlet residents have relatives. Currently CBQR is heard intermittently in these communities. Reference was also made to its possible utility in informing neighbouring communities of proposed visits by land or water. Non-arrival at a specified time could then initiate a search.³

At a more technical level, there was a query from an Eskimo participant regarding the cost of establishing and maintaining a building for the station. Another Eskimo stated that there was a clear need for public service announcements, and that anyone assuming this responsibility on a continuing basis should be paid. A third participant attested to the desirability of having a local person trained to operate the radio station. Pat Reilly of CBC was able to reply that while CBC is willing to help with equipment, and program material, as well as training an operator, there is no provision for funding a building.

Discussion centred on the issues outlined at the meeting of August 2, but found no one prepared to specify program needs, or propose an organizational structure for

³ It has been noted at other times that people travelling on the land and those located in hunting and fishing camps rely on CBQR as a means of one-way communication with the community.

managing the station. The meeting closed with an invitation from Pat Reilly to formally request CBC assistance in planning the station, and a commitment to continue working closely with the community.

In the wake of the public meeting, the community was left to consider anew the aforementioned criteria which CBC cited as prerequisite to its assistance. Again it was Lucien Taparti who was most active in promoting Comminterphone, and the issues surrounding the proposed move to community radio. In mid-August he forwarded to the CBC, under his signature as Chairman of the Comminterphone Policy Committee, a letter requesting technical and financial assistance in upgrading the Comminterphone system. Subsequently he was joined by Ittinuar, Chairman of the Rankin Inlet Community Council, in initiating discussion and eliciting support for the new community radio. On August 27, Taparti called together his newly-formed committee to consider further action. They recommended that a school building, which was no longer used due to the opening of the new school, be used to house the station and studio.

By September 30, there had still been no attention given to identifying and articulating the information needs of the community, the role of volunteers, the management of the station, the structure of the coordinating group for the station, and equipment needs as per

CBC's specifications. But in that CBC did not reply until mid-November, due to delays in policy formulation, the Comminterphone Policy Committee did not feel that it could approach the community, and again raise hopes, until there was indeed a firm commitment from CBC to take the next steps.⁴

⁴ At this point, as the year ends, there has been an arrangement to set up studio equipment in Rankin Inlet, and to establish a trained animator in the community. Although the animator is not Eskimo, it is understood that such a person will operate in primarily an advisory capacity, and will withdraw support as the community gradually acquires the basic skills requisite to the operation of a radio station.

III. EVALUATION OF COMMINTERPHONE

A. COMMINTERPHONE I - A REVIEW

The objectives of the evaluation of Phase I were to:

- a) identify the existing communications structure and dynamics in Rankin Inlet
- b) document any possible changes in this structure as a result of Comminterphone

The procedures to be followed in reaching these objectives were to:

- aa) map the existing social information network
- bb) monitor the usage and performance of Comminterphone
- cc) document changes in the social information network, and determine user satisfaction by observation and interview
- dd) evaluate the impact of Comminterphone on the community and individuals

Concerning (a) it was found that:

"The basic social information networks in Rankin Inlet reflect both traditional and recently-developed patterns of social organization, and are divided along cultural and linguistic lines, although several formally organized groupings provide some limited opportunity for cross-cultural inter-action. Within each of the major cultural segments of the settlement exists a network of formal and

informal opportunities for interpersonal communication and interaction. Comminterphone, during its short span of operation, has had little apparent effect on the adequacy and efficiency of the pre-existing networks, although a significant number of Rankin Inlet residents feel it has a potential effectiveness in such a role, given a greater degree of internal organization."

and concerning (b):

"Comminterphone has functioned as an intra-community medium, as was intended by its designers. As such it appears to hold promise for meeting some of the needs for entertainment, information and discussion, which are especially important in an isolated community. However, it should be noted that many of the socio-political problems of a community such as Rankin Inlet are a function of physical isolation, and other types of communications systems would be needed to alleviate such problems."

Furthermore, "The community is enthusiastic about the role of Comminterphone as an entertainment and information medium, but it is as yet unsure of its performance as a cross-cultural and intra-cultural communications medium. Comminterphone has apparently been successful in achieving the originally-stated [experimental] objective of "a greater sense of participation and sharing within the community." It is, of course, too early to evaluate the full potential

of Comminterphone as a community communications device".⁵

The report went on to recommend, among other things, that the demonstrated need for "A greater degree of internal organization" be met by establishing liaison "between the Comminterphone Policy Committee and some individual or agency in Southern Canada [prepared to]...act as a resource input to assist the Policy Committee to develop an amended operational format by helping it to identify its programming desires and by providing technical assistance in scheduling and acquiring program materials." It went further to recommend that "beginning prior to full implementation of the amended experiment, research continue on the documentation and analysis of existing social information networks."⁶

⁵ Comminterphone Report, May 31, 1972, Summary and Conclusions, pp. 3-5.

⁶ Ibid., Recommendations, pp. 6-8.

B. COMMINTERPHONE II.

On June 1st, 1972. the Institute for Northern Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, submitted to the Department of Communications a proposal for a continuation of research on the Comminterphone Project. The proposal was submitted on the understanding that: (1) the operational format for Comminterphone would remain unaltered until early in the summer when the community would indicate whether they wished to assume responsibility for the operation of CBQR, Rankin Inlet; and (2) the participants in the experiment were prepared to offer technical and programming assistance to the community, and to aid the community in obtaining funds necessary to the operation of a community radio station.

1. Objectives

Two objectives were specified for this second phase of the evaluation:

- i) to examine the usage of Comminterphone, its role in the community, the attitude of the residents toward it, its effects on the channels of information and influence, and on the formation of community consensus.
- ii) to observe the emergence of a community organizational structure to operate CBQR, Rankin Inlet, and to monitor the growth and development of an operational format for a community radio station.

2. Methodology

This continuation of the evaluation was designed to follow the anticipated development of Comminterphone into a community radio station. The arrival of the research assistant in Rankin Inlet on June 13, 1972 began the process of observing the emergence of community organizational structure to operate CBQR. At the same time the summary of the Comminterphone I Report was translated into syllabics, and distributed to the residents of Rankin Inlet in both Eskimo and English, for their consideration. As well, attention was turned to the construction of a social profile outline, and to the development of a questionnaire. In the course of the summer, social profiles were compiled on all identified broadcasters, and on all questionnaire respondents, thus providing for correlations of usage patterns, and attitudes toward Comminterphone, with socio-economic and cultural variables. As well, the questionnaire was designed to identify opinion leaders and channels of influence, and relate these elements to usage of the medium.

In the period August eleventh to thirty-first the system was monitored for eight hours a day. Each day's potential 16 hours of broadcast time was divided into four periods of four hours each, from 0800-1200; 1200-1600; 1600-2000; 2000-2359. Two four-hour periods were

randomly selected for each day, to spread the eight hour monitors evenly over the 20-day monitored period. In total, 160 hours of air-time were monitored, for which time all transmissions were documented as to date, time, length of broadcast, language, type of broadcast, and the name of the broadcaster, where identifiable and applicable. All broadcasters were subsequently catalogued as to types and frequency of broadcasts.

Beginning in August, and continuing into September, the questionnaire was administered to a representative one-third of the households. The bulk of the interviews were conducted in the Eskimo language by Cyril Kusagak, who was also responsible for translation of the monitored broadcasts.

As well two specific issues were identified on Com-minterphone and an attempt made to uncover evidence of subsequent discussion in the community, both over the Com-minterphone and by other means. One issue was the broadcasting over Comminterphone of the issues discussed at the August 3rd public meeting; the other was the daily broadcasts of the local Alcohol Education Committee. In both instances a random telephone survey was employed as a means of determining public awareness of, and response to, the broadcasts.

Finally, close contact was maintained with the Com-

minterphone Policy Committee in its continuing attempt to stimulate community involvement in the planning aspect of the operation of the system. In that the anticipated time-frame was pushed back considerably by unforeseen delays, such as to preclude an evaluation of community radio per se within the scope of this study, emphasis was shifted to the development of the Comminterphone Policy Committee, and the formation of community consensus on the development of community radio.

Throughout the research period, conversation, unstructured interviewing, and participant-observation were used to supplement the more formal methods of data gathering.

3. Comminterphone Utilization

(a) Introduction:

When monitoring began in August 1972, some eight months after the initial coverage under Comminterphone I, it was anticipated that any changes in the type and level of usage would be readily apparent. In that the system had been for this period operating exclusive of outside input, and inasmuch as there were no restrictions on programming, it was assumed that any potential for local development at the existing technical level of operation should have been realized. Conversely, any shortcomings in the initial concept should be apparent after this period of operation.

To facilitate comparison with previously acquired data, the types of transmission were categorized as in Comminterphone I as well as according to a complementary system designed to point up the development and dynamics of the communication process. Briefly, the original categories were:

Community announcements:

e.g. notices of public events, weather, aircraft arrivals and departures. No response was expected.

Spontaneous conversation:

e.g. discussion, expression of opinion, personal messages. Response expected, but without benefit of formal organization.

Home Programming:

e.g. playing of records and tapes, and live singing, into the telephone.

Official programming:

e.g. recorded music and official announcements originating from the transmitter location in the Administration Building, or from local officials.

The complementary system of categorization was developed processually with the realisation that the community has, even during the research period, continued to

change. People are moving from individuated communication to involvement also in individual-to-group and group-to-group communication. The complementary categories were therefore introduced to enrich the analytical matrix.

These complementary broadcast categories are:

Casual broadcasts:

e.g. conversation, discussion, point of view, and entertainment, from all sources. No action is entailed directly, although a verbal response may be elicited.

Functional broadcasts:

e.g. announcements, queries, and discussions leading to resolutions from which immediate action is entailed.

Educative broadcasts:

e.g. recorded programs, speakers, discussions, where there is the introduction of new ideas and information.

In the data on Comminterphone I, the length of each transmission was estimated on the basis of quarter-hour intervals, such that a transmission occurring within each interval was assigned a minimum fifteen minutes duration. In the first report it was acknowledged that this assignment would likely overestimate the total duration of short, sporadic transmissions such as community announcements and

spontaneous conversations. It was however noted that the duration of longer transmissions such as home and official programming would be quite accurately estimated.

For Comminterphone II, it was possible to denote the actual duration of each broadcast. As noted earlier, the system was monitored for two arbitrarily selected four-hour periods per day, for a total of eight of a possible 16 hours of transmission time. Over the 20-day period from August 11-31, 160 hours of possible transmission time were recorded. Eskimo language transmissions were translated by the local assistant, Cyril Kusagak. Each transmission was catalogued as to type of broadcast, content, time of day, duration, language and name of broadcaster. Automatic recording of broadcasts was made possible by a switching device provided by Al Simpson of the Department of Communications. Anyone dialing "0" to gain access to the Comminterphone thereby activated the tape-recorder for the duration of the transmission. Upon completion the circuit was broken, and the equipment stopped until the next call. At the end of each hour of monitored time, the used tape was removed for translation and recording.

For purposes of comparison with Comminterphone II data, "home programming", "official programming", and "unused" broadcast categories from Comminterphone I would be accurately reflected in the total of 93.5 per cent of

monitored time credited to these types of usage. As stated above, the longer duration of these transmissions rendered them quite compatible with the means of estimation employed in the initial study. The residual 6.5 per cent of monitored time, however, may not have been accurately allotted between the respective "community announcement" and "spontaneous conversation" broadcast categories, due to the short and sporadic nature of these transmissions. But in that even maximum inflation in Comminterphone I of these latter categories would not implicate more than 6.5 per cent of total monitored time, the vast proportion of Comminterphone I data does lend itself to direct comparison with Comminterphone II data.

(b) Usage Patterns:

Figures 1 and 2 depict, for Comminterphone I and II respectively, the relative distribution of broadcasts as a percentage of monitored time. Comminterphone I saw slightly less than one-third (30.5 per cent) of monitored time used for broadcasts. Usage increased in Comminterphone II to just under half (44.0 per cent) of monitored time. While community announcements and spontaneous conversations occupied an estimated and respective 1.5 per cent and 5.0 per cent of monitored time in Comminterphone I, and respectively 0.5 per cent and 5.0 per cent of monitored time in Comminterphone II, for little net change,

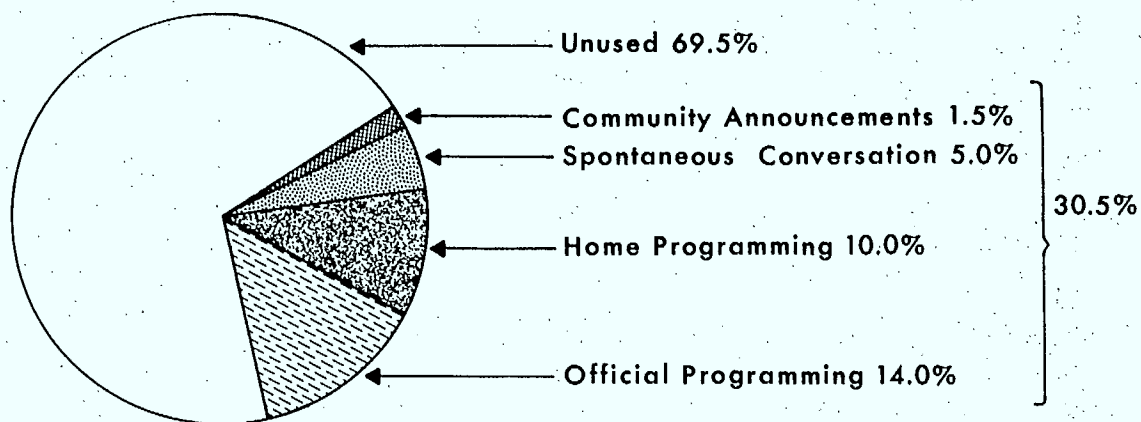


Figure 1

Usage of 472 hours Monitored Time Over 40-Day Observation Period, as per Comminterphone I

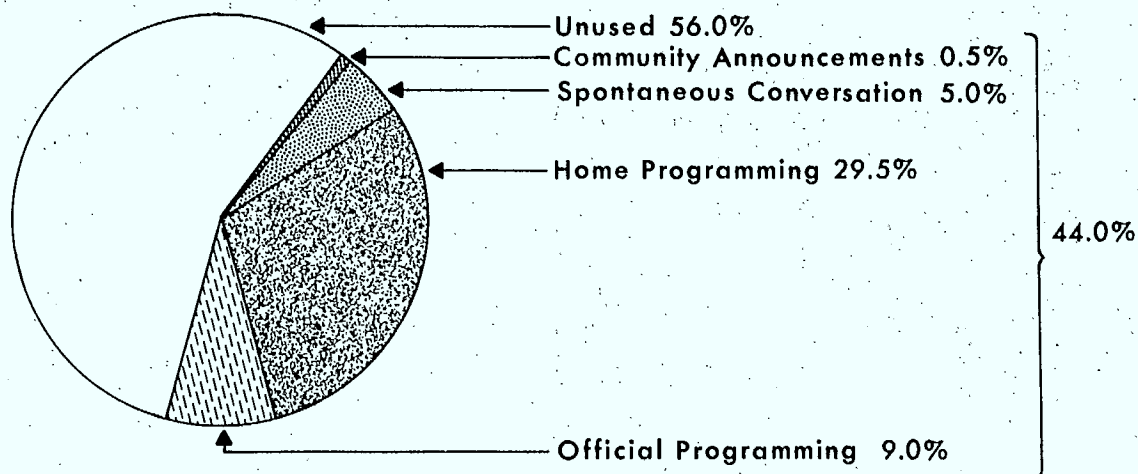


Figure 2

Usage of 160 hours Monitored Time Over 20-Day Observation Period, as per Comminterphone II

home programming increased by 19.5 per cent to 29.5 per cent and official programming decreased by 5.0 per cent to 9.0 per cent of monitored time. The substantial increase in home programming indicated a growing emphasis on the entertainment capacity of the Comminterphone medium. The corresponding decrease in official programming also reflects this trend as recorded music, originating from the tape-deck at the Administration Building, came to represent the bulk of official programming as well. Official announcements, which (see Figure 5) would cross-classify as functional broadcasts (2.8 per cent) and educative broadcasts (0.7 per cent), accounted for a maximum of only 3.5 per cent of monitored time. Hence the remaining 5.5 per cent, representing more than half of the 9.0 per cent of monitored time utilized by official programming type broadcasts, was also composed of recorded music.

In total, recorded music from all sources, and a few instances of live singing, accounted for 34.9 per cent of the monitored time, while spoken messages occupied 9.1 per cent. The remaining 56.0 per cent remained unused. In Figures 3 and 4, these broadcast categories are expressed as percentages of utilized time, as distinct from total monitored time. Here it is seen in Figure 4 that community announcements and spontaneous conversation in

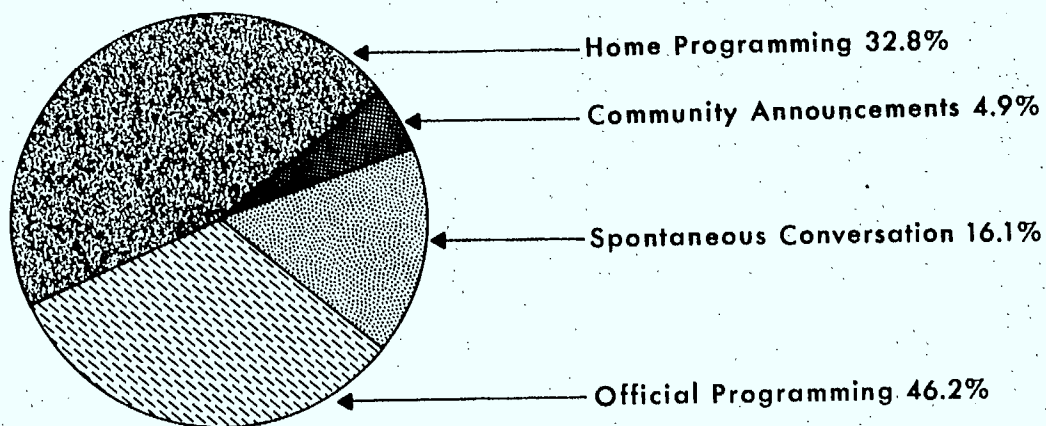


Figure 3

Distribution of Broadcast Categories Expressed as % of Utilized Time, as per Comminterphone I

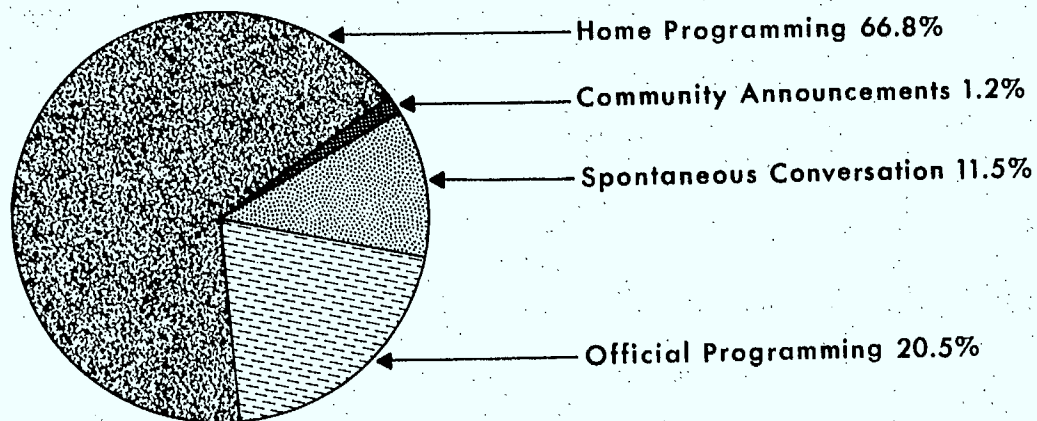


Figure 4

Distribution of Broadcast Categories Expressed as % of Utilized Time, as per Comminterphone II

Comminterphone II comprise respectively 1.2 per cent and 11.5 per cent of total broadcast time. Home programming accounts for 66.8 per cent of total broadcast time, while official programming takes in 20.5 per cent. In that more than half of this official programming is made up of recorded music, it will be noted that 66.8 per cent is a conservative estimate of the percentage of usage dedicated to recorded music. Application of even half of the official programming time to the home programming time raises the total of recorded music to in excess of 75.0 per cent of all actual usage.

Figures 5 and 6 point up the dynamic aspects of Comminterphone usage. In Figure 5, it is shown that 40.5 per cent of monitored time was dedicated to casual broadcasts. Informal conversation and discussion, and live and recorded music were the principal transmission content. Functional broadcasts made up to 2.8 per cent of monitored time. Community announcements of aircraft arrivals, meetings and social events; queries as to the whereabouts of children and adults; calls for taxi service via the driver's transistor radio; announcements of employment opportunities; calls for water delivery; and announcement about school routines were some major types of usage under the functional category. Educative type broadcasts made up a mere 0.7 per cent of monitored time, of which discussion of

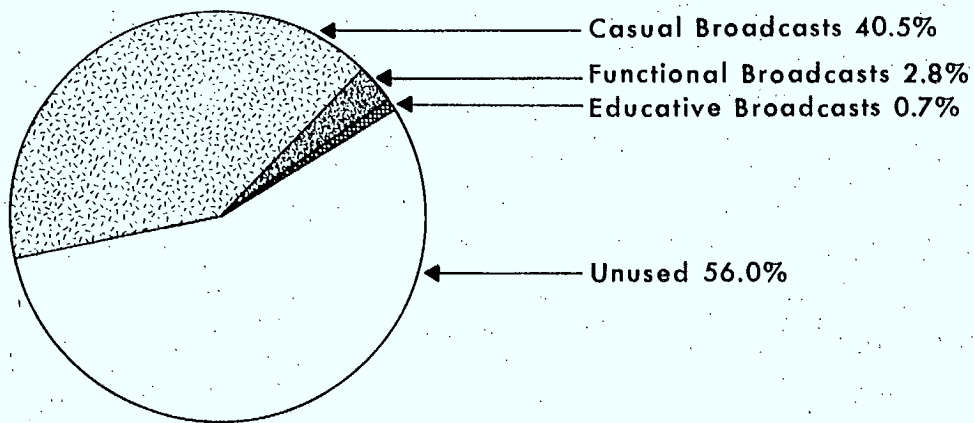


Figure 5
Distribution of Casual, Functional, and Educative Broadcast Categories,
expressed as % of monitored time

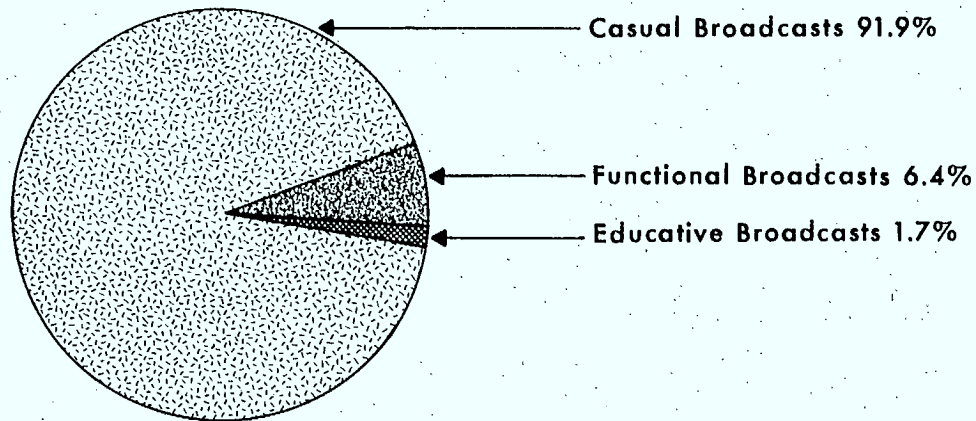


Figure 6
Distribution of Casual, Functional, and Educative Broadcast Categories,
expressed as % of utilized time

Comminterphone itself was the prime content. To date there has been little use made of this latent capacity of the medium. Figure 6 throws this imbalance into greater relief. Whereas educative type broadcasts did comprise 1.7 per cent of utilized time, an outstanding 91.9 per cent was dedicated to casual non-directed broadcasts. A residual 6.4 per cent of broadcast time was directed to maintaining the affairs of the community via functional broadcasts.

Figure 7 indicates that there was no pattern of usage that was discernable over the 20-day monitored period. The range of usage expressed as a percentage of monitored time extended from an average low of 13.0 per cent on August 27 to an average high of 79.0 per cent on August 17. As indicated earlier, the overall mean percentage of usage was 44.0 per cent of monitored time. There was no tendency to cluster about the mean, as values fell randomly throughout the array. This is not to say, however, that a longer period of observation might not have disclosed distinct usage patterns.

Figure 8 shows the average percentage of monitored time that was actually utilized during each quarter of the broadcast day, over the 20-day observation period. The forenoon period (0800-1200) was utilized an average of 42.9 per cent of the available time. Of the nine such periods which were monitored, usage ranged from a low of

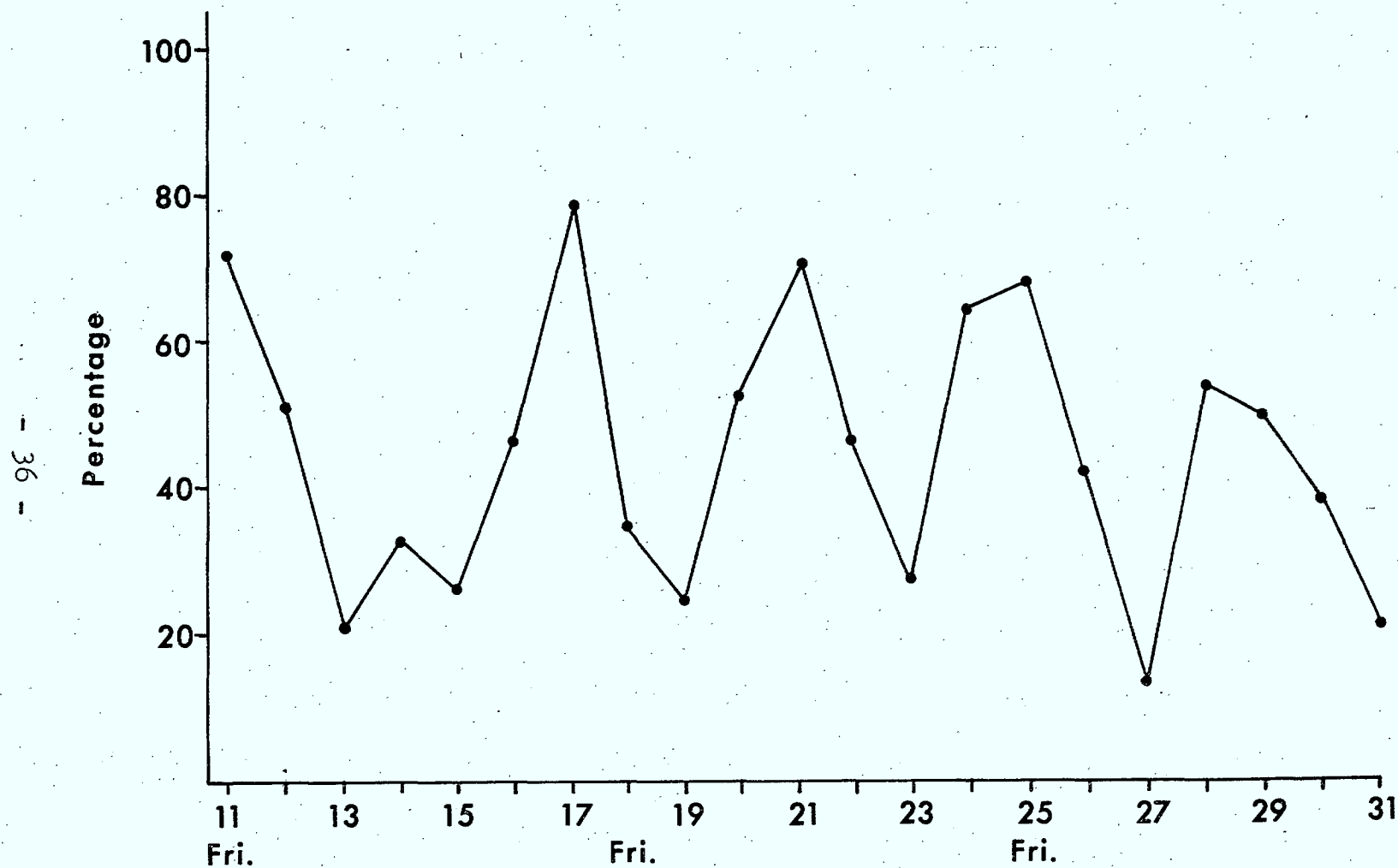


Figure 7

Utilized Time as a Percentage of Eight Hours of Monitored Time, by Day of Observation for 11-31 August 1972

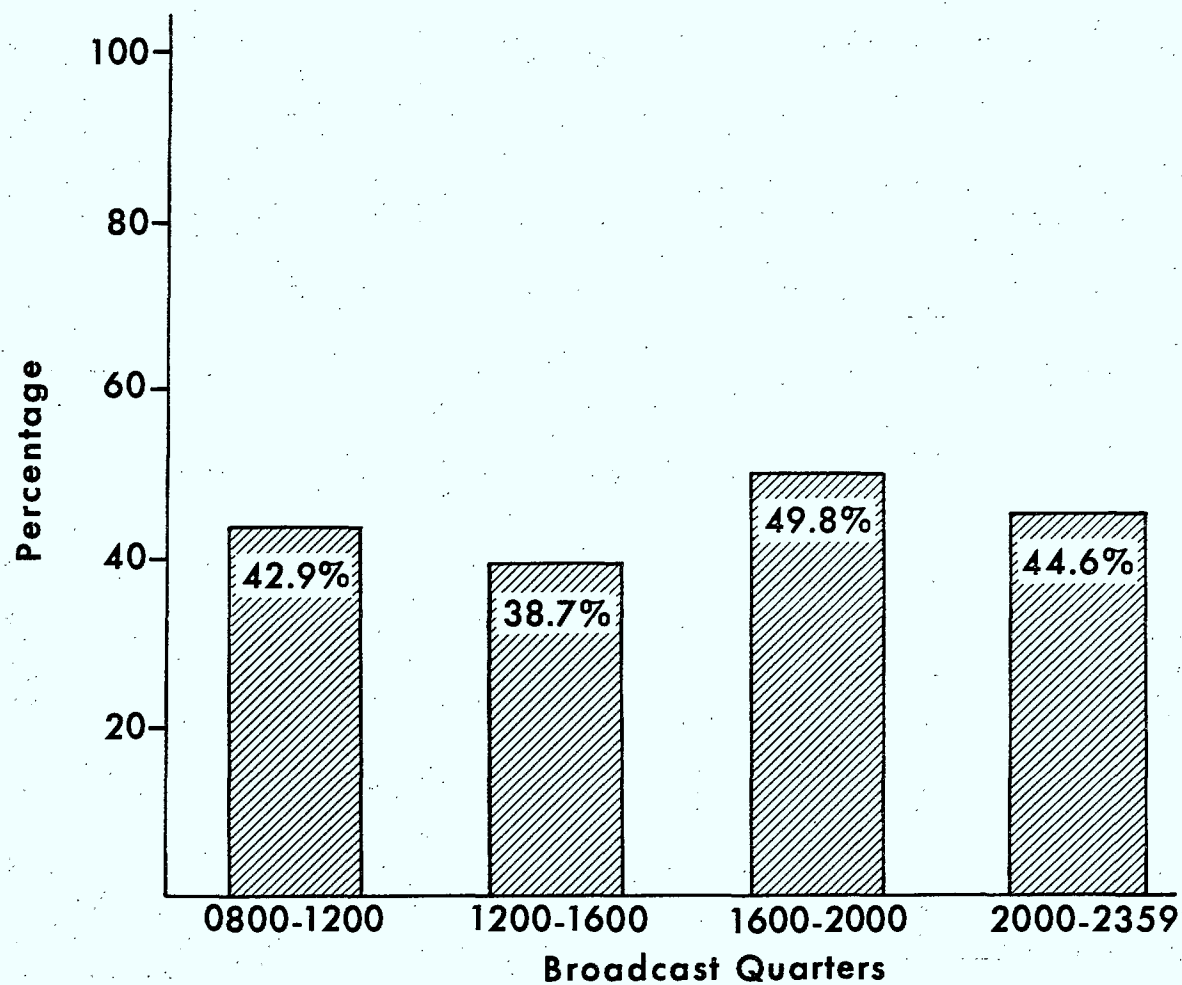


Figure 8

Average Utilized Time from Each Monitored Quarter for
20-Day Period of Observation 11-31 August

20.8 per cent on August 2 and 3 to a high of 75.0 per cent on August 29. The ten afternoon periods (1200-1600) were utilized an average 38.7 per cent of the time, with a range extending from a low of 10.4 per cent on August 27 to a high of 91.7 per cent on August 25. The twelve evening periods (1600-2000) were utilized from a low of 14.6 per cent on August 27 to a high of 100.0 per cent on August 11, for an average of 49.8 per cent of monitored time. Finally, the ten night periods (2000-2359) were utilized for an average of 44.6 per cent of monitored time, over a range extending from a low of 12.5 per cent on August 13 to a high of 87.5 per cent on August 17. These mean percentages of monitored time actually utilized are observed to be grouped fairly evenly around the grand mean of 44.0 per cent. Hence it may be inferred that the community did not demonstrate any significant tendency to concentrate usage in any particular period of the day. At the same time there is no evidence to suggest that any particular category of broadcast tends to fall more frequently into any one of these time slots.

Transmissions of all types occur in a spontaneous and seemingly unplanned manner, as dictated by the immediate circumstances. An interesting implication here is that while such spontaneity may cater to the whim of the broadcaster, it inconveniences the listener to the extent that

he must always stay within hearing of his radio if he is not to miss a potentially important or personal communication. That is, there is no way for a listener to anticipate the time when some item of importance to himself will be broadcast, and plan to be near a radio at that time.

Finally, Figures 9 and 10 indicate that the proportion of Eskimo language to English language broadcasting remained constant from Comminterphone I to Comminterphone II. In both cases approximately 90.0 per cent of all spoken transmissions were in the Eskimo language. It was also observed that much of the remaining 10.0 per cent English language broadcasting was also done by Eskimo members of the community, particularly the bi-lingual youth. White residents refrained from utilizing the system for other than a scatter of pronouncements.

It is therefore to be observed that in the course of some eight months between this and the initial study of Comminterphone, there has been a substantial increase in the proportion of broadcast time taken up by recorded music. In the absence of organized programming, it may appear that the community has employed the system primarily in the capacity of an entertainment medium, to the extent that recorded music comprises nearly 35.0 per cent of all possible transmission time. With 56.0 per cent of possible transmission time going unused, the remaining 9.0 per cent of time is utilized by verbal broadcasts

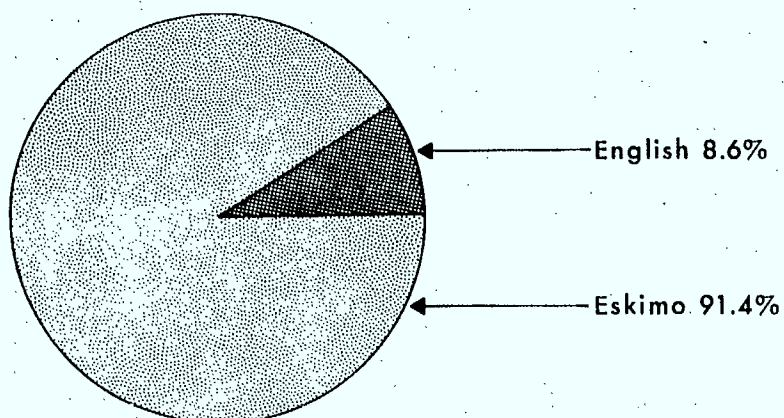


Figure 9
Distribution of Spontaneous Conversation Transmissions by Language
of Transmission-Comminterphone I

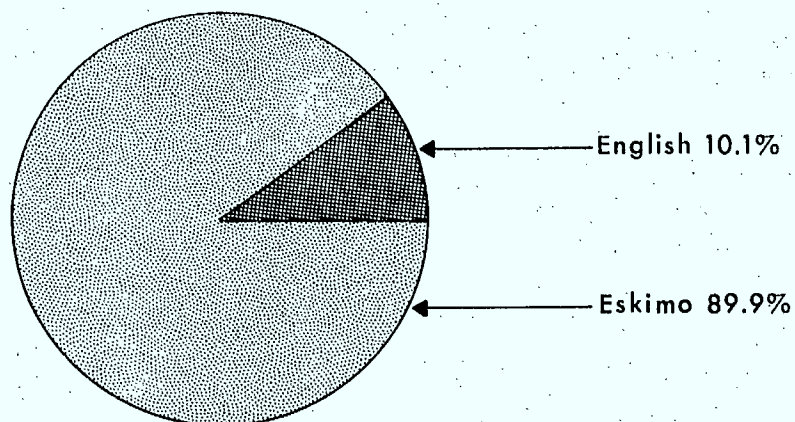


Figure 10
Distribution of Spontaneous Conversation Transmissions by Language
of Transmission-Comminterphone II

of queries, information, and commentary which make elementary contributions to the maintenance of community life.

An alternative means of evaluating the utilization of Comminterphone is to consider the distribution of the frequency of broadcasts. Thus, if the number of transmissions is taken as the determining factor, spontaneous conversation emerges as the most frequent broadcast type, accounting for 282 of a total of 539 distinct broadcasts. Table 1 shows that this 52.3 per cent of all broadcasts occupied but 5.0 per cent of monitored time, and a modest 11.5 per cent of utilized time. However, the importance of this capacity of the system for spontaneous conversation and discussion, and particularly the passage of personal messages is amply demonstrated in the frequency of this type of usage. In this context, the other high-frequency usage, which is home programming consisting of live and recorded music, may be viewed as "filler" or background, through which is projected the more vital spoken transmissions. As will be noted in the analysis of questionnaire responses, respondents did not cite entertainment as an important use of the system. Rather, the medium was referred to entirely in terms of its capacity to transmit the spoken word.

The emphasis on transmission of messages is more clearly reflected by entries on the vertical axis of Table 1.

| | <u>CASUAL BROADCASTS</u> conversation discussion entertainment (non-action) | <u>FUNCTIONAL BROADCASTS</u> announcements queries discussion, with resolution (action entailed) | <u>EDUCATIVE BROADCASTS</u> recorded programs speakers discussion (introduction of new ideas & information) | ROW TOTAL | ROW TOTAL (TIME) AS % OF 70.4 HRS. UTILIZED TIME | ROW TOTAL (TIME) AS % OF 160 HRS. MONITORED TIME | ROW TOTAL (FREQUENCY) AS % OF 539 BROADCASTS |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>COMMUNITY ANNOUNCEMENTS</u> notice of public events weather reports aircraft arrivals & departures (no response required) | | 27 Bc's / 0.9 hr. | | 27 Bc's / 0.9 hr. | 1.2% | 0.5% | 5.0% |
| <u>SPONTANEOUS CONVERSATION</u> transmission of discussion expression of opinion personal messages (no formal authority as sponsor) | 99 Bc's / 4.4 hrs. | 183 Bc's / 3.6 hrs. | | 282 Bc's / 8.0 hrs. | 11.5% | 5.0% | 52.3% |
| <u>HOME PROGRAMMING</u> recorded music from homes live entertainment from homes | 213 Bc's / 46.9 hrs. | | 1 Bc / 0.2 hr. | 214 Bc's / 47.1 hrs. | 66.8% | 29.5% | 39.7% |
| <u>OFFICIAL PROGRAMMING</u> recorded music from the Administration Bldg. educational material pronouncements | 14 Bc's / 13.4 hrs. | | 2 Bc's / 1.0 hr. | 16 Bc's / 14.4 hrs. | 20.5% | 9.0% | 3.0% |
| COLUMN TOTAL | 326 Bc's / 64.7 hrs. | 210 Bc's / 4.5 hrs. | 3 Bc's / 1.2 hrs. | 539 Bc's / 70.4 hrs. | 100.0% | 44.0% | 100.0% |
| COLUMN TOTAL (TIME) AS % OF 70.4 HR. UTILIZED TIME | 91.9% | 6.4% | 1.7% | 100.0% | TABLE 1 TYPE OF BROADCAST EXPRESSED AS: - % of utilized time - % of monitored time - % of total number of broadcasts | | |
| COLUMN TOTAL (TIME) AS % OF 160 HR. MONITORED TIME | 40.5% | 2.8% | 0.7% | 44.0% | | | |
| COLUMN TOTAL (FREQUENCY) AS % OF 539 BROADCASTS | 60.5% | 39.0% | 0.5% | 100.0% | | | |

While 326 broadcasts (60.5 per cent) were of a casual nature, which included recorded music as well as spoken communications, a substantial 210 broadcasts (30.9 per cent) were clearly functional, that is dedicated to action-oriented announcements, queries, and discussions. To be more exact, an internal analysis of the casual and educative columns shows that an additional 102 transmissions (18.9 per cent) were spoken communications, although not of a functional nature. In total, of 539 broadcasts, 312 (57.9 per cent) were spoken communications. Although these spoken communications accounted for not more than 5.6 per cent of monitored time, and 12.6 per cent of total utilized time, they yet emerged as the most frequent type of broadcast, again indicating a far greater than anticipated reliance upon the Comminterphone system as an information medium.

In summary, usage increased by an estimated 13.5 per cent of monitored time, from 30.5 per cent for Comminterphone I to 44.0 per cent for Comminterphone II. This net increase was reflected in a 19.5 per cent increase in home programming type broadcasts, accompanied by a 5.0 per cent decrease in official programming type broadcasts. There was thus evidenced a substantial increase in the amount of time dedicated to the entertainment capacity of the medium. In effect, more than three-quarters of

actual utilized time was dedicated to recorded music, as provided by private and official sources.

While more absolute time was devoted to entertainment than to any other content, notably the most frequent broadcast content was spontaneous conversation of a casual or functional nature. Although this type of broadcast occupied only 5.0 per cent of monitored time, and 11.5 per cent of utilized time, it accounted for 52.3 per cent of all individual broadcasts. The capacity of the Comminterphone system to function as an information gathering and disseminating medium may thus be judged to have been significantly realized.

Consistent with Comminterphone I, approximately 90.0 per cent of transmissions were in the Eskimo language. Of the remaining transmissions which were in the English language, a large proportion were sponsored by bi-lingual Eskimo residents who were translating Eskimo language transmissions which were of importance to the entire community. This over-representation of the Eskimo community, proportionate to ethnic distribution, reflects the observation that only three of fifty identified broadcasters were non-Eskimo. Comminterphone has thus come to be viewed as an Eskimo medium. Only in the context of formally constituted community radio do the White residents express any desire to participate.

No pattern emerged to suggest that any particular day or days of the week were more conducive to broadcasting. High and low rates of usage, around a mean of 44.0 per cent of monitored time, occurred randomly over the 20-day observation period. Similarly, no period of the day stood out as being particularly conducive to any particular form of broadcasting. Morning, afternoon, evening and night-time periods of monitoring were observed to contain random amounts of all types of broadcasts.

(c) User characteristics

In the course of the research, social profiles were compiled on all identified broadcasters and on all questionnaire respondents. Variables were: Comminterphone access; sex; age; formal education; employment status; occupation; years in Rankin Inlet; fluency and literacy in Eskimo and English; time spent in southern areas for hospital, education or employment; membership in formal organizations. Selected variables were cross-tabulated with the monitored data, and with the questionnaire data.

In Table 2, ethnicity is cross-tabulated with broadcast frequency, according to type of broadcast. A disproportionate 47 of 50, or 94.0 per cent, of identified broadcasters were Eskimo. In that not more than 80.0 per cent of all residents are Eskimo, White residents were decidedly under-represented in their 6.0 per cent of

TABLE 2

Broadcast Frequency by Type of Broadcast by Ethnicity

| Type of Broadcast | Ethnicity | Broadcast Frequency | | | | | | Total |
|--------------------------|-----------|---------------------|----|-----|------|-------|-----|-------|
| | | 0 | 1 | 2-5 | 6-10 | 11-20 | +20 | |
| Community Announcements | Eskimo | 35 | 7 | 5 | | | | 47 |
| | White | 2 | 0 | 1 | | | | 3 |
| | Total | 37 | 7 | 6 | | | | 50 |
| Spontaneous Conversation | Eskimo | 10 | 18 | 11 | 3 | 4 | | 47 |
| | White | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 3 |
| | Total | 11 | 20 | 11 | 3 | 4 | | 50 |
| Home Programming | Eskimo | 45 | 1 | 1 | | | | 47 |
| | White | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | | 3 |
| | Total | 48 | 1 | 1 | | | | 50 |
| Official Programming | Eskimo | 43 | 3 | 1 | | | | 47 |
| | White | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | | 3 |
| | Total | 48 | 3 | 1 | | | | 50 |
| Casual | Eskimo | 15 | 17 | 10 | 3 | 2 | | 47 |
| | White | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 3 |
| | Total | 18 | 17 | 10 | 3 | 2 | | 50 |
| Functional | Eskimo | 18 | 15 | 18 | 5 | 1 | | 47 |
| | White | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | 3 |
| | Total | 18 | 17 | 19 | 5 | 1 | | 50 |
| Educative | Eskimo | 44 | 2 | 1 | | | | 47 |
| | White | 3 | 0 | 0 | | | | 3 |
| | Total | 47 | 2 | 1 | | | | 50 |

The bottom three rows represent an alternate classification of the entries Note: in the preceding rows. For an explanation of labels, see Table 1.

identified broadcasters. They were further under-represented in number of broadcasts, as two made one broadcast each, and one made between two and five.

Eskimo broadcasters concentrated on community announcements and spontaneous conversation, with some limited participation in home programming and official programming; White broadcasters made only community announcements and spontaneous conversation broadcasts. In the alternate classification of broadcast types, White broadcasters made only functional broadcasts, while Eskimo participants demonstrated a fairly equal division between casual and functional broadcasts, with some limited activity in educative broadcasts. Eskimo residents then were observed to utilize the Comminterphone medium for a wider range of functions than did White residents. A perusal of broadcast content indicates that the primary distinction to be made is that while White broadcasters limited their participation to broadcasts which related to the affairs of the entire community, Eskimo broadcasters made broadcasts pertaining to personal and family matters as well as community matters.

In the monitored sample, few residents were identified as regular broadcasters. Of these few, none were White. In the primary breakdown of broadcast categories, only eight persons, all Eskimos, were observed to make more

than five broadcasts in 160 hours of monitored time over the 20-day observation period. These relatively high-frequency broadcasters confined themselves to spontaneous conversation. It must be recognized, however, that in this breakdown, a high-frequency broadcaster in one category may appear as a limited participant in other categories. This is evident in the second instance, where the broadcast categories reflect the dynamic aspects of the communication process. Here the reordered broadcast categories show eleven persons being designated high-frequency broadcasters.

In Table 3, which presents the total number of cases, by ethnicity and by broadcast frequency, the absolute number of persons in each frequency category is clarified. The observation to be made is that nine Eskimo residents, totalling 18.0 per cent of all identified broadcasters, were responsible for, at a minimum, as many broadcasts as all others combined.

TABLE 3

Broadcast Frequency by Ethnicity

| Ethnicity | Broadcast Frequency | | | | | Total |
|-----------|---------------------|-----|------|-------|-----|-------|
| | 1 | 2-5 | 6-10 | 11-20 | +20 | |
| Eskimo | 22 | 16 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 47 |
| White | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Total | 24 | 17 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 50 |

Table 4 ranks these nine high-frequency broadcasters according to number of broadcasts. It will be noted that all have both radio and telephone, all are Eskimo, and there is a fairly even sex distribution. Broadcasters range in age from 21-30 to more than 60. It is notable that high-frequency broadcasters had either a relatively high degree of formal education, or none at all. The educated group had six or seven years of formal education and were between 20 and 30 years of age, save for one who was 34. Those with no formal education were in the age range from mid-thirties on to their sixties. The elder group was typically employed in handicrafts or traditional hunting and fishing pursuits, while the younger and relatively educated group was more typically employed in clerical and administrative positions. All had been resident in Rankin Inlet for seven or more years. All spoke fluent Eskimo, while those in the younger age group demonstrated equal proficiency in English. Three high-frequency broadcasters, at the foot of the scale, who were more than 30 years of age, with limited outside experience and functionally unilingual in Eskimo, were not active in any formal organizations. Among the younger group, multiple affiliations were observed, such that one person would occupy concurrently two or even three positions on formal organizations, in addition to regular employment. Also,

TABLE 4

Socio-Economic Characteristics of High-Frequency Broadcasters

| Variables | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----|---------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|---------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Number of Broadcasts | Radio and Telephone | Ethnicity | Sex | Age | Formal Education | Employment Status | Occupation | Years Residence in Rankin Inlet | Eskimo *Language* | English | Time Outside (Years) | Number of Formal Organization Memberships |
| 26 | yes | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 0 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | S | 8 | 2 |
| 22 | yes | Esk. | F | 21 - 30 | 6 | - | - | 8 | F | F | 7 | 1 |
| 20 | yes | Esk. | M | 31 - 40 | 7 | fulltime | adminis | 8 | F | F | 7 | 2 |
| 18 | yes | Esk. | M | 21 - 30 | 7 | fulltime | adminis | +10 | F | F | 2 | 2 |
| 14 | yes | Esk. | M | 21 - 30 | 7 | fulltime | clerical | +10 | F | F | 1-2 | 3 |
| 12 | yes | Esk. | M | 51 - 60 | 0 | fulltime | unskilled | +10 | F | S | 0 | 0 |
| 8 | yes | Esk. | F | 31 - 40 | 0 | - | - | 7 | F | O | 3 | 1 |
| 6 | yes | Esk. | F | 31 - 40 | 0 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | - | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | yes | Esk. | M | +60 | 0 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | - | 1 | 0 |

*F-fluent; O-operational; S-smattering

these incumbents had experience in the south, where they had spent from one to seven years for purposes of hospitalization, education or employment.

Two distinct groups then emerge as high-frequency broadcasters - the young and formally educated, and the elder, more traditionalist group. The younger Eskimos tend to be employed full-time in civil-service type positions, and are noted to be bilingual (in English and Eskimo), active in formal organizations and have both long-term residence in the community and a relatively extensive experience in the outside world. The more traditionalist broadcasters tend to engage in handicraft manufacture and hunting and fishing, and are typically unilingual. In two instances, relevant outside experience is reflected in formal organization membership, despite lack of formal education. High-frequency users of the Comminterphone medium then appear to fall into two distinct categories - the younger, urbanized and acculturated Eskimos, and the older, urbanized, but strongly traditionalist Eskimos. In both groups broadcasting participation might be inferred to derive from some personal self-confidence, in the case of the former, because of education, urbanized experience, job-holding and local demand on their competencies; in the case of the latter, because of certainty as to social role based on traditionalistic

conditioning and a well-understood and valued identity. Finally, it is relevant to note that the three younger and six elder broadcasters are drawn from a population of approximately 250 Eskimo over the age of 14.

Table 5 outlines the socio-economic characteristics of low-frequency broadcasters. Among the seventeen low-frequency broadcasters, only three were under thirty. All but one of the remaining fourteen were forty years of age or older, and had no formal education. Seven of the thirteen over forty years of age were employed intermittently or regularly in unskilled and semi-skilled wage-earning positions. In six of these seven cases, wage employment was associated with some working knowledge of English, and in five cases was associated also with experience in the south for purposes of hospitalization or employment. These multiple capabilities in three cases were further associated with membership in two and three formal organizations. The remaining six low-frequency broadcasters over forty years of age were all unilingual in Eskimo.

Low-frequency broadcasters, then, tended to be over forty years of age, with no formal education, and employed in wage-earning capacities. They were for the most part unilingual in Eskimo, although those with outside experience demonstrated some working capability in English. There was some participation in formal organizations, with

TABLE 5

Socio-Economic Characteristics of Low-Frequency Broadcasters

| Variables | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----|---------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------|--|
| Number of Broadcasts | Radio and Telephone | Ethnicity | Sex | Age | Formal Education | Employment Status | Occupation | Years Residence in Rankin Inlet | Eskimo *Language* English | Time Outside (years) | Number of Formal Organization Memberships | |
| 5 | yes | Esk. | M | 31 - 40 | 3 | fulltime | tradesman | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 5 | yes | Esk. | M | 41 - 50 | 00 | fulltime | semi-skill. | 5 | F | | 3 | |
| 5 | yes | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 00 | casual | handicrafts | 5 | F | | 0 | |
| 5 | yes | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 00 | - | - | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 4 | yes | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 00 | - | - | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 4 | yes | Esk. | F | 51 - 60 | 00 | fulltime | semi-skill. | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 3 | yes | Esk. | M | + 60 | 00 | fulltime | semi-skill. | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 3 | yes | White | M | 21 - 30 | U.4 | fulltime | profession. | 2-4 | F | n/a | 0 | |
| 2 | yes | Esk. | F | 21 - 30 | 4 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | | 1 | |
| 2 | yes | Esk. | F | 51 - 60 | 00 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | | 2 | |
| 2 | yes | Esk. | M | 41 - 50 | 00 | casual | semi-skill. | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 2 | yes | Esk. | M | 15 - 20 | 6 | - | - | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 2 | yes | Esk. | F | + 60 | 00 | - | - | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 2 | yes | Esk. | M | 41 - 50 | 3 | casual | semi-skill. | +10 | F | | 2 | |
| 2 | radio | Esk. | F | 51 - 60 | 00 | - | - | +10 | F | | 0 | |
| 2 | yes | Esk. | M | 41 - 50 | 00 | casual | semi-skill. | +10 | F | | 2 | |
| 2 | yes | Esk. | M | 41 - 50 | 00 | fulltime | semi-skill. | +10 | F | | 0 | |

*F-fluent; O-operational; S-smattering

four of the thirteen, who had outside experience, being active concurrently in two and three formal organizations. By way of comparison with their peers in the high-frequency broadcast groups, this group was less traditionalistic by the gauge of wage employment, thereby implying a closer association with urban-industrial society, somewhere between the young formally educated, and the older traditionalists. It would appear then that if a high degree of commitment to modernization, or, conversely, to traditionalism, corresponds with high-frequency broadcasting, a growing commitment to modernization and away from traditionalism may be expected to be reflected in low-frequency broadcasting. Further investigation however would be required before any firm statements could be made on the suggestion that either modernized or traditionalistic people are likely to be high-frequency broadcasters.

Finally, among the twenty-four identified broadcasters who made only one broadcast each, there is no pattern to be discerned (see Table 6). All age categories share varying amounts of outside experience, formal education, wage employment, and traditional pursuits, and demonstrate varying degrees of bilingualism. The absence of any unifying circumstances or groupings is reflected in their limited and random participation in the medium.

TABLE 6
Socio-Economic Characteristics of "One-Shot" Broadcasters
Variables

| Number of Broadcasts | Radio and Telephone | Ethnicity | Sex | Age | Formal Education | Employment Status | Occupation | Years Residence in Rankin Inlet Eskimo | *Language* English | Time Outside (Years) | # of Formal Organization Memberships |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----|---------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1 | Radio | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 0 | casual | handicrafts | 6 - 8 | F | - | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | M | 31 - 40 | 0 | fulltime | semi-skill. | +10 | F | 1 | 1 |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 0 | - | - | +10 | F | 1 | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 21 - 30 | 5 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | - | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | M | 21 - 30 | 0 | casual | unskilled | 6 - 8 | F | - | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 0 | - | - | +10 | F | 1 | - |
| - | Radio | Esk. | M | 21 - 30 | 10 | fulltime | clerical | 8-10 | F | 3 | 1 |
| - | Radio | Esk. | M | 51 - 60 | 0 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | - | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 0 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | 2 | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | M | 15 - 20 | 11 | casual | clerical | +10 | O | 6 | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | M | 51 - 60 | 0 | fulltime | semi-skill. | +10 | F | - | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 51 - 60 | 0 | casual | handicrafts | 2 - 4 | F | 1 | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 15 - 20 | 7 | fulltime | clerical | 2 - 4 | F | - | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 41 - 50 | 0 | - | - | +10 | F | - | 1 |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 21 - 30 | 0 | - | - | +10 | F | - | - |
| - | Radio | Esk. | F | 31 - 40 | 0 | - | - | 2 | F | - | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | M | 31 - 40 | 2 | fulltime | tradesman | 6 - 8 | F | 5 | 1 |
| - | yes | Esk. | M | 41 - 50 | 0 | fulltime | semi-skill. | +10 | F | 8 | 1 |
| - | Radio | Esk. | M | 41 - 50 | 0 | casual | handicrafts | +10 | F | 3 | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | M | 41 - 50 | 0 | casual | unskilled | 2 | F | - | 2 |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 21 - 30 | 0 | - | - | +10 | F | - | - |
| - | yes | Esk. | F | 31 - 40 | 2 | - | - | +10 | F | 1 | - |
| - | yes | White | M | +60 | 12 | fulltime | business. | 6 - 8 | - | n/a | - |
| - | yes | White | M | 41 - 50 | U. 4 | fulltime | profession. | +10 | F | n/a | - |

In summary, increasing participation in the Comminterphone medium tends to be associated initially with increasing age and wage employment, and then in the high-frequency group, with formal education, and clerical and administrative responsibilities on the one hand, and with increasing age and traditional pursuits on the other. It would appear then that a characteristic of high-frequency usage of the Comminterphone medium is either a relatively substantial formal education and employment background, implying a commitment to modernization, or a well-developed and continuing commitment to the knowledge and traditions of the Eskimo culture. It is readily apparent that the Comminterphone medium could be equally useful to both groups in promoting their particular positions. But in that to date there has been no articulation of perceived objectives, there has been little directed usage of the medium.

There is evidence, however, to indicate that the older age group, composed of both "traditionalists" and "transitionals", is the most active in utilizing the Comminterphone medium at its present technical level. Of an estimated Eskimo population of 491^{*}, 110 or 22.0 per cent are over the age of thirty. At the same time, 141, or 28.0 per cent are between fifteen and thirty years of age,

^{*}Population estimate taken from Rankin Inlet Community List, 1972.

and the remaining 50.0 per cent are below fifteen. Within the two adult groups, it is significant that while 35 of the 110 over thirty years of age, or 32.0 per cent, were identified as broadcasters, not more than 12 (8.5 per cent) of the 141 under the age of thirty were so identified. In spite of a higher incidence of formal education, the under-thirty group did not generally avail itself of the Comminterphone medium. In total, this 28.0 per cent of the total Eskimo population contributed only 33.3 per cent of the high-frequency broadcasters, and only 12.0 per cent of the low-frequency broadcasters. By way of comparison, the 22.0 per cent over the age of thirty contributed 66.6 per cent of the high-frequency broadcasters, and 82.0 per cent of the low-frequency broadcasters. One White low-frequency broadcaster constituted the residual 6.0 per cent of broadcasters.

4. Community Attitudes to Comminterphone

During August and September a questionnaire survey was conducted among the residents of Rankin Inlet. The purpose of the questionnaire was threefold: to determine user satisfaction with the system; to determine the readiness of the community to operate and manage a radio station; and to identify opinion leaders and channels of influence in the community. To this end, thirty-eight respondents were interviewed in a sample coverage of every third home

in the community. In total, twenty-nine Eskimo and nine White respondents were consulted. Interviews with the Eskimo respondents were conducted thoughtfully and competently by Cyril Kusugak, a young bilingual Eskimo who provided valuable assistance through all phases of the study. White respondents were interviewed by the research assistant.

A transcript of the questionnaire is appended to this report. In this section, the analysis of responses to the questionnaire follows the order in which questions were asked.

a) User Satisfaction

1. Among the twenty-nine Eskimo respondents, 72.4 per cent expressed satisfaction with the current operation of the Comminterphone, while 24.2 per cent expressed dissatisfaction, and 3.4 per cent had no opinion. Conversely, among nine White respondents, 88.9 per cent expressed dissatisfaction, while 11.1 per cent expressed satisfaction. In spite of a high degree of satisfaction with the system's operation, more than half of the Eskimo respondents volunteered two major criticisms: interference from children was cited by 13.0 per cent as a major concern, while arguments between intoxicated adults was cited as a major irritation by 34.5 per cent. 6.9 per cent cited both interference and arguments. The remaining 44.8 per

cent made no mention of these occurrences.

Of the nine White respondents, 11.1 per cent (one person) cited interference, 33.3 per cent (three persons) cited arguments, and 11.1 per cent (one person) cited both interference and arguments, while 44.4 per cent (four persons) remained silent. However, the similar proportional distribution between Eskimos and Whites must be seen in light of listening habits. While Eskimo residents were observed to listen to Comminterphone in spite of interference and arguments, as reflected in their 72.4 per cent satisfaction rate, White residents cited interference and arguments as the prime reasons for not listening at all to Comminterphone. In this regard, the 44.4 per cent of White residents who did not even comment on problems with the system's operation indicated that they had totally rejected further participation in the Comminterphone project.

TABLE 7

Broadcast Frequency by User Satisfaction

| | Broadcast Frequency | | | | | Total |
|--------------|---------------------|-----|------|-------|-----|-------|
| | 1 | 2-5 | 6-10 | 11-20 | +20 | |
| Satisfied | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Dissatisfied | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| Total | 5 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 11 |

In Table 7, broadcast frequency is tabulated against

user satisfaction. Of the 38 respondents to the questionnaire, eleven Eskimos were identified as broadcasters. Among this number, seven expressed satisfaction with the current operation of the Comminterphone system, while four indicated their dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction did not, however, prevent the four from availing themselves of the medium, as evidenced by the three low-frequency and the one high-frequency broadcasters. It would therefore appear that, despite annoyances and dissatisfactions with the informal operation of the medium, most Eskimo residents feel that its practical utility outweighs its negative qualities.

2. There were five major types of usage identified by the community. These were: locating people; information source; emergency calls; messages out; and entertainment. In addition, each category was viewed from the perspective of both sender and receiver of messages and information. Hence, in the first category, both the person calling and the person called for would cite "locating people" as important.

Figure 11 shows that there was a clear ethnic bias in several categories. Whereas 24.1 per cent of Eskimo respondents indicated that the Comminterphone was a useful means of locating people, both children and adults, no White respondents utilized it to this end. Nonetheless, White respondents did regard Comminterphone as an infor-

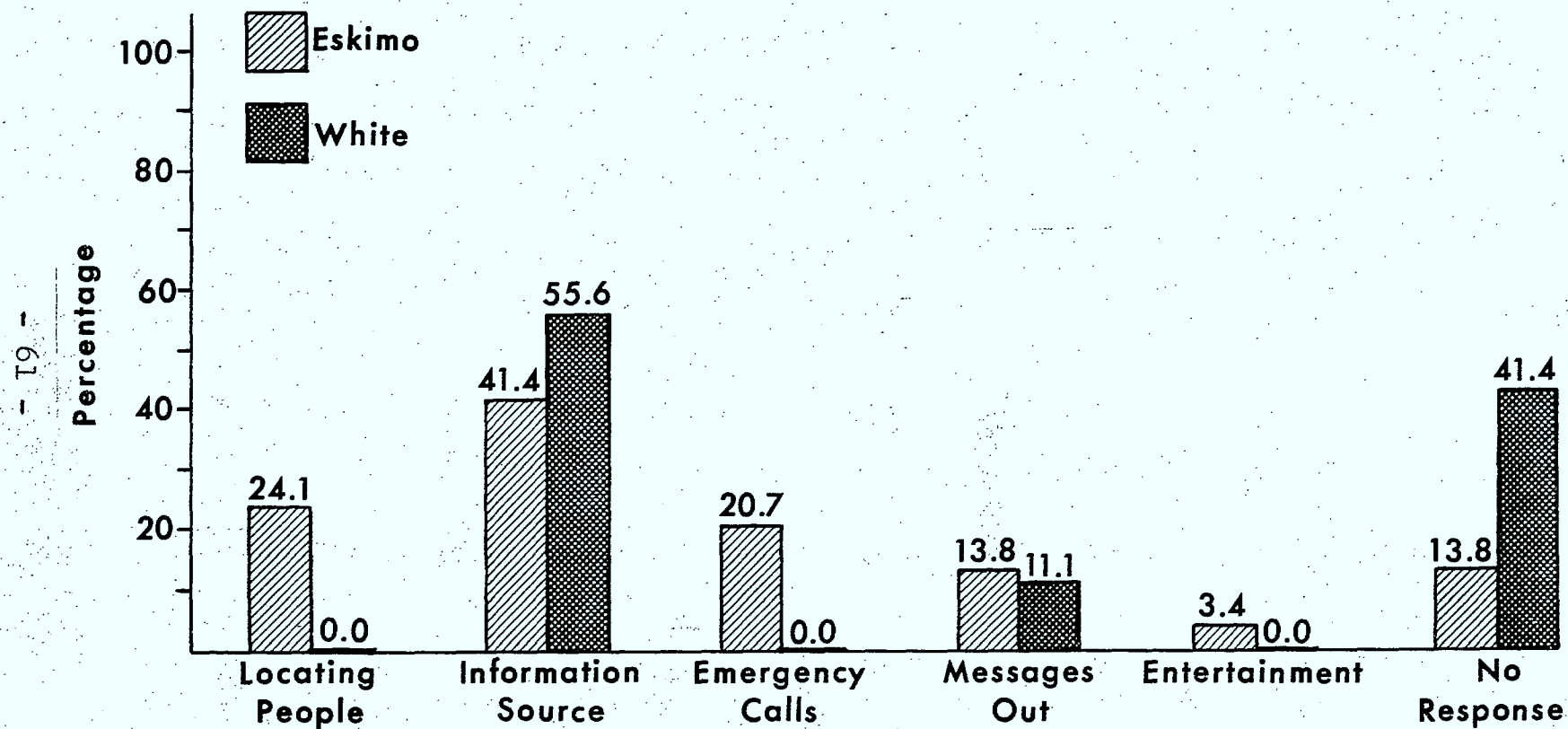


Figure 11

Uses for Comminterphone: as cited by Percentage of Each Ethnic Group

ation source, to the extent that 55.6 per cent referred to the utility of the system in broadcasting and receiving information. There is, however, some indication that they were thinking more in terms of potential than actual usage, as it was observed that few White residents spent any amount of time monitoring the system. But among Eskimo respondents, there is no reason to doubt that 41.4 per cent did actively utilize Comminterphone as an information source. Almost without exception, Eskimo homes visited were observed to have their radios constantly tuned to the CBQR frequency, even during "dead air" time, in anticipation of sporadic broadcasts and messages.

A significant 20.7 per cent of Eskimo respondents felt that the Comminterphone was valuable as a means of raising an alarm in the event of sickness or disaster. The elderly were especially aware of the utility of the system in calling for help in the event of sickness or injury in the home, or in case of fire. As well, but of a less critical nature, was the testimony to the effect that in times of sickness, the system could be used to maintain contact with the community, and with the nursing station, while the patient recovered at home. Among White respondents, there was no such concern, possibly arising out of a greater sense of security due to availability of alternative means.

A number of respondents who had occasion to travel overland or by water commented upon the usefulness of Com-minterphone for maintaining contact with the community. People located at fishing or hunting camps up to fifteen miles from Rankin Inlet were able to tune their transis-tor radios to CBQR and keep track of events in the commu-nity and at the same time be in receipt of information and messages directed to them from friends and relatives. There was thus established a system of recall which could be utilized in the event of an emergency or important ev-ent in the community, or in the event of threatening weath-er conditions. As an extension of this use, it was also noted that broadcasts were frequently heard as far away as Chesterfield Inlet and Whale Cove. Rankin Inlet residents were quick to make use of this capacity to communicate with friends and relatives in these neighbouring communities.

Perhaps the most telling observation is that although more than 75.0 per cent of broadcast time was observed to be devoted to recorded music, only 3.4 per cent of Eskimo respondents cited entertainment as an important use for the system. This observation would substantiate the earli-er assertion that Com-minterphone is primarily an informa-tion medium, especially when considered in terms of num-ber of broadcasts per usage category (see Table 1), and that recorded music serves primarily as a "filler" between

sporadic broadcasts of more important information.

Finally, the fact that 41.4 per cent of White respondents could cite no use for Comminterphone would indicate again the availability of alternative means for information and entertainment. In that many White residents, as government employees, are furnished with shortwave radio receivers, they have immediate access to information from and about the south to which they are oriented. As well, most have procured various home-entertainment units and recorded music collections in keeping with individual tastes. Only in the context of local information does their equipment fail them, and here private sources of information tied to community role would augment the periodic reliance upon Comminterphone as an information medium.

3. The majority of respondents expressed a desire to retain the phone access capacity of Comminterphone, in the event of its development into a Community Radio Station. Among the Eskimo respondents, 65.5 per cent answered in the affirmative, 20.7 per cent replied negatively, and 13.8 per cent made no response. Among the White respondents, an overwhelming 88.9 per cent voted to retain the phone-in capacity, while indicating that once the Comminterphone was organized into a regular radio-station type operation, their participation in the system would be forthcoming. It is notable, however, that all of the White respondents

conditioned their participation and support upon there being a moderator or host. In contrast only 20.6 per cent of Eskimo respondents saw a need for controlled or restricted phone access to the transmitter, despite an obvious concern with the incidence of argument and interference over the air-waves.

4. Three types or categories of broadcast content were cited by respondents as being available to them only through the Comminterphone medium. Presumably, those respondents who did not rely upon Comminterphone for their information obtained it through other means, if they obtained it at all. Figure 12 shows that a comparative 17.2 per cent of Eskimo and 22.2 per cent of White respondents relied upon Comminterphone as a source of specific community announcements. Comminterphone was also credited with bringing local and regional news to 24.1 per cent of the Eskimo respondents and to one White respondent who would otherwise not have received such information. As well, a substantial 58.6 per cent of Eskimo respondents cited Comminterphone as a source of "general information" pertaining to a variety of issues affecting community life, thus indicating a wider circulation of information within the community. Of the White respondents, only one person expressed similar perceptions of Comminterphone's utility.

It should be made clear that the above percentages

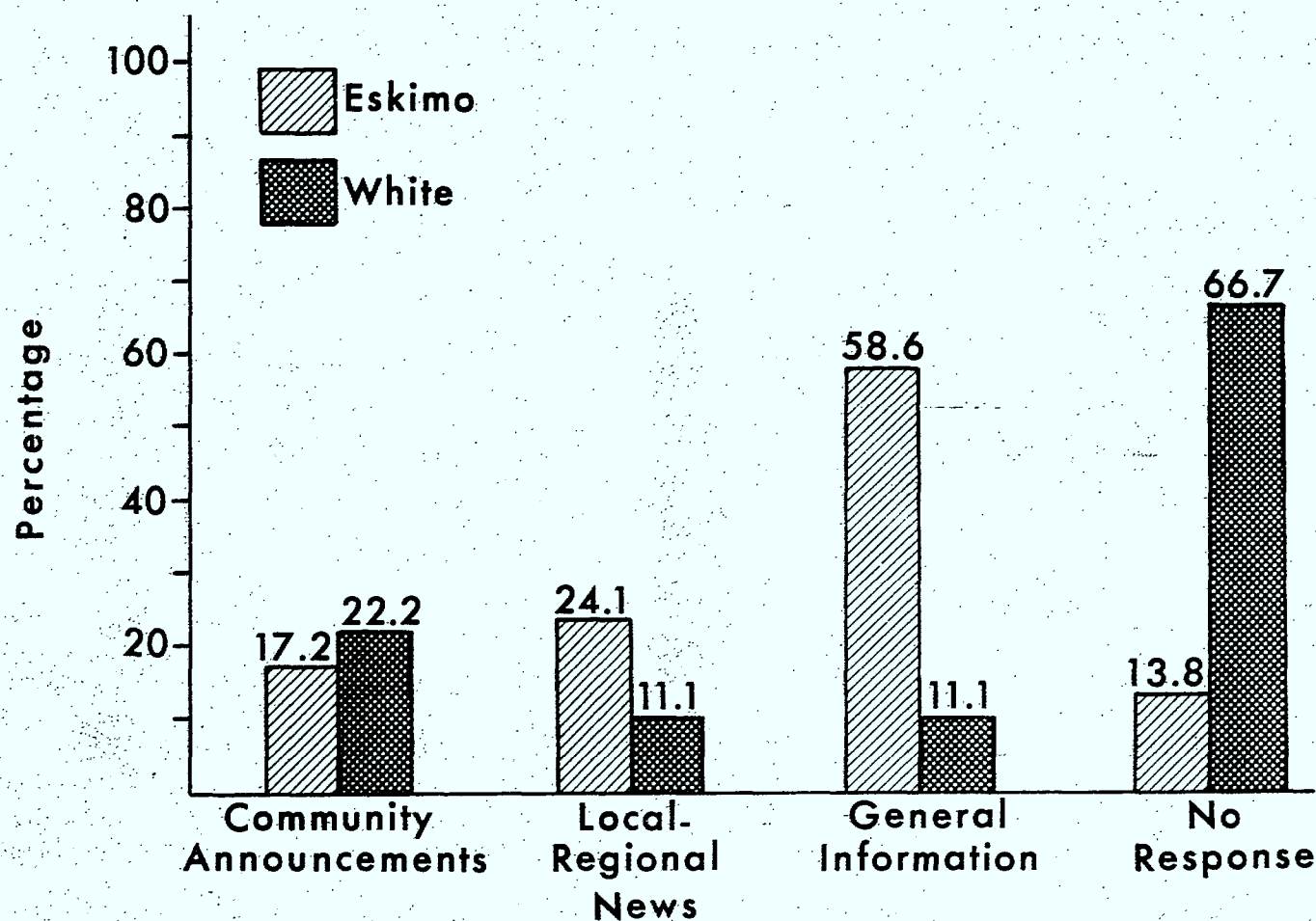


Figure 12

Information Received via Comminterphone which would not otherwise be heard, as cited by Percentage of Each Ethnic Group

represent respondents whose sole source of the given types of information was the Comminterphone medium. There will therefore be a good number not represented here who also utilize Comminterphone, but in conjunction with other sources such as printed notices and personal communications.

5. In response to a question regarding individual interest in hearing programs made by local people, 93.1 per cent of Eskimo and all White respondents replied in the affirmative. This would seem to indicate substantial interest in injecting local content into broadcast material.

6. There was also much interest shown in bringing in prepared program material from larger CBC stations such as Frobisher Bay and Churchill, where there is already a good supply of Eskimo language material. White respondents also expressed an interest in a fair representation of English language programming on a par with what they had become accustomed to in the south. In all, 96.6 per cent of Eskimo and 100.0 per cent of White respondents voiced a desire for outside programming, congruent with their culturally-conditioned interests.

b) Development of Community Organization to Manage CBQR

1. There was an avid response to the question dealing with willingness to help run a community radio station. Three-quarters of the Eskimo respondents (75.9 per cent) and two-thirds of the White respondents (66.7 per cent)

answered in the affirmative, while many of the remainder, although interested, could not participate due to conflicts with other responsibilities such as large families and employment.

Among the modes of participation available, 44.8 per cent of the Eskimo respondents indicated that they would like to serve as committee members; 3.4 per cent (one respondent) indicated a desire to be a news announcer, a disc jockey, and an interviewer; 6.9 per cent (two persons) indicated that they would participate as performer-entertainers. No White respondents however voiced any desire to act as committee members. But one would be a news announcer, two disc jockeys, one a features reporter, two would be interviewers, and one would be a performer-entertainer.

It would appear from the above distribution that Eskimo respondents were not familiar with the various types of activities which surround the operation of a radio station. The vast over-representation in the committee-member role may reflect more than anything their singular familiarity, for better or for worse, with this particular role, due to participation in many other community organizations.

c) Identification of Opinion Leaders, and Channels of Influence

This section of the questionnaire was designed to point up the role of Comminterphone in supporting and pos-

sibly extending the flow of information within the community. Each respondent was asked a series of questions which were intended to reflect his perception of who was a community leader in a given field, and of where the respondent himself fit in as a source of information and influence. Further questions regarding the use of Commin-terphone in these contexts were then addressed to the respondent.

1. Four areas of interest were suggested to respondents, who were then asked to identify individuals whom they considered to be knowledgeable in each area. Among the White respondents, there were no responses to this question as none felt that it applied to them. Among the Eskimo respondents, response was also limited. Two Eskimo respondents could each name one person who they considered to be knowledgeable about housing. Twenty-seven (93.1 per cent) could name no one. No Eskimo considered anyone else an authority on family life, perhaps implying that each individual is his own authority in this regard. Two people however each knew an authority on work, and one other was able to identify two people. The remaining twenty-six (89.7 per cent) knew no one.

In the area of hunting, there was a much greater response. Many Eskimos were in fact explicit in stating that while they didn't know about the other areas, they did

know about hunting. Five persons (17.2 per cent) could name one person each, six (20.7 per cent) could name two people each, four (13.8 per cent) could name three people each, and one (3.4 per cent) could name four people. Of those cited, one was named fourteen times, one seven times, two were named twice, and seven were named once. It is thus evident that in areas familiar to the Eskimo residents, there is a recognized order of knowledge and competence. On the other hand, in the areas of housing and employment, only individuals in prominent community positions were identified as being knowledgeable, which perhaps suggests that it was their prominence rather than their experience that was the reason for being so identified. Responses to questions 2 and 3 in this section indicate that very few alleged "experts" were actually consulted.

2. Three-quarters of the Eskimo respondents verified that those individuals whom they considered to be authorities in the given fields did not use the Comminterphone to discuss their area of expertise. Rather, any discussion was likely to occur in personal face-to-face encounters. Only one respondent knew of an instance where a recognized authority in a field discussed it over the Comminterphone. This one broadcast was about housing.

3. It is noteworthy that 26 of 29 (89.7 per cent)

Eskimo respondents did not find occasion to discuss any issues with their identified authorities. The two who did discussed the familiar hunting topics. It would seem then that the Comminterphone does not so far play a part in spreading the opinions of various authorities, or of providing access to authorities and "experts" where there may previously have been no access. Information exchange about more formal matters, when it does occur, appears to transpire primarily at the personal face-to-face level.

4. In a similar vein, those respondents who had been themselves approached on any of the issues of housing, family, work and hunting, were approached personally, rather than consulted over Comminterphone. Seven of the twenty-nine Eskimo respondents (24.1 per cent) affirmed that they had been so consulted, on at least one occasion. This did not, however, establish them as "experts" as the single query was typically from a relative or close acquaintance. One important observation to make here is that respondents confessed a reluctance to broadcast information unless they were assured that their information was correct and their sources credible. Hence, where there was some uncertainty, a personal face-to-face discussion was preferred.

5. The qualification "if my information is correct" was also frequently appended to affirmative res-

ponses to question 5. Among the twenty of the twenty-nine Eskimo respondents (69.0 per cent) who conceded that they would speak on the Comminterphone about the things they thought were important to the people of Rankin Inlet, there was the general sentiment that to publicly air false information would result in considerable personal embarrassment. Hence there was a general impediment to the spontaneous broadcast of information of a more functional and educative nature. In a situation where one wished to obtain information, the same sentiments were expressed. There was a decided reluctance to disclose publicly one's lack of knowledge, to the extent that only personal face-to-face contacts were maintained in this context.

It is also interesting that 77.8 per cent of the White respondents picked up the interview again at this point to indicate that they would indeed be willing to speak on the Comminterphone about matters important to the people of Rankin Inlet. The absence of any expressed inhibitions about credibility may here indicate either a greater sense of security in a given capacity, or a lesser degree of sensitivity to public embarrassment.

6. Sixty-two percent of Eskimo and twenty-two percent of White respondents noted that they had learned something new on the Comminterphone. The acquired knowledge was, however, general rather than specific in nature.

Among the Eskimo respondents, 6.9 per cent (two persons) said they had learned unspecified new things about their fellow residents, and 51.7 per cent said they had learned new things about "everything in general". One White respondent confessed to being more aware of public sentiment as a result of listening to Comminterphone.

7. Some twenty-four per cent of Eskimo respondents felt that things they had heard on Comminterphone caused them to change their mind about things going on in Rankin Inlet. No White respondents were so swayed. Among the Eskimo respondents, 6.9 per cent (two persons) had their opinions of children's conduct altered as a result of hearing their language and behaviour during interference with the Comminterphone. A similar 6.9 per cent (two persons) had their opinions of adults in the community altered for the worse as a result of the argumentative broadcasts they heard, and 3.4 per cent (one person) had his mind changed regarding "things in general".

d) Questionnaire Responses Summarized

There was evident a clear division between Eskimo and White respondents in attitude toward the Comminterphone. Whereas approximately three-quarters of Eskimo respondents expressed at least reserved satisfaction with the operation of the system, nearly nine-tenths of White respondents expressed clear dissatisfaction, to the extent

that most did not utilize the system at all. Arguments, interference, and poor quality and limited repertoire in recorded music broadcasts, were cited as major irritants. Although the utility of Comminterphone as an information gathering and dispensing facility was clearly recognized by White respondents, they attested to using it mainly for one-way functional type broadcasts to the community, usually in conjunction with official community roles. In few instances were White residents noted to themselves rely upon the system for their own information. In the main, then, White residents clearly dissociated themselves from any participation through the medium which might be interpreted as social, personal, or informal, either within their own ethnic group, or across ethnic lines.

Eskimo residents, on the other hand, found the system to be a practical and useful means of gathering and transmitting a range of information and commentary. Although much air-time was found to be devoted to recorded music, most individual broadcasts were of a functional or utilitarian nature. Usage was found to cover social concerns and economic concerns, both formal and informal, public and private. While the level of participation might be construed as far below the technical potential of the medium, both quantitatively and qualitatively, it must be recognized that the observed usage was in fact meeting perceived

needs. It may be inferred from this observation that as further communication needs were identified, the medium would be in time turned to meeting them as well.

In response to queries regarding willingness to participate in the operation of a community radio station, most Eskimo respondents demonstrated little awareness of the range of managerial and operational duties involved. The overall enthusiasm, however, may indicate that the opportunity to learn is the only missing factor at this point. Furthermore, station management and operation would also provide a common ground for Eskimo-White participation, as both ethnic groups show an interest in the development of community radio. It will however be necessary to ensure that preter-knowledge or expertise on the part of one ethnic group does not work to the exclusion of the other from decision making and participation.

Finally, Comminterphone did not appear to function as a medium of community influence. While it rests as obvious that the system does have such a potential, no one was observed to turn it to this end. Although there was an alleged increase in information flow within the community, as attested to by individuals' comments that they knew more about "things in general", the content of this material was largely utilitarian. Influence and consensus remained largely in the realm of personal encounter and

face-to-face communication. Such limited attempts as there were to spur community discussion via the Comminterphone met with little or no response, although there may have been secondary non-verbal or private response to the issues.

5. Community Response to Issues Raised on Comminterphone

In the course of the study, two specific issues which had been raised on the Comminterphone were followed up to determine community response. On August 25, Lucien Taparti, Chairman, Comminterphone Policy Committee, initiated a discussion through Comminterphone with Ittinuar, Chairman of the Rankin Inlet Community Council, regarding the need for decisions on the future of Comminterphone. A survey aimed at determining community awareness of, and response to, the issues surrounding the proposed move to community radio, as discussed in the recent public meeting of August 3, was conducted prior to this discussion. Of seventeen individuals contacted at that time, only four indicated that they had heard the issues discussed on the Comminterphone at any time previously. Another ten were aware of the content of the translated report delivered to their homes, while the remainder had gained some information from meetings they had attended. Nine of the seventeen stated that they had discussed the issues to some extent with others, whether family members, acquaintances, or members of formal organizations, but in no case was this discussion conducted by

means of the Comminterphone.

In the course of the above discussion, which took place over some thirty minutes of the noon-hour, five other members of the community called in to add their comments. Although most contributors were only prepared to evaluate the utility of Comminterphone, or to point out its deficiencies, there were some positive solutions offered to some of the identified problems. In particular, one woman pointed out clearly that the problem of inebriated conversation and argument could readily be eliminated by an operator who would monitor transmissions and thus screen out arguments and abuse.

What was most noteworthy about the discussion was the inability of the participants to project beyond their current experience. Where experience had been negative, people were able to say that the disturbing factor should be altered or removed; where experience had been positive, people were able to cite specific reasons why the Comminterphone is useful. But no one was heard to speculate on what might be done that has not yet been attempted. Even prior to this, there was noted a general lack of local knowledge about options available in moving toward any of the perceived solutions, let alone the more abstract possibilities.

Subsequent to the discussion headed by Taparti and Ittinuar, which was in fact the most comprehensive review

of the issues to that date, a second survey was conducted to determine any increase in the community's level of awareness of the issues. Of twenty persons contacted, seventeen expressed an awareness of the issues. Of these, thirteen cited the above discussion as their prime source of information. Only three, however, had in the interval, discussed the matter with anyone else. In spite of this significant increase in individual awareness subsequent to the broadcast, the search for evidence of private discussion following the broadcast produced results which must be considered inconclusive. It can be stated however that Comminterphone was not used by other individuals to add to the discussion publicly.

Similarly, the second issue to be followed up also appeared at that time to have ended with its reception by individual listeners. Early in September, the newly-constituted Alcohol Education Committee had initiated daily noon-hour broadcasts to the community. This event subsequently emerged as another issue whose origination and acceptance by the community could be profitably documented. This committee is a group of concerned residents who formed together under government sponsorship to bring to the community information and advice on the matters arising out of the consumption of alcohol. Spurred by the evident disruption to community life arising out of what they

perceived to be a relatively high per capita consumption of alcohol, the group turned to the Comminterphone as a means of disseminating information on the social and physical implications of excessive consumption. The noon-hour was selected as an appropriate time for daily broadcasts in that it would find most people home.

The survey conducted during the same period as the broadcasts contacted thirty-one people. Of these, seventeen had heard the broadcasts over the Comminterphone. No one who had not heard them himself was aware of the program, a fact which meshed perfectly with the observation that no one who had heard them had discussed them with anyone else. The Comminterphone medium, then, seems not to have attained a "bigger than life" image in the community, sufficient to lend extra credence and importance to issues discussed over its facilities. In that there is an apparent lack of follow-up discussion to issues, either privately or through the medium, it would seem necessary to employ someone in the capacity of "animator" to pick up and perpetuate whatever issues are initiated.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. THE USAGE OF COMMINTERPHONE

Total utilized time increased by 13.5 per cent from an estimated 30.5 per cent, for the period covered under Comminterphone I, to 44.0 per cent for Comminterphone II. The increase however was due to more recorded music being broadcast, rather than to an increase in the amount of time dedicated to spoken communications. Nonetheless, approximately 60.0 per cent of all transmissions were spoken transmissions although they accounted for not more than 6.0 per cent of available broadcast time. Questionnaire responses confirmed that Comminterphone is perceived as primarily an avenue for relaying and receiving information.

Fifty residents, of whom 47 were Eskimo and 3 were White, were identified as broadcasters in the course of the 20-day monitored period. These broadcasters represent approximately 10.0 per cent of all Eskimo residents, and 3.0 per cent of all White residents. Of this total, nine Eskimo "high-frequency" broadcasters utilized the medium as a convenient avenue of expression. This group was describable on the basis of age, education, occupation, and Eskimo-English bilingualism, as "modernized" and "traditionalistic" categories. High-frequency usage did not however reflect a qualitative increase in the nature of broadcasting beyond the realm of everyday needs and concerns. Low-frequency

and "one-shot" broadcasters were even more constrained in this regard.

B. THE ROLE OF COMMINTERPHONE IN THE COMMUNITY

The role of Comminterphone has been largely that of facilitating the circulation of information and commentary necessary to the maintenance and development of the settlement in the creation of a genuine community. Virtually none of its potential in an educative capacity has been realized.

While Comminterphone does have the capacity to present issues to the settlement, there is so far relatively little evidence that thorough discussion leading to consensus occurs in anything but face-to-face encounters. Thus while Comminterphone does seem to bring issues home to the residents of the settlement, it is not utilized as a subsequent avenue of discussion. The absence of a central co-ordinator through whom public discussion can materialize is posited as a critical factor here.

The psychological role of Comminterphone in providing some entertainment in the form of music needs further assessment, but must not be entirely discounted. It is indeed appreciated in an area where exterior broadcasting has not been readily available.

Finally, though very hard to document, some significance must be attached to the fact that in a settlement

wherein so many homes now have their radios constantly turned on and tuned in to the local wavelength, there is through Comminterphone, a sense of involvement in what is going on around the settlement, an association - even if passive - with the events and feelings of the day. Over time, this living in an atmosphere of overheard activity would appear to add to the ambiance of community feeling amongst a collection of migrants heretofore somewhat fragmented and semi-isolated in their own primary groups. Perhaps, in this almost subliminal manner, the presence of Comminterphone in the settlement, bringing some of the social dynamics into the home continuously, may contribute to a sense of belonging in the community in a way as yet not fully realized.

C. ATTITUDE OF RESIDENTS TOWARD COM INTERPHONE

Both Eskimo and White residents deplore the susceptibility of the present system to misuse. It is mutually agreed that the inception of structured broadcasting would be a decided improvement. Despite such irritants as abuse of the system, the Eskimo residents attest strongly to the utility of the medium. White residents however have conditioned their renewed participation upon an upgrading of the quantity and quality of broadcasting. Both groups firmly support the use of imported CBC programs in Eskimo and in English, in addition to locally developed materials.

It should be clear that the opinions of whatever direc-

tion are expressed within an atmosphere of general acceptance of Comminterphone as a part of settlement life. Variation of opinion is on the internal workings of the system, not on whether Comminterphone should be a continued presence. No negative feelings were recorded on that. The attitude generally is the positive one of desire for improvement of something already accepted.

D. EFFECTS OF COMMINTERPHONE ON CHANNELS OF INFORMATION AND INFLUENCE

Comminterphone has not so far been significantly effective as a means of extending individual influence throughout the community. While there has been a large amount of information passed through the medium, it is mainly of a casual or functional nature which does not necessarily reinforce official or unofficial personal roles. There is, however, some suggestion that Comminterphone has assisted in the development of heightened inter-group perceptions which, while not necessarily accurate, positive, or integrated, are indicative of the greater circulation of knowledge within the community. In this sense, not only what is said, but how it is said comprises a conspicuous part of the attitudes toward the present use of the medium.

A more general and perhaps more discernable effect of Comminterphone on the channels of information and influence has been its capacity to facilitate the communications of

the various formal and informal organizations within the community, and thereby publicly remind the residents of the existence and functions of the organizations at work in their midst. The influence of these organizations is thus indirectly brought to bear on the individuals and collectivities within the community.

E. EMERGENCE OF A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE TO OPERATE CBQR, AND THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN OPERATIONAL FORMAT FOR COMMUNITY RADIO

Although there is much interest shown in participation in an established radio station, there is a discernable reluctance among many residents to engage in the planning stages of the operation. The disjointed nature of the relationship between the interested members of the community and the agencies responsible for the legal, financial, and technical support of CBQR has led to doubt that further planning would be leading toward some tangible end. It is therefore anticipated that a credible show of sustained support from the interested agencies would be necessary to reassure the community that there is still a definite goal to work toward.

A difficulty basic to the above considerations lies in the fact that the majority of the people have little relevant experience to draw upon for planning purposes. Due to the absence of listener participation in broadcasting prior to the inception of Comminterphone, resident experience in

the broadcasting field is virtually non-existent. As well, long term planning is still a relatively unfamiliar notion to Eskimo people long-conditioned by the environment to live in limited time contexts. Nonetheless, through the sporadic inception efforts herein recorded, the learning experience can be said to have begun, though again more consistent follow-up and retrenchment remain necessary.

F. THE VALIDITY OF THE CONCEPT OF "COMMUNITY INTERACTION TELEPHONE"

The value of the Comminterphone medium must of course be judged in terms of the level of performance that is expected. In the course of its first year of operation in Rankin Inlet, the medium has been quite successful in sustaining and amplifying the circulation of information necessary to the maintenance of community. It has then served less as a catalyst for the generation of discussion of abstract matters than as a functional convenience, as the residents have turned the feature of universal access to the medium to their own perceived and immediate ends. In the instance of Rankin Inlet, these ends are at this time confined to the context of the adjustment of a recently nomadic people to an urban-industrial setting. The presence and operation of unstructured Comminterphone can then be said to both further and reflect this process of adaptation to a sedentary or urbanized existence.

It is anticipated that a structured format could be instrumental in accelerating this process of adaptation through the input of relevant information and material, and by the provision of an avenue for its discussion. At the same time, it is recognized that the growing sophistication of the community could in time contribute to a qualitative increase in broadcast content, to the point where some of the full potential of the medium as presently constituted would be realized. There remains the question of whether the level of usage would evolve rapidly enough to offset the effects of amplified misuse or the possible monopolization by the more sophisticated minority.

G. COMMUNITY INTERACTION TELEPHONE AS AN AGENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

It must first be recognized that social change is a continuing process which pervades all aspects of all societies. The perceived absence or presence of change is then a function of the rate and magnitude of specific changes. The role of Comminterphone as an agent of change in Rankin Inlet may therefore not be fully appreciated by members of a society that has long since passed through the basic changes which are current in that community. It is not impossible to become so inured to the rapid alterations in contemporary urban-industrial society that any slower pace would appear pedestrian and inconsequential. The

reader is therefore encouraged to consider the utility of the Comminterphone medium in the context of the social environment within which it is operating. To the extent that it meets the perceived needs of the given community, it can be rated a successful venture. To the extent that it extends these perceptions, however slowly, and contributes to the maintenance, growth, and integration of the given community, it can be judged to be a viable agent of social change. Overall, this is the direction taken by Comminterphone in Rankin Inlet.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

At this stage in the development of the Comminterphone experiment, there appear to be three main alternatives available to the sponsors:

1. Terminate the experiment totally.
2. Continue community use of the Comminterphone in its present form - with its spontaneous and sporadic domestic functionality. It is not impossible, but not likely in less than another two years - that some more formalized organization could emerge from within the settlement.
3. Delay no further in the inception of community radio.

This implies in this case the employment in the community on a continuous basis, of a properly-trained broadcasting manager, organizer, co-ordinator, and animator. With the known resources of this small and over-committed population - this recommendation implies commitment by the CBC of human, technical and financial resources over an extended period.

We favour this latter alternative. The implications of this are set forth in the form of the following sub-recommendations, which may be seen as policy suggestions to the DOC and the CBC and guidelines to the local manager-animator.

1. That continued legal, technical and financial support be extended to CBQR for the duration of the licenced period.

2. That sympathetic personal contact be maintained between the CBC and the community through the Comminterphone Policy Committee. Particularly it is stressed that "official delays" be avoided, in the interest of sustaining a sense of continuity within the settlement for the purposes of developing its capacity to manage and operate community radio.
3. That opportunities and facilities be made available for the instruction of selected local residents in the technical and procedural aspects of community radio. While this is to create an "in-group", it is felt that no operation will be successful without a number of participants who will take a more than casual interest in the process.
4. That care be taken to ensure that in the development stage of broadcasting, those residents who see themselves as being relatively more sophisticated will set an example of competent broadcasting, without at the same time undervaluing the more elementary broadcast formats.
5. That care be taken to ensure that the more sophisticated and thrustful element of the settlement does not so substantially govern the content of programming that the majority of the population becomes unable to relate committedly with the system. The principle of proportional representation should hold throughout.

6. That CBQR be structured so as to provide a balance of local input in response to the anticipated inundation by commercial television. This consideration is especially crucial with reference to the permanent Eskimo residents. Discussions of the material received by television might be encouraged as a means of lending perspective to the largely two-dimensional electronic world which it projects.
7. That in addition to the CBC resources, the Community Radio Committee also develop a regular relationship with such organizations as Inuit Tapirisat, the Adult Education Service of the N.W.T. and the Alberta Native Communications Society - so as to be aware of all possible resources for program enrichment (dealing with both substantive matter and public issues) - and so as to further ensure the use of the medium for the strengthening of indigenous-group identity and confidence.
8. That unless it is deemed desirable to duplicate the unstructured Comminterphone process in a smaller, and culturally more integrated and homogenous Eskimo community, it be recognized from these results that the experiment was successful in determining that structured local leadership will be necessary if the potential of the medium is to be readily achieved.

VI. APPENDIX
QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY
COMMINTERPHONE II

August, 1972

House No. _____

Telephone? _____

Name _____

Radio? _____

(a) User Satisfaction:

1.) Are you satisfied with the way that Comminterphone now works?

Yes _____ No _____

Comments: _____

2.) In what ways is Comminterphone useful to you?

3.) If Comminterphone becomes a community radio station, would you still want to be able to phone in as you do now?

Yes _____ No _____

Comments: _____

4.) Do you hear things on Comminterphone that you would not hear otherwise? Yes _____ No _____

What are these things? _____

5.) Would you be interested in hearing programs made by local people? Yes _____ No _____

6.) Would you be interested in hearing programs made at other radio stations, like Churchill and Frobisher Bay? Yes _____ No _____

(b) Development of Community Organization to Manage CBQR:

1.) Would you want to help with running the radio station?

Yes _____ No _____

Comments:

2.) What kinds of things would you want to do to help?

_____ Committee member, deciding what kinds of programs should be on the radio station.

_____ News announcer.

_____ Disc jockey.

_____ Features reporter.

_____ Interviewer.

_____ Performer/entertainer (stories, songs).

_____ Other (specify):

(c) Identification of Opinion Leaders, and Channels of Influence:

1.) When you think about housing, family, work, and hunting, who do you think would know something about each of these things? (Names x Topics)

2.) Do these people use the Comminterphone to talk about the things they know about, or do they usually talk personally about them?

3.) Do you speak to him (her) (them) about any of these things? Yes _____ No _____ (Names x Topics)

4.) Has anyone asked you for information or advice on any of these things?

Yes _____ No _____ (Names x Topics)

- 5.) Would you speak on the Comminterphone about the things which you think are important to the people of Rankin Inlet?
Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____
- 6.) Have you learned anything new on the Comminterphone about any issues or topics?
Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____
(Names x Topics) _____
- 7.) Has anything that you have heard on the Comminterphone made you change your mind about anything that goes on in Rankin Inlet?
Yes _____ No _____ Don't know _____
(Names x Topics) _____

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Wensley, Gordon R.
Comminterphone Rankin Inlet

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