Articulating Counterpublics with Community Capital:
A Framework for Evaluating Community Television

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ABSTRACT

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Community media performs various social roles including the production of collective identities, the construction of meaning, negotiating proximities to power, enriching networks of social bonds, and enhancing individual capacities. Evaluating these roles has emerged as an under-theorized and yet critical area of investigation for better understanding community media's role(s) in social formation and for articulating its social benefits to policy-makers and funding agencies. This thesis proposes a framework for evaluating community media's influence on social formation by mapping the influence community media outcomes have on collective capacities for determining social, political and economic outcomes (i.e. community capital).

An Outcomes Mapping Framework, which links community media outcomes to various forms of community capital, was tested for practicability in the field during the study of a small community television station in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, Canada (Telile Community TV). This Framework proved useful in identifying: (i) the dynamic and varied ways that Telile TV has played a role in expanding local influence over social outcomes; (ii) indicators of social change causally linked to community television practice; and (iii) some of the strengths and weaknesses of extant community media practice within regional media ecologies. The field results also revealed the critical importance of ontological context for evaluative assessments of community media practice.

Acknowledgements & Dedication

I could not have completed this Thesis without the love and support of my parents, Laurie and Lois Lithgow.

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Also, a shout-out to Rob McGuire for assistance with layout of the Outcomes Mapping Framework charts.

This Thesis is dedicated to the community television activists and organizers with whom I worked with for many years at ICTV Independent Community Television and from whom I learned so much.

Patrice Leslie
Richard Ward
Lynda Leonard
Sid Tan
Geoff Scott
& Many Others

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CHAPTER 1   INTRODUCTION

The set was simple: a black curtain, two chairs and a small table, a vase of plastic flowers. Everyone in the studio grew quiet. I was a little nervous behind the camera I had been asked to operate. In front of me sat the host of the show and her guest, a local priest in training whose academic work had focused on the historic relationship between parish priests in the area and Acadian culture. The host -- who was also the lighting director, set designer, make-up artist, and producer for this shoot -- fidgeted, waiting for a cue. The director -- who was also the sound technician and camera switcher for the shoot, and who happened also to be the station manager -- shouted "Recording!" from the control room, and the show began. As the guest settled into the interview describing his research based on correspondence from local parish priests to their superiors during the 17th and 18th centuries, sounds began to fill the studio – the creaking and ticking of building timbers and heating ducts, water flushing in pipes on the ceiling, the thump of feet on the ceiling as someone in the suite above walked back and forth. It was a typical day at Telile Community Television, the site where I chose to conduct my field research. Telile's studios are located in an old hotel now converted into apartments and a make-shift television studio. There is no sound proofing. On this particular morning, the director and host fulfilled the roles of no less than seven of what in a commercial setting would have been filled by seven separate professionals. It would have been eight, except for the graduate student – me - they could ask to operate one of the cameras. Normally, both cameras are operated by the director who must enter the studio from the control room, arrange a new shot, then return to the control room. This is community television

at its most precarious and also at its finest. Flushing and thumping notwithstanding, the interview itself was a fascinating glimpse into a little known history, that of the Acadian people who have made cape Breton their home for more than 400 years. The interview was, on the one hand, a strategic insistence on Acadian cultural in the public forum of broadcast television within a cultural sphere dominated by commercial media channels that all but exclude Acadian culture from their flows. On the other hand, it was a production troubled by a chronic lack of resources. This is the dilemma I hope to address in this thesis: why such a dynamic social practice receives so little policy and resource support. My approach has been to develop a framework for evaluating how community television influences social formation and along with it, a language that can be shared by community media practitioners, policy-makers and funding agencies alike, that helps to explain community television's potential and actual role in the long-term health and vitality of the communities it serves.

1(i) Overview of Theoretical Approach

The relationship between media production and social and political power are the subject of much scholarship. My interest is in community television. More specifically, my interest is in the relationship between community television and a community's ability to increase its influence over political, social and economic outcomes. This thesis is an attempt to articulate an approach and framework for interrogating the nexus between community media practice and social formation.

Media (i.e. the mediated exchange of information) are one of the ways that collective and collaborative processes of problem solving and self-determination in democratic societies takes place (Stein 2002). These communicative actions take place in what Habermas called the 'public sphere', shared cultural realms where citizens and organizations articulate to themselves and within larger social and national frameworks, political and social realities (Habermas 1987; Hall 1986). Which social realities are articulated depend to a large extent on the relative social and economic power of those doing the articulating. In North America and throughout much of the world, the public sphere is dominated by stories from the perspective of more powerful social groups (McChesney 1999; Raboy et al. 1994). Under-represented and culturally, politically, socially and economically marginalized groups must seek out alternative communications strategies to increase the visibility of stories from their perspective. These alternative communications strategies occur in what Nancy Fraser calls counterpublics, shared cultural realms created in response to barriers which prevent open participation in the public sphere. Media organizations created by marginalized groups in response to these kinds of barriers are sometimes referred to as 'community media', and much has been written about community media's diverse social roles. What has received less academic attention is the degree to which community media strategies actually succeed in increasing a group's well-being.

Barriers to participation in the public sphere are often linked to other kinds of systemic inequalities -- racisms, sexisms, gender normatives, poverty, access to social benefits, housing, clean water, food, to name a few. The production of hegemony legitimates these kinds of inequalities by propagating an ideology that legitimizes

domination by certain groups at the expense of others. In policy settings (i.e. discourses where the aim is to arrive at public policy solutions to social problems) the manifestation of social inequalities is sometimes referred to under the rubric of 'social exclusion', the fragmentation of social relations and processes of marginalization that occur within relations of power and which lead to economic deprivation and social and cultural disadvantages (Barata 2000).[1] Social exclusion has systemic roots: dual and segregated labour markets; historical oppressions; discriminations; the absence of legal and political recognition of personhood, rights, abuses, etc.; institutional and civic non acceptance; self-exclusion (Saloojee 2001). The "dynamic process of being shut out" that social exclusion describes can be measured as patterns of phenomena within different areas of social experience such as the production, distribution, availability and safety of material goods, labour markets, land tenure, security, human rights, and macro-economic development strategy (Ibid.). It is these "areas of social experience" that are suggestive of an approach to mapping how community media practices might influence social formation.

The social outcomes of community media practice can be organized into categories of what in some community development literatures are described as "community capital" – categories of tangible and intangible resources with which a community can collectively mobilize in order to influence outcomes. If the intention of community media practice is to increase a community's ability to influence outcomes (and thereby decrease the kinds of social exclusions that are produced through the ongoing production of hegemony), then looking for evidence of this in social phenomena that indicate

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[1] I am using 'social exclusion' in its redistributive sense, i.e. that social exclusion is linked to poverty and that solutions (steps towards social inclusion) will involve a substantial redistribution of resources and benefit payments. For further information about the different usages of 'social exclusion' see Levitas 2004.

increases in community capital should provide a way to assess, at least to some extent, the degree to which this is taking place. This then is the link between community media and community capital. Appendix A identifies the links – at least, theoretically – between community capitals and community media outcomes, and is the framework that my field research was designed to test. My goal is to develop an approach to assessing the impact of community media/television on social formation that can help understand and articulate the complex ways community media influences people's lives.

1(ii)   Overview of Field Research

In the Fall of 2006, I spent eight weeks on a small, semi-remote coastal island in Cape Breton observing and (nominally) helping out at Isle Madame Community Television, or Telile, as they are known locally. Telile is a not-for-profit community TV organization broadcasting to the island of Isle Madame and a little beyond (a radius of about 25 km) and distributing programming on local cable networks throughout eastern Cape Breton. I chose Telile for various reasons. Although Telile is carried in a large region on cable networks, Telile self-identifies as broadcasting primarily to an island population, i.e. Isle Madame.[2] The "community", in this case, is to a large extent geographically defined. This was important in terms of the limited time and resources that I had to address where and how to focus data gathering efforts. The station was also created within the context of an explicitly stated community economic development (CED) response to an economic crisis, the collapse of the commercial cod fishery. The

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[2] The core constituency of Telile includes a small portion on the southeastern tip of mainland Cape Breton. 'Core constituency' is defined by who plays bingo, i.e. those who have access to purchasing the bingo books that Telile sells and which provide upwards of 90% of annual revenues.

framework that I propose in this thesis is based on an approach to alleviating poverty developed within certain branches of CED theory and praxis (Kretzman and McKnight 1993; Markey et al. 2005; Roseland 2005). A community television station with CED origins seemed like an ideal site to test a framework based in part on CED principles. In addition, I was attracted to the strong expression of Acadian identity in the Cape Breton region. The station is small, operating with a staff of three, providing an accessible and manageable research site for such a short stay. And, finally, after initial contact, it was clear that the station manager fully supported my research and would allow me the kind of unhampered access that I needed for my work. In other words, it was a good fit.

Using a combination of participant observation, interviews, and a community-wide survey, I set out to identify the ways in which various stakeholders perceive community television practice as effecting the communities where they live, to identify stakeholder notions of "success" (i.e. identifying what Telile is "supposed to do" and how participants and community members know when this is happening), and to document community responses to Telile programming. My field research was intended to: (1) identify some of the ways in which Telile has influenced social formation on Isle Madame; and (2) to assess the practical value of the Outcomes Mapping Framework set out in Appendix A (a theory-based framework for understanding how community media/television influences social formation).

1(iii)   *Locating Myself in the Research*

I come to this investigation after many years as a community television activist, producer and organizer. The organization who I worked with accomplished many things while simultaneously failing to achieve basic organizational self-sufficiency.[3] We helped to redraft federal regulation protecting community television; we were the first community TV group in English Canada to negotiate a distribution and resource sharing agreement with a cable company after the re-regulation of community television in 2002; we facilitated the production of hundreds of hours of television by community volunteers; we organized training programs for aboriginal youth and other marginalized members of the community; and we managed to stay in operation for over 10 years without paid staff. What we could not do was convince funders of the social value of our project. Funders were generally uninterested in supporting community television because they saw it as activism or amateur video– which, of course, it was both, but this describes only a fragment of the experience of community television. We were incapable of articulating the social legitimacy of the project we were engaged in.

What these funding agencies could not see, and what we could not articulate, was that community television has the potential to allow groups experiencing social exclusion in one form or another to develop and exercise the skills of cultural citizenship, i.e. identity production and de-stigmatization, network building, preservation of histories, leadership development, confidence building, the creating of discursive spaces for the exchange of ideas, the preservation of language -- the list goes on. This thesis is driven

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[3] The organization I helped found in 1997 and worked with for many years was ICTV Independent Community Television Cooperative in Vancouver, British Columbia.

by a desire to give words and tools to community media practitioners that will help them articulate to funding agencies and policy-makers community media's potential for creating social change.

1(iv)   Overview of Thesis Chapters

I have organized my thesis into eight chapters (including Chapter 1, the Introduction, and Chapter 8, the Conclusion).

In Chapter 2, I introduce the idea of hegemony, public spheres, counterpublics and social exclusions -- the foundational theoretical frameworks for how I am approaching community media practice within societies that produce inequalities. In Chapter 3, I address key terms and review approaches to theorizing community media / television. In Chapter 4, I examine the social roles of community media and introduce an approach to organizing community media/television scholarship by emphasizing the intended social outcomes of community media practice. In Chapter 5, I introduce the asset-based model of community development as a framework for investigating the impact of community media by suggesting an Outcomes Mapping Framework for assessing community media/television's influence on social formation based on community capital. In Chapter 6, I describe my field research, present field results and analyze the findings using the proposed methodology presented in Chapter 5. In Chapter 7, I outline the ways in which the Outcomes Mapping Framework proved useful in the field and theoretically. And in Chapter 8, I present my conclusions.

CHAPTER 2   A COMMUNICATIONS FRAMEWORK

2(i)   The Construction of Hegemony

We live in societies of inequality. Individuals and groups exist in different

relationships and proximities to the ability to influence social, economic, political, and

cultural outcomes for themselves and for others. One of the ways these proximities are

organized, and how inequalities of proximity are maintained, is through the on-going

negotiation and production of social consensus, or hegemony.

Hegemony describes a dominating ideological framework within a society that

produces inequality through the voluntary subordination by some groups in favour of

others (Gramsci 1970; Hall 1986). Hegemony is not an absolute state, but rather an

ongoing negotiation over legitimacy and value that takes place within the larger processes

of social formation.[4] The ongoing production of hegemony in technologically wealthy

societies occurs largely through knowledge and information networks. Peet (2002)

describes these discursive networks as academic, industrial, and military networks

(AIMs) of financial and business organizations, think tanks, policy institutes, public

bureaucracies, academic institutions, publishing agencies, and the information media (i.e.

newspapers, television networks, film production and distribution, radio, etc.) through

which the "proposition to collective consciousness" is developed and sustained. Peet

argues that AIM complexes are the means by which intellectuals "develop and sustain the

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[4] "Social formation" was a concept introduced (Althusser and Balibar (1970) in *Reading Capital* (London: New Left Books)) to describe the formation of society as a result of political, ideological and economic forces. The concept of hegemony represented a break from traditional Marxist thought which held that material and economic production alone determined social outcomes. Hegemony (as in, the ongoing production of consensus) necessarily admits other social factors into the equation of how one group achieves and maintains dominance over others through the voluntary behavior of those dominated (Hall 1986:12):

mental images, technologies and organizations that bind strands of the common identity of a hegemonic class" (p.56). They present coordinated and prolific productive practices at or near the energetic centres of hegemonic ideologies on a global scale. They generate discourse through competition among differing elite groups to promote their interests out of which periodically emerge unifying ideas, terms, aesthetic appearances and styles -- the "connective tissue" of hegemonic historic and geographic blocs. The media play a central role in the production and circulation of these 'connective tissues' of knowledge, ideology, and aesthetics.

2(ii)   Counterpublic Spheres & Neoliberal Global Media Flows

The production of hegemony necessarily has absences -- ways of understanding and ways of being that fall outside of the dominant forms and contents of hegemonic media flows. As described above, hegemonies are not static, but ongoing interdiscursive processes made up of coexisting systems and currents of philosophical thought. Other legitimacies coexist with and within dominant discourses -- resist them, challenge them, alter them, augment them, destabalize them, and succumb to them (Hall 1986:21-22):

> It thus requires an extensive ideological and cultural struggle to bring about or effect the intellectual and ethical unity which is essential to the forging of hegemony: a struggle which takes the form of 'a struggle of political hegemonies and of opposing directions, first in the ethical field and then in that of politics proper'.[5]
>
> *   *   *
>
> In recognizing that questions of ideology are always collective and social, not individual, Gramsci explicitly acknowledges the necessary complexity and interdiscursive character of the ideological field. There is never any one,

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[5] Hall is quoting from Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* (1971) (New York: International Publishers), p. 333

single, unified and coherent 'dominant ideology' which pervades everything.

The public cultural realm where this ideological interaction takes place is what Habermas calls the 'public sphere', a cultural realm made up of "communicative networks amplified by a cultural complex" that make it possible for private individuals "to participate in the reproduction of culture, and for a public of citizens...to participate in the social integration mediated by public opinion" (Habermas 1987:319). The public sphere is where ideologies are considered, debated, adopted and rejected by citizens of a society.[6] Habermas' conception of the public sphere (at least its earliest articulation) has been criticized as a masculinist, middle-class and bourgeois public realm that relied as much on exclusions for its maintenance as it did those who were permitted to speak (Fraser 1993).[7] Those rendered "communicatively invisible" by being excluded from the public sphere satisfied their communications needs through what Fraser calls "subaltern counterpublics", parallel discursive arenas "where members of subordinate social groups invent and circulate counter discourses, so as to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests and needs" (1993:14). The production of hegemony includes ideological tensions and dialogues among and between the public and counterpublic spheres.

One face of contemporary hegemony is neoliberalism and the rise of global corporate capital as the dominant ideological framework for organizing society.

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[6] I am mindful of Mouffe's (1999) critique of the Habermasian public sphere as being founded on an unattainable rational and dialogic ideal where power relations are equal among all groups. Mouffe suggests instead an agonistic pluralism that admits democracy as a series of steady-state provisional hegemonies, i.e. that within democracies there are always power imbalances among groups and contestations for identity and power, but that what makes democracy desirable is its willingness to admit this and allow such adversarial (but not competitive) multiplicity to flourish. For present purposes, I am adopting from Habermas only the notion of spheres of cultural exchange that are largely free of market and state constraints, and leaving unexamined Habermas' insistence on a rational dialogic ideal.

[7] Habermas' original theories about the public sphere were based on gatherings of men in coffee houses in 18th Century England where political issues of the day were discussed and debated with little state interference. These circles were, in fact, not inclusive but exclusive, open only to white middle-class men of a certain economic status.

"[C]apitalist hegemony," writes Artz (2003), "needs parallel media hegemony as an institutionalized, systematic means of educating, persuading, and representing subordinate classes to particular cultural practices within the context of capitalist norms" (p. 16-17). Artz calls it hegemonic persuasion, the dominance of programming and institutional structures which advance an ideological orientation that promotes certain institutional forms (privatized media), certain cultural forms (entertainment and escapism), certain practices (individualism and consumerism), and certain forms of relationships (the expansion of market relations at the expense of public interests) (p. 20). Murphy (2003) describes the mass media public sphere as dominated by an ideology that conflates consumption with freedom and individuality with civil liberties. Transnational media networks, writes Murphy, are the "chief ideological tool" in the construction of a globalized hegemony that supports market expansion over participatory democracy and redistributive justice, and sustains economic and moral justification for a profit-driven social order above all other considerations (p.56). Representations in these channels tend to obscure or elide meanings which call this ideology into question (Murphy 2003).

Herman and McChesney (2003) describe global media as one of the defining features of the rise of global corporate ideology, a system of assumptions whose core principles include the market as *the* means of allocating resources efficiently, the desirability of privatization, and the rejection of government intervention and regulation as an unreasonable burden on business. The global media produces "news and entertainment [that] provide an informational and ideological environment that helps

sustain the political, economic and moral basis for marketing goods and for having a profit-driven social order" (p. 21).

Globalization (or globalization(s), see Pieterse (1995)) refers to many things, among them a global trade in cultural goods whose value exceeds $200 billion annually (Thussu 2000). In 1997, a small handful of companies – ten – accounted for more than half of this trade ($119 billion), all of them Western-based (Herman and McChesney 1997). Media products from the dominant companies are encountered in most parts of the world on a daily basis. Within this globalized media flow (the ideological "connective tissue" for the maintenance of a global neoliberal hegemony), there are multiple barriers to the free flow of information (Howley 2005):(1) the rising role of the PR industry in news production (i.e. newscasts increasing use of promotional video press releases in the construction of news); (2) the digital and technological divide that excludes much of the planet's population from contributing to these media streams because of inadequate access to technologies and skills; (3) the rise of an intellectual property-rights regime and environment of fee-based cultural services that limits who has access; (4) digital convergence, which facilitates the consolidation of control over cultural flows into fewer and fewer hands; (5) the transformation of culture, cultural production and cultural artifacts into commodities that must conform to market logics; (6) the marginalization of certain kinds of aesthetics through policing practices such as professionalism and standards of propriety; and finally, (7) the tendency of mass media to provide decontextualized information, which contributes to diminishing communicative competence, which increases the public's dependence on how government and corporate institutions frame the issues through dominant media. These barriers force subordinate

groups all over the world to seek alternative production and distribution strategies to satisfy their communications needs.

2(iii)   Hegemony,   Social Exclusion and Cultural Citizenship

The inequalities produced by neoliberal hegemony have been well documented by its critics[8]: widespread ecological destruction, the spread of poverty and social fragmentation, exploitation of vulnerable populations as cheap pools of labour, the reallocation of scarce local resources to industrial processes flowing into the global market, weakened food security, starvation, lack of access to medical services and supplies, lack of access to potable water, expanding democratic deficits (Artz 2003; Duggan 2003; Kiely 2005; Mander and Goldsmith 1997; Stiglitz 2003). One of the ways these kinds of socially destructive outcomes have been responded to by policy-makers is through the discourse of 'social exclusion' which describes economic marginalization and social disadvantage as a product of multiple factors including material disadvantage but also equally emphasizing social and cultural disadvantage (Barata 2000; Hulse and Stone 2007)[9]. Within a social exclusion framework, marginalization is understood as occurring within a context of relations of power and multidimensional factors, i.e. income, health, education, access to services, housing, debt, quality of life, dignity,

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[8] Some argue that neoliberal economics are a social benefit. While I disagree, the debate is beyond the scope of this study. My point is to link some social outcomes of inequality to global (hegemonic) ideology.

[9] The term '*social exclusion*' originated in French and British public policy circles as one of a number of policy responses (along with social cohesion and social capital) that "were being put forward for attention by policy-makers as they sought to transform social models beyond the high mark of neoliberalism as exemplified by the Reagan and Thatcher administrations in the US and UK" (Hulse and Stone 2007:12). Levitas (2004) has argued that there are at least three competing ways in which the notion of 'social exclusion' has been employed in policy debates. The earliest use of 'social exclusion' (and the definition that I have adopted for the purposes of this thesis) is "redistributive", i.e. as part of an analytical framework that sees social exclusion and poverty as inextricably linked, "and linked within a framework which saw poverty as part of a wider pattern of social inequality, which could be solved only by a substantial redistribution of resources, both through cash incomes and public services" (Levitas 2004:44).

autonomy (Barata 2000). Significantly, Saloojee (2001) suggests that "this dynamic process of being shut out" can be measured as patterns in social phenomena that include material goods, the labour market, land, security, human rights, and macro-economic development. Presumably, then, a "dynamic process" of being included should also be capable of being measured as patterns of social phenomena.

The dynamic process of being included has been referred to as 'social inclusion' – the attempt to facilitate and expand participation by marginalized individuals in all spheres of public life (Caidi and Allard 2005; Saloojee 2001.).[10] The ultimate goal of social inclusion is to increase individuals' well-being, self-esteem, and access to social power. 'Strong social inclusion' looks for ways to reduce the capacity to exclude of those who are responsible for it (Barata 2000). Cultural production is recognized as an important strategy for addressing these kinds of imbalances, and the idea of "cultural citizenship" has been used to describe the extent to which cultural participation improves capacity to take part in the collective life of society (Andrew and Gattinger 2005; Stanley 2006). Cultural citizenship is thought to have six dimensions: enhancing and understanding the capacity for action, creating and retaining identity, modifying values and preferences for collective choice, building social cohesion, contributing to community development, and fostering civic participation (Stanley 2006).

The social exclusion/inclusion framework articulated with the idea of cultural citizenship is a way to begin to understand the complexity of how counterpublic media production might influence the ongoing production of disparity.

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[10] See the above note concerning the multiple definitions of 'social exclusions'. I am using social inclusion in a redistributive sense (see Levitas 2004).

CHAPTER 3   COMMUNITIES, SOCIAL EXCLUSIONS & COMMUNITY MEDIA

3(i)   Defining "Community"

'Community' is a term employed in a variety of discourses. From its more essentialized use in anthropological discourse to refer to a locality of relationships, to its emergence in media studies as an interpretive and subjective construction, scholars have employed ideas of community to address a wide range of tensions (Lie 2003). Amit (2002) suggests that despite its varieties, "community has been a long-standing, although by no means an exclusive, conceptual medium for interrogations of the interaction between modernity and social solidarity" (p. 2). In contemporary discourse, many scholars argue that "the symbolic or conceptual elaboration of community/locality has become more important in response to a weakening of structural boundaries" through state policies and globalizing forces (Amit 2002:10). Writers such as Anderson (1983) and Cohen (1985) characterize contemporary communities as existing largely through imagined identities and whose members are mostly strangers to one another. A collective sense of "we" is constructed and maintained through (mediated) informational networks such as television, radio, newspapers, cinema, and the internet.

Media scholars have also addressed where the idea of "community" fits into the understanding of media production that falls outside of mainstream or hegemonic flows. Howley (2005) employs "community" in the symbolic and constructed sense: "Through an array of symbolic practices – language, dress, custom, ritual – communities come to identify themselves" (p. 6). Howley conceives of community as a unity of differences created through symbolic, ritual and discursive practices. Downing (2001), on the other

hand, in his widely referenced analysis of 'radical media', rejects 'community' as a

useful term because of how it is often used to represent harmonies and homogeneities in a

way that obscures inequalities and diversity, and also how it can reinforce binary tensions

along the lines of local-healthy / foreign-unhealthy in a way that reinforces xenophobic

tendencies.[11]

There has also been growing recognition and acceptance of place -- or

'emplacement' -- as an essential aspect of some kinds of communities in certain contexts.

For example, Gray (2002) in his studies of sheep farming communities in southern

Scotland, describes the communities there as a process and product of place-making

through the day-to-day activities of sheep farming. It is a notion of community...:

> in which the sense of being in a group – whatever the basis of that sense,
> for example, shared culture, location, occupation, interest, ethnicity,
> national identity – and its place emerge simultaneously and are mutually
> constitutive. I am not suggesting that place-making exhausts the nature of
> community; rather I am arguing that place-making and the resultant sense
> of place are an essential part of how people experience community.

Gray observes and develops an idea of community as *process* where "it is not the

boundary that is always of paramount concern to the people building a sense of

community. Instead, community-making may be founded on what they see as its core

meaning, institution, occupation, and/or activity" (p. 41).

What emerges from the literature is a spectrum of meanings which range from the

conceptual and symbolic to the very place-based. For my purposes, the "community" in

'community media/television' are those who share access to a media organization

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[11] Downing and Fenton (2003) suggest the term 'counterpublic' as an alternative to 'community'. They argue that community "refers to a model of association patterned on family and kinship relations, and on affective language of love and loyalty, on assumptions of authenticity, homogeneity and continuity, of inclusion and exclusion, identity and otherness" while counterpublic "refers to a specifically modern phenomenon, contemporaneous and responding to dominant capitalist communications. It offers forms of solidarity and reciprocity that are grounded in a collective experience of marginalization and expropriation, but these forms are inevitably experienced as mediated, no longer rooted in face-to-face relations, and subject to discursive conflict and negotiation" (p. 194).

through participation in the planning, production and/or distribution of the media

activities in question, who are intended to be audience, and who are represented within its

programming. The 'emplacement' of community in this sense will depend to a large

extent on the reach of the media flow in question. Cape Breton (and Isle Madame in

particular) is a community that has been defined by its relationships with commercial and

subsistence fishing for nearly 400 years. Gray's nuanced understanding of 'community'

as place-making through core meanings, occupations and activities is highly relevant in

coming to terms with Telile's role(s) in Richmond County, Cape Breton.

It is important to remember that community media acts as what Liora Salter calls

a "fulcrum" between multiple interests, listeners, publics, and issues (Salter 1980, cited

by Fairchild 2005). In this sense, who is the community is an on-going affair (Fairchild

2005):

> The boundaries of community or participation are not
> cordoned in advance, but only as a consequence of the
> actual practices of particular institutions. By definition,
> these boundaries cannot be established by fiat, but more
> likely by consensus...

Part of my research was designed to surface a sense of who Telile's community is – or

likely is – and who it is not.

3(ii)   Defining Community Media

The term 'community media' is only one of a number of terms used to describe

the kinds of media practices that occur in cultural spaces outside of mainstream and

hegemonic media flows. Some terms are regional in their use – for example, 'municipal

radio' in Spain, 'local broadcasting' in the Netherlands, 'close radio' in Denmark, 'free

radio' in France. Others emphasize ontological and epistemological differences in how

community media practice is conceived of and understood. The terms most frequently

encountered are 'independent media', 'radical media', 'participatory media', 'activist

media', 'citizen's media', 'alternative media' and 'community media'. My focus will be

on the conceptual distinctions emphasized by the different terms as they are used by

community media scholars. From them, I synthesize a working definition for my

preferred term, "community media", the reasons for which I discuss below.

'Independent' or 'autonomous media' suggests a separation from some governing

context. "The term implies an independence from commercial, governmental, broadcast

network and mass audience concerns and control; from traditional modes of production

and distribution; as well as from constraints on program style and structure" (Shaw and

Robertson 1996:9). Autonomous media strategies operate independent from corporate

and government power (Uzelman 2005). The emphasis is on the organization of praxis

being counter to the praxis habits of public sphere mass media (i.e. that independent

practices are participatory, democratic, non-hierarchical, dialogic).

'Radical media', a term widely circulated by Downing (2001), emphasizes the

political role of the media practice described. Radical media are engaged in active

projects of social change and renegotiating imbalances of social and economic power.

Building on the framework of media practice as negotiation of power, Rodriguez (2001)

introduced the term "citizen's media", in part to circumvent what she describes as the

"damaging" and problematic dualism on which the more popular "alternative media"

conception relies, and also to highlight the dynamics being negotiated through media

engagement. A citizen's media implies the acting out of citizenship through intervening and transforming institutionalized relationships and the conceptual frameworks on which they depend for stability.

'Participatory media', and the closely related 'development communications', are terms found within community development discourses. The terms emphasize a shift in approach within community development praxis away from one-way top-down communications models towards two-way models where those intended to benefit are included in the communications strategies planning and execution (White 2003). The emphasis is on the degree to which participants determine communication processes (Stuart and Bery 1996). Development communications is a framework that suggests counter-public media initiatives are an effective way to address economic vulnerability and social and cultural marginalization.

'Alternative media' is perhaps one of the most widely used terms. 'Alternative media' has been criticized as having limited theoretical value because it is relational and oppositional, i.e. it takes its meaning by being opposed to and distinct from dominant media practices. In North America, for example, alternative media *wasn't* large commercial network media, while in Europe, alternative media *wasn't* state run monopoly media (Waltz 2005). Alternative media is identified by negatives, by what it isn't or by what it opposes: it isn't mainstream; it is antagonistic to mass media; it doesn't sell advertising; it isn't profit driven; it doesn't operate on a hierarchical internal structure; it undermines hegemonic legitimacy (Peruzzo 1996; Schulman 1992; Waltz 2005). As the practices of dominant media change, so too will the definition of what is alternative to them.

And finally, there is 'community media', a term which emphasizes the

relationship between the media practice and the relevant social network within which the

practice takes place, including both participants and audience (Howley 2005:2):

> By community media, I refer to grassroots or locally oriented
> media access initiatives predicated on a profound sense of
> dissatisfaction with mainstream media form and content, dedicated
> to the principles of free expression and participatory democracy,
> *and committed to enhancing community relations and promoting
> community solidarity.* [emphasis added]

Community media stresses a distinct social setting, be it geographic or cultural, where

concerns and interests among individuals are shared (Hollander and Stappers 1992).

"This community, further, serves as a frame of reference for a shared interpretation of the

relevance of the topics communicated within the community" (1992:19-20). Within this

setting, the boundaries between sender and receiver are blurred and as a result there is a

high degree of shared cultural codes and customs within programming (Rodriguez 2001).

In summary, the terms emphasize two-way flows of information through the

elimination (or significant lessening) of the distance between producers and audience,

within a marginalized context of some kind, that operate with a significant degree of

autonomy from traditional media constraints (i.e. selling air time to large private interests

or the state as primary funder), that speak from and for a particular group of people, be it

a geographically or interest-based community, and that speak from a place of opposition

to or dissatisfaction with mass media flows. To state this in definitional form:

community media are information mediating organizations that: (i) facilitate two-way

flows of information within marginalized groups by facilitating audience participation in

the production, programming, and distribution processes; (ii) whose political economies

are different from traditional institutional media; and (iii) whose agenda speaks to an exclusion from, dissatisfaction with or opposition to mainstream mass-mediated information flows. This will be my working definition for "community media" in this paper.

3(iii)   *Theoretical Approaches to Understanding Community Media*

The practice of community media is varied -- from magic lanterns in India, to cable access channels in North America and Europe, to licensed non-profit radio, to unlicensed micro radio, to aboriginal satellite networks, to the circulation by hand of locally produced video cassettes – to name only a few.   Not only are practices varied, but the social, economic, political and cultural contexts from which they emerge also vary widely. In coming to terms theoretically with community media practice, communications scholars focus on different aspects of the communicative process and in doing so arrive at different explanations and frameworks of understanding. At least four areas of emphasis can be observed in the literature: (i) organizational behaviors and opportunities; (ii) community development; (iii) the political role of community media; and (iv) the role of community media in the production of culture.

Organizational behaviors and opportunities refer to the nature of the relationship between individuals in the community and the media organizations in question. Community media has been described as being organized around three central themes: access, participation and self-management (Berrigan 1979; Lewis 1984). *Access* encompasses the right to have access to diverse media, and the right to give feedback to

media producers and to have that feedback taken seriously. *Participation* is the ability to participate in media planning, production and distribution decision-making and practice. Self-management is a more specialized case of participation where participation is elevated to the full-ownership and control over media infrastructure.

Community media as community development emphasizes social outcomes. Community media are viewed as a way for marginalized groups to increase participation in local governance processes, draw attention to problems, collectively mobilize to solve problems, develop skills (Braden and Mayo 1999; Deetz 1999; Okunna 1995; White 2003).

The political role of community media focuses on the ways in which communities use community media practices to negotiate relationships of power. Stein (2002) uses the term 'democratic talk' to describe the process of collective self-determination and problem solving that takes place within groups. Community media in this kind of framework are viewed as engaged in social change and democratization (Hall 1991); as a response to the "denial of full citizenship rights to the majority of the population" (Peruzzo 1996:163); and as part of "a broader process of redistribution of political power" (White 1999:235). What is emphasized is community media as a way for citizens to determine and define their institutional relationships and redefine social definitions and parameters of legitimacy (Downing 2001; Rodriguez 2001).

And finally, community media is also theorized by focusing on its role in cultural production and as a communicative action. Community media is analyzed as an integral part of the "creative making of the social order, a widespread way of formulating and learning new ways of organizing experience" (Hamilton 2000:362). What is emphasized

is community media's role in discursive practices engaged in generating social reality (Fiske 1989) and as a way for communities to invent and share interpretations and frames of reference relevant to themselves (Hollander and Stappers 1992).

There are also theoretical frameworks put forward by certain scholars that are particularly insightful and comprehensive. I would like to address five such frameworks: that of Downing and Fenton (2003), Rennie (2006), Rodriguez (2001), Howley (2005) and Carpentier et al. (2003).

Downing and Fenton (2003) present an understanding of community media that focuses on the practices and relationships within and between public and counter-public spheres. Central to their framework is distinguishing between civil society and the public sphere, a distinction they say that allows "us to analyze how shared democratic values and identification as democratic citizens are achieved and maintained; how political/civic cultures are generated – essentially, to imagine how civil society can organize democratically for politically progressive ends" (p. 191). Much of this activity occurs in what they call the advocacy domain, where civil society organizations mobilize to expand democratic participation. This is also the domain where community media operate, and where counter-public spheres are developed and maintained. Counter-public spheres, they argue, are "specifically modern phenomena, contemporaneous with, and responding to, dominant capitalist communications" (p. 194):

> Once the public sphere is defined as a horizon for the organization of social experience, it follows that there are multiple and competing counter-publics, each marked by specific terms of exclusion (for example, those of class, race, gender) in relation to dominant communications, yet each understanding itself as a nucleus for an alternative organization of society.

Community media through their role in the production of and contribution to counter-

public spheres play a role in re-shaping the public sphere, making it "more open to

radical opinion" (p. 199).

Rennie (2006) also argues that community media is best understood in the context

of its role within civil society – specifically, in the production of a civil society that

engages in issues of democracy and participation.[12] Within this framework, civil society

is the essential third sector of a democratic society (i.e. civil society, market activities,

state institutions). Civil society is associational, non-profit, and "generated for itself and

by itself rather than for or by the state or the market" (p. 35). It is the realm within which

power "is subject to dispute, compromise and agreement" (p. 34). A healthy democratic

regime is one where there are many thriving public spheres, with none of them enjoying a

monopoly over how the distribution of power is determined.

For Rennie, communicative action lies at the heart of the theory and practice of

democracy, in that communication is the link between civil society and democratic theory

(2006:34):

> Community media, being a media that is produced by civil
> society groups, has a unique relationship to the types of
> citizen participation that occur through civil society
> engagement.

Rennie argues that civil society (and with it, community media) must be acknowledged as

legitimate participants in governance. One of the advantages to this approach, suggests

Rennie, is that it acknowledges community media practice that is not strictly

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[12] In Canada, community media is recognized under the Canadian Broadcasting Act s.3(1)(b) as one of the three elements that make up the Canadian broadcasting system (along with public and private media).

oppositional, i.e. that is not intent on the "wholesale supplanting of existing institutions"

(p. 36):

> Within such vision, community does not have to be
> marginal or defined by opposition, but is capable of
> offering new avenues for participation that work with an
> *acceptance* of the difference, diversity and *power*
> *structures* of the contemporary world. [emphasis added]

It is a vision of community media which can either challenge existing power structures or

exist within them as a vehicle for addressing democratic deficiencies by facilitating

greater participation in governance activities.

Rodriguez (2001) proposes a framework that positions community media in the

context of the day-to-day enactment of citizenship – the capacity to effect decisive

changes and also to receive power. Citizenship is conceived as a network of

relationships, the expression of which takes many forms including "the collective

transformation of symbolic codes, historically legitimized identities, and traditionally

established social relations" (p. 20).[13] Citizen's media enact citizenship, contest social

codes and institutionalized relationships, and "empower" the community involved.

Rodriguez argues that the traditional ways of thinking about community media --

focusing on the flow of information, the ability to mobilize and organize community, and

the transformation of media structures -- are limited in that they overlook and obscure

community media's role in "reshaping identities, reformulating established social

definitions and legitimizing local cultures and lifestyles" (Rodriguez 2001:151).

Howley (2005) presents a model for understanding community media as unique

sites where marginalized groups engage in the production of meaning in response to and

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[13] Rodriguez is referencing Wolin, S. (1992) "What revolutionary action means today" in C. Mouffe *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community* (London: Verso)).

in the context of globalized economic and cultural disparities. A central part of Howley's

framework is the relationship – the tension -- between local cultural autonomy and

globalized cultural flows. Through community media practice people engage in strategic

assertions of collective identity and local autonomy, while mediating, interpreting and

resisting transnational cultural agendas. Community media are strategic and tactical

responses to the encroachment of global hegemony(s) in that they resist the

commodification of culture, build strategic alliances among groups wanting to

renegotiate existing power dynamics, and offer forums for local artistic expression.

And finally, Carpentier et al. (2003) have developed an excellent multi-theoretical

approach that attempts to synthesize various conceptual frameworks into a continuum of

community media identities. They position community media as an agonistic practice

within Laclau and Mouffe's (1985)[14] framework of radical democracy. Community

media is seen as antagonistic to the state's and the market's efforts to establish and

maintain monopolies over the production of legitimacy, distributive justice, allocation of

resources, and public meaning – in other words, to a "multitude of hegemonic

discourses" (p. 51). They then argue that these antagonisms, the variations in their locus

of attention, play a central role in defining four identities of community media : (1)

Community media that serve the community and who are focused inward toward the

communities of interest or geography they serve. The emphasis is on access and

participation, community empowerment, strengthening internal (disadvantaged) group

identities; (2) Community media as an alternative to the mainstream, both in terms of

organizational structure and content, is a relational identity dependent on and in response

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[14] Laclaue. and Mouffe, C. (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso)

to how mainstream media is conceived; (3) Community media in civil society who focus on the creation and maintenance of a cultural counter-public space independent of the market, personal and family relations, and from state agencies. One of the key attributes of civil society is as a site for expanding and deepening democracy through participation. And finally, (4) community media as rhizome focuses on community media's role as connective cultural process between and among counter-hegemonic groups. It shifts emphasis to the "catalyzing role they can play by functioning as the cross-roads where people from different types of movements and struggles meet and collaborate" (p. 62).

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What emerges from the foregoing survey of community media literature is a rich if somewhat unwieldy body of approaches to understanding the ontological and epistemological characteristics of community media practices. Community media scholarship remains a somewhat unstructured collection of sometimes sympathetic and at other times oppositional positions that demonstrate a shifting locus of analytical emphasis. However, one locus of analytical emphasis that remains largely unexplored is intended outcomes; that is, what influences over social formation do the creators of community media intend? In the next chapter, I will propose a unifying framework for community media that emphasizes intended outcomes as an organizing principle, and which provides the basis for an approach to mapping and assessing community media outcomes.

CHAPTER 4   UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE(S) OF COMMUNITY MEDIA/TELEVISION

In this section, I present a survey of community media literature, with an emphasis on community television and video literature, using intended social outcomes as an organizing framework, i.e. a framework that looks to the influences that community media practitioners hope to wield over processes of social formation.

4(i)   Intended Outcomes: Categories of Social Performance

The intended outcomes of community media/television practice are diverse, but not incoherent. A distillation of relevant scholarship reveals a pattern of four dominant categories of outcome: (i) the construction of meaning (constructing the semiotic parameters of day to day life, organization of experience, the symbolic construction of reality, legitimacy, social definitions, identities); (ii) negotiating proximities to power (renegotiating power imbalances); (iii) the formation of social bonds (expanding networks of reciprocity and trust); and (iv) expanding personal capacities (personal development, skills capacities, intellectual and emotional growth). I will address each of these individually. In addition, the first category – the construction of meaning – contains within it the production of identities, a particularly important aspect of cultural studies discourse and, within the context of global media flows and globalizations, a topic of contemporary academic concern. I discuss community media/television's role in the production of identity at length in the second part of this chapter.

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At the outset, it is important to emphasize that the categories of intended social outcomes that I am about to describe are heuristic -- they are intended as tools to help in the organization of knowledges about community media. They describe tendencies, and no such neat boundaries exist in the field. Additionally, community media organizations have complex goals. They may be, and often are, made up of participants from different social groups with different needs. Organizations as a whole may have multiply-layered intended outcomes satisfying different needs simultaneously or at different times.[15] Despite this complexity, intended outcomes fall into four broad categories. (My discussion of outcomes from this point forward will increasingly but not exclusively focus on outcomes related to community video and television practices.)

The first category of intended outcomes is the *construction of meaning* – a broad category that captures media efforts with the dominant intent to make sense of the world, to organize experience, to express opinion and feeling, and to share ideas with others. As Rodriguez (2001) points out, community media are important sites where symbolic resistance and contestation can potentially take place, where those marginalized from proximities of power can reinscribe social definitions, move their images and ideas and opinions closer to the centre, make them "worthy" of mediating and give them legitimacy by elevating them to the commons (i.e. presenting them in a public forum) through media practice, articulate unique local experience and reality, and privilege and foreground differences.

Community media scholarship identifies numerous ways in which communities use community media with the intention to construct meaning and define (re-define)

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[15] For example, a community TV group might want to provide training in television production to street youth (i) as a way to increase the employability of street youth; (ii) as a way to encourage the re-inscribing of the identity of "street youth" within the community; and/or (iii) as a way of communicating health messages to street youth (i.e. PSAs about sexually transmitted diseases targeted at youth).

reality. Marginalized groups tell stories that are excluded from the public sphere (Dudley 2003; Howley 2005). Meanings and representations which fall outside of the ideologies and exclusive forms established by hegemony can be shared through community media practice (Rodriguez 2001). Community media can re-author notions of what is worthy enough to be framed and televised (Rodriguez 2001). Marginalized groups can create and share new sets of symbols and meanings that redefine perceptions of reality from their marginalized perspective and which introduce new forms of discourse that are indigenous, locally-based and rooted in local ecology (White 1999). Social definitions, identities and institutional relationships can be redefined; local cultures and lifestyles can be legitimized (Rodriguez 2001; Stein 2002). Communities can reframe the day-to-day, what is taken for granted by directing conscious attention to it through media production (Rodriguez 2001). Representations and analysis of oppression, and the opinions and points of view of the oppressed can be shared (Downing 2001). Communities can depict their own wisdom, ideas, traditions, arts and culture (Hochheimer 2002), and reclaim cultural space (Braden and Mayo 1999:198):

> Video can enable under-represented people to use their own visual languages and oral traditions to recuperate, debate and record their own knowledge.

Aesthetic forms in community media can adhere to the cultural norms of subordinate groups - for example, in determining what is appropriate public information and public behavior (Drabo 1991; Roth 2005). Communities can reformulate and reconceptualize political and social definitions and ideas in a way that alters how the past is remembered and understood, the meaning of the present, and the vision of the future (Stein 2002).

The second category of intended outcomes are community media/television practices that emphasize an active *renegotiation of proximities to power*. Participating in media production, or being exposed to new kinds of programming, can awaken ethical values and play a role in what Freire (1970) called conscientization, a learned awareness of one's position within society's wider structures and the processes and forces that make up oppressive or exploitative social formations and the production of hegemonies (Bery 2003; Braden and Mayo 1999; Dudley 2003; Shaw and Robertson 1997; Stuart and Bery 1996). It can facilitate collective responses to problems (White 2003) and self-advocacy, leading individuals and groups to take action on issues of concern (Shaw and Robertson 1997). It can be used to influence prevailing structures and bring about changes in public and private agencies, policies and decisions (Berry 2003; Quarry 1994; Gregory et al. 2005; Shaw and Robertson 1997; Stuart and Bery 1996). Community media can play a role in agenda-setting, helping a community to determine which issues and problems should be addressed through political processes (Stein 2002). Community media can also be used to document injustice (Dudley 2003; Gregory et al. 2005; Stuart and Bery 1996). A characteristic specific to video is what Hall (1991) calls video's "power to humanize" – to breakdown preconceptions and stereotypes and enable audiences to closely observe another place or person" including gestures, breathing, eye movements, emotion and tension, the environment, the sounds, pollutants, screams -- all the verisimilitude of place and time" (pp. 186-7). Community media practice can challenge institutionalized and traditional leadership roles through its programming and by facilitating the taking of cultural risks (i.e. giving confidence to a low-status individual to talk to a high-status individual) (Bery 2003; Rodriguez 2001d). As mentioned, community media can

facilitate the acting out of citizenship by challenging accepted social codes,

institutionalized relationships and legitimized identities. In this context, 'political action'

expands to encompass the very *definitions* of what is culturally intelligible (Rodriguez

2001:21):

> The permanent deconstruction of subordinate identities becomes an important
> task of democratic action. In short, cultural codes have become the objects of
> political struggle.

The third category of intended outcome is the *enriching of social bonds* which

describes expanding channels of communication and deepening awareness, affiliation and

identification among and between different subordinate groups. As mentioned,

community video and television has the power to humanize, help people establish bonds

of trust and empathy, and play a role in increasing a community's ability to collectively

respond to problems (Hall 1991; Stamm et al. 1997; Stein 2002; Stuart and Bery 1996;

White 2003). Video production encourages and develops collaborative skills (Shaw and

Robertson 1997). Media attention can stimulate public dialogue about issues (Shaw and

Robertson 1997; Wildemeersch 1999). Community media practice can be experienced as

a shared ritual of belief, bringing together alienated individuals into a collective of

mediated space (Okunna 1995; White 1999). It can help individuals overcome alienation

by exposing them to the existence of others in similar situations or making them aware of

ways to connect with groups (Hall 1991; Okunna 1995; Stamm et al. 1997). It can

transform private individual experience into public collective experience, and generate a

belief and trust in the collective capacity to control and shape reality (Rodriguez 2001).

Community media can be used to overcome conflict, threats and actual violence by

allowing the stakeholders to say their piece and to be heard without the affective

disorders introduced by face-to-face settings and proximities (Rodriguez 2005; White 2003).

And finally, the fourth category of intended outcome is *expanding personal capacities*. It can play a role in self-validation, the development of self-reflexive skills (what some authors call the "mirror effect"), and cause profound shifts in self-perception (Bery 2003; Braden and Mayo 1997; Okunna 1995; Shaw and Robertson 1997). Community media practice can develop self-confidence, self-esteem, self-respect, and self-definition (Bery 2003; White 2003). It can inculcate a feeling of belonging and importance among practitioners (White 2003), and allow a "revisionist gaze" that can see beauty and value in local, traditionally de-valued landscapes, people and things, what Rodriguez (2001) calls "a whole and integral process of identity deconstruction and reconstruction" (p. 119). It can increase leadership and group facilitation skills among marginalized groups (Stuart and Bery 1996). It can develop among its participants problem-solving, decision-making and planning skills (Shaw and Robertson 1997), and increase capacities in dialogue, active listening, conflict resolution, consensus building, and collaboration (White 2003). Community media practice can allow participants to develop media literacy skills and technical production skills (White 2003). And, at least with respect to electronic forms of media, it can help marginalized individuals overcome literacy barriers by allowing them access to non-text-based mediated information and to production processes (Dudley 2003; Hall 1991; Okunna 1995).

*   *   *

My goal has been to demonstrate that a simple, flexible framework of intended outcomes captures most, if not all, of the kinds of outcomes attributed to community

media generally, and to community television and video in particular. These are the broad categories of how community media/television practitioners want to influence social formation. They point towards areas of social phenomena where we might find indicators of how community media/television influences social formations within a specific community. If we organize these descriptions of outcomes into table form, we get the following:

Fig. 1 - Categories of Social Roles for Community Media/Television

Construction of Meaning	- redefining social definitions - introducing new analysis - excluded ideologies and epistemologies - introducing new sets of symbols - representations and analysis of oppressions - redefining aesthetic and cultural norms - reinterpreting the past, present / re-envisioning the future - articulating unique local experience / stories from the margins - cultural celebration – wisdom, tradition, arts - documenting knowledges and traditions - privileging difference and diversity
Proximities to Power	- awaken ethical values / conscientization - humanize 'other' – challenge preconceptions and stereotypes - challenge traditional/institutionalized leadership roles - agenda setting (determining what problems are subject to political decision-making - document injustice - facilitate / encourage collective responses to problems - facilitate / encourage self-advocacy - facilitate / encourage the acting out of citizenship - change public and private agencies, policies and decisions
Social Bonds	- increased awareness about shared inequalities - transforms private experience into collective experience - decreases alienation by sharing similarities - est. bonds of trust / empathy by overcoming prejudice - increased ability to mobilize collective responses to problems - generates belief in collective capacity to control and shape reality - increased awareness about ways to connect with others

Personal Capacities	● reconstruction of local identity / valorization of local experience
	● increases self-confidence / self-esteem / self-validation
	● increases self-definition / self-reflexive skills
	● increases feelings of importance and belonging
	● increases leadership, planning, problem-solving decision-making
	● increases media literacy skills
	● increases technical production skills
	● overcomes literacy barriers to cultural participation
	● increases collaboration, dialogue, conflict resolution, consensus building skills
	● increases ability to listen actively

4(ii)   The Role of Community Media/Television in the Production of Cultural Identities

Under the category of 'construction of meaning and experience' described above, there is a particularly important area of symbolic exchange, that of the construction of collective identities. The formation of cultural identity has come to be one of the central sites for interrogating social meaning within cultural and communication studies discourses.

The proliferation of counterpublic spheres and their attendant sites of media production in response to hegemonic exclusions manifests in a tension between local sites of cultural production and global media flows. Howley (2005) has written that community media are "at once a response to the encroachment of the global upon the local as well as an assertion of local cultural identities and socio-political autonomy" and that community media are excellent sites to "interrogate the play of local and translocal forces associated with globalization" (pp. 39-40). In part, my research is asking *how*

community media practices *mediate* the impact of global media flows, and how these

mediating strategies influence the production of identity?

4 (ii.1) Cultural Identities As Communicative Practice

Cultural identities are ways we know ourselves as members of groups. Post-

structuralist and post-modern thought has altered how we perceive the idea of 'self' --

from a unified self with a core identity towards a more fluid conception of identity as

ongoing process (Barker 1997), as something imagined and never completed (Hall

1990). Barker writes (1997:146):

> Only within discursively constructed communal traditions do
> identities have any meaning. Language, which does not acquire its
> significance from individual mental states but is a shared social
> resource, is used by people carrying out social rituals and activities
> in relationships...in this view the self is made up of beliefs,
> attitudes, emotions, etc. which are linguistic guides to action not
> representations of independently existing entities.

Cultural identities derive from geographic, biological, psychological, cultural and

intercultural elements of shared experiences including blood-ties, personal associations,

media flows, religious practices and beliefs, mythic traditions, and social ceremonies and

rituals (Leuthold 1998). We inhabit multiple identities simultaneously – as individuals,

as members in social sub-groups, within our communities, within our cultures, regionally,

nationally, and, increasingly, transnationally.

Collective identities involve the "marking of indeterminate boundaries within a

system of social relations which require reciprocal recognition", i.e. they are constructed

through an on-going group effort (Barker 1997:187). Collective identity production has

two dominant tendencies, one inward and aimed at establishing commonalities within the collective or group, and the other outward aimed at establishing differences with other groups (Hourigan 2004). National identity would be a specific case, and it demonstrates these competing tendencies and consequent tensions. Anderson (1983) argues that national identities are imagined political communities constructed in relation to territorial and administrative exigencies. They have been described variously as having "blurry edges" and protean, contingent and temporal qualities (Olson 1998), as being fundamentally dynamic, conflictive, unstable and impure (Ang 2003), and as requiring constant activation and reactivation (Morley and Robbins 1995). But as the collective self comes into focus, various "others" likewise come into focus, those who do not meet the criteria of inclusion. National identities, for example, depend on a kind of symbolic violence which elevates certain cultural characteristics (i.e. one language, one religion, one set of traditions, one race) into a preferred status while simultaneously neglecting, excluding or denigrating other characteristics (Hourigan 2004). Through this process of simultaneous elevation and neglect[16] elite groups are created who receive the full benefits of citizenship and who in turn create and stigmatize minority sub-groups by establishing and maintaining cultural preferences and norms (Hourigan 2004). The sub-groups marginalized from dominant identities are isolated from channels of political and cultural power.

Waisbord (1998) neatly parses the complexity of identity production into three terrains: he defines identities (i) *as communicative practices* (ii) that construct imaginative spaces; (iii) and delineate senses of belonging and difference. In other

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[16] The process of simultaneous elevation and neglect is the process of the production of hegemony, i.e. through government policies, legislation, allocations of resources, and ideological propagation through academic, industrial and military institutions.

words, identity is communication, and the constitutive role of communication puts media front and centre in the collective processes of producing selfhoods.

In summary, cultural identities can be understood as communicative practices that construct imaginative spaces and delineate senses of belonging and difference. They are never formed, but always in the process of being formed. Two dominant tendencies in identity formation are outward, to discover difference and otherness, and inward, to discover sameness and commonality. National identities, as one example, depend as much on the exclusion of otherness as they do on the inclusion of sameness. The formation of national identities necessarily requires the creation of dominant conforming elites and marginalized non-conforming sub-groups.

4(ii.2) Media and the Construction of Identity

Media play critical roles within identity formation processes. For example, in the case of national identities, some writers suggest that national identities as lived experience are in fact *made possible* by broadcasting technologies (Morley and Robbins 1995). Conversely, challenges to national identities and the production of sub-national identities can also occur through media representations. Minority language television, for instance, can undermine the linguistic exclusions that often accompany notions of national unity (Hourigan 2004:166):

> Attempts to establish separate minority language services can be
> characterized as part of a framing contest designed to challenge the
> process of national identity construction through broadcasting.

Hourigan describes this as the "colonization" of space within national broadcasting networks.

Minority language broadcasting strategies can also include a kind of withdrawal from the national identity debate to the degree that they culminate in the creation of separate "channel" broadcasting. Language barriers and stigmatization generally ensure that programming will not form part of the national discourse. In this latter case, it is the identity production of the minority language group that is most directly influenced by the media practices as they evolve in counterpublic spheres.

Hourigan (2004) suggests that theoretical models examining the link between media and identity fall into two broad categories: (i) frameworks which examine broadcast media in terms of 'space' (here, he points to Marshall McLuhan's *Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962)); and (ii) frameworks which examine broadcast media in terms of power (for example, Herbert Schiller's analysis of media imperialism in *Mass Communication and the American Empire* (1969)). I would like to add a third category: (iii) frameworks that examine broadcast media in terms of their role in how we cognitively organize information, experience and knowledge. Each of these approaches offers insight into the complex relationship between communication and identity formation.

The first - broadcast media as overcoming "space" differentials (geographical space) – observes that media brings people within "symbolic reach", i.e. it allows the exchange and negotiation of symbolic meaning between otherwise geographically disparate peoples. For instance, among diasporic communities, broadcast (satellite) television plays a central role in the formation of a diasporic identity by giving widely dispersed individuals and communities common points of cultural reference (Karim

2003; Shi 2005). Similarly, Anderson (1983) and Giddens (1991) argue that print newspapers managed a similar unification among colonial elites by inculcating a sense of shared concerns in readerships separated by great geographic distances.

Some writers, however, reject the idea of media as automatic symbolic reach, arguing that such an idea conflates media availability and exposure with feelings of cultural community (Waisbord 1998). Rather, 'space' is conceived as a culturally constructed imaginative (rather than geographic) territory. Minority language television campaigns, for example, have been described as attempts to create "a subnational electronic space" (Hourigan 2004) -- imaginative terrain where individuals can locate themselves in a larger group through cultural indicators rather than, or in addition to, or in spite of the presence or absence of geographic proximity. Geographic barriers to communication give way to symbolic barriers as the focus of investigation. Shi (2005:57) writes that media's role in identity formation has to do with providing:

> ...points of identification by marking symbolic boundaries, relinking cultures to places, and by fulfilling the desire for memory, myth, search and rediscovery. They [media] impose an imaginary coherence on the experience of dispersal and fragmentation...

In other words, media provides a context for common understanding which creates opportunities for social relations and social integration.

Media can also play a role in how we organize knowledge and experience. Tomlinson (2003) writes that the "first great fact" of mass media is the selective construction of social knowledge, a selection process that is unavoidably shaped by the

relationship between capitalist culture and mass media. A newscast, for instance, that may on the one hand appear as a casual story, might also on closer inspection reveal organizing strategies that delineate legitimate from illegitimate political activities, and even more casually reframe a complex political struggle for legal and political reform into a "disturbance" (Gitlin 1985). Tomlinson argues that mass media are one of the primary resources for how we organize and pattern experience – not that it *replaces* experience, but rather provides a "way of organizing it into a coherent and intelligent whole" (p.129). In this model, our lives are lived as representations to ourselves based on representations available in our culture. We *interpret* these (media) representations based on what else is going on in our lives. Our experience *manages* our perception which is made meaningful through cultural symbols and representations, including media flows (Tomlinson 2003).

Leuthold (1998) emphasizes aesthetic systems in his analysis of the production of aboriginal identity. For Leuthold, aesthetic expression is a social code that expresses collective realities and, in particular, through links with politics, culture, and religion, provides a means of group identification. The aesthetic expression of collective values "influences other groups' understanding of what is important for a culture [and in] this sense, aesthetic signification acts as a site for the negotiation or mediation of differing value systems" (Leuthold 1998:18). Media are embodied within a cultural aesthetic. Leuthold argues that aesthetic systems offer a key link between the psychology of the individual and the group.

Language plays a special role in how we organize knowledge and experience. The language habits of our communities, suggests Hourigan (2004), predispose choices

of interpretation. We pass accumulated and shared experience from one person to the next and from one generation to the next predominantly with language. Language establishes a sense of belonging. Speech constitutes individuals as part of a community by solidifying bonds between them, a process facilitated by television which mobilizes "a viewer's self-identity against the others or 'theys', negatively defined" (Hourigan 2004:164). Only those who understand the language spoken can participate in, not only in what is being shared, but also in the production of what is being shared.[17]

And finally, there is the approach to understanding the relationship between media and identity that focuses on structural power relations. Schiller's theory of media imperialism argued that identity formation was dominated by and through large, densely networked media organizations that distributed (primarily) Western programming, and that it was through these organizations that the global expansion of capitalism and consumer culture was being fostered and foreign values foisted on vulnerable (and non-conforming) cultures (1979). This approach has been challenged in a number of ways: that it amounted to a "study of the tracks of the dominator" while ignoring local and resistant media practices (Martin-Barbero 1993:204); that it ignored the role of a comprador class of hybrid elites who adapted to Western values as a strategy for increasing cultural capital (Harindranath 2003); that it was premised on an assumed essentialist understanding of culture (i.e. that there are "authentic" cultures who become "contaminated" by Western media flows) and ignored interconnection, interdependency, and interrelationship through globalization (Tomlinson 1991); and by relocating the

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[17] There are also important links between language and power. For instance, normative language preferences associated with national identities are established and maintained through cultural, economic and political inclusions and exclusions. Barker (1999) identifies 4 key issues to understanding how power relationships are constructed through language: (i) the power to define; (ii) the power to represent common sense; (iii) the power to create official versions; and (iv) the power to represent the legitimate social world. Within this framework, it is easy to see how intricately language, media and identity are bound within cultural relations.

locus of power from the culture maker (i.e. global corporate media producer) to the

audience. This last approach suggested that audiences were not passively receiving the

meanings and values encoded into cultural materials, but rather were actively involved in

the production of culturally contextualized meanings (Ang 1988; Liebes and Katz 1990).

These 'audience reception studies' as they have come to be called have, in turn, have

been criticized for not taking into account the political economy of global media flows,

especially the distinction between culture-as-lived-experience and culture-as-

representation. Audiences as meaning producers, suggests Ang (2003), are best

understood within their social and political contexts and limitations (p. 365):

> ...audiences may be creative in myriad ways in using and
> interpreting media, but it would be utterly out of perspective to
> cheerfully equate 'active' with powerful, in the sense of taking
> control at an enduring, structural or institutional level.

Ang (2003) argues that we shouldn't lose sight of the "marginality" of the power of

negotiating media texts in our everyday lives, and that there are structural limits to the

possibilities for cultural democracy through audience reception strategies.

Harindranath (2003) further argues that to equate the production and exchange of

meaning between wealthy western nations and poor non-western nations with

equivalences in power obfuscates gross imbalances. Harindranath does not uncritically

embrace cultural imperialism, but rather wants to ensure that the social practices that

accompany global media flows – patterns of immigration control, ethnic conflict, gross

political and economic imbalances – remain part of the communication equation (pp.175-

8):

> ...one cannot equate the (often literally) cosmetic changes in
> Western culture brought about by encounters with other

cultures...on the one hand, and on the other, the fundamental modifications to the material conditions and even the existence of non-western cultures as a consequence of direct and indirect forms of imperialism. To equate the two is to be blind to the social lived realities in the developing world.

Based on his own audience reception studies, Harindranath argues that audience production of meaning is influenced by what he calls "colonial identities" -- unstable and interstitial cultural spaces that are created where local and global cultural identities encounter the 'other', i.e. where an indigenous sub-group adopt colonial values in order to move closer to the centres and sources of cultural capital. Harindranath is suggesting that in a post-colonial context, audience reception and production of meaning responses are better understood as occurring within this local/global interstitial margin and within what he refers to as a 'resistance framework'. The meanings that are created at a local level will have outcomes in terms of moving a person closer to or farther away from the sources of cultural and hegemonic power (see also Grixti's (2006) study of Maltese youth responses to global, i.e. non-Maltese media programming).

In summary, media can be seen to have complex roles and relationships with and within cultural and identity formation processes: in bridging people and cultures over barriers of time and geographic space; in creating imaginative space where symbolic production and exchange can occur; in structuring and giving meaning to our day-to-day experiences; in expressing (and creating) commonalities through shared aesthetics; in the on-going negotiation of power through language; and through the dynamic negotiation of power and meaning within the context of unequal capitalist relations. How, then, do these roles help to structure the relationship between global media flows and the production of local cultural identities?

4(ii.3) Global Flows& Local Cultures: Liminal Spaces and Hybridities

The phenomena of globalization has been described in many ways -- most broadly, as a long-standing historical tendency toward increasing interconnectedness between peoples, cultures, and institutions (Mato 1997). Lie (2003) suggests that the 'globalization thesis' postulates that the world is becoming one place with one system. Giddens (1991) argues that it refers to the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities such that local events are shaped by events occurring many miles away. Appadurai (2000) argues that globalization is inextricably linked to global capital and its associated processes as an extension of empire, trade and political dominion, and that its most striking feature is the "runaway quality of global finance". Barker (1997) points to "a set of economic and cultural processes dating from different historical periods with different developmental rhythms being overlaid upon each other, creating global disjunctures as well as new global connections and similarities" (p. 20). A brief look at the literature suggests that there is no one way to characterize globalization, but rather that what is described as globalization is a multifaceted phenomena. Pieterse (1995) suggests (and for the purposes of this discussion I will adopt the argument) that we shift away from the need to arrive at *one* definition of 'globalization'; rather, that we embrace globalization's complexity and adopt instead a more flexible understanding of globalization as comprised of many interrelated phenomena. Pieterse proposes the term "globalization(s)".

For present purposes, I am interested in how global distribution of media products influences the production of local identity. As mentioned, the ten largest media

companies, all Western-based, are responsible for more than half of the $200 billion

global trade in cultural goods (including film, television, printed matter, music, and

computers) (Herman and McChesney 1997;Thussu 2000). Given this abundance of

global cultural material from so few sources, what happens when global media flows

arrive in local cultural settings? Cultural symbols have been described as

"instrumentalities of various forces – physical, moral, economic, political, and so on –

operating in isolable, changing fields of social relationships" (p. 145) and as "triggers of

social action - and of personal action in the public arena (p. 155) (Turner 1978). One

way to approach the tensions that arise between local and global productions of symbolic

meaning is through the concept of "liminal" or "liminoid" space (Lie 2003). Liminality

describes an interstitial cultural sphere where hegemonic meanings break down and new

cultural meanings are possible.[18] The idea of social liminality, according to Lie, has its

roots in anthropology and originally described a point within a ritual when the participant

has no social definition, for example, during a rite of passage to adulthood a child leaves

the status of a child to enter the liminal ceremonial space from which she re-emerges into

the status of adulthood. Where global flows meet local cultures can be thought of as

liminal zones of intercultural communication.

Lie (2003) offers a framework for different states of liminality: (1) cultural

coexistence; (2) intercultural negotiation (negotiation towards hybridity); (3) intercultural

transformation (transformation towards hybridized transculturality); and (4) hybridized

transculturality, i.e. the reterritorialized cultural space where 'others' disappear into a

shared and diverse hybridity. Hybridized transculturality, a fluid state defined by

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[18] Lie suggests "liminoid" as the preferred term, as in: 'liminal-like'. I dislike the term 'liminoid' on aesthetic grounds. 'Liminal', in the Canadian Oxford Dictionary (1998), is defined as: (1) of or relating to a transitional or initial stage (2) occupying a position on, or on both sides of, a boundary or threshold.

plurality and diversity, is the very opposite of homogenized transculturality, a non-negotiable state of rigid monoculturalism.

"Hybridity" has also been used to describe the potential for new cultural forms that arise within the destabilizing tensions of cultural mixing (Pieterse 1995). Like liminal spaces, sites of cultural hybridization exist on a continuum, at one end producing what Pieterse calls "assimilationist" hybridities, and at the other, "destabilizing" hybridities "that blur the canon, reverse the current, subverts the centre" (p. 56-57). Grixti (2006), in his study of Maltese youth, uses hybridity to describe the interstitial zone where global media tropes destabilize relations between generations and open them up for reinscription. As a result, tradition (i.e., part of the inter-generational dynamic between Maltese youth and their parents and elders), begins to lose its hold and "daily life becomes reconstituted in terms of the dialectical interplay of local and global" (p.108). In the case of Malta, youth were locating their cultural identities in and on what they perceived to be the (pp.111-12):

> ...enlightened end of a continuum between two essentialized forces. One the one extreme stands the indigenous past...village band clubs, old photographs, irrelevant folk dances and his father...on the other stands the future, vaguely epitomized as Western society, home of new technology, forward-looking ideas and open spaces. This is the society that Mark and his peers have come to know primarily through the media of film, television, books, magazines and the internet.

Appadurai (2000) calls these disruptive tensions 'relations of disjuncture' – tensions which result in disjuncture at the local level that are caused by the uneven global flow of objects, persons, discourses and images. Examples of disjunctures might include images of well-being and life-styles that cannot be fulfilled by local standards of living or

consumer capabilities, or human rights discourses that generate demands that are

repressed by state violence (p.6):

> What they have in common is the fact that globalization -- in this
> perspective a cover term for a world of disjunctive flows –
> produces problems that manifest themselves in intensely local
> forms, but have contexts that are anything but local.

Roth (2005), in her study of the history of Inuit broadcasting in Northern Canada,

maps out relations of disjuncture within Inuit communities shortly after the introduction

of non-Inuit television programming into Inuit communities (p.91):

> Programs designed for affluent Southerners and carrying
> advertising that fueled the rising expectations of consumer-
> oriented individuals cold not help but create conflicts within an
> indigenous cultural context.   Soon after the introduction of
> television, feelings of frustration, as well as a deep sense of
> alienation, grew out of the inevitable tension created as a result of
> *wanting* a Southern lifestyle, but being unable to *actualize* it in the
> North [emphasis in the original].

As a result, within Inuit communities there developed (i) two simultaneous, non-

complementary cultural information systems functioning at the local level; (ii) a

widening generational and sexual divergence in norms and traditional orientations; and

(iii) a shifting of traditional concepts, values and lifestyles (Roth 2005).

Olson (1998) argues that this kind of impact can be short-lived, that, in fact,

foreign texts are assimilated through a process of "meaning-theft" so that original cultural

context often has no lasting authority over the texts meaning. For Olson, these are "sites

of negotiation and contestation" between cultures containing and elements of both, and

"bearing the possibility of something else entirely" (1998, para. 10).

Martin-Barbero (1993) uses the term *mestizaje* to describe the complex cultural space occupied by indigenous cultural resistance to colonization. The *mestizaje* is an undetermined space where cultures can resist capitalism's ability to "devour everything" and "absorb all present reality" (p. 190). *Mestizaje* is a complexity of identity that encompasses domination and complicity, resistance and persistence, as well as acknowledging ethnic affirmation and internal capacities for development and cultural appropriation (Martin-Barbero 1993).

Global media flows can also effect local memory. Huyssen (2001) raises important questions about the global circulation of the Holocaust as trope (at p. 60-61):

> The global and local of Holocaust memory have entered into new constellations that beg to be analyzed case by case; while Holocaust comparisons may rhetorically energize some discourses of traumatic memory, they may also work as screen memories or simply block insight into specific local histories.

Huyssen also suggests that global media flows, technologically driven cultural pressures and fast-paced consumption may also be transforming the relationship between memory and forgetting. "After all," he says, "many of the mass-marketed memories we consume are 'imagined' memories to begin with, and thus more easily forgotten than lived memories" (Huyssen 2001:64).

And finally, the local / global problematic can be approached by conceptualizing cultural space as 'discursive space' (Hourigan 2004:51):

> ...a site of cultural production where the process of representation is shaped by the discursive construction of power relations between producers, participants, audiences, and regional, national and international flows within a global mediascape.

Discursive spaces are defined, in part, by geographic boundaries, and by who controls representations within the space, and by the competing needs of linguistic minority/majority audience members.

In summary, the interstitial cultural space where global media and local culture encounter the 'other' can be understood as complex imagined territory of social and cultural negotiation. They are liminal in the sense that they open opportunities in between existing social definitions thereby creating possibilities for new cultural formations. Liminal cultural zones exist in different states: (1) cultural coexistence; (2) intercultural negotiation; (3) intercultural transformation; and (4) hybridized transculturality. This last state describes what Pieterse calls sites of hybridization, interstitial spaces where old social forms are destabilized to the extent that new hybrid forms are created. Not all hybridities are destabilizing: some subvert cultural centres while others are more assimilationist. Hybrid zones can destabilize traditional relations (for example, intergenerational conflict) and allow for relationships to be reinscribed. Relations of disjuncture are ruptures in social and cultural cohesion caused by the uneven global flow of people, objects, discourses and images. For example, disjunctures occur when expectations formed in response to global media flows cannot be actualized in a local setting, or when global media flows establish a parallel and competing cultural information system at the local level. Other possibilities for interpreting liminal zones that point more towards local resistance and cultural production include the notions of meaning-theft, the *mestizaje,* the preservation of local memory, and discursive spaces carved out by minority language groups.

One of the threads that ties together all of these descriptions of liminal cultural

activity is the local production of meaning. I turn now to examining the practice of

community media in the context of identity production within public spheres dominated

by global media flows.

4(ii.4) Community Media as Strategic (Local) Response to Global Flows

Appadurai (2000) makes the innovative suggestion that the imagination is the site

where citizen's negotiate the desire of states, markets and other power interests for

discipline and control, and that the imagination is also the location for strategic responses

to disjunctures caused by global flows. Similarly, the imagination can be seen as the site

where negotiations over semiotic relevances and cultural meanings take place.

Community media offer an array of tools with which to strategically engage in this

imaginative space (i) with acts of *resistance* to the encroachment of non-local values (i.e.

the formation of disjunctures); (ii) with acts of *persistence* of cultural identities[19]; and

(iii) to reinscribe the symbolic means used by states, markets and other powerful interests

to exercise discipline and control. These strategic responses can be understood, in part,

as "empirical evidence that local populations do indeed exercise considerable power"

(Howley 2005:3) within the framework of Leibe and Katz's (1990) and Ang's (1988)

studies of the production of meaning by audiences. The significant difference (between

the kind of audience production usually referred in audience reception studies and

community media production) is that through community media practice, productive

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[19] Roth (2005) uses the term 'Cultural persistence' to describe how First People's in Canada have used electronic media, not only for resisting colonization, but in persisting in cultural identities which predate contact with European cultures.

capacity is "elevated" into a (counter)public sphere and allowed to inhabit a discursive space shared by other media texts. Through community media production, meaning produced by an audience is amplified and can be shared with a wider audience — *with the community* -- and form part of the wider dialectical exchange and negotiation over symbolic meanings and political outcomes.

It is important to emphasize the distinction between imaginative space and publicly shared cultural spaces. In the former, the production of meaning is a largely private endeavor, and the meanings produced, if they are shared, are shared with a small number through social networks. In the latter, the production of meaning is shared *en masse* with large numbers of individuals, some or most of whom may be strangers. The former, with its very small distribution radius, is practically unstoppable. The latter, as described in Chapter 2, has significant and complex barriers to the free flow of information, especially if the meanings to be distributed challenge or destabilize existing hegemonies. Community media practice is a strategic response to these barriers to the free flow of symbols and meanings.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

In concluding this section on community media's role in the production of identity, I would like to introduce a second framework for locating community media practice in terms of intended outcomes — this time, as strategic response (as resistance, persistence and reinscription) within the liminal territories where negotiation for cultural identity takes place (see below).[20]

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[20] This framework is derived in part from an understanding (as discussed) of identity formation tendencies, an understanding of the (multiple) organizing principles of community media practice (Carpentier et al. 2003), Waisbord's (1998) arguments for the reincorporation of "place" into our understandings of cultural identities (see footnote 3), and Huyssen's (2001) thoughtful exploration of local memory in a globalized

These strategies, along with the social roles outlined in Fig. 1, provide a

comprehensive overview derived from the literature of how community media/television

is thought to influence social formation. In the next chapter, I address the question of

how practitioners might assess the degree to which a particular community

media/television organization succeeds in achieving some or many of these goals.

Fig. 2 - Community Media Strategies in the Production of Local Identities

1	Memory
2	Relationship with Place
3	Relationship with In-group(s)
	i. language preservation
	ii. analysis
	iii. embedded aesthetics
	iv. cultural celebration
	v. rhizomatic network building
4	Relationship with Out-group(s)
	i. persistence of identity
	ii. resistance
	iii. cultural mediation
	iv. strategic alliances
5	Envisioning Future
	i. community development

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context. The framework 'maps' some of the imaginative strategies of local responses (through community television practice) to global media flows.

CHAPTER 5   METHODOLOGY

5(i)   Methodological Approaches to Assessing Community Media

One of the least theorized areas in community media practice is evaluation, i.e.

the coming to terms with how well community media accomplishes what it sets out to do

(Howley 2005; Nossek 2003; Rodriguez 2001). Community media is not without critics.

Community media has been criticized for failing to effect any significant social change,

and for failing to reach beyond small, narrow and marginalized social settings (Curran

2000; Downing and Fenton 2003; Langer 2001); and, at least in terms of alternative

video, as a failed project (Mattelart and Piemme 1980). "Few experiments to stimulate

dormant civic feelings through community television," writes Shinar (1989), "have

survived their euphoric infancy to become full-fledged communication systems" (p. 350).

Burnett (1995) suggests that community media discourse has generally failed

methodologically, theoretically and practically because of the general absence of

evaluation in its literature. Tacchi et al. (2003:1) writes that:

> ...few steps have been taken to address or define evaluation
> methodologies, let alone methodologies that look beyond the
> narrowness of media and messages towards a more socially
> contextualized approach to media use...

Community media today inhabits a "shifting theoretical terrain" (Rennie 2006).

There was a time when community media was expected to challenge the rise of

transnational dominant media (and subsequently deemed a "failure" by some). Today,

there is more widespread acknowledgement that it is a fragmented and heterogeneous

practice that still plays an important if somewhat vaguely understood role in social

change movements around the world (Rennie 2006). Researchers are trying to step into the void of "evaluation" to better explain community media's impacts on social formation.

Shinar (1989) has argued that attempts to "explain the failure" of community media have given rise to an understanding of community media "success" as being dependent on three variables: (i) compatibility of the medium with the community; (ii) endogenous demand for participatory communications; and (iii) availability of adequate resources. In an assessment of the use of VCR narrowcasting on Kibbutz in Israel, Shinar employed in-depth interviewing, participant observation, surveys and document analysis to (i) surface intended outcomes,[21] and then (ii) look for indications of whether or not these intended outcomes were realized.

Ramirez (2005), in assessing the impact of information and communications technologies (ICTs) on the social, economic and cultural development in rural and remote Canada (in the form of federally funded communications centers focusing primarily on internet and telephone access) makes a number of important observations. First, that social capital literature often fails to account for how the unique challenges faced by rural and remote communities can impact on social capital outcomes. For example, isolated and small populations often required collaboration even before the ICT sites were built – community engagement for preparing proposals, obtaining funding, installing hardware and software, and solving problems created their own legacy of social capital independent of the outcomes directly related to the ICT technologies themselves. Skills enhancement occurred before the technology arrived, and lingered (embodied in the

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[21] The intended outcomes surfaced by Shinar included: promoting involvement in the Kibbutz movement, stimulating dialogue on national and regional issues, encouraging members to express their views.

people who had acquired them and who remained living in the communities) long after ICT sites were closed. Ramirez states that "policymakers need performance measurement tools to demonstrate that funds are contributing to policy goals and priorities" (p. 275) and that "[t]his study points toward the need to support community-based networks in exploring creative and affordable tools to track their performance, *comprising quantitative and qualitative impact on people's lives*" (p. 277, emphasis added).

Tacchi et al. have developed an approach to evaluating community media which focuses on 'communicative ecologies' - actual practices of use and interaction with technologies in the wider context of people's lives and social and cultural structures. In an approach they call 'ethnographic action research', the focus is on social relationships in and around the community media production and distribution process: the immediate circle of participants, social divisions within the community, social structures and processes that transcend the locality but which still have significant impacts on it (Tacchi et al 2003; Tacchi 2004). They state that there is "a particular need for detailed qualitative work that can evaluate what forms of [community media] access are effective in the short-term and long-term, and under what social and cultural conditions" (p. 2). They advocate qualitative methods – participant observation, in-depth interviews, and short surveys (2003).

Nossek (2003), in her assessment of a community television project involving a group of elderly adults in a community production scheme in Israel, argues that community television should be evaluated in terms of its contribution to the "public community sphere", i.e. its role in the "structural fabric" of the community. Nossek

makes the research assumption that by "altering the available television repertoire, citizens can provoke changes in social and community realities" (p. 310). She employs document analysis, participatory evaluation, focus groups, in-depth interviews, qualitative and quantitative content analysis, self-completion questionnaires, and face-to-face surveys. Nossek arrives at a list of indicators of "changes in social and community realities" relevant to her case study: volunteer recruitment, additional training, volunteer involvement, enhancing self-image of volunteers, and broadcast ratings.

Rodriguez (2005) has begun using 'memory workshops' to surface narratives and descriptions about the local impact of citizen's radio and television in Mexico and Columbia. She has called for the design of evaluative approaches suitable to the "fluidity and diffuse nature of citizen's negotiating power" (p. 162-3):

> Frequently, development organizations, NGOs and agencies for social change find it difficult to finance and support citizen's media in view of the lack of clear evaluation criteria. Given the fact that several of their achievements happen at extremely subtle levels, designing criteria to evaluate citizen's media becomes a difficult task. How can we design and implement criteria to evaluate the transformation of cultural codes or the emergence of a new discourse that forges the previously marginalized experience of a disempowered social group? I believe the answer lies in our ability, as media scholars, to develop long-term, field-work rich studies of citizen's media, qualitative and quantitative studies which would allow us to detect these types of subtle processes of social change.

Figueroa et al. (2002) have developed a model they call 'communication for social change', a dialogic process through which people define "who they are, what they want and how they can get it" (p. ii). In their study prepared for the Rockefeller Foundation's *Communication for Social Change Working Paper Series* they propose two

broad categories of outcomes from communication for social change, each of which has a

variety of sub-categories of outcomes: (1) individual change (skills, ideation,[22] intention,

and behavior) and social change (leadership, participation, sense of ownership, social

cohesion, social norms, collective self-confidence). The methods used by Figueroa et al

to assess community dialogue included direct observation, focus-groups, and interviews

with community leaders.

Rennie (2006) draws attention to the tensions between evaluation and funding

suggesting that which projects get assessed shape to some extent what community media

gets made and by whom. One of the approaches to evaluation that Rennie identifies is to

develop a discourse that connects community media to neighbourhood development

through issues like training and protecting local well-being in the face of the rise of

globalization.

Summarizing then, we can see that community media scholars generally

emphasize using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to evaluation including in-

depth interviews, participant observation, document analysis, focus groups.

Ethnographic action research is an approach to assessing community media that focuses

on the social relationships in and around the community media production and

distribution process including among the immediate circle of participants, social divisions

within the community, and social structures and processes that transcend the locality but

which still have significant impacts on it. An approach that seems to have worked in

more than one case is to use interviews, surveys and participant observation to surface a

list of potential indicators of social phenomena that are outcomes from the media

practices in question. One approach found it useful to distinguish between impacts at an

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[22] 'Ideation' includes knowledge, attitudes, perceived risk, norms, self-image, emotion, personal advocacy.

individual level and impacts at a collective level. And finally, another approach suggests that where community media survival is linked to private or public agency funding, developing a discourse that articulates community media outcomes with neighbourhood development discourses may prove strategic.

Working with aspects of the approaches to evaluation described above (i.e. excavating local memory, looking for external indicators of change, locating actual practices of use in the community), I am proposing an approach to assessing the impact of community media/television that, as Rennie suggests, may prove to be a fruitful strategy where community media are dependent on state funding for survival. It articulates community media discourse with community development discourse in an attempt to explain the social phenomena of outcomes in a language and discourse that can be understood by funding agencies, policy-makers and community media practitioners alike.

5(ii)   *Introducing Community Capital(s) as an Outcomes Assessment Strategy*

Referring back to Fig. 1, the categories of social roles played by community media/television (i.e. intended outcomes) dovetail with what in some community development literatures are called 'community capital', categories of collective strength which community development praxis attempts to nurture, increase, expand, etc. with the goal of increasing collective capacity to determine social, economic, cultural and political outcomes. One of the express goals of community economic development (CED) is to increase local capacity to influence social outcomes as a strategy for

diminishing social exclusions. Thus, if we are looking for social phenomena that would

indicate such an outcome, indicators of expanded community capital should be of some

assistance.

The use of the metaphor of "capital" to describe human relationships has a

somewhat complicated ontology, having likely been used as an original concept in a

variety of places at different times and by scholars in different fields (Farr 2004).[23] My

interest in the term is not so much to defend one interpretation against another (although

for this study I am using community capital as it is understood from within a community

development discourse, as described below), or even to defend its use *per se*, but to

articulate the role community media plays in social formation in terms that policy-makers

and funding institutions will recognize. The metaphor of community capital is widely

used among policy-makers and funding agencies.

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[23] Farr (2004) traces the use of the term "social capital" to various discourses: economics (Karl Marx in 1867; Henry Sidgwick in 1883; John Bates Clark in 1885; Alfred Marshall in 1890); education (John Dewey in 1900, 1909 and 1915; L.J. Hanifan in 1916); urban planning (John Seeley in 1956; Jane Jacobs in 1961); sociology and cultural studies (Pierre Bordieu in 1984; Glenn Loury in 1987; James Coleman in 1988). The term 'social capital' has also been used in ecological discourse (Rees 1992) and community development (Kretzman and McKnight in 1993; Putnam 1995). Farr suggests (2004:25):

> The political economists of the nineteenth century – from Marx to Marshall to Bellamy – took capital from the social point of view. Today's social capitalists, apparently, take 'the social' from capital's point of view. The one reflected an age coming to terms with capital, the other an age coming to capital for its terms. Then, 'social capital' expressed an explicit antithesis to an unsocial perspective upon capital, now an implicit antithesis to a non-capitalist perspective on society. 'Social capital' was once a category of political economy in a period of its transformation, now one of economized politics expressing the general dominance of economic modes of analysis in society and social science. But, in the long view, these perspectives may not be logical antinomies so much as two sides of the same coin. Both, surely, sought or seek to comprehend the social relations constitutive of modern capitalist societies, and to position capital as their governing asset. And both, significantly, did so in the very terminology of 'social capital'. Thus, a pathway that leads to the contemporary family of conceptions has now restored it to an even earlier discourse, in the same terms, than before we knew.

Levitas (2004), on the other hand, argues that the term 'cultural capital' has incompatible multiple meanings, and that more recently there has been a trend, at least among UK policy-makers, to narrow cultural capital to an inherently individualized quality that can be commodified and used as a resource in a competitive system. "As a concept," Levitas writes, "it then contributes to the symbolic erasure of actually existing class relations, rather than shedding light on how class domination is sustained. Whether it is possible to retain 'cultural capital' for this more useful analytic role remains to be seen" (2004:53).

The description of latent and express collective potentials and resources as capital comes from community development discourse (Kretzmana and McKnight 1993; Markey et al. 2005; Roseland 2005). Community capital in this context is a shorthand way of describing capacities available to a given population from which the group can draw to influence social outcomes (Markey et al. 2005:141):

> We define capacity as the ability to identify, enhance, and mobilize the human potential, economic opportunities, social relationships, and ecological resources found in a community for the purpose of improved community resilience. This definition links the concept of community capacity with a framework for community monitoring that consists of four categories: human, economic, social, and ecological. We describe these categories as types of community capital.

Community capital is traditionally organized into five interrelated forms or categories: *human* capital (which encompasses skills, education and training, health, creative abilities); *social* capital (relationships, trust, cultural participation, the production of identity, and norms of behavior that facilitate collective action); *physical* capital (community facilities, public transit, hospitals, housing, telecommunications, water and sanitation); *economic* capital (savings, formal and informal credit, local enterprise ownership, entrepreneurial capacities); and *natural* capital (clean air and water, green-space, access to natural resources, adequate food supply) (Kretzman and McKnight 1993; Markey et al. 2005; Prain 2006; Roseland et al. 2005). There is also the idea of 'political capital' -- the degree to which public and private institutions are responsive to community needs and can be made responsive to community needs (Smit and Bailkey 2006). Each of these categories is not intended to be exhaustive, nor are they intended to describe *rigidly* separated attributes or phenomena within a community. They are meant

to give a sense of where social change is thought to occur when communities expand

control over aspects of their social reality (Markey et al. 2005:142):

> Attention to each form of community capital reveals and categorizes
> different dimensions of community, recognizing the value – in
> monetary and non-monetary terms – of all forms of community
> assets to the development process.

Community capital provides an organizing tool for the wide array of social

phenomena identified as potential community media/television strategic responses and

outcomes. And it locates these phenomena within a framework of community

development that "seeks to develop from within, the abilities of individuals and

communities to address their own problems and to capitalize on their own assets"

(Markey et al 2005). Social exclusion is a systemic process of marginalization away

from the benefits that a society has to offer, one that is embedded in the relationships of

power imbalances that, as described, are part and parcel of the production of economic

and political hegemonies. The community capital framework suggests that incidences of

the phenomena described earlier as the production of identity or as community

media/television outcomes should indicate the expansion of a group's capacity in one

area or another of social reality, be it as individual capacities, the enriching of social

networks and increased freedom from exploitative contexts, increased accountability and

responsiveness on the part of public and private agencies, increased access to and

influence over physical infrastructure, increased access to financial resources, and the

increased sustainability of the ecological contexts within which a given community exists

on a day-to-day basis. In Figure 3, I have combined the social roles, strategies in the

production of local identities, and community capital concepts diagrammatically into

what I am proposing as an *Outcomes Mapping Framework.* To the left of the column of community capitals are the roles of community media in the production of local identity. The dotted lines indicate which categories of social phenomena these kinds of strategies likely influence. To the right of the column of community capitals are categories of community media outcomes. The dotted lines indicate which categories of social phenomena these kinds of outcomes likely influence. This is the framework that I took into the field in my study of a small community television station in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.

Figure 3   Outcomes Mapping Framework: identifies links between community capital and community media outcomes.

The Role of Community Media in the Construction
and Persistence of Identity (From Literature Review)

Community Media Outcomes (From Literature Review)

1 Memory

2 Relationship with Place

3 Relationship with In-group(s)
  i. language preservation
  ii. analysis
  iii. embedded aesthetics
  iv. cultural celebration
  v. rhizomatic network building

4 Relationship with Out-group(s)
  i. persistence of identity
  ii. resistance
  iii. cultural mediation
  iv. strategic alliances

5 Envisioning Future
  i. community development

SOCIAL/CULTURAL CAPITAL

POLITICAL CAPITAL

HUMAN CAPITAL

FINANCIAL CAPITAL

PHYSICAL CAPITAL

ECOLOGICAL CAPITAL

CONSTRUCTION OF MEANINGS
· redefining social definitions
· introducing new analysis
· excluded ideologies and epistemologies
· introducing new sets of symbols
· representations and analysis of oppressions
· redefining aesthetic and cultural norms
· reinterpreting the past, present / re-envisioning the future
· articulating unique local experience / stories from the margins
· cultural celebration – wisdom, tradition, arts
· documenting knowledges and traditions
· privileging difference and diversity

SOCIAL BONDS
· increased awareness about shared inequalities
· transforms private experience into collective experience
· decreases alienation by sharing similarities
· est. bonds of trust / empathy by overcoming prejudice
· increased ability to mobilize collective responses to problems

PROXIMITIES TO POWER
· awaken ethical values / conscientization
· humanize 'other' – challenge preconceptions and stereotypes
· challenge traditional/institutionalized leadership roles
· agenda setting (determining what problems are subject to political
· document injustice
· facilitate / encourage collective responses to problems
· facilitate / encourage self-advocacy
· facilitate / encourage the acting out of citizenship
· change public and private agencies, policies and decisions

INDIVIDUAL CAPACITIES
· reconstruction of local identity / valorization of local experience
· increases self-confidence / self-esteem / self-validation
· increases self-definition / self-reflexive skills
· increases feelings of importance and belonging
· increases leadership, planning, problem-solving decision-making skills
· increases media literacy skills
· increases technical production skills
· overcomes literacy barriers to cultural participation
· increases collaboration, dialogue, conflict resolution, consensus building
· increases ability to listen actively

CHAPTER 6   FIELD RESEARCH

I moved to Arichat, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia at the beginning of October 2006.

I lived in a house across the street from the offices and studio of Telile Community

Television. During my two month stay, I nominally helped with production (operating a

camera on a few occasions and in the studio); created, distributed and promoted within

Telile's core constituencies a community survey about Telile; interviewed key staff

members, members of the board of directors, a former member and founding director, a

community economic development animator from the Francophone Acadian community,

and a few community members at large (altogether 12 interviews were conducted);

reviewed much of the previous 12 months of programming; and, on most work days,

spent time with Telile staff as they went about their day-to-day activities both in the

office and in the field.

The community survey was distributed (and promoted) by leaving surveys, flyers

and drop boxes in the eight retail locations where bingo books are sold in Richmond

County (see photo p. 69). I posted flyers on bulletin boards wherever I could find them

in each of the communities. I also left flyers at the Island library and at cafes and credit

unions. The survey was also made available on-line. Telile staff and board members

distributed notice of the survey to their email lists. A notice was placed in the Church

Bulletin, a weekly newsletter sent out by one of the local Roman Catholic Parishes. I

sent out a press release about the survey to all regional media that I could identify. The

press release was reprinted verbatim as an article in The Reporter (November 7, 2006; p.

7 - see Appendix B), and CBC Cape Breton posted a link to the online survey on its

website. A link to the online survey was also put on Telile's website homepage. In total,

82 people completed the survey on-line, 21 people completed the survey by hand. In

accordance with University of Concordia ethics requirements, each survey was

accompanied by a consent form that had to be signed (see Appendix C). Of the total 103

surveys completed, 83 were accompanied by signed consents.[24]
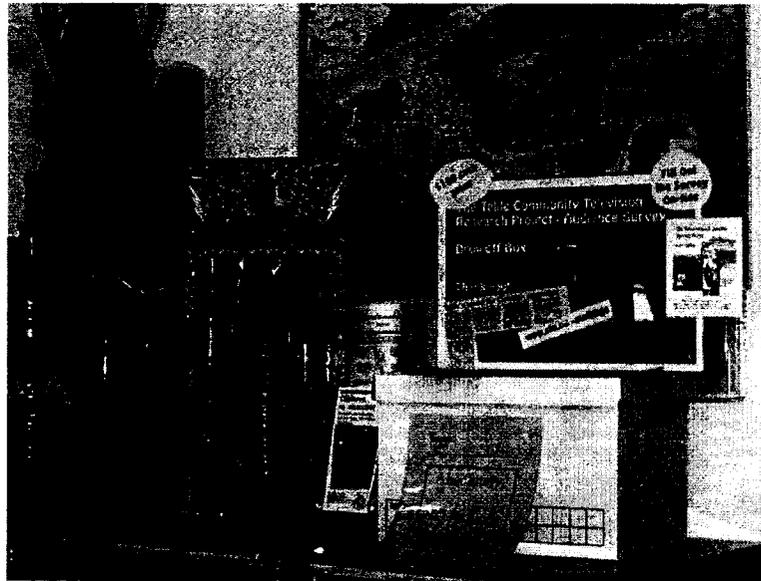
Telile Community Survey Drop Box at Local Gas Station

6(i)   Description of Research Site

(i.1) Brief (European) History Isle Madame

Telile Community Television is located on Isle Madame, an island of

approximately 129 square kilometers of land mass located a few hundred meters off the

south-east coast of Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia, Canada. Isle Madame has four

major communities -- Arichat, West Arichat, Petite-de-Grat and D'Escousse, as well as

about 17 smaller settlements. It is one of the oldest European settled areas in North

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[24] In discussions with local residents about the survey, it was suggested that anonymity would have been the best way to encourage participation. Likely, those who didn't sign the survey did not want their name attached to their comments, and/or did not want to enter the draw for $100.

America. As early as the 1500s Basque and French fishers had established summer

settlements on the shores of Petite-de Grat to salt and dry cod for return to Europe. Year

round settlements were established in the early 1700s.

Fig. 4 Map of Cape Breton (Source: Gov't of Nova Scotia Website)
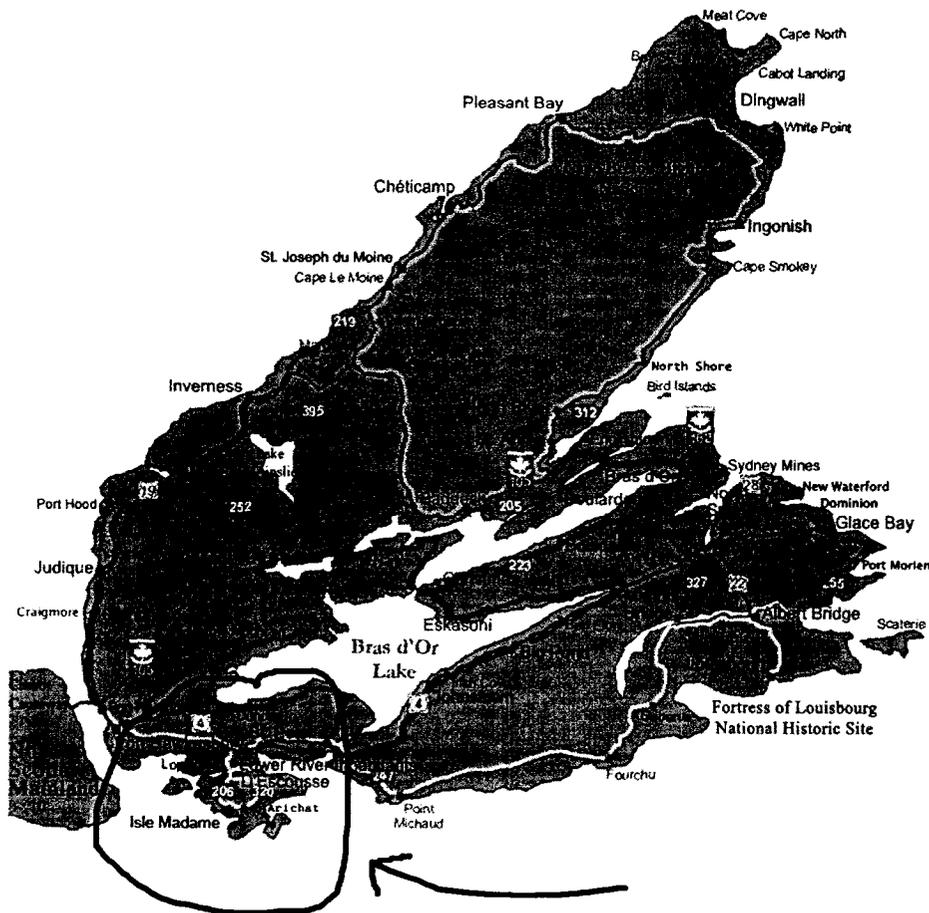
Most of the early colonial explorers were from France, and the region was called

Acadia after the province in France where many of the earlier settlers had arrived from.

By 1629, the British had begun to establish competing colonies, and Cape Breton became

contested territory in the French and English wars. In 1713, under the Treaty of Utrecht,

mainland Nova Scotia became a British colony while Cape Breton remained under

French rule. In 1755, after an attack on Fort Beausejour in New Brunswick and the

discovery of 200 Acadians inside the fort, the British colonial government demanded that

Acadians in British dominated Nova Scotia swear allegiance to the British Crown or face

expulsion. Between 1755 and 1763, some 11,000 Acadians were forced into exile or

hiding. Many died and many fled to the United States. Still others fled to Cape Breton

which, at the time, was still nominally under French rule. A handful of French Acadian

families fled to Isle Madame (Campbell 2004; Samson 1989).[25] Today, Isle Madame,

and in particular, Petit-de-Grat is considered to be one of the centers of Acadian culture

in the region. Tourism brochures invariably reference Acadian culture, and if they

Acadian Flag in Front of Local Credit Union, Petit-de-Grat, Nova Scotia. Photo: Michael Lithgow

do not prominently display an Acadian flag, brochure colours are often done in the colour

scheme of the Acadian flag (blue, white, red & yellow). Everywhere throughout the

island there are Acadian flags painted on electrical poles, picnic tables, garbage barrels,

[25] In 1758, Fort Louisburg fell to the British and Cape Breton officially became a British colony, finalized in the treaty of Paris 1763

garages, fluttering in front of houses and atop boats, on window stickers and on keychain fobs sold in local stores. In the Telile studio, there was an Acadian flag on the studio wall. According to the 2001 Census, about half the residents of Isle Madame self-identify as bilingual Francophones (CDENE 2006).

The Island economy has been dominated by commercial fishing and fish processing for over 400 years. By the mid-1700s, industrial fish plants had been established on the island and more than 100 industrial fishing boats were registered in Petit-de-Grat and Arichat harbours (Boudrot 2004). By 1793, the Island was exporting 3.5 million pounds of dried fish and 500 barrels of salt mackerel annually (Boudrot 2004).

Part of the reason for Isle Madame's early economic prosperity was its strategic location on trade routes used during the era of wind-powered shipping.[26] The island's economy grew throughout the early and mid 19th Century. The area was so economically successful that in 1844 the Roman Catholic Church moved the diocese for north-eastern Nova Scotia to Arichat. Between 1850 and 1900, there were over 400 ships registered in ports on Isle Madame. During my stay in Arichat, residents still liked to repeat the folklore that in its peak a sailor could walk from one side of the harbour to the other by hopping boat to boat. In 1882, Arichat Harbour had as many as 26 wharves. Today, it has two. Diesel powered ships made Isle Madame's once strategic location largely irrelevant, and shipping routes have long since moved inland.

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[26] Another reason attributed for prosperity in the early east coast fishery was its role in providing cheap protein in the form of preserved fish for plantation owners in the Caribbean to feed slave labour populations; see Saney, I. and Seed, T. (2000). "For your reference: Timeline (1492–2000)". Shunpiking. Retrieved on May 6, 2007 from www.shunpiking.com/bhs/bhs2000TL.pdf

Throughout the 20th century, the island's economy was driven by large industrial

fish processing facilities. In the early 1990s, shortly before the closing of the cod fishery

on Canada's east coast, local fish plants employed 1,500 people, or about one-third of the

local population. After the collapse and an overnight loss of over 500 jobs, local

residents made efforts to diversify the economy into tourism and to attract other kinds of

businesses to the island. Today, despite successes such as local farming, oil tank

manufacturing, and boat building and repairs, fish processing stills remain the largest

employer on the island.

The Island's population has fluctuated with its economic fortunes. In 1752, Isle

Madame was home to 284 residents (Johnston 2004). In 1791, the population had grown

to 1,520 (Boudrot 2004). By 1874, the population had swelled to over 6,000 (Stone

2005). By 1901, with the steady loss of shipping traffic, the population has subsided to

4,739 (Boudrot 2004). In 1951, the population had further declined to 4,000 (Stone

2005). In 1991, shortly before the ground fishery collapse, the population was 4,300

(Stone 2005). Since then there has been steady decline: in 2001, the population was

3,848; and in 2006, the population was 3,455 (Canada 2007). During my stay, population

decline was the most frequently mentioned social crisis being faced by island

communities.

6(i.2) Description of Telile Community Television & Local Mediascape

Telile Community Television was created in 1993. It was an idea formulated in

direct response to the closure of the cod fishery on Canada's east coast. According to an

original funding document, the Telile "project" had three aims: (1) to facilitate and enable

community economic development (CED); (2) to create a non-profit business; and (3) to

move Isle Madame to the information economy (Telile 1993).
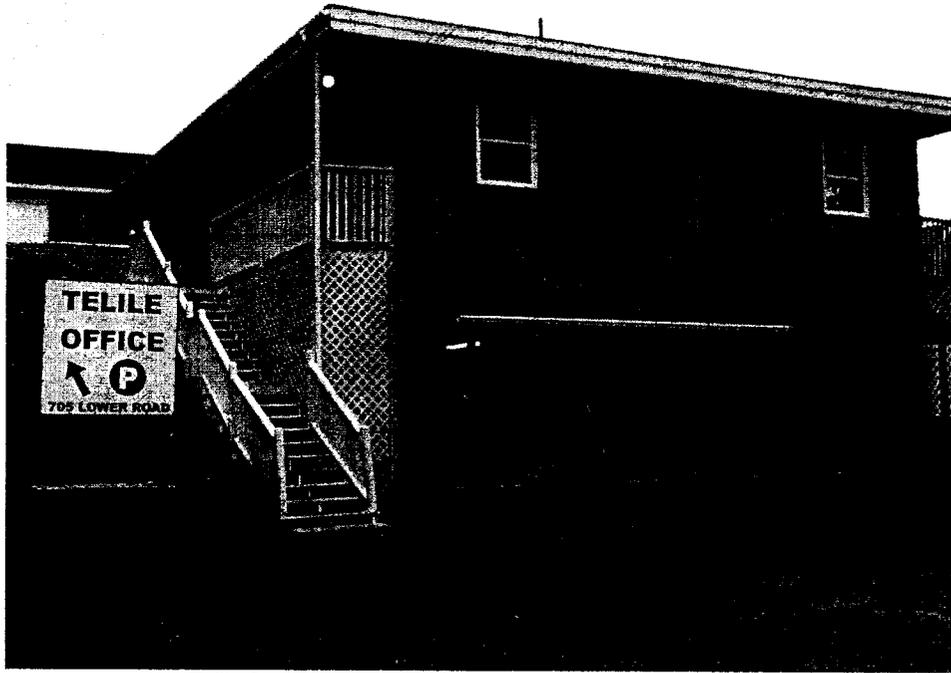
Telile Studios, Arichat, Nova Scotia. Photo: Michael Lithgow

At a time of mounting economic crisis throughout fishing communities on the east

coast, the closing of the cod fishery sent shockwaves throughout the region. Between

1989 and 1993, local wage earnings on Isle Madame had already declined over 70%

(Telile 1993). The cod fishery closure threatened to eliminate an additional 500 Island

jobs overnight. A public notice for a community meeting scheduled for October 4, 1993

reads: "The stress load on individuals and families is increasing dramatically, and people

report increased tension and conflict at home, and growing anxieties about being able to

provide adequately for children" (Telile 1993). The Telile founders were responding in a

time of impending crisis (Telile 1993):

Isle Madame is facing an economic crisis entailing the loss of 500 jobs in a work force of only 1500. The crisis has been well documented in several reports...These reports make it absolutely clear that if Isle Madame is not to suffer catastrophic economic collapse and large-scale out-migration, the island's people must pull together and commit themselves to [sic] vigorous program of community economic development.

One of the responses to the crisis was to use the local community television channel to communicate messages of hope and alternative economic strategies to island residents.

The Telile project received funding under The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (or TAGS) program. Fourteen displaced fishers were trained over a 32 week period to produce television. Programming was distributed on the local community channel through Strait of Canso Cable TV.[27] Early programming focused on responses to the fishery crisis, CED initiatives, and the "scroll" was created, a text-based message board on the television screen where local residents could (through Telile staff) post messages for community meetings, job opportunities, retraining programs, items for sale, community events – in short, just about anything including birthday notices, baby announcements, anniversaries, thank you's, etc. The scroll is also where Telile sells advertising – local businesses pay for short text ads that form part of the scroll's content. Also in these early years, Telile established its TV Bingo which, over Telile's 14 years in existence, has provided it with most of its operating revenues.

In the late 1990s, the local cable company made it clear to Telile that Telile's tenure on their cable system existed "on their good graces", i.e., that Telile was allowed access to the community channel at the cable company's discretion which could be

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[27] All small cable TV outlets owned by Shannon were subsequently renamed RUSH Communications.

withdraw at any time. Also, at about the same time, the Canadian Radio-Television and

Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) began a re-evaluation of community

television policy in Canada, one of the outcomes of which was a new class of community

television broadcasting license. Telile applied for and received a license for a non-profit

community-based television programming undertaking broadcasting with a 450 watt

transmitter. By becoming a community-based broadcaster, the local cable company was

(and is) required under regulation to carry Telile's signal on their network. Telile secured

its place on local cable and through its transmitter was able to reach
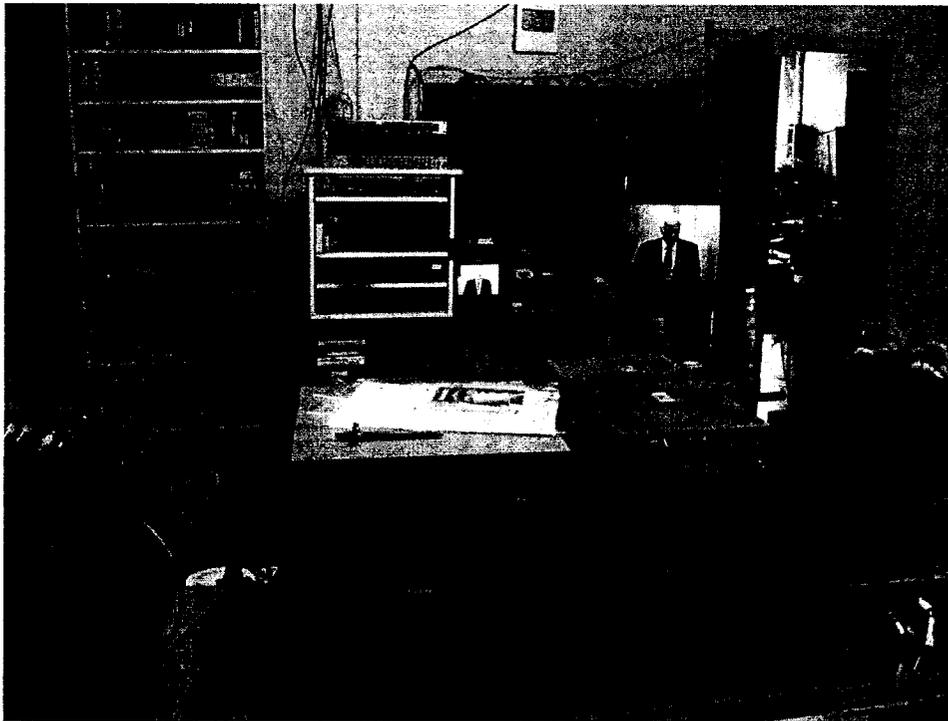
Telile's Studio Control Room. Photo: Michael Lithgow

communities and households who did not previously have access to cable services. In

2004, when Seaside Cable (in the St. Peter's region) began to carry Telile's signal in

accordance with CRTC regulations, Seaside Cable asked if they could also send the

Telile signal out onto their cable network into eastern Cape Breton. Today, Telile is

carried on Rush Cable in Richmond County and Seaside Cable in eastern Cape Breton as far north as Glace Bay.

The following is a brief summary of Telile major sources of revenue beginning in 2001. Telile began broadcasting in 2003. Business ads, as described, are short text advertisements, sometimes with a photograph or graphic image, that are part of the "scroll". Tape sales refer to revenues from the sale of copies of programs, usually priced at $15 per tape.

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Bingo Revenue	210,397 (122,707)	330,277 (159,830)	368,409 (192,495)	351,746 (190,548)	399,712 (201,725)	337,621 (182,214)
Business Ads	13,320	10,732	12,771	12,641	14,949	24,376
Tape Sales	3,026	3,079	2,366	3,244	2,696	2,603

Fig. 5 Telile Revenues 2001-2006. The numbers in brackets under 'bingo revenues' indicate bingo expenses.

As indicated, the vast majority of Telile's revenues come from their televised bingo, a program that occurs weekly. Bingo books are sold at eight retail locations (gas stations and grocery stores) on the island and at two locations in Louisdale (on Cape Breton Island). Even though Telile is carried throughout Richmond County, the books are only sold on Isle Madame and in Lousidale (see map below).

Telile has three employees: (1) a station manager, (2) a producer / scroll-manager /advertising sales person, and (3) a bookkeeper / assistant producer. Generally, programming is produced by the station manager and producer/scroll-manager. Student interns are also hired each summer to help produce programming for the coming year.

Programming cycles are planned six to eight weeks in advance. Each month, Telile issues a TV Guide which is posted on the website, in the scroll, and distributed in the community. A programming cycle of this length virtually precludes "current affairs" programs. Each week, one, two or three new shows are presented two or three times throughout the week.
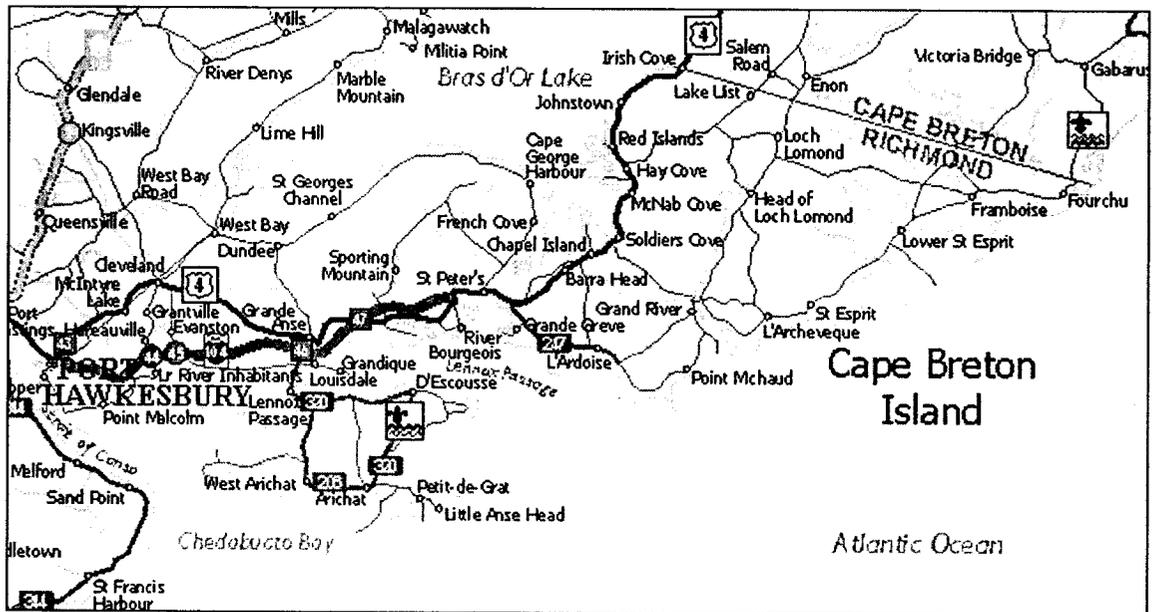
Fig. 6 Map of Richmond County (indicated in yellow). Source: Gov't of Nova Scotia Website

Most of Telile's airtime is occupied with the scroll which plays continuously between program blocks. A complete cycle of the scroll can take 30-40 minutes. The scroll is updated daily. Playing in the background behind the scroll is the "The Hawk", a local commercial radio station from Port Hawkesbury (CIGO 101.5 FM, owned by

MacEachern Broadcasting).[28] Shortly after I completed my field research, a new arrangement was made with CBC Cape Breton in Sydney to provide their signal as a backdrop for the scroll but only during local programs (i.e. not during times when national programming plays, in which case the scroll will return to having The Hawk as background audio). Until now, because Isle Madame receives its off-air CBC signal from Halifax, Isle Madame residents were unable to listen to programming from CBC Sydney – a source of irritation among some of the residents.

Telile is located in Arichat, often considered to be the largest community on Isle Madame with a population somewhere between 800 and 1,000. Arichat is where the municipal office for Richmond County is located. In terms of media flow, there are no movie theaters on Isle Madame, the closest being a two hour drive to Sydney at the north-end of Cape Breton. There is one video rental store in Arichat. People receive television through broadcast, cable (Rush Cable) and satellite (Canadian Satellite Communications. Inc). Telile can be received through broadcast or cable only. There are two local commercial radio stations available through broadcast: CIGO The Hawk (described earlier) and *CJFX* from Antigonish, which appears to be independently owned; and three "local" commercial newspapers: *The Reporter* (from Port Hawkesbury, owned by Advocate Media), a weekly newspaper that focuses on Richmond County; the *Halifax Herald* (an independent daily owned by Graham William Dennis) and the *Cape Breton Post* (owned by the Transcontinental Group). National newspapers were not sold in stores on the Island. The internet is available in all communities through the phone

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[28] Port Hawkesbury, located on Cape Breton Island, is the closest industrial center to Isle Madame (with a population of 3,517), about 70 km away

service, and high-speed internet is available in most communities, although some of the

smaller settlements do not have high-speed service.

Cable television arrived late to Isle Madame compared to urban centres across

Canada. As a rural community with a small population, cable companies were reluctant

to invest the capital required to create cable infrastructure. Isle Madame was one of a

number of rural communities identified by the Therrien Committee, a provincially

appointed task force appointed to look into telecommunications in the province, as being

underserved by the cable industry (Nova Scotia 1981). As late as 1980, 44% of all

households in Nova Scotia did not have access to cable television. The CRTC
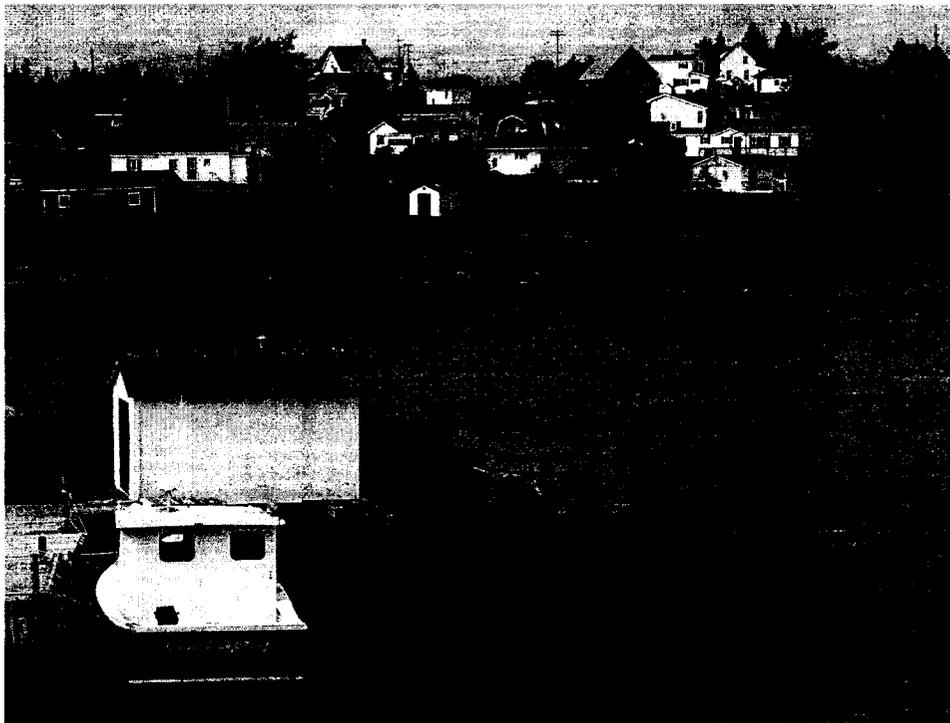
Petit-de-Grat. Photo: Michael Lithgow

called for proposals from the cable industry to solve the problem, and cable services

arrived in Arichat by 1983.

6(ii)   Findings

The data that I gathered through interviews and the community survey during my eight weeks can be summarized into two broad categories – intended or expected outcomes (i.e. how do community members expect Telile to influence the community), and experienced outcomes (i.e. how have community members experienced Telile's influence in the community). Telile was created with specific intent at a moment of economic and social crisis, and continues today to organize itself around self-identified roles and functions in the community. Similarly, the residents who live on Isle Madame also have expectations for what Telile is, or should be, and what role(s) it should play in the community. Part of my research was aimed at surfacing what these expected and intended roles are. Because Telile has been in operation for 14 years, the staff and the community have a relationship with Telile that includes some sense of the realization, or not, of expectations. Part of my research was aimed at surfacing details of these experienced outcomes.

The outcomes mapping tool was used in two ways: as a guide for where to look for clues about intended/expected or experienced outcomes (during interviews, in the survey design, as a participant/observer), and as an organizing tool for information collected in the field. As I will explain, in both cases the mapping tool proved useful, and limited. Most promising -- where it was limited, it could easily be augmented and expanded based on field observations to include new and unexpected outcomes discovered in the field.

6 (ii.2) Outcomes

An important first step to assessing outcomes is understanding how a media

organization self-identifies their own goals. In my interviews with informants, I asked

them to describe Telile's current role in the community, and to describe what Telile's role

should be in the community. The distinction is temporal: the former being an analysis

based on experience, the latter being an analysis based on expectation. I did not,

however, through oversight, mirror this kind of questioning in my survey. During

analysis of my field materials, the absence of similarly temporally distinct lines of inquiry

in the community survey surfaced as a methodological flaw. The value in gathering

opinions about community expectations of Telile's role (as distinct from the community's

experience of Telile's role) would lie in the ability to compare them, i.e. do experienced

outcomes match expected outcomes? Where do they align? And where do they fall

short? I did, however, ask in the survey about expectations of success for the station, i.e.

what success would look like, which prompted answers that are analyzed in the section

on assessment indicators.

My analysis of outcomes is divided into five parts: the first examining the

intended/expected outcomes as discussed by Telile staff and board members (Telile

insiders), the second dealing with experienced outcomes by Telile insiders, the third

dealing with experienced outcomes by other members of the community, the fourth

dealing with Telile programming, and the fifth dealing with my expectations of outcomes

and how those expectations influenced the research process.

What follows are excerpts from the data gathered. For a detailed summary of community survey responses see Appendix A.

6 (ii.2.a) Community Expectations: Telile Insiders

Coding the interviews with Telile insiders and my field notes for outcome themes (based on, but not limited to, the categories identified in the outcomes mapping tool), revealed a hierarchy of expected outcomes -- in the sense that of the many intended outcomes identified by informants, some are referred to more than others. I will address the comments by informants in the order from most frequently cited to the least.

The most frequently referenced intended outcomes for Telile (by Telile insiders) fall under the category of *financial capital*. At a board meeting, for example, a plan was laid out for the future of the station as the lead participant in a project to create an internet tourism portal for the region, a network of websites that would link potential tourists to information and in particular video and audio resources that would encourage them to visit the area. It was suggested that Telile could house the physical infrastructure for the portal, and produce or help produce the multimedia components for the promotion of local tourism assets, i.e. scenic vistas, profiles of local businesses, accommodations, hiking trails, etc. All of this is intended to expand the local economy through increased tourism.

During my stay, Telile was hired by Nova Scotia Business Inc. (an entity created by the provincial government to attract businesses to Nova Scotia), to produce a promotional video about a local family-owned company being celebrated as a local success story.

The company was flourishing to the extent that it was attracting Cape Bretoners *back* from Alberta – a reversal of the usual out-migration of people seeking jobs in the Alberta economy. The promotional video was well received at a high-profile wards ceremony. Telile would like to position itself as an integral part of (i.e. provide promotional video production services for) a regional economic strategy to attract investment by promoting regional economic opportunities and successes.

The use of station resources to promote Isle Madame within a tourism context came up many times during interviews. "Our long term goals," said one informant, "is to do more tourism related promotional programs, to promote the community, pretty picture shows, traditional music". And another stated that "If people see a strong telecom in your area, that's a drawing card. You are going to get more business."

Almost everyone I spoke to said that Isle Madame lacked a unified vision for the economic future of the island. When I asked if the station could take a leadership role in encouraging or pushing for some kind of Island visioning process, I was told that, while Telile does feed images back to the community, Telile's role would be to cover such a process, not encourage it, at least with programming. "Its hard for us to create the news and show it. But we'd be more than happy to do anything we can to promote and educate." The informant gave as an example a workshop on cultural identity that was held at Le Picasse, the French Acadian community centre in Petit-de-Grat. "We covered it and re-broadcast it. That's educating the public."

Another way to understand the interest in producing tourism related materials is in relation to the local community's relationship to place. Informants consistently expressed a desire to highlight Isle Madame's best qualities – the beauty, the history, the

unique Acadian culture. It can also be read as an expression of how informants want to see the community develop into the future – as a tourism-based economy.

Another frequently mentioned future outcome for Telile mentioned by Telile insiders is what I came to call *information flow* -- a flow of information about the community that is used on a daily basis, i.e. meeting dates and times, community announcements, dances, fundraisers, etc. One informant, when asked about the availability of local information, explained that "there's a void, the 'jungle drum' void. It would be great if Telile could step in and fill the void -- have a weekly news show that did local soft news and basic community information from and for Isle Madame and Richmond County. People are always starved for local news." Other informants suggested that Telile "should reflect what is going on in the community" or, from another source, that "the purpose of Telile is to inform the public about dances, meetings, notices for the RCMP, about babies". "I'd like people to use it as an information source," said another informant, "that people often tune into and pay attention to." A part of the intended role for Telile is to provide essential community information.

Another set of future outcomes often mentioned by Telile insiders can be loosely organized around the theme of *construction of meanings*. One of the ways that meaning can be constructed is through value, i.e. what is of value, and what should be valued. Telile is expected to promote local qualities or assets, what I call *valorization of the local* – a way of reframing aspects of the day-to-day in a community, the people, the place, the culture, so that what is normally experienced as banal and of little value is reframed as something of certain value and worthy of esteem. When discussing this aspect of Telile's potential in the community, one informant said that Telile is trying to present

programming that will "help people understand the community more, that will educate them, that will make them laugh, that will make them tap their toes, make them realize that we live in a community with a lot of talent and culture.".

Promoting Acadian culture and "preserving their folklore and language" is also a way of valorizing local culture, just as it plays a part in the construction of local Acadian identity. "That's what television does in a sense," said one informant, "it puts up in front of you somebody in their full humanity. You get to see them and hear them. I suspect it takes a lot of the steam out of attitudes formed when you can't see and hear them." Telile is expected to play a central role in the persistence of Acadian identity.

One informant said that Telile should "act as witness to community events, to educate people, to culturally expand their minds. I'd like to make people use their heads." The same informant suggested that a news style show once a week was a desirable outcome, although the station did not have the resources to produce one now. Another informant suggested that "every show is political in the sense that every show effects people's thinking, what they know, what they think." Telile is expected to play some role in shaping what people think about local events.

One informant suggested that Telile had an important role to play in helping to preserve the minority French Acadian language. "We're dealing with an island that is overwhelmingly of French ancestry. TV [as in commercial television] is a medium that can defeat minority languages - we have an obligation to speak to those people who are much more comfortable in French than English."

None of the Telile insider informants expressly stated that an intended outcome for Telile falls in the political realm, although there were politically related outcomes

mentioned. One informant, when asked about the political role of Telile, agreed that "by showing things it galvanizes people to understand the bigger picture and will push things forward, but it's hard for Telile do really current things - these [political issues] are a current issue. We're not activists by any means. We try to be as neutral as we can on issues. We don't want to be seen as being on one side or another." Another said flat out: "Telile does not have a political role". One informant suggested that "If you have a community TV station, you're going to get your message out that we want something for the area. People are going to hear you", suggesting that an intended outcome for Telile is to communicate to higher levels government on behalf of the communities served.

Yet another way that Telile is expected to play a role in the community mentioned by some informants is problem solving. While I was doing my field research, the Chapel Island First Nation lobster fishery was attacked politically and physically by white fishers who were angry about First Nations being allowed to fish during a particular phase of the lobster lifecycle. First Nations traps and boats were damaged, and First Nations families withdrew their children from a local high school in fear for their safety. One informant said that Telile should have a role in disputes like the Chapel Island dispute by broadcasting a meeting between the groups and letting them tell their sides of the story – "Let them explain it. I think a lot of people don't realize with the treaties and stuff, these people are backed in there and have been for 100s of years." Another said that "there needs to be education between whites and natives, on the role of the native community and how they function. It would be good if we could get out there and open up some doors, but we just don't have the resources." On the other hand, some informants see a narrower role for Telile: "We're the voice of the community around here. There's no one

else. We're not just serving marginal voices, we're serving the whole community. We don't target groups. Our programming is very generalized." It was also pointed out that, although Telile programming is carried in Chapel Island on local cable, that they do not form part of the station's core communities of support. The station's limited production resources go towards programming aimed at their core constituencies.

Another infrequently mentioned expectation for an outcome from Telile activities was personal and individual development, i.e. *human capital.* One informant discussed a possible program to help people with their computers, and said that Telile had been talking to the local university [St. Anne's University] about a media component for some of their classes where students could do practical work in the Telile studio.

In summary, the three most frequently mentioned intended outcomes from Telile activities (by Telile insiders) were:

(1)   contributions to expanding local financial capital in the form of promoting tourism (but not in promoting collective responses to economic tensions);

(2)   information flows concerning community events, public notices, things for sale and other kinds of information updated on a daily basis and used in day-to-day living in the community

(3)   new meanings in terms of drawing attention to the value and importance of local assets such as the people, the place and cultures; for promoting and preserving Acadian folklore and language; as a tool for changing how

people think, expanding their minds; possibly in helping to overcome

racially or culturally motivated misunderstandings, although not to the

extent that Telile stops serving the whole community in favour of

marginal voices; and as a promoter of the French language.

The other kinds of intended outcomes mentioned were political capital through

representing local needs to external agencies, and expanding personal capacities through

programming (i.e. computer skills through programs) or collaborating with local

educational organizations.

6 (ii.2.b) Community Experiences: Informant Interviews

Telile has been producing and distributing programming since 1994. The

communities it serves – the communities who receive its signal through cable networks

or over-the-air broadcast – have experience of Telile's impact and the role(s) it plays in

their communities. It is a collective and indigenous, if unarticulated, knowledge of how

community television has influenced social formation in the region. This was the data

my research was primarily focused on excavating.

In sorting through the data gathered regarding outcomes from Telile's activities that

have been experienced in the community, a clear distinction arose between social and

cultural capital -- social capital having more to do with the networks of trust and

reciprocation between people, and cultural capital having to do with the production,

distribution, sharing and archiving of cultural products. CED frameworks usually discuss

social and cultural capital within the same category of community capital. Based on my

findings, I have decided to abandon this conflation and to address each asset as distinct (at least heuristically) from the other, each existing within social tensions and contexts that can usefully be analyzed on their own terms.

The experienced outcomes most frequently cited by informants were related to the *construction of meaning* and the production of *cultural capital*. For example, cultural programming was identified by an informant as the central component of what Telile does. "We do more cultural programming than anything else - music, feature local musicians, religious music, professional bands, locally produced CDs, children's fiddle playing, storytelling festivals, local craftsmen and artisans...60%-70% of what we do is cultural programming." Another important experienced outcome is what I have been calling the valorization of local qualities and assets, a key part of constructing local identity and meaning. "One of the things that always impresses me," said one informant, "is how when people see something on TV it becomes more real to them, more special. So you have a fella in Petit-de-Grat who carves ducks. As soon as we put him on TV people say 'I always knew Johnny carved ducks, but I didn't know how good he was.' When you start showing a small community back to itself like that, they really start to understand their specialness, their skills, their abilities."

"What we thought and what we found were two different things." another informant told me, referring back to Telile's beginnings. "Our assumption was that Telile would talk a lot about CED and celebrate success stories, and talk about problems. And it did some of this. But there were things that pulled the Island together in ways we never would have expected. When the station went on air we had people coming in the office in tears saying that they had never thought they would live to see Petit-de-Grat on

television, to turn on the TV and see people they knew and to see the beauty of where they were. For people who grew up here, its just what's here. But you put it on TV, and people can see it. Right at the beginning, it was a shock for people to be considered important enough to be put on television. If you're on TV, you're something."

Another important way that Telile reframes "localness" as something valuable and worthy of esteem is by producing programming that showcases local talent. "We do music," said one informant, "and its very popular, showing local people, children, amateurs, professionals. It's a very musical community, they love to watch local musicians, even if they're not that good." Another informant said that Telile has "done more for local artists than any other local institution has." Still another said that "Every time I turn on the TV I see someone I know. They're [Telile] big on putting local people in the spotlight, someone that no one's ever heard of."

Similarly, Telile's role in preservation and promotion of Acadian French language was also identified as an important outcome. One informant explained that "the CRTC requires 25% programming in French, we probably do 30% - 32% in French. We show a lot of programs from Cheticamp [Francophone community], and we try to work with the local French school, and we do interviews in French." Another informant put it this way: "Telile is very important to the French community. It promotes their identity, their culture - and not with French from France, but Acadian French. Hearing their music, hearing their stories. What was it like growing up? This is how we used to celebrate Christmas, these are the things we used to celebrate. Because that's identity. If you don't pass that on its going to be lost. We are Acadian French. We are Acadian people." Still another informant was more critical: "Telile's level of bilingualism isn't where it should

be for them to say they are bilingual," they said. "The quality of French programming isn't up to par."

Telile also plays a role in the preservation and framing of local memory. In the first summer of its operation, Telile participated in the Living Archives project, video recordings of local elders talking about their lives and experiences. "There's been a real change in the last few years - since Telile started," an informant explained. "People in their 80s, they grew up in almost medieval circumstances in the 1930s. They got swept up in the second world war. They have gone through this unbelievable transition from hand-jigging for codfish as kids to working with home computers. The Living Archives was a way to capture live memories of a time that will never come again." Telile also takes old footage from people in the community and makes programs. "For example, making tamarin, a molasses candy, an Acadian tradition. And we have an archive of our programming available through the local library." Telile has also been helping the local historical society transfer archived VHS materials to DVD.

One informant explained that when conducting interviews as part of Telile programming they are "not afraid to ask questions" if they do not understand. The example given was interviewing a lawyer about immigration regulations. What the lawyer said was often confusing, and so the informant asked questions until it was clear. The informant was later thanked by people in the community for asking those questions and getting clarification. Telile programs help to make "expert" knowledge accessible to a non-expert public.

Social capital, as described, is a category of outcomes organized around increased relationships of reciprocity and trust. For example, Telile's French programming not

only helps to preserve and protect a minority language, but it actively bridges social divides between the French and English communities in the Island. "What Telile is doing is showing the Anglophone community what the Francophone community is doing. They tape festivals and events. It brings the French and English together because one sees what the other is doing." The example of a community focus group at La Picasse was given by another informant: "They had focus groups to see what the public thought about projects they were working on. We taped it. We edited it down to about 3 hours - pretty long - basically someone standing in a room speaking French. It was important because it was a demonstration that we believed in what they were doing."

One afternoon, while I was at the Telile offices, Telile received a call from the local French public school asking for assistance for a school ceremony. The following Monday was Remembrance Day. The school's Remembrance Day ceremonies fell on a day when the principal was going to be out of town. Could Telile help produce a video to be played at the ceremony with an address by the principal to the student body? One of the Telile's staff gave up the rest of the working day to organize and produce the video, something that would only be seen at the school. It was an example of sharing resources with the local French community and of building social bonds between the French and English.

"We try to bridge gaps," an informant explained. "We don't try to seek dealing with this community or that community, we try to bring them together." Telile has been credited with bringing together the community after the fishery crisis: "It kept the community from exploding, from being broke up." One of the ways that Telile programming has brought people together is by exposing communities of interest to the

wider public: "It has brought together communities of interest in physical communities. For example, you see somebody on Telile talking about something and you think 'I didn't know he was interested in that, I should give him a call'." Another informant emphasized Telile's role in bridging geographical separations: "It brings people together because it tells people in Petit-de-Grat what people in West Arichat are doing -- within Isle Madame, it brings them together".

Telile was also described as playing a role in problem solving: "In a sense, Telile allows the island to talk to itself about its own issues in a more deliberative and consensus way than it could without it. How does a community think? How does a community interact? How does a community come to have a mind about something?" But another informant flatly rejected this as an experienced outcome: "Telile does not play a role in problem solving, because we take a back seat on newsy issues and don't do anything that's current."

And finally, Telile plays a role in developing networks and strategic alliances with other communities. Twice during my field research, Telile received a call from another community television group asking for information and advice. An informant explained that Telile gets three to four calls and/or visits annually from other community television groups looking for advice and support. Telile sends out copies of their license application, offers advice and shares names of resource people. Sometimes, other groups will visit and spend hours or days at the station observing and asking questions. They often want to know how Telile manages its on-air bingo. On one occasion, while I was doing my research, Telile received a call from Jump TV, a community television group located in Inverness, Cape Breton. Jump TV was having trouble getting their video

switcher to work for their bingo program which was to air later that night. One of

Telile's staff trouble-shooted their switcher on the phone and got it working.

One of the surprising findings was how often *political capital* was mentioned as

an experienced outcome from Telile's activities (surprising because it was not identified

by Telile insiders as a significant *intended* outcome). Telile tapes and then later

broadcasts the Richmond County Council meetings, the rural equivalent of city council

for all of Richmond County. Prior to Telile, there was no public record of these

meetings. Reporters could attend and report on various decisions, but neither the audio

recordings nor transcripts of the meetings were available to the public. When Telile

approached Council about taping the meetings, Council was not enthusiastic about the

idea. It was only after lobbying and public pressure that Council agreed. Telile was

required to agree that footage could not be altered in any way, i.e. the meetings would be

recorded and go to air live-to-tape. The Telile broadcast of the Council meetings created

an entirely new dynamic between elected councilors and the voting public. The public

could see their politicians at work, listen to their comments, witness how they vote and

how they behaved on Council One informant pointed to the Council meeting about the

Candy Shop as an example of how important Council meeting coverage is to the

community. The Candy Shop is (was) a local successful business that drew people to the

area. There were plans to build a candy factory on the Island that were changed at the

last minute. The factory and the original store are both relocating to Port Hawkesbury.

The decision had the air of scandal in the community and local residents were outraged.

Several hundred people showed up at a Council meeting to demand an explanation. For

the remaining 3,500 or so residents who didn't or couldn't attend, Telile's broadcast of

the Council meeting allowed them to see their elected officials answering hard questions put to them by an angry electorate.

In 2003, the Richmond County municipal administration moved into a new building and new offices located in Arichat. When the new building had been originally announced, Telile approached Council to ask for certain infrastructural concessions to be made to accommodate television coverage of Council meetings. The new Council Chambers were designed to facilitate Telile's cameras with built-in wiring and on-screen computer feeds that can be recorded to video tape (to allow proper recording of computer generated materials such as reports, photographs, etc. that play a role in Council decisions).

On one occasion while I was at Telile, a local Councilor called urgently requesting coverage for a series of public meetings to discuss a proposal to amalgamate districts in the region. He was told that Telile's programming cycle of 4-6 weeks wouldn't allow the timely production of programming, but that they could produce a 3-5 minute PSA to show "before bingo" and then cycle into regular programming almost immediately.

Telile's political role also extends to helping citizens mobilize to renegotiate relationships of power with other local agencies. The following is a description from my field notes of an incident that occurred one day in the office [Field Notes, November 7, 2006]:

> A man has come into the office to post a note on the scroll about a community meeting - he is upset and angry and tells a story about a teacher demanding students sit in a certain way, cross-legged. His daughter refused. The teacher demanded an explanation in front of everyone, she said "I'm on the rag". There has also been lines drawn in the hallways of the school, and if students step over the lines 3 times they are expelled. He says his daughter is "on the line" about staying in school, and this will make her want to leave, or she'll get kicked out. He says his daughter is being bullied,

and his complaints to the school board have gotten no response. He brought the police to a meeting with the school board to demand the bullying stop, says the kids are "trailer trash...I don't mean to be prejudiced, but they were scrap from Chapel Island [First Nation reserve]". He says students are being forced to car pool with strangers to get to school because there is no school bus anymore. Apparently, there was a discipline problem at the school, "the kids were animals", but now the school has gone too far the other way. The notice is going on the scroll to invite concerned parents to a public meeting. At some point, he asks the Telile member who her parents are...The scroll message reads:

We are looking to form a concerned parents group for W. Richmond Education Centre. The school board and its administrators are looking out for the best interests of the school. It's time we as parents look out for the best interest of our children. There is strength in numbers. Our children need to be heard and their concerns voiced. If you would like to be a part of this group please call...

There are a number of things striking about this story. In a fit of frustration, unable to force accountability from a local school and school board, a resident has come to Telile to use Telile's communicative potential to mobilize collective response to a perceived social crisis. It isn't clear where else he could to turn to for similar services, or how much it would cost to use commercial media (if they would even allow it) for similar purposes. Telile posted the notice on the scroll free of charge.

Another example of Telile's role in expanding political capital locally was through formal political programming: "We do political shows during elections, we cover parties and show their advertising. We do a live political debate with candidates, and during the election we'll show poll by poll coverage for the area. People will watch other channels for the bigger picture, then flick over to us for local coverage." Telile also broadcasts MLA reports and Question Period from the Nova Scotia Legislature.

Telile's influence in the region has also touched on aspects of the financial capital available locally . Telile's scroll was identified as playing a role in the local economy

through business advertising and advertising for charities and fundraising events. I heard from a number of informants about the effectiveness of scroll advertising. "One buddy started advertising with us and three months later he called and said he wanted to take it off, he didn't have room in his store room for all of the engines he was getting for repair." Another informant told a story of trying to sell furniture. His listing in the local paper prompted little response, but after he placed an ad on Telile and it was sold the same day.

Telile also produces programming promoting local economic development: "We have profiled local businesses, done programming on community economic development, programming on the new harbour plans, programs on local aquaculture projects, the local fish plants."

Another informant noted that "the bingo puts money back into the community and provides money for bursaries". Telile offers two bursaries for graduates of local high schools pursuing journalism at university. They also hire a student intern from the area every summer to help produce programming. And finally, it was pointed out that Telile itself is a successful CED example, having kept 3-4 people employed over a period of 14 years. Although one informant expressed "surprise" that Telile had not grown more organizationally over the years.

Another category of experienced outcome relates to the community's *natural capital*, the ecological aspects of the local area. One informant described how local residents responded to seeing Isle Madame on television for the first time: "I remember people who had never seen the beauty of the Island until they saw it on TV, and once they had seen it they became of a mind to preserve it." Past programming was also

referenced that addresses recycling, local horticulture, and natural remedies. A number

of informants mentioned Telile's role in "promoting the eco-trail", a local ecological

reserve with a built trail that was recently built on the island. And I was told that "Next

month we're doing a show on wind-power, a show that will influence hopefully wind-

power being in our community." Natural capital seems to be an area where Telile has

played a leadership and advocacy role.

Telile also plays a vital role in providing the community with community

information useful on a day-to-day basis, what I call *information flow*: "Our assumption

was that Telile would talk a lot about CED and celebrate success stories, and talk about

problems. And it did some of this. But there were things that pulled the Island together

in ways we never would have expected. For example, the scroll. People would watch the

scroll from one end of the island to the other. It pulled people together in odd ways.

There was information about dances, or people collecting money for someone whose

house burnt down." Another informant said that "Their scroll is fantastic. You can

watch the scroll for 15 minutes and know everything that's going on, on the island - who

had a baby, who's celebrating a birthday, who's going out of business." Another

respondent described the scroll like a "town crier": "The scroll is a very important

program that we put a lot of time into. It's there to offer a medium of communicating

with the public of things going on in the community. It's going around hollering

constantly about what's going on in the community."

Telile's activities have also had an influence on *human capital* in the community.

Telile has done training videos for job searching, for persons with disabilities, and

training video for the local RCMP. Telile also offers internship opportunities for local

high school students. Last summer Telile offered a partial work-study program for a journalism student at the local French high school, and this year, has been asked to host the entire work-study -- 100 hours to learn television production. Also, an informant described Telile as playing a role in being a confidence builder: "Telile has supported local undertakings that maybe people didn't think would be successful, like the Tall Ship festival. They give the message: 'hey, we did it and we did it well'. I think that's important. During the early days, it promoted the successes of people, even though they'd been hammered by the downturn in the cod fishery."

A few informants mentioned programming related to *community physical infrastructure* – "exposing currents of thought about school closures that have taken place over the last 30 years" and the promotion and coverage of other organizations trying to create housing, programming around housing needs, and putting housing messages on the scroll.

There was also reference to a category of outcome not listed in the mapping tool – a kind of knowledge capital that had been developed by Telile over the years as a local community broadcaster. As described above, Telile regularly receives requests from community TV groups, mostly from Atlantic Canada, for information and assistance. Telile shares the knowledge they have acquired about creating and operating a financially independent community television station and about successfully applying for a community-based broadcasting license.

In summary, according to the community informants who were interviewed, the most significant outcomes from Telile's activities are in the following areas:

(1) cultural capital, in that Telile produces programs (and carries out interviews) with a view to making expert knowledge accessible to a non-expert local public; by reframing local qualities (the people, the culture, the place) as cherishable and worthy of esteem; the perpetuation and preservation of Acadian French language and culture; and in the valorization and preservation of local memory.

(2) social capital, in that Telile's programming helps to overcome linguistically and geographically-based fragmentations on the island; by exposing communities of interest; by facilitating collective problem solving; and developing strategic allies in other communities.

(3) political capital, in that Telile broadcasts the local Council meetings which increases accountability and disseminates important information about local political decision-making processes; by working with local elected officials to use the station's resources to get important messages out to the community about political changes and decisions that require community input; and by providing locally oriented elections coverage including local candidates debates and poll to poll coverage on election night.

Other outcomes identified include financial outcomes (programming promoting local economic initiatives, use of the scroll to advertise, bursaries, and salaries for 3-4 employees); outcomes related to natural capital (promoting local ecological initiatives); the provision of community information on a daily basis; human capital (job training

videos, and student internships and work studies); knowledge capital in the expertise developed about operating a community-based television station; and as a confidence booster, in helping people in the community overcome confidence-related inertia to collectively responding to problems, creating opportunities and events in the community, and overcoming obstacles to accomplish goals.

6 (ii.2.c) Community Experiences: Survey Results

The community survey was designed to aid two kinds of data gathering: for my research goals, which, as described, were primarily (and, in hindsight, too narrowly) aimed at surfacing community knowledge about the influence of Telile on the local communities, but also to address a knowledge gap which had been identified by Telile. At the beginning of my communication with Telile, after explaining my research goals, I asked if there were ways that my research could help satisfy information needs of the organization. Telile expressed a desire for a better understanding of what the community thought about Telile and its programming, and it was something that the station had neither the resources nor personnel to undertake.

I undertook to collect community opinions through a narrative survey which was distributed in the community as a written survey and made available online, a process which I describe in greater detail below in part *6(ii.4) The Community Survey*. As mentioned, I received 83 surveys that were accompanied with a signed consent form. Three questions in the survey were designed to surface how residents experienced outcomes from Telile's activities: (a) Do you think Telile is important in your community? Why? (b) What do you think is Telile's most important role in the

community? (c) Do you think Telile plays an economic role in the community? If so,

what?

Because the questions were open (i.e. it was up to the respondents to choose

wording, rather than select from a range of answers provided by the researcher), the

answers provided were rich with variation. Respondents were able to choose how to

describe aspects of Telile's role in the community with their own words and were able to

identify themes that I, as an outsider, would never have suggested in a pre-scripted

selection of answers. In other words, the open questions allowed respondents to express

themselves in a way that resonates with their experiences rather than having limited

ranges of responses imposed by an external researcher.

What follows is a written summary of the results to these questions.[29] Please see

Appendix A for a copy of the survey and detailed description of survey responses.

The Importance of Telile in the Community

More than half of the respondents who answered this question emphasized

information about the community as the reason for Telile's importance in the community.

The responses suggested two kinds of local information. The first is coverage of

community events by Telile. This refers to Telile's presence at many community events

and meetings with cameras to record the event and then play it on air. The kinds of

comments received that acknowledged this role included:

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[29] NOTE: In some cases, respondents gave more than one answer to a question. Not all respondents answered in sufficient detail to categorize. Percentages are for each category of response and may not be cumulative. i.e. if 30% of respondents to a question indicated 4 or more categories of answer, a cumulative tally would equal a meaningless 120%.

"It's a way for us to see special events that happened, especially if you were not able to attend."

"I think that Telile's most important role in the community is to allow people to know what is going on in the community by shows that are done in the community. This lets people know about different actives and the next time they can attend if they so desire."

"Telile is a great place to see things happening in our neighbourhood.

"I like to watch shows about ceremonies in the community.

"They always show events that have happened in the community, like concerts, graduations, special events.

The second kind of local information referred to was like that found in postings in the scroll. The scroll is used as a message board and for advertising all manner of goods and services. Scroll postings include local businesses, job postings, houses and apartments for rent, items for sale, card games, dances, bingo games, fundraisers, births and deaths, lost and found notices, workshops and classes, community meetings, clubs, bookfairs, book signings, concerts, recitals, health clinics, daycares, craft markets, community events, festivals, public service announcements, church meetings and services, library hours. This kind of information is essential for community involvement and for community livelihoods. Some of the comments included:

"Almost anything you need to know is found on Telile"

"It's a way to keep the residents of Richmond County aware of the things happening in our communities"

"I think that Telile's most important role in the community is to allow people to know what is going on in the community on the scroll.

"To get people interested in what is going on in the area and give programs about our school activities and village happenings."

"Keeping people informed."

"Provider of information."

"Public dissemination of public information."

"Keeping people updated."

"Liasion between community and activities."

Telile was also viewed as playing a role in keeping the community together (16%), in valorizing local qualities (15%), and in helping local businesses and employment (16%). Telile's was described as keeping the community connected, as contributing the unity of the community, and keeping people in touch (see comments below). Telile was also described as being able to allow communication between different social strata: "I think it is the life line with rich community people [because] everyone can get it on their tv. It is like a link to your whole community, it is very important." Other comments linking Telile and local unity included:

"I think it's important, it brings jobs and unity to our community."

"A great way to keep the community together."

"Yes, it's very important it keeps us connected as an island and a county."

"Besides the Centre Picasse, Telile acts as an anchor to keep us informed and all tied together no matter what area of Richmond you belong to"

"It keeps us in touch with area which is not covered by papers."

Telile's role in valorizing local qualities has to do with its ability to select aspects of local life (i.e. the people, the culture, the place) and "reframe" them as valuable and worthy of esteem. Respondents said things like:

"Making us aware of how lucky we are to be living in this wonderful area."

"It plays a role in showing the talent that's in our community"

"It showcases the many things the island has to offer"

"It shows people that we here on Isle Madame have intelligent people [sic]"

"Getting people to be informed, and to see how beautiful our island is. Looking at all our wonderful talents and showing how we as a community work together to get things done"

"To showcase the manner [sic] wonderful things that Isle Madame has to offer and to help local individuals get their messages out."

"La sensiblisation et la valorisation des aspects positifs de la vie à l'Île Madame."

Telile's contributions to the economic life of the community (examined in more detail below in a separate question) include bringing jobs to the community and showing "viewers some of the businesses in operation in our community".

A still smaller number of respondents (9%) identified programming for shut-ins as why Telile was important in the community. "Shut-ins" was a term used on Isle Madame to refer to seniors or physically disabled members of the community whose physical fragility made attending community events difficult or impossible. Comments in this category included:

"Oh yes, it brings the community to people who can't get out at all."

"Very important, connects the residents and provides local coverage of events that some residents can't attend."

"Yes. Because it keeps people informed on the community events that are going on and it entertains the percentage of the population on our island that are unable to get out and attend events. I think it's simply wonderful."

And a number of outcomes were mentioned by just a few respondents: that Telile offered an alternative to mainstream media, that it was entertaining, that it played a role in preserving local memory, that it helped share ideas within the local communities, that

it facilitated community involvement and that it offered a shield against economic and social decline.

Telile's Economic Role in the Community

Overwhelmingly, respondents felt that Telile played an important economic role in the community. 38% said job creation and local employment. 22% said through advertising. 10% said by promoting local businesses. And 9% said by job postings on the scroll. In addition, another seven credible economic outcomes were identified: the sale of items on the scroll, bingo winnings, notices for fundraising events on the scroll, the promotion of locally made artisan products, encouraging tourism, the sale of bingo books by local businesses, that Telile is a local business who spends locally for goods and services. What makes this especially significant is the general lack of recognition in community media literature of the ways in which community media can influence economic aspects of social formation.

How Well Telile Responds to Community Needs

Again, overwhelmingly, respondents answered in the affirmative that Telile responds to community needs. Most respondents to this question, however, answered without providing reasons. This was likely because it was near the end of a survey that I was told on more than one occasion was too long. Of the responses that provided some explanation for the answer, more than half emphasized the local quality of Telile's programming and coverage. Other reasons included advertising, bingo, and the visibility of staff in the community.

6 (ii.2.d) Telile Programming

While in Cape Breton, I reviewed programming and programming schedules to get a sense of the type and range of shows that are broadcast on Telile. What follows is not a quantitative analysis, i.e. the number of minutes per week or month dedicated to this or that type of programming, an undertaking beyond the resources of this study. Rather, I have examined programming to see where it fits into the Outcomes Mapping Framework, i.e. which categories of community capital are addressed by program content.

That said, there are certain significant aspects to Telile programming that are quantitative and should be mentioned. The first is the distinction between "scroll" programming and moving images and sound programming. The scroll, as previously described, is a power-point style series of predominantly text messages organized into the following categories: Advertisements, Calendar of Events, Meetings, Dances, Bingo Games, Card Plays, Public Service Announcements, For Sale, Lost & Found, Real Estate and Rentals, Happy Birthdays, Congratulations, Thank-You's, Community Directory, Education. A typical complete cycle of the scroll can take between 30 to 40 minutes. While the text messages of the scroll are playing, an audio signal from a third-party radio station also plays. While I was at Telile, it was CIGO, a commercial FM music station ("The Hawk") based in Port Hawkesbury. Shortly after I left, Telile arranged to have the CBC Cape Breton signal as audio for the scroll, but only during programs produced in the Cape Breton studios.[30] The scroll makes up between 80% and 90% of all broadcast time

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[30] Because of geography, the signal received off-air on Isle Madame is from the CBC's Halifax studios.

in a typical week; that is, out of the 10,080 minutes available in a 24/7 broadcast schedule, most are filled with the scroll.

Another important quantitative aspect about Telile programming that should be mentioned is that within the 10%-20% of programs that are not on the scroll, between one-third and one-half in a typical week consists of musical performance by local Cape Breton performers. Many of the performances are recorded by a community broadcaster in Cheticamp (CHNE-TV) on Cape Breton island.

And finally, very little of what airs on Telile comes "from away". The vast majority of programming is produced by Telile, or produced locally by CHNE-TV. There are exceptions. There is a children's show, about 23 minutes long, that airs three times per week, produced in a coastal community in British Columbia. And occasionally, a documentary is played about local issues but produced by non-locals (i.e. *Fishermans Gamble*, about codfishing produced by the NFB; *Wabanki – People of the Dawn*, about Mi'kMaq history produced by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs). Indeed, my own short video essay *Behind the Billboards on Prior Street*, about the discovery of place, history and home in a politically charged community in Vancouver, has also aired on Telile. But these are the exceptions.

I have reviewed Telile's programming schedules from January 2006 to October 2006, and much of their interview and community event programming for the same period (I watched fewer of the musical performances). My goal was first to get a sense of the content of programming, and then to organize programming based on categories of outcomes, i.e. to organize programming according to (my reading of) the goal or the aim of the program. In this way, I positioned myself as a viewer, recognizing that many of

the opinions expressed in the survey were based largely on programs seen. These were

the categories of content that I found:

Scroll

Musical Performance

Community Events — local recitals, religious events, fundraising events, civic awards ceremonies, reception in honour of war brides, graduation ceremonies, scholastic awards, inspection of local sea cadets, retirement of a local priest, festivals, community meeting about community development plan for D'Escousse, story-telling festival, volunteer recognition banquet, banquet at local French school, fundraising run for cancer research, local community variety show, high school graduation ceremony, Acadian community development meetings,

Interview / Organization Profile — Newfoundland fishers, St. Anne's Nursing Care Centre, local master engraver, Royal Canadian Legion, representative of the Canadian Mint talking about counterfeit money, local lobster fisherman, local who taught English in Thailand, local author with recently published book on the Canso Causeway, local priest about his trip to China, profile of local nutritional supplement company, new recycling rules and regulations, local scarecrow maker, local cabinet maker, local Progressive Conservative Association, local musicians with new CD,

Health / Exercise — exercise show for seniors every weekday morning

Bingo — weekly

Council Meetings — Richmond County Council meetings, once per month

Provincial Legislature — question period

Election coverage — provincial election

Community Plays

Music Recitals

Educational — community economic development

Drama / Comedy — locally produced comedy

Children's   Down by the Docks (3 times per week)

Acadian Cooking Show

Religious Programming
                         closing of local churches, stations of the cross, recruitment for the
                         priesthood, lent programming,

Special Programming   Safe Grad Mock Accident, Practice Emergency Evacuation of St,
                         Anne's Nursing Centre

If the above programs are re-organized by category of outcome, we begin to get a

sense of the outcomes "hierarchy" of Telile programming efforts : cultural capital,

entertainment, financial capital, human capital, political capital, social capital, natural

capital, physical capital. More specifically, we can suggest that most of Telile's

programming efforts go into valorizing and celebrating local attributes, and into

entertaining viewers. And that very little of its programming resources and efforts go

into expanding physical or natural capital. This kind of information may be of interest to

any number of stakeholders: in developing strategies for community development, in

responding to specific crises or tensions, in planning future programming, etc.

To summarize, examining Teile's programming thematically reveals patterns of

programming that can be organized according to categories of community capital. These

provide further indications of what areas in community life Telile directs its

programming resources towards influencing, and also where stakeholders might begin to

look for more detailed indicators of social phenomena that indicate increases (or

decreases) in community strengths.

6 (ii.2.e) Researcher Expectations

I was tempted to leave this section out. Not only because of my deep respect for the people who work at Telile as media makers in circumstances where they are overworked and under-resourced, but also because I wanted my research to be representative of community expectations and needs rather than my own. I at first considered my expectations about community television outcomes as an imposition, an outsider's perspective that had little relevance. There is no doubt some truth in this. And I explore this in greater detail in the second part of this section. But the research process was driven by my curiosity, my methodological framing, and my interactions with people and circumstances. It is what some researchers have described as "performative ethnography" – I have been an active participant in the creation of the texts of my research (Fabian 1990; de Garis 1999). The information that I gathered in the field and that now many months later and many miles away I am reassembling into new meanings was derived from my participation and observations and, in particular, from my conversations. I entered this research process with my own set of expectations about the role(s) that community television should play in a community, and what kinds of outcomes it should produce. As described briefly in the introduction, these expectations come from my experiences in community television with an organization located in Vancouver (ICTV).

My expectations influenced my research in two ways. First, they were a source of tension in that many of them were not being met, especially in the first few weeks of my observations. I describe this in some detail in the second part of this section - *The*

Importance of Ontology in Assessing Outcomes. Second, because of my expectations, I persisted in a line of inquiry about the production of marginalized identities and Telile's role in diminishing social exclusion that eventually revealed a complex conjuncture of hegemony even within Telile's ongoing production of counterpublic programming.

6 (ii.2.e.1) The Relationship Between Telile and Marginalized Communities[31]

My expectations about community television suggested that Telile would be involved in the production of collective identities by and/or for marginalized groups within local communities – and, that Telile would be actively involved in efforts to facilitate the re-inscription of destructive social identities and the use of cultural production and cultural citizenship to diminish social exclusion. I set about trying to identify marginalized groups, and then get some sense of their relationship with the station and its programming.

I asked all of my informants what kinds of differences existed in the community and who they thought made up marginalized groups. The two groups most frequently mentioned were Francophone Acadians and seniors. I then asked about class differences, race differences, and queer communities.

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[31] I asked a key informant for feedback on my analysis in this section. They advised that while discomforting to read, that it seemed "true". The one question this informant raised was as follows: *I am not sure of the relevance of your "first nations" section to the Community TV thesis where you discussed the fishing dispute. What you say is true. Are you just trying to show the levels of racial stereotyping here or are you reinforcing the marginalization of the first nations community in Canada? I am sure you have a reason for highlighting the marginalized in our society, what is it? There is always going to be racists around at many different levels, hopefully people aren't going to think that we are an intolerant community, or more intolerant than any other community.* To which I responded: I surmise from your comments that, discomfort aside, there is nothing you want to add in terms of things that I have missed or overlooked, misinterpreted, or have taken out of context, especially in regards to Telile's relationship with marginalized groups. My description of the Chapel Island incident and surrounding events and conversations is to portray a concrete example of what I experienced in Cape Breton as cultural marginalizing -- yes, a form of racism, and one tied closely to the dominant way of life, i.e. fishing. It was the most overt manifestation of cultural marginalizing that I observed (making it a strong item to write up). It was I think an (albeit unpleasant) example of a kind of hegemony specific to Cape Breton - how the dominant Acadian and Cape Breton cultures and economies subordinate First Nations cultures and economies.

One informant explained that: "I think the class differences are everybody and the very very poor. I don't think there is so much an upper / lower class - upper class and middle class blend together. There are people on the island who are quite wealthy, but they don't have their own social circle." Many informants described Isle Madame as a homogenous community:

"There are no First Nations on the Island."

"95% of the Island is Catholic."

"In Arichat, there is one Vietnamese family, and the doctor is from Sri Lanka. Most people are white. It's a very historic community. Most people who live here were born here. It's a mostly white community."

"Here, we're not exposed to different races. Did you see any black people here? Did you see any Indians? Except the doctors? It's true, we're very much Acadian people."

This last comment is particularly interesting in that Acadian identity and "whiteness" seem to be conflated.

The French Acadians, as a minority group, were frequently mentioned but informants at times seemed reluctant to openly admit the tensions between French and English residents on the Island. From my field notes [Field Notes, November 7, 2006]:

People say there is no trouble between the French and English, and then tell me about all the trouble between the French and English. My questions want answers most people seem unwilling to give, even though a few minutes later they will give me examples of what I asked about that undermine their own answers. How valid are interview answers ? Who are the answers for?

While I was at Telile, a controversy erupted over what language Sunday mass should be held in at two of the local parishes – in West Arichat and in Petit-de-Grat, the two communities with the most number of French Acadian families. Some residents were asking for mass to be entirely in French, which outraged the Anglophone

community. The term "wrapped in the flag" was used to describe "a certain group of people who push French down people's throats whether they like it or not. It is important that we are reminded that there are two languages on this island and that both languages must be serviced, but they push it to the extremes."

There is also a divided school system on the Island – an English public school and a French public school each with its own school board. This division, which happened in 2001, was still a source of headshaking and quiet level of bitterness for many of the informants that I spoke with. One informant explained that it was one group of Acadians – one particular generation – that had had to fight for French immersion, and then for the separate French school board, and that they "are still stuck in an aggressive mentality which turns people off and divides the community." An example was offered from the French school -- notes that get sent home to students are sent home only in French ; an English translation is made available only by telephone. "Some parents pulled their students out of the school because of it – including some French speaking parents".

Another indication of tensions around Acadianess and language was that a few months before I arrived on the Island, the community in Petit-de-Grat completed a community visioning process to develop a comprehensive plan for community economic development for the next 5 years. The public meetings and consultations were held in French only. I was told that it was a requirement of the funders that the meetings be held in French only. The final reports of the community consultation were made available in French, and had not been translated. Another example mentioned was a tourism initiative that did not include the local Anglophone tourism board. "So now," I was told, " they are developing a program for French tourism operators only. Who's losing? Everybody.

People need to communicate more so that people know everyone's losing because of a lack of communication."

Some informants expressly denied being Acadian, despite their families having lived on the Island for generations – "I don't identify with Acadian heritage". Yet others suggested that "there aren't many people on the island that aren't Acadian, depending on how many generations back you go." One informant suggested that "the way to describe the community is an Acadian community with linguistic variations within that community."

While I was doing my research a dispute erupted between First Nations fishers in Chapel Island (located in Richmond County) and white commercial fishers in the area. Chapel Island First Nation has native food fishery licenses to catch lobster after the commercial lobster fishery closes. White fishers damaged Chapel Island traps and boats prompting Chapel Island First Nation to set up a 24-hour security camp in St Peters. The dispute escalated, tensions ran high, and the conflict dominated headlines. Chapel Island parents pulled their children from the local high school in fear for their safety. From my field notes:

> I hear stories about the ones that run the Picasse, how intolerant they are. And in almost the same breath, I hear stories about Indians, how different their culture is from ours, how poorly they raise their kids, how little they want to work...When I ask about treaty rights, no one knows. When I talk about the Supreme Court of Canada, and the rule of law, and legal agreements entered into by First nations and our government, no one knows. When I talk about Chapel Island conservation efforts, that they only drop about a tenth of the traps they are entitled to drop – no one knows. When I ask about the cottage fishery, i.e. white poaching in the area, people laugh and ask how I had learned this so quickly. When I asked a local marine biologist their best guess for how many poaching traps are down this time of year around here, and they say 100, I asked: why aren't the white fishermen outraged by this "devastation" of the lobster fishery? When I point out that the Chapel Island fishers are recording everything they catch, returning berried lobster to the waters, I get silence. When I ask: what would white fishermen do if they

were, all of a sudden, granted the right to fish right now in molting season? The answer is they would fish. So, I say, conservation isn't the issue. What then is the issue? I'm told the First Nations fishers sell the lobster, and that this is illegal. I locate on my own with little effort legal analysis that suggests that in an early treaty, the Mi'kMaq were expressly granted the right to trade their fish.

Other people tell me in conversations where the First Nations fishery isn't mentioned, that the commercial fishery has pillaged the oceans, "raped" them is another term that I've heard, that the fishermen are greedy and have "shit, so to speak, in their own pool". Everyone agrees that the trawlers have devastated the fishery. They still issue licenses for trawlers.

My impression was that First Nations were not generally seen in a positive light. One informant said to me that "People who are very poor are generational[32], live in public housing, survive on welfare, barely get the basic needs met, and have for generations. Their children don't learn a good work ethic and how to support themselves, get education, find a job, break the cycle. They're frowned on and looked at as being lazy, not contributing to society. Some of it is true. A lot of it is not of their making. It's like the natives - they are what Canada made them to be. They don't know how not to be what they are now." Of course, what "they are now" is not any one thing, but a complexity of individuals and groups with varying levels of political and economic power, educative backgrounds, and professional and non-professional lives. First Nations communities are as diverse as non-First Nations communities, including the ones on Isle Madame, and to reduce them to "this or that thing" is racial stereotyping.

Another marginalized group that emerged from my conversations was that of persons of low literacy. Studies by a regional literacy group found that 27% of the population of Atlantic Canada function at level 2 literacy (meaning that they can read but not very well) and approximately 25% of Atlantic Canadians function at level 1 (meaning they have great difficulty reading and have few literacy skills needed to use written

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[32] "Generational" refers to a commonly expressed view that poverty runs in some families generation after generation.

materials). "Over half the population still have a problem," I was told. "They can read - there are few who cannot read a thing - but they cannot read well enough to function in today's society. It effects seniors most and 1/4 of the population is seniors. 60 and upwards."

A number of informants told me that there was a queer community on the island but that there was no public acknowledgement of it. One informant told me that there are gay couples – gay men married to gay women who have separate rooms and lovers and who married for convenience. "There are lots on the Island," I was told. One informant said that their aunt "is an out lesbian". Despite repeated efforts to have this informant pass my name and contact information on to her aunt, I was unable to make contact. Still others told me that so-and-so at such-and-such a place was gay, and that everyone knew. I did not feel comfortable approaching people based on these kinds of rumoured descriptions and was unable to make direct contact with any members of this community. My hope was to encourage their participation in the survey, and possibly to participate in longer one-on-one interviews.

Poverty was another issue that I raised in the context of marginalization. Informants were generally reluctant to describe their communities as having poor people – some said outright that there were no poor people on the Island, while others suggested that "some welfare families are doing very well for themselves" and that "some of our poor people have as good an income as someone who is working, the working poor." One informant described an area called "welfare lane" where "mostly everyone who lives in that area is on welfare. It seems to be a family trait – the parents were on welfare, the kids are on welfare, now the younger kids seem to be going nowhere, doing nothing".

Another said "Sometimes, there's no question it tends to run in families, four generations, welfare breeds welfare". I discovered that there was a foodbank on the Island operated out of one of the local parish offices. A parish representative explained that the foodbank operates on an "as needed" basis: when people call and ask for food, they buy food and deliver it. "Last week," I was told, "there was only one person". I sent an email introducing myself, including the first page of the survey and the website, asking if they could let people who use the foodbank know about the survey. A few days later, I was told that I could leave flyers at the parish offices.

As described, part of my research strategy involved reviewing interview, documentary and community event programming from the past 12 months. The programs that addressed the issues of marginalization were, for the most part, programs for and about the French Acadian community. Telile records and airs on a regular basis French plays from local theater groups; French Acadian musical performers; community events, public meetings and concerts by and for the French Acadian community, and events and concerts from the local French public school.

As for programming that addressed other kinds of marginalization, there was very little. There was one documentary produced by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs aired during November (Mi'kMaq Cultural Heritage Month) about an archeological excavation of an ancient Mi'kMaq village. Other than that, I did not find programming by or for impoverished, queer, or racial subgroups living within Telile's core communities.

I raised these questions with my informants. As described above, some felt that Telile *could* play a role in helping the community overcome the kind of race-driven

fragmentations that had erupted over the Chapel Island lobster fishery, but that generally

it did not. When asked specifically about a lack of representation for poor, queer and

racial minorities in Telile programming, I was told that:

> "We do programming on all of these populations because they are people too, they
> enjoy fish plant tours, they enjoy the music, they play bingo, they watch the scroll.
> I don't think we do anything differently than any other media , like the Hawk
> [CIGO a commercial radio station out of Port Hawkesbury]. What could we do?
> We don't do issue based programming. We do happy programming. Gay and
> lesbian issues are getting away from happy programming. As for poverty, the fact
> that we're TV means they can know what's going on and not be able to read, and
> they don't need cable to watch. We're not a rich community."

I asked about the role of community television in providing a venue for

marginalized voices. I was told that: "We don't target groups, our programming is very

generalized. When we program for after bingo [i.e. when programs are selected to be

broadcast after Telile's popular bingo on Wednesday evenings], we ask if everyone in the

family will be able to sit down and watch this", and that: "We are the voice of the

community around here. There's no one else. We're not just serving marginal voices,

we're serving the whole community."

<div align="center">*   *   *</div>

I was, and am, acutely aware that within the larger media ecologies on Isle

Madame, a community whose media flows are dominated by commercial satellite

services, cable companies and commercial radio stations, almost all of what Telile

produces is by and for a marginalized group – that of a local rural population of fishing

communities with their own unique histories, ways of life, and cultural celebrations. As

rural Cape Breton Nova Scotians, their faces and ways of life are largely absent from

commercial media channels. It is a remarkable fact that some of the most popular

programming at Telile is local musicians playing traditional Acadian and Celtic music, and yet most commercial radio stations play music imported from the global cultural markets, especially from the United States. Telile itself is a marginalized voice within these commercial media flows, which made the discovery of a hegemonic orientation within its productive strategies all the more significant.

Within the marginalization of rural Cape Bretoners, there are yet other layers of marginalization. The poverty rate for all Cape Bretoners is 18%, but the poverty rate for Aboriginal Cape Bretoners is 35%, for visible minorities 29%, and for Cape Bretoners with disabilities 29% (Lee 2000). As described, there was a tendency on the part of Isle Madame residents, at least the ones I spoke to, to describe Isle Madame as a much more homogenous community than it appears to be. There are parallels between the kinds of exclusions at work at Telile and in mainstream media, i.e. representations from the perspectives of the poor, racial minorities, and queer communities were absent. In searching for an explanation, I also observed another similarity between Telile and mainstream media organizations: limited levels of community participation in programming *decision-making and production.*

As mentioned, the community does play an indirect role through informal feedback channels and program requests on certain days, and Telile almost certainly has higher levels of access than commercial media groups in the area. People also call in with story ideas, especially to cover community events, requests which according to survey responses are most often responded to. As for feedback, I was told that: "People will let them know, they get feedback all the time on things". And, as described above, community feedback is a part of Telile insiders' daily interactions with the community as

community members. But feedback is a different order of access and participation than being directly involved in programming, in generating program ideas and then helping to make them. I wondered if the lack of community participation was, at least in part, why Telile had in some ways come to mimic some of the hegemonic exclusions of mainstream media.

It is important to note that most informants saw increased community participation by community members in programming as a *desirable future goal*, one unattainable in present circumstances for a variety of reasons: a lack of resources to manage volunteer participation, the absence of a volunteer culture (one popular program was taken out of production when funding dried up and participants preferred to cease production rather than volunteer), and general lack of interest on the part of the public in participating at Telile (workshops have been offered by Telile free of charge for people to learn to use their home-video cameras in an attempt to get local residents interested in providing the station with material – the workshops have not been successful).

Whether or not increased local participation in production would address some or any of the exclusions identified is, of course, a matter of speculation. Participation in and of itself may not overcome all forms of exclusion. And, as I will discuss in greater detail below, the ontological context within which Telile was formed likely continues to have – if not a defining influence, then -- a highly significant influence on what the organization is today.

6 (ii.2.e.2) The Importance of Ontology to Assessing Outcomes

The ontology of Telile, like most sites of community media production, involves

an experience of crisis and response that focuses on changing or expanding patterns of

communication within the relevant community. Telile was a strategic response to the

social and economic crisis of the collapse of the east coast cod fishery. As explained by

one of my informants:

> "Leaders in the community were getting together to talk about the crisis
> and someone said: we need to find a way to communicate a message to
> people. The people they had to get the message out to, were fisheries
> displaced. A lot of them had not done anything else their whole lives, nor
> had their fathers and mothers, besides working in the fishing industry.
> They knew that the level of literacy was low and things had to be
> presented in a way they could get it and buy into it – they had to buy into
> retraining, to be educated about what they could do. The founders of
> Telile saw Telile as communicating that message to people."

The cod fishery collapse jeopardized the dominant economic and social structures on the

island (one-third of the local population worked in the fishing industry, the major

employers on the Island were fish processing facilities) and with them, the stability and

cohesion of the dominant cultural and social institutions and networks. The community

leaders who came together to respond to the crisis and out of whose meetings Telile was

born represented "school teachers, managers of the local fish plant, local union leaders,

leaders through force of character, a trusted DFO [Department of Fisheries and Oceans]

officer" and included representatives from the local high school, La Picasse, the two

island credit unions, the local historical society, two of the local yacht clubs, the

Canadian Legion and a seniors society. Early on, the group decided their best hope for

community survival was to develop strategies to create employment opportunities locally

while providing retraining opportunities for displaced fisheries people, but to do this, they

needed a communications strategy:

> It became clear that CED was a critical strategy, but we didn't really know what this meant pragmatically. What is a community? What does a community think? How do you know what a community's opinion is? And how do you get this information on a continuing basis? We had no newspaper, no radio station, no television - there was no medium of communication that spoke to the island and only to the island.
>
> A newspaper didn't seem like the right approach - two languages and high levels of literacy barriers. How do people in a community get information? The answer was TV. Low and behold, the local cable company had no community channel – there had been one associated with the local high school, but it was moribund at this point. If we wanted to mobilize people around plans, we had to have some way to talk to them. The cable company was doubtful, but said we could try, and Joe Shannon [who owned the cable company] reserved the right to stop the whole process at any time.[33]

Five outcomes for a community channel project were identified by the founders:

(i) to pull communities together (ii) to provide critical information to local communities;

(iii) to share ideas; (iv) to share business opportunities; and to build self-confidence and

local awareness (Telile 1993). The "Telile project" was a widely shared collective

response to an economic crisis that threatened to pull the community apart.

The group applied for and received significant funding for a training program for

14 displaced fisheries people.[34] The idea was to train a production and management team

for a new community television enterprise. Two other key events occurred. One of the

founding directors of Telile purchased a building – the building that Telile is still in

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[33] At the time (and still today, although the regulations have been substantially re-written), cable companies with more than a certain minimum number of cable subscribers were required to provide a community access channel. Those whose systems served less than the minimum could do so voluntarily. It was not uncommon for cable companies to voluntarily create community channels because of their popularity with viewers, but how they managed them was often a contentious matter. Community television activists have long argued that cable companies in Canada illegally restrict community access, censor programming and use access channels to generate revenues through the sale of advertising.

[34] Informants' recall of the duration of the original training program varied from 30 weeks to 14 months.

today[35] – in order for Telile to have offices and a production studio. And, near the end of

the training period, the founding board of directors of Telile co-signed to secure a

$50,000 loan for the purchase of production and playback equipment and to set up its first

studio.[36]

During my first few weeks at Telile, I was frustrated with what I experienced as a

general lack of critical discourse in Telile programming; that is, programming which was

challenging existing social, cultural and economic structures that maintained and

propagated social exclusions, marginalization and ecological destruction. My frames of

reference were of course my experiences at ICTV as a community television activist and

organizer. I finally came to recognize the profound ontological differences between

Telile, my case study, and ICTV, where my personal experience of community television

had been defined. From my field notes [Field Notes, November 4, 2006]:

> It occurred to me today that Telile is something of the opposite of
> ICTV, in some ways, although the organizations share certain
> handicaps. ICTV maintained its radical stance, and never (almost
> never, and certainly never after the first few years) rose above
> impoverishment...Telile has none of the radical impulses of ICTV, and
> I am not sure that they were ever a part of the organization.
>
> An anonymous [informant] delivered a copy of an early internal
> document for Telile, one which outlined the founders' goals for the
> organization. It was *not* to provide a voice for the voiceless, as was
> ICTV's mission. It was not to democratize media, as was ICTV's
> mission. It was to salvage a community from near economic
> destitution, or to play a role in it, to hold it together, to advocate on
> behalf of displaced fisheries workers to help them expand control over
> outcomes – human capital, financial capita, physical capital,
> ecological capital, cultural capital...As White has pointed out,
> participatory media rises in specific social and historic conjunctures.
> This one has perhaps defined in large part the conservative nature of
> the organization. Perhaps a more radical orientation could never have

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[35] While I was in Arichat, Telile received word that they had received federal funding for a new studio and new offices. Telile will be moving into their new facilities in the Fall 2007, facilities which they will own.
[36] The founding directors obtained a grant from a government funding agency for equipment. The nature of the grant was that Telile had to purchase the equipment first, and would then be reimbursed by the granting agency. The loan (i.e. bridge financing) allowed Telile to spend the grant money before they received it.

> survived and would not have been supported. Radical media is in part about fragmentation, usurping hegemony by demanding other less legitimate truths be heard and be seen. This station [Telile] positioned itself from the outset as an attempt to recreate hegemony -- at least I cannot find any evidence that suggests that challenging status quo was ever part of why Telile came to be, unless of course one can claim that abandoning the community to the economic collapse was a dominant position, which I doubt it ever was.

The 'hegemony' that I am referring to in my field notes is related to who and what was threatened by the collapse of the fishery. Most people today refer to the fishery collapse as community-wide, i.e. that everyone was equally threatened. But this is only mostly true. Those who worked off Island in industries other than the fishery, although a minority, were not so directly effected. One informant explained that as an employee at a local high school, they were largely unaffected by the collapse, at least in terms of their economic status and livelihood. Also, then as now, some members of the community do not rely on the wage economy for their well-being. Some make their livings through subsistence farming, bartering, hunting and fishing for personal consumption, maintaining minimal points of contact with the formal economy. Others were no doubt already receiving state subsidies, and would have been less directly impacted by the collapse. Admittedly, these are marginal groups both in number and impact on Island life. But this is my point. Telile was created by the dominant social group(s) on Isle Madame in order to prevent "catastrophic" social outcomes for those groups. The people who came together to create Telile had access to, or were able to create access to, significant pools of financial capital (to purchase a location for the studio, to secure a large loan, etc.), because some or all of them came from dominant groups. ICTV, on the other hand, was created by mostly poor, variously marginalized, under-employed artists and activists.

"Telile was created to keep a community from flying apart at the seams," I wrote near the end of my stay, "to create and enhance and facilitate social stability, whereas ICTV existed to destabilize existing hegemonies and to introduce into a commercially dominated public sphere marginalized discourse that undermined accepted geometries of power. Once the profound nature of these differing social contexts was clear, I stopped being so judgmental about Telile and began allowing it to exist (in my mind and analysis) on its own terms" [Field Notes, November 28, 2006]. The social context out of which community media emerges will have a defining impact on its intended outcomes. This seems obvious in hindsight, but was not at all clear at the outset of my research. The ontological context of a community media organization is essential for any kind of evaluative exploration of how it influences social formation in the communities it serves.

6 (ii.3) Indicators of "Success"

(ii.3.a) From Interviews with Telile Insiders

Part of my research surfaced notions of "success" more specifically oriented towards the organization of Telile itself. Among Telile insiders, there were two kinds of indicators that emerged, those used to measure notions of success now, and those that would indicate success at some future date.

Informants identified four kinds of indicators that Telile uses now to monitor the on-going notions of success discussed in section 6 ii.2.a Community Expectations. The first is related to (i) programming – the number of new programs per week (a target had been set at one per week, which was being met), and the amount of French programming (targets were being met). The second is (ii) response from advertisers:

> Another way we chart our success is by our advertisers. We can tell by what our advertisers tell us that people are watching. For example, [they say things like] I put an apartment for rent on the scroll and had 5-6 calls. I listed my furniture for sale and sold it in a week, or a day. I wanted to give away kittens and it only took one hour. We're obviously keeping people's attention, we're giving them a service that they like.

The third measure of success mentioned was (iii) viewer feedback. There are no formal ways this is measured; rather, feedback arrives by a variety of informal routes. For instance, one measure is the number of tapes sold by Telile of shows, i.e. if tapes are sold, it is taken as a sign of programming that the community appreciates (during my time at Telile, they sold 50 copies of a show documenting the closing of a local church, six copies of a show about the role of Newfoundlanders in local history, and five copies of a tour of a local crab processing facility). On a more personal note, one informant indicated that if their elderly uncle expressed approval, a show was a success: "If my uncle tells me he's learned something out of a Telile show, it tells me other people must have." More than one informant said that feedback also arrives through encounters in the community:

> We know we're accomplishing some of these goals - educate, entertain, information - by the feedback we get from people, by the requests for programming. People call if they are upset about something, but in the community, face-to-face, people will say what they liked. People get to know us.

A fourth way to measure success mentioned by at least one informant was (iv) the financial stability of Telile: "We're able to maintain our overhead, so many businesses fail around here." And yet another suggested that revenues were not a good measure of success: "Success is not really tied to bingo revenue. We can do the best that we can do [in terms of programming], but if the [bingo] balls aren't falling our way, we're not going

to make any money."

Looking into the future, Telile insiders identified a number of "best case scenarios" that could, should they be realized, indicate success at some future date. Five categories of indicators of future success emerged. The first was related to programming where informants suggested increased quantities of programs would indicate success: to expand programming to the evening time slots, to increase program production so that there are two new shows each week, to increase the amount of French programming, Informants also suggested increases in the kinds of programming: a French children's program was mentioned, as was a roundtable discussion show and a debate style program on contemporary issues:

> I'd like to see programming where we get some people with different opinions on a subject, say, like same sex marriage. Everyone likes a good fight, but we wouldn't do it to divide the community. We would do it because there are two legitimate messages that people in coffee shops are talking about. It would broaden people's minds, and people enjoy a good argument.

Live coverage of mass for shut-ins was also mentioned as a programming goal for the future. And finally, the ability to sell programs commercially was also seen as a sign of organizational success.

The second category of indicators involves increasing community involvement in the station both in terms of program content and an expanded volunteer base for production:

> Ideally I would like to have people help more with the concept of programs, people in the community who had a couple of hours a week and who come up with an idea for a program, say, horticulture, or environmental gardening. We could give a little training, and over time trust them with the cameras."

A third measure of future success suggested was enough advertising sales to support one

staff salary. A fourth was an increase in the number of staff. And the fifth was an increase in the amount of commercial production.

6 (ii.3.b) (Indicators of Success) From the Community Survey

One of the questions in the survey was designed to surface community notions of what future success at Telile might look like. Again, the answers suggest different kinds of specific phenomena that might indicate, at least from a community perspective, "success" at the station.

In answering this question[37], half the respondents pointed to programming changes -- one-quarter to increases in programming quantity, and about the same to increases in program diversity. The answers to this question are a particularly rich source of opinion and indication of what the community is looking for in terms of programming that it is not getting now. Here is a list: evening programming, children's programming, less scroll, documentaries, a weekly news program, a documentary hour, community hall feature, more weather, reality TV show based on Isle Madame, economic and social development programs, and Mi'kMaq programs.

A fifth of the respondents said that Telile would look like it does now, indicating a remarkable level of support from the respondents who chose to complete the survey. Other comments include: better technical quality, more involvement of local groups, fewer repeats, evening programming for people who work in the daytime.[38]

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[37] What would 100% success look like at Telile?
[38] A more detailed description of the indicators of Telile success can be found in APPENDIX B.

6 (*ii.4*) The Community Survey – Other Data

As briefly described earlier, the survey was introduced into my research in large

part to help fill a knowledge gap identified by Telile at the outset of my research. The

survey results are described in detail in Appendix B.   It is data of some interest –

viewing habits, programming preferences, other media where community members seek

local news, how residents receive television is their homes. It is information largely

beyond the scope of an already lengthy study.   One aspect of the data collected that

is of interest for present purposes is the profile of who responded to the survey:

Age & Gender

44% were between the ages of 30 – 49
33% were between the ages of 50 – 69
13% were between the ages of 19 – 29
7% were 70+
4% were 18 or under

70% of respondents were female, 30% male.

Residency

More than half of the respondents have lived in Richmond County for between 20
– 50 years. 19% indicated that they had lived in Richmond County for their
whole lives (the question wasn't asked suggesting that this figure could be much
higher). Only 8% have lived in RC for 10 years or less. The average length of
time lived in Richmond County by the people who responded to the survey is 36
years.

80% of the respondents were from the south side of island where Telile is located.
65% were from the 4 largest communities on Isle Madame. More specifically,

27% Arichat	2% Dundee
22% Petit-de-Grat	1% St, Mary's
11% W. Arichat	1% Poereiville

7% Poulamon	1% Port Royal
6% Louisdale	1% Samson's Cove
6% Janvrins Island	1% Rockdale
5% D'Escousse	1% St. Peters
4% Rocky Bay / Pondville	1% L'Ardoise

The survey overwhelmingly attracted people who watch Telile on a regular basis. 63% of respondents watch Telile more than once per week. 27% watch daily. 36% watch a few times per week. 18% watch a few times per month. 7% less than once per month. 2% never watch.

Based on this data, it is a reasonable conjecture that the results do not reflect a random sample of the Richmond County population, but rather reflect the opinions and attitudes of (mostly) long-time residents who are regular viewers *and supporters*, who form at least some of the core constituency of Telile supporters in the south-eastern corner of Richmond County, and who have relatively high literacy skills. One-quarter of the respondents live in Petit-de-Grat which suggests a strong showing of participation in the survey by the local Francophone Acadian community.

CHAPTER 7 The Outcomes Mapping Framework As Research Tool

The interviews, the community survey and my review of Telile programming surfaced a range of responses concerning Telile's role(s) in the community. Using the Outcomes Mapping Framework, the results can be approached on a number of levels.

First, the responses reveal descriptions of outcomes that correspond to *all* categories of community capital. A kind of outcome that did not easily fit into the community capital schema was also identified -- *information flow*. Information flow refers to a kind of information that is rooted in the practicality of day-to-day lives of community members, i.e. notices for meetings and community events, advertisements for good and services, real estate sales and apartment rentals, job postings, etc. In fact, information flow was the most frequently mentioned category of outcome in the community survey. Among informants, social and cultural capital were the areas of community life identified as most impacted by Telile.

Second, at a methodological level, the Outcomes Mapping Framework proved to be an effective way to organize field data and to help surface ways in which Telile influences social formation. By "plugging in" research results into the categories of community capital, I have been able to create a tentative map of Telile's influences on social formation -- where they occur (or likely occur), where they are weakest. To illustrate this, in Figure 7, I have reproduced the Outcomes Mapping Framework *and indicated with red text corresponding field data.* The red text indicates the range of social phenomena that, based on my field research, has been touched in some way by Telile's activities.

Figure 7   Mapping Telile's Outcomes: applying the Outcomes Mapping Framework to Telile Community Television field research.

The Role of Community Media in the Construction and Persistence of Identity (From Field Research)

1 Memory
    local history

2 Relationship with Place
    valorizing local
    landscape

3 Relationship with In-group(s)
    i. language preservation
        Acadian programming
    ii. analysis
    iii. embedded aesthetics
    iv. cultural celebration
        music, festivals, plays
        local talent
    v. *rhizomatic network building*
        community tv groups
        communities of interest

4 Relationship with Out-group(s)
    i. persistence of identity
        Acadians
        Cape Bretoners
    ii. resistance
    iii. cultural mediation
        French / English
    iv. strategic alliances

5 Envisioning Future
    i. community development
        CED programing

Cultural celebration (see 3.iv above) ....

Boxes:
- SOCIAL CAPITAL
- CULTURAL CAPITAL
- POLITICAL CAPITAL
- HUMAN CAPITAL
- FINANCIAL CAPITAL
- PHYSICAL CAPITAL
- ECOLOGICAL CAPITAL
- KNOWLEDGE CAPITAL
- INFORMATION FLOW
- ENTERTAIN-MENT

Community Media Outcomes (From Field Research)

- bridging divides between French and English communities
- keeping community together after fishing crisis
- keeping the community together now
- exposing communities of interest
- overcoming geographic barriers between communities
- problem solving
- programming for shut-ins
- strategic alliances (w/ other community TV groups)
- increasing community involvement

- language preservation
- Acadian cultural programming: local music, plays, step dancing
- valorizing local aspects: lanscape, local talent, local people
- language preservation: programming in Acadian French
- preservation of local history
- making expert knowledge accessible to public
- local alternative to mainstream media
- sharing ideas

- representing needs to external agencies / groups
- Richmond County Councilt meetings
- renegotiating relationships with local agencies
- local election coverage

- skills sharing programming (i.e. computers, gardening)
- training videos
- internships, workstudy
- confidence building

- tourism
- employment / job creation
- scroll advertising
- CED programming
- bursaries, work-study opportunities
- promoting local businesses
- job listings

- programming on local school closures
- programming on housing projects
- listings on the scroll for housing and apartment vacances

- preservation of local beauty
- programming on recycling, the ecotrail, wind-power

- expertise in operating a financially independent community television
- broadcast statio

- community events
- what's going on
- postings in the scroll: advertising, items for sale, notices, events, meetings
- community event coverage

- drama / comedy / music
- interviews and site visits

Third, mapping Telile's outcomes suggests possible lines of further inquiry. For example, looking at the chart in Figure 7, we can speculate where some of Telile's strengths and weaknesses might lie. For example, the valorization of local qualities appears to currently receive a significant amount of resources and attention, whereas very little attention and resources appears to be going towards expanding local physical capital. The outcomes framework could prove useful in a tactical analysis of how best to utilize limited resources.

Fourth, the Outcomes Mapping Framework is suggestive of where to look for specific indicators (possibly quantifiable indicators) of social change patterns which occur as a result of Telile. For example, 'job listings' have been identified as one of the ways that Telile plays a role in expanding local financial capital. A more quantitative analysis of Telile's influence on local financial capital might include tracking the number of local jobs advertised on Telile, and then following up on how many of those jobs are filled by local applicants who learned of the job opportunity through Telile. Another example might be in the area of human capital. My research revealed that Telile has facilitated internships and work studies over the years. A study designed to gather more detailed data about the number of internships and workstudies, longer-term tracking of participants and their contribution to the local community, and opportunity cost comparisons (i.e. how much would it have cost participants, travel included as an expense, for similar training somewhere else) might provide detailed data about how Telile contributes to expanding individual capacities in the local community.

Fifth, the Outcomes Mapping Framework can also be used to assess local media ecology with a view to future interventions. Looking again at Figure 7, we can locate

communicative strengths (expanding social and cultural capital), and communicative

weaknesses or more accurately "gaps", i.e. areas where Telile appears to be having lesser

influence. For example, Telile does not appear to be much engaged in collective analysis

of shared problems (see Fig. 7). A possible strategic response might include news

magazine type programming to providing analysis of local issues and public affairs. The

research also suggests that Telile has little influence on local ecological capital. A

possible strategic response might be to develop programming focusing on local

sustainable ecological development such as localized food systems or water conservation.

And so on.

The Outcomes Mapping Framework is not presented as an all encompassing

framework, but rather as a useful starting place for examining more closely the

relationship between a community television organization and its influences on social

formation in the communities it serves.

Chapter 8   Conclusions

The people who live in the communities on Isle Madame, like most Canadians, live in cultural milieu dominated by non-local media flows. Cable and satellite television services provide hundreds of mostly foreign-owned channels. Local radio is dominated by non-local pop music, the same songs that are played on most other commercial radio stations in North America. Most newspapers are produced far enough away that if the island is mentioned in a news story, it is a noteworthy event. These commercial media flows are what make up what I have described as the public sphere, the shared cultural space where collective dialogue takes place and ideas are shared, deliberated, tested, revised and rejected or agreed upon. In reality, very little of what happens on Isle Madame and very few of the people or places that make up its communities ever appear within locally available media streams -- except, that is, for the programming on Telile Community Television.

Media flow in the public sphere is one of the most significant ways that dominant groups negotiate for cultural hegemony. Information circulated in the media helps create ways of seeing, experiencing and behaving in the world that propagates social and economic structures of inequality. Rural communities in Canada experience levels of social exclusion and social fragmentation that suggests that they are not well served by dominating ideologies and structures (Toye and Infanti 2004). Cape Breton, a rural community on Canada's east coast, is no exception: 18% of the population in Cape Breton lives in poverty (Lee 2000). The unemployment rate hovers around 27% (CDENE 2006). Cape Breton has the highest cancer rates in Nova Scotia, and a cancer

death rate 25% higher than the national average (GPI 2003). Deaths due to bronchitis,

emphysema and asthma are a full 50% higher in Cape Breton than the national average

(GPI 2003). Cape Breton has the lowest average disability-free life expectancy of

Canada's 139 health regions (GPI 2003). And a 2004 report suggests that upwards of

50,000 young people will leave Cape Breton between now and 2021 looking for better

opportunities (CBC 2004). Cape Breton, like many rural areas throughout the world,

appears to be caught in a web of social forces that increasingly marginalizes its

population from the social and economic advantages created by the society in which it

exists.

Canada, along with the United States and the UK, has played an active role in

advocating for and advancing neoliberal policies - a hegemonic ideology founded on

reliance on market forces for the allocation of resources, accumulation of capital as the

dominant social motive, diminishing governments' roles in markets, and the privatization

of public agencies (Albo 2002; Carroll and Shaw 2001; Clark 2002). Increasing poverty

and social exclusion in rural communities throughout the world has been linked with

neoliberal policies (Buckland 2006; Kelly 2001; Muller and Patel 2004)

The cod fishery collapse in the early 1990s brought some of the consequences of

neoliberal economic globalization closer to home for the people who live on Isle

Madame.[39] When community leaders gathered together to respond to the crisis, one of

their first observations was that they had no way to communicate with local residents.

The public sphere on Isle Madame was dominated by commercial and non-local media

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[39] The direct causes of the cod fish collapse are complex – inaccurate Department of Fisheries and Oceans data, technological end-runs around boat-size restrictions, federal programs that financed a massive expansion of the Canadian fishing fleet at a time when stocks were threatened, the rise of the use of draggers and trawlers as the dominant method of catching fish, a prevalence of poaching, massive dumping of by-catch and weak enforcement (Petras and Veltmyer 2001). But driving the push to extract as much sealife from the oceans as humanly possible was a voracious and insatiable global market for the catch.

providers (much like it is today with the exception of Telile) leaving little room for local participation. The community decided to produce information independently and non-commercially through a community television channel.

With hindsight, and looking at Telile's role today, we can see that community leaders were groping towards an expanded sense of 'cultural citizenship' – enhancing a capacity for action, creating and retaining identity, modifying values and preferences for collective choice, building social cohesion, contributing to community development and fostering civic participation (Stanley 2006). It was a recognition and/or expectation that by controlling some aspects of the media in their community, the community as a whole stood a better chance of surviving the impending economic and social calamity of the closure of the fishery. i.e. that they would have more control over their collective economic and social fate if they could exercise more control over the media flows in their communities.

Isle Madame is a community defined by its island geography, and, consequently, by a way of life that has dominated the day-to-day lives of its residents for more than 400 years - fishing. Isle Madame is a community of fishing communities. The Acadian fishing identity and heritage is a marginalized identity within commercial media flows that dominate the island's mediascapes, and it is also the dominant cultural force on the island, one that excludes other kinds of marginalized identities such as visible minorities, First Nations, the poor and queer communities.

Telile Community Television was organized in response to the economic and social crisis precipitated by the closure of the cod fishery. It was conceived as a vehicle to propagate and encourage community economic development strategies, to offer hope

in a time of crisis, and as a small social enterprise in and of itself. It was an attempt by community leaders to hold the community together, to provide cultural stability, to influence local economic outcomes in such a way so as to preserve a way of life. How Telile performed, however, was (and is) more complex.

My research has shown that Telile has been experienced within the community in many different ways: as playing a role in the construction of local meaning (through Acadian cultural programming, valorizing local qualities such as the landscape and the people, and by making expert knowledge accessible to a wider public); as helping to negotiate relationships of power (through the televising of Richmond County council meetings, through live coverage of local elections, and by giving the community "clout" by having a "telecom" located in its midst); as having increased local social networks and bonds (by bridging divides between French and English communities, by having kept the community together after fishing crisis, through surfacing local communities of interest and overcoming geographic barriers between communities, by increasing community involvement); and by expanding individual capacities through skills sharing programming such as computer use for seniors and gardening shows, training videos, internships, workstudies. Telile is experienced as having played an active role in the construction and maintenance of Acadian identity, in negotiating cultural space for local experience and local values, and in preserving local history and stories. The ways in which local residents described Telile as having influenced community life touch on every kind of community capital as described within an assets-based approach to community development. There were even two new genres of outcomes identified by local residents that did not easily fall within the prescribed schema: information flow

about daily community events and the knowledge and expertise accumulated by Telile

through successfully operating a financially independent community television station

over 14 years. Community results also suggested that cultural capital and social capital,

at least in this case, make more sense as distinct categories of capital rather than as a

merged category as is generally found in the literature.

Yet another finding of interest in this study was that understanding the ontology

of a media organization is essential for understanding and assessing its social influence.

Media organizations emerge from unique social and political circumstances. The urge to

expand cultural citizenship is driven by unique and historically situated tensions that have

a lasting influence on how organizations prioritize resources and self-identify their role(s)

in the communities they serve. Telile emerged in response to a crisis that threatened the

dominant economic and social institutions on the Island. The station was created within a

larger community mobilization to bring stability and unity to a community threatened

with social and economic catastrophe. Telile's ontology helps us to understand its role in

the community today.[40]

My proposed Outcomes Mapping Framework proved useful in a number of ways:

(1) when entering the field, as an approach to inquiry when trying to locate ways in

which the community had been influenced by Telile's activities; (2) as a way to organize

the data that I collected in the field through observation, interviews and surveys; (3) as a

guide to locating indicators of social change phenomena; and (4) as a guide to further

lines of inquiry.

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[40] As suggested by Rennie (2006), community media need not actively oppose hegemonic discourse, but can conceive itself as playing a corrective role through complementary (rather than oppositional) programming.

I set out to articulate social policy discourses with community media discourses. Through the outcomes mapping framework, community media/television is revealed as potentially having "tentacles" in nearly all aspects of community life. If, as policy-makers and activists, we have a desire to expand community assets in order to increase local capacity to influence social and economic outcomes, especially outcomes that diminish the systemic ills of social exclusion, community media/television (at least the case of Telile Community Television) suggests a multifold way of doing so. Community media/television touches community capital in complicated and manifold ways. The Outcomes Mapping Framework appears to offer an approach to excavating this complicated dynamic in a way that reveals the kinds of social benefits that policy-makers and media-makers alike strive to achieve.

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APPENDIX A
Copy of Telile Community Television Survey & Detailed Summary of Survey Responses

The Telile Community Television Research Project

Audience Survey

TELILE
OFFICE

Enter to Win a
$100 Cash
Prize
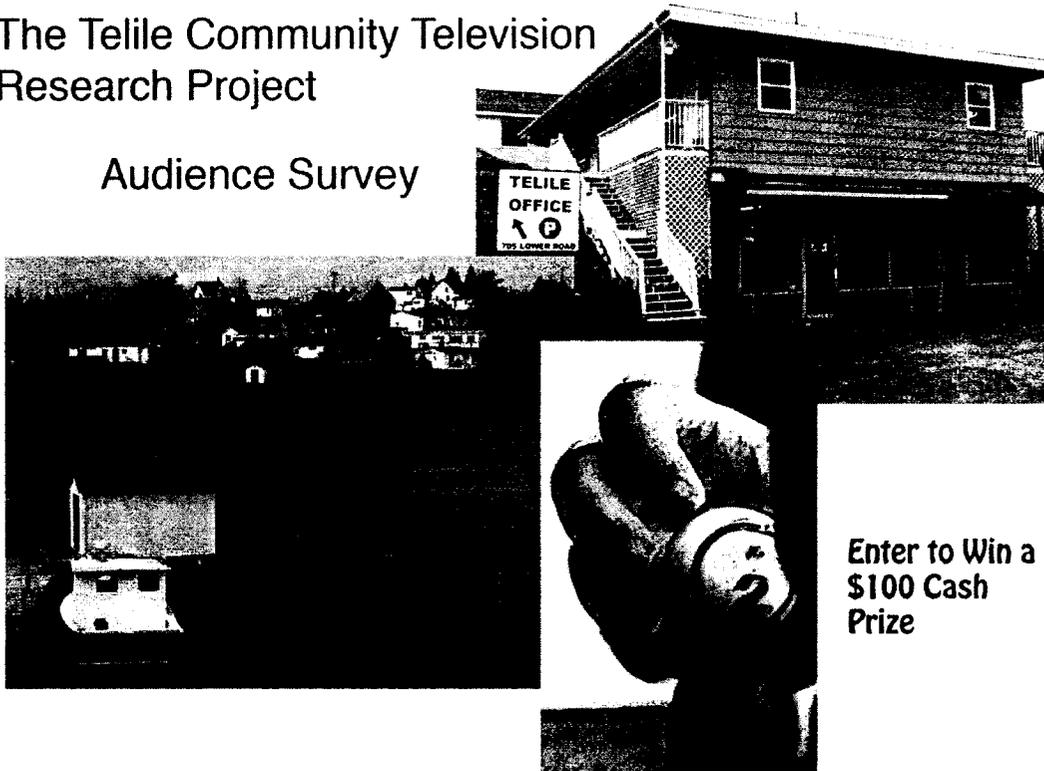
The goal of the Telile Community Television Research Project is to develop a better understanding of the role community television plays in the local area and what residents think about Telile programming. Your participation is very important. You could also win a $100 cash prize. Completed surveys will be entered into a draw to be held in early December.

The research is being carried out by Michael Lithgow, a graduate student from Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec. Please refer all questions and comments about the survey to Michael at malithgo@sfu.ca or contact by telephone: 226.0654

Please take a few minutes to answer the survey questions inside this booklet. *Surveys may be answered in French or English.* If you have any questions, or would *prefer to conduct the survey by telephone or in person*, please contact Michael Lithgow directly.

SURVEY QUESTIONS

CONFIDENTIALITY: All survey responses are confidential and survey results will remain anonymous. Consent forms and contact information will be kept separate from the surveys. Other than to announce the winner of the $100 gift certificate, the names of participants will not be released to any party (including Telile staff and board).

If there is not enough space to answer questions, please answer on a separate sheet of paper.

If you would prefer to answer the survey by telephone or be interviewed in person, please contact

Michael Lithgow at malithgo@sfu.ca or 226.0654

Which age category best describes you? ___ 0-18 ___ 19-29 ___ 30-50 ___ 51-70 ___ 71+

Which categories (choose more than one if applicable) best describe your relationship with Telile Community Television (TELILE) ?

___ I don't watch Telile TV   ___ I watch Telile sometimes

___ I watch Telile regularly   ___ I watch Telile Bingo

___ I only watch Telile Bingo   ___ I have appeared on Telile

___ My art/music has appeared on Telile

___My business / organization was profiled on Telile

___ I watch the Telile scroll   ___ I only watch the Telile scroll

___ I advertise my business on the Telile scroll

___ I have used the Telile scroll to make an announcement

___ Other (please describe)_____

1.   How long have you lived in Richmond County?

2.   Where do you live?

3A.   How often do you watch TELILE?

___ daily ___ a few times per week ___ once per week ___ a few times per month

___ once in a while (less than once per month) ___ never

3B.   If you don't watch Telile, why not?

3C.   If you do watch, when do you usually watch? If possible, give day(s) of the week and times (i.e. Friday mornings, Wednesday evenings, Tuesday afternoons)

4A.   What programs do you usually watch? Or does what you watch change from week to week?

4B.   Do you have a favourite program? What is it?

4C.   In a few sentences, describe how you feel generally about Telile programs? What do you like most? What do you like least?

5.   What was the last thing you watched on Telile?

6.   In a few sentences, describe your response to what you most recently watched. Did you like it? Why or why not?

7.   What kind of programs do you like most on Telile?

8.   What kind of programs do you like least like on Telile?

9.   What kind of programs would you like to see but don't?

10.   Do you think Telile is important in your community? Why?

11.   What do you think is TELILE's most important role in the community?

12.   How well does TELILE fulfill the role identified in question 11?

   __ very well __ moderately well __ not very well __ not at all

13.   If Telile was 100% successful at fulfilling the role you identified in question 11, what would programming be like ? What would the station be like?

14.   Have you ever seen "controversial" programming on Telile? If so, please describe what made it controversial.

15A.   Are there any memorable moments of community life that you can think of that involve the TV Station? If so, what are they? For example, there may have been a program that had a particularly important community impact.

15A.   Do you remember when you **first** heard of TELILE? Describe the circumstances.

15C.   Do you think TELILE plays a role in the economic life of the Island? If so, what? If not, do you think it should? How?

16. Do you feel that TELILE is "your" television station? Why or why not.

17A. How does TELILE programming compare with the other television that you watch?

17B. Are your interests reflected in the programming of other stations? Please explain.

17C. Are your interests reflected in TELILE's programming? Please explain.

18. Have you ever been on TELILE? If so, please describe.

19. Have you ever contributed to TELILE programming in any way? Would you like to? If so, in what way?

20. Do you think TELILE responds to the community's needs? Please explain.

21. How do you receive television in your house?

     ___ broadcast ___ regular & digital cable   ___ satellite

22. Where do you get local news and information? If you can, please identify the sources by name, i.e. CBC radio, The Chronicle Herald, Channel 6 News, community newsletter, etc.

23. Do you get information about the community where you live from the sources identified in question 22? Are you satisfied with the amount of local coverage provided by these sources? Please explain.

24. Do you use the internet to get local information? If so, which websites do you rely on?

25. Do you have any comments or thoughts, words of praise or complaints about Telile to add?

CONSENT FORM TO PARTICIPATE IN *Telile Community Television Research Project_*

The University of Concordia Research Ethics Committee requires that this Consent Form be signed in order to use the data obtained in the survey.

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research being conducted by Michael Lithgow of the School of Communications of Concordia University: telephone 226.0654 (Montreal 514.529.7648) email: malithgo@sfu.ca.

A. PURPOSE
I have been informed that the purpose of the research is as follows ... To better understand the role of Telile Community Television in the communities that receive its broadcast signal.

B. PROCEDURES

The research will be conducted in the communities of Richmond County that receive Telile programming, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. Subjects will be asked to participate in one-on-one interviews, focus groups, and to answer surveys. The research will take place over 8 weeks in the Fall 2006. Anonymity and confidentiality will be at the discretion of the participants.

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

There are no risks that the researcher is aware of – the benefits include contributing to a better understanding of the role of local media in rural communities, a better understanding of how the residents in Richmond County perceive and experience Telile Community Television.

D. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at anytime without negative consequences.
- I understand that my participation in this study is CONFIDENTIAL (i.e., the researcher will know, but will not disclose my identity)
- I understand that the data from this study may be published.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

NAME (please print) _____ (NAME)

SIGNATURE

_____(SIGNATURE)

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Adela Reid, Research Ethics and Compliance Officer, Concordia University, at (514) 848-2424 x7481 or by email at areid@alcor.concordia.ca.

Detailed Summary of Community Survey Data

Age & Gender

There were 104 respondents in total, of which 83 surveys were usable. The age of respondents was distributed as follows:

> 44% were between the ages of 30 – 49
> 33% were between the ages of 50 – 69
> 13% were between the ages of 19 – 29
> 7% were 70+
> 4% were 18 or under
>
> 70% of respondents were female, 30% male.

Habitation

More than half have lived in RC for between 20 – 50 years. 19% indicated that they had lived in RC for their whole lives (the question wasn't asked suggesting that the figure is higher). Only 8% have lived in RC for 10 years or less. The average length of time lived in RC was 36 years.

80% of the respondents were from the south side of island. 65% were from the 4 large communities on Isle Madame. More specifically,

27% Arichat	2% Dundee
22% Petit-de-Grat	1% St, Mary's
11% W. Arichat	1% Poereiville
7% Poulamon	1% Port Royal
6% Louisdale	1% Samson's Cove
6% Janvrins Island	1% Rockdale
5% D'Escousse	1% St. Peters
4% Rocky Bay / Pondville	1$ L'Ardoise

Viewing Habits

How Often Do Respondents Watch
> 63% of respondents watch Telile more than once per week.
> 36% watch a few times per week.
> 27% watch daily.
> 18% watch a few times per month.
> 7% less than once per month.
> 2% never watch.
>
> Of the daily viewers, 89% were female. Of those who watched a few times per week, 54% were female.

When Respondents Usually Watch

34% of respondents watch mostly in the evenings.
20% do not have a regular time that they watch.
13% watch mostly Wednesday evenings.
8% watch mostly on weekday mornings.
6% watch mostly in the mornings generally.
6% watch mostly in the afternoons.

What Respondents Usually Watch

34% whatever is on
26% the scroll
15% music
3% local music
9% bingo
5% council meetings
2% Telile Today

Almost half usually watch music or the scroll.

Favorite Program: in order of popularity

No favourite
Hortense / Notre cabane
Music
Bingo
Telile Today
community events / CED shows / shows visiting different sites

Response to Programming Generally

When asked how they feel generally about Telile programming, respondents overwhelmingly responded positively. Of the respondents who answered the question, only one responded that they generally feel negative about Telile programming.

Last Program Watched

Respondents were asked what was the last program watched, and to say a few words about what they watched. The following summarizes the responses:

41% of the responses indicated the scroll. Comments were overall positive. A representative sample of comments includes: very informative, enjoyed it very much, information clear and easy to follow.

21% indicated bingo. Comments were mixed, positive and negative, ranging from: fun, great, and liked playing -- to: no need to repeat numbers in French, boring and uninteresting

The remainder of programs mentioned were all in similarly small numbers:

Lower River Inhabitant Religions Celebration
Newfoundland Fisherman [Telile Today]
>Very touching and interesting.
>Really liked. Had it not been for Telile, the Newfoundlanders would never have been thanked.
Music show
>entertaining
Ecole beaux Porte Christmas Show
>liked but sound was poor
Fishing Draggers
Krysta McKinnon
>well done
>great show
Going away celebration for parish priests
Festival of Carols
>liked the show, couldn't make the festival personally but got to see it
War Brides
>extremely interesting
Crab Plant [Telile Today]
>really liked
Halloween Concert
>good entertainment
Closing of Cleveland Church
>enjoyed
Exercise Show
>liked
Concert with John Allan Cameron
>nice to see local people

Favourite programming

When asked what programs they liked most, respondents answered with a wide array of programming types, most indicating more than one type of preferred program.. NB. in some cases percentages have been derived by combining sub-categories, but the sub-categories have also been listed i.e. responses indicating local interviews and local events are included in the larger category of preference for localness,

>27% of the responses indicated programming with localness as its focus as the favorite programming
>26% indicated music programming
>11% indicated comedy / Hortense
>9% indicated interviews (includes more than one sub-category)
>8% indicated the scroll
>7% indicated bingo
>7% indicated coverage of local events
>6% indicated interviews with local people

>The remainder of shows mentioned include plays, CED programs, educational, graduations, local history and the activities of local children.

Least Favourite Programming

Fewer respondents answered this question, possibly indicating a reluctance on the part of many respondents to be critical of Telile.

20% of the responses indicated bingo as the least favourite programming
16% indicated shows from Cheticamp
16% indicated French programming
7% indicated no answer
7% indicated music programming

The remainder of programs mentioned were all in similarly small numbers:

morning exercise
music at small parties
interviews
political shows
music when sound is poor
graduations
sports
council meetings
non-locally focused programs
Down by the Docks
unedited local event coverage
government programming

What Programs Respondents Want to See

When asked what they would like to see but don't, the responses indicated the following categories of programming:

15% of responses indicated a local news program
7% indicated local history programming
6% indicated plays

The remainder of programs mentioned were all in similarly small numbers

local music
grocery store specials
mass for shut-ins
cooking shows
local, on-going mystery show
local development
stories about local industry
yoga program / English
exercise
gardening
crafts
comedies
local documentaries
sports

poetry
drama / soaps
weather
French
human interest
interviews with older people
coverage from other (local) communities
game shows
political programming
historical
health
kids programming
Telile Today
religious

community events

A Sense of Ownership

When respondents were asked if they feel that Telile is their television station:

65% answered yes
24% answered no
11% were unsure or did not understand the question

Within the yes responses, categories of emphasis emerged from the comments:

an emphasis on the respondent's ability to influence decisions at the station
an emphasis on the local nature of the station's location and programming
an emphasis on local ownership of the station
an emphasis on who pays for advertising and bingo at the station
an emphasis on the helpfulness of the station in the community
an emphasis the friendliness and welcoming disposition of the staff

Comments included:

Because its about our local people, businesses and events and local talents.

Because we as citizens are paying money to put ads on, we as citizen are playing bingo, which creates profit for the stations.

Yes because you definitely are able to have access.

Yes, I feel that I would be missing out on a lot of community events and activities if TELILE would not be there.

Yes, I watch it, I have been on it, and I have made advertisement on it.

Yes, its locally owned and operated and the people have a say in the direction it takes.

Yes, it broadcasts MOST of the items asked and keep the public up to date.

Yes you can go there for anything and they help in the community.

Yes, because it is for the people of Isle Madame, it is made to satisfy them and what they want to watch.

Puisque je n'ai pas un accès régulier au poste j'ai de la difficulté à en parler comme le mien, mais je voudrais bien qu'elle le devienne.
Yes, because it is there for the people. We have a lot of say in the programming that they play.

Yes, anytime I need use of scrolls or if I wish to watch particular programs they try there best to grant my wishes. Plus, they are always happy to have me drop by and help for any

reason.

Within the no responses, categories of emphasis emerged from the comments:

An inability to watch regularly
Disinterest in the programming
A lack of programming quantity
Inability to influence station decisions
The geography of distribution, i.e. extends beyond the community

Comments included:

No, because it extends beyond the island and I feel it should just be for Isle Madame.

Nope, not enough programming etc.

No. In the past when ideas have been suggested to Telile staff and board they have been shot down. They seem to do what they want.

No, there just isn't enough variety.

No, I don't feel that the community has been given enough opportunities to get involved with it.

Telile was started by a certain group of people and those people are still involved. I think there should be more members of each community involved with Telile.

How Telile Compares With Other Television

When asked how Telile compares with other television watched by the respondents, 50% of respondents who answered the question said that it compared favourably, 19% said unfavourably, and 30% were neutral or said they could not be compared.

Comments from those who said that Telile compared favourably included:

Prefer it to some shows on cable.

Much more local.

Feel more connected to Telile.

Good considering budget,

When I want local information, I turn it on. When I want other information, I switch the channel.

More interesting because its my community.

Comments from those who said that Telile compared unfavourably included:

Has Telile ever though of taping local sporting events? How much would it cost for live programming?

I'm not interested in most type of programs they play.

No movies and news.

Needs more money to compete.

Not as entertaining.

Much more amateurish, especially sound quality.

Have Respondents Been on Telile

Respondents were asked if they had ever appeared on Telile. A remarkable 40% of respondents who answered this question said yes. Respondents identified 5 categories for the context in which they appeared on Telile. Most indicated that they had appeared on Telile in the context of some kind of community event: book launch, community play, festivals, choir performances, members of audiences, MC'ing local events, and recitals. The second most frequently mentioned category was that they had been interviewed by Telile. Also mentioned were municipal election coverage, public demonstration, and as a present or former employee.

The Importance of Telile in the Community

When asked if Telile is important in the community, 100% of respondents who answered the question said yes. When asked why, the following categories emerged:

53% suggested that Telile was important for a reason that had to do with information flow in the community - comments such as: it keeps you informed, it keeps you in touch with the community, it let's us know what is going on in the community.

Sub-categories: keeps our community updated
provides access to information
provides information about community events
provides coverage of local events

Comments:

It is a great means of communications in our community. Almost anything you need to know is found on Telile

it is another means of keeping our community informed. People have come to rely on it for posting and reading notices.

Yes, it's a way to keep the residents of Richmond County aware of the things happening in our communities, and it's a way for us to see special events that happened, especially if you were not able to attend.

Yes a very big part. It keeps people in tune on what's going on

19% suggested a reason that had to do with bringing the community together, or community unity, or linking the community together

Comments:

Yes, it brings the community together by advertizing events, as well as programming our events - televising events sparks on interest in the community

Besides the Centre Picasse, Telile acts as an anchor to keep us informed and all tied together no matter what area of Richmond you belong to

I think it is the life line with rich community people everyone can get it on their TV. It is like a link to your whole community it is very important

16% suggested a reason that had to do with job creation, advertising for local businesses and employment postings

It is also the very best way for a business owner to get a sudden change in hours, etc. out to the public.

It provides employment.

Show viewers some of our businesses.

15% suggested a reason that had to do with valorizing local qualities – reframing local assets to emphasize their value and esteem.

It showcases the many things the island has to offer to the outside world as well as to it's own residents.

It shows people that we here on Isle Madame have intelligent people and it shows that we are community spirited.

It gives us a closer look into our community.

It promotes local cultures and history; people from each community can learn from each other

It allows for easy advertising, and takes a role to show people the talent that's in our community

9% suggested a reason that had to do with providing a service for shut-ins, people (mostly the elderly) who have difficulty getting out into the community to participate in community events

It brings the community to people who can't get out at all.

It entertains the percentage of the population on our island that are unable to get out and attend events.

The bingo is good for those who can't get out to play.

Yes, because it provides a great service to people who are sick or shut in and they can watch events, music, concerts, meetings and other interesting events that take place in and around our county

4% suggested a reason that had to do with Telile being an alternative to mainstream media flows

Yes, because for those who watch TV it provides a local alternative to TV dominated by Toronto and Montréal

Very important, sometimes we get lost in the shuffle in the major communication networks; TV paper radio tend to report stories from the large centres

4% suggested a reason that had to do with entertainment

4% offered criticisms and / or complaints

Yes, I think it is very important but don't believe that it has kept true to its original mandate to foster Community Economic Development. It seems to me that the majority of funds that Telile raises through Bingo, tapes sales, etc. goes to paying the salary of the people that work there. It doesn't take 40 hours a week times the number of people working there to produce a one night Bingo show. What else do they do the rest of the week. They should be doing much more community programming and they should be putting a percentage of their profits back into the community besides through wages.

1% suggested a reason that had to do with collecting local history

1% suggested a reason that had to do with the sharing of ideas relevant to the local community

1% suggested a reason that had to do with increasing community involvement

Yes, because it provides with the info we need for our community involvement

1% suggested a reason that had to do with Telile being a shield against decline

Yes, because our area is losing things all the time, like schools, now churches and the Candy Store and factory. In the 61v years I am living here we are getting shafted everywhere. We need tourists. We need an economy. We need people to live here not leave here.

What 100% Success Would Look Like

When asked what Telile programming would be like if Telile was 100% successful at fulfilling its role(s) in the community, responses were found in the following categories:

48% of respondents suggested that 100% success would be indicated by programming changes -- either more programming (26%), or an increase in programming diversity (22%).

[more programming] Sub-categories: programs 24 hrs / day
                                                 more interviews
                                                 more field work

<div align="center">
more evening programming
more seniors programming
more children's programming
</div>

Perhaps with more programming in the evening they would reach out to the working people and have more audience.

It would be less scrolling and more field work.

More interviews and local programming.

[greater diversity in programming]

I would like to see a greater mix of shows geared toward local politics.

It would present a reality, real-time sketch of the community life.

More news, more weather, more local interviews and political issue programs. Maybe a community hall feature, where everyone can come and voice an opinion on a subject chosen in advance: something to do with local quality of life issues, etc.

I would like to see a half hour a week on news in our community, with someone hosting the program. I think that could add advertising revenue, as I believe it would be popular

Perhaps it would have a weekly news program on local happenings.

[program diversity] Sub-categories: a documentary hour
      weekly news program
      community hall feature
      more weather
      reality TV show based on Isle Madame
      economic and social development programs
      Mi'kMaq programs

20% of respondents suggested that Telile would be the same as now, i.e. that Telile is 100% successful

5% of respondents suggested that 100% success would be indicated by an increase in the technical quality of programming

Higher quality filming

The station would be clear and free of noise and distractions when recording.

5% of respondents suggested that 100% success would be indicated by a change in how the station interacted with the community

Getting more local community groups involved.

If they could try to be at more community activities.

5% of respondents suggested that 100% success would be indicated by less reliance on the scroll to fill air time, and fewer repeats of programs

5% of respondents suggested that 100% success would be indicated by programming that was available in the evenings for people who otherwise work in the daytime

Perhaps with more programming in the evening they would reach out to the working people and have more audience

Similar to now, but with airing its programs in the evenings for the working people to see.

Telile is not very available to the working class (8-5).

3% of respondents suggested that 100% success would be indicated by a new building or a bigger station

Telile's Economic Role in the Community

When asked if Telile plays an economic role in the community, 85% said yes, 3% said no, and 13% were unsure.

The following are categories of ways in which Telile was identified as playing an economic role in the community:

creation of employment	38% (of respondents)
advertising	22%
promotion of local businesses	10%
job postings	9%
classified sales	4%
bingo winnings	4%
notices for fundraising events	4%
local business that spends locally	4%
promoting locally made artisan products	3%
promoting tourism	1%
sale of bingo books by local businesses	1%
tax dollars paid by Telile	1%

How Well Telile Responds to Community Needs

When asked if Telile responds to the community's needs, 86% answered yes, 10% answered no, and 4% were unsure. Responses were found in the following categories:

45% of responses said yes without saying why

21% of responses emphasized the local quality of Telile's programming and coverage as one of the ways Telile responds to community needs.

7% of the respondents emphasized advertising as one of the ways Telile responds to community needs.

4% of the respondents emphasized bingo as one of the ways Telile responds to community needs.

4% of the respondents emphasized the visibility of Telile staff at local events as one of the ways Telile responds to community needs.

4% of the respondents emphasized entertainment as one of the ways Telile responds to community needs.

3% of respondents emphasized Telile's responsiveness to requests, and request days, as one of the ways that Telile responds to community needs.

Other ways mentioned include preserving tradition, promoting events, encouraging community involvement, shows about local people and programs for the elderly.

How Respondents Receive TV in their Homes

57% of respondents indicated that they received television through regular or digital cable.

28% of respondents indicated that they received television through satellite.

15% of respondents indicated that they received television through broadcast.

Where Else Respondents Get Local News

When asked where else they get local news, respondents indicated the following:

52% of the respondents who answered this question indicated that they get local news from the Halifax Chronicle Herald (newspaper)

44% ATV Channel 5 (TV)

40% CBC (radio/TV)

39% CIGO The Hawk (radio)

36% The Reporter (newspaper)

6% CJFX XFM (radio)

5% Church Bulletin

4% Cape Breton Post

2% Richmond Reflections

And the following sources were mentioned in similarly small numbers: internet, word of mouth, Courier de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, Maritime Merchant.

Any Additional Comments

When asked if they have any additional comments, only 4% of respondents had criticism. The remainder responded with praise or by indicating that they had no comment to make.

60% of the comments were general praise and thanks (i.e. great work, keep up the good work, job well done, etc.).

Other comments included:

Get better camera quality. It's fuzzy and often out of focus. Also, the audio is poor quality.

I   Wish that it was available through our sattelite system.

great station, love the scroll, more evening programming. Keep up the great work.

I like that the scroll is updated daily and that you can request programming and put announcements on at any time

I   Would like to see more original local scripted programming and some local news. But, the people at Telile are good folks and work hard.

Keep up the good work, don't be afraid to be controversial, and creative, find your "niche", know your market.

I think they are doing a great job and should continue to expand their services to provide better access to residents of Isle Madame.

Oui, je pense que l'équipe travaille très fort mais les ressources humaines limitées ne permet pas d'en faire un poste qui répond à tous les besoins. Ce serait bien d'avoir plus de ressources ou de travailler de concert avec RadioCanada pour combler le besoin de nouvelles locales. Il est possible pour RC de diviser son signal et cela permettrait pour une période de temps une programmation plus professionnelle et plus adéquate.

No complaints although there should be a little more focus on other communities of the county

I give them praise because it is a very good thing to have and I congratulate them on making it work for all these years. Hopefully the survey results will provide direction and constructive feedback.

Resident
?ks action from
DoT

.pril Sampson
The Reporter

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APPENDIX B

Article published in The Reporter. verbatim reproduction of my press release to local media regarding the Telile TV Community Survey

White and we did some work
that we felt needed to be
done there while he [Kruger]
was away," said Webster.
"When he came back, we
were talking about his prop-
erty and I was unaware of
some of the problems that he
was talking about as I didn't
see that when I was there.
So, trying to give him good
public service, we went out
and he showed us what he
was talking about."
"The work that's required
there is very slight in nature.
We are going to add it to our
priority list and it will be
monitored, but at this given
time, we have much, much
more severe problems to be
working on so those are
going to get our attention at
the moment."
For Kruger, Webster's
answer is not sufficient.
"When people pay taxes
such as what we do and we
ask for a simple little thing
like ditching, it's not getting
done."

This huge group composed of sea gulls and crows is pictured flying over the *Causeway Shopping Centre* **Halloween night.** *Photo by Rick Olsen*

Telile a model for Canada - researcher

ARICHAT- "Telile
Television is a rare thing,"
said Concordia University
graduate student, Michael
Lithgow, after announcing
the launch of his communi-
ty-wide audience survey to
find out what the residents
of Richmond County think
about their community tele-
vision station.
"Telile is a financially
independent community TV
station that appears to be
well-watched and that pro-
duces regular original pro-
gramming celebrating local
culture. That's pretty
uncommon in Canada."
Lithgow recently moved
to Isle Madame to complete
research for a Masters thesis
examining the role of com-
munity television in the
local area. His study will

last for two months. On
Thursday, he launched an
audience survey designed to
find out what locals think of
the non-profit, bingo-funded
TV station. The surveys can
be found where Telile bingo
cards are sold, and on-line
at: www.sfu.ca/~malithgo.
Before going to school in

Montreal, Lithgow lived on
the West Coast of Canada.
"The communities on the
two coasts really are differ-
ent – different histories, dif-
ferent kinds of settlements,"
he explained, "but the
hunger for local information
and local stories and the cel-
ebration of local culture

happens across the country,
one coast to the other. I
think what Cape Breton has
is something all Canadians
could learn from."
For more information,
please contact Michael
Lithgow at:
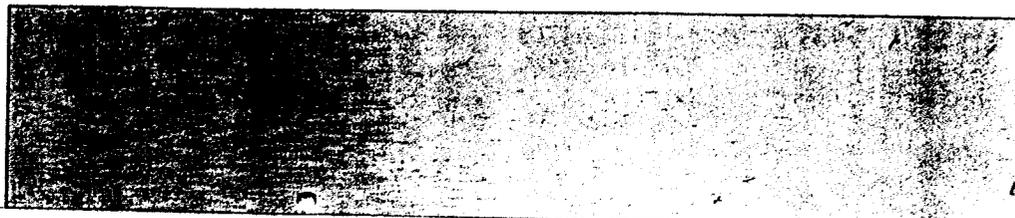malithgo@sfu.ca, 226-
1928, or 226-0654.

• Superintendent

"That's not really an uncommon suggestion or recommen-
dation," said Gillis. "I think that we understand that that is the
process that is happening in a lot of the other boards. We've
already had a presentation in the past of an example of an
external evaluation agency and it is something that the Nova
Scotia School Boards Association also endorses as well."
Gillis noted that the board did not have the information on
using external agencies in time to use it for the current eval-
uation and, as a result, will continue with the older board
based committee method for the remainder of this year's eval-
uation process.
She did note, however, that the board sees the external
evaluation method as one that is very objective and said they
hope to use the new method in future evaluations.
Gillis also noted that this year's evaluation process is
expected to be complete within the next couple of weeks.

Good Things
Happening in Nova Scotia

Did you know ...

Nova Scotia is protecting its Natural Heritage

A comprehensive new management plan lays the
groundwork for improved partnerships and stew-
ardship to help protect the outstanding qualities of
the Tobeatic Wilderness Area.

The plan protects the area's natural, cultural, and
recreational features for future generations to use,
enjoy and study says Minister of Environment and
Labour, Mark Parent.

Tobeatic Wilderness Area includes old-growth
forests, unique glacial landforms, undisturbed
wetlands and is a significant area to the Mi'kmaw.
It's another good thing happening in Nova Scotia.

Minister Mark Parent

The
XFM
Magical
Christmas
Tree Party

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Southern
Accents
Antigonish
• Treasured
Moments
Antigonish Mall

• Lyncharm
Pottery
Antigonish
• Serendipitous
New Glasgow

• Pacesetter
Antigonish
• Home Outlet
& Furniture

• AquaGeo
Adventure

Y IDATE:
ur 87th, 2006

APPENDIX C
ETHICS APPROVAL & PARTICIPANT CONSENT

November 13, 2006

Michael Lithgow
MA Media Studies Program
Concordia University

Re: "Storytelling in the Public Sphere: The Role of Participatory Media in Sustainable Community Change"

Dear Michael,

I am pleased to inform you that the above-referenced request for Ethical Approval for Research has been approved by the Communication Studies Research and Ethics Committee.

A copy of your Summary Protocol form and this letter will be placed in your department file. I wish you the best for your research.

Sincerely,

Bill Buxton
Research and Ethics Committee

William J. Buxton
Professor
Communication Studies

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