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ABSTRACT

The Man in the North (MIN) Project, established by the Arctic Institute of North America, identified 7 major problem areas as a result of a study of social problems in the North. The objective of the Task Force on Communications (a separate group set up under MIN to study 1 of these problem areas) is to define how communications technology can best meet the true communications needs of northern peoples (American Indians, Eskimos, and whites) during a 5-year period. Major findings of the task force are that economic development of the North is confined to a few centers; that a large number of northern people do not live in these economic centers; that the northern people have expressed a desire for better communications; and that Canada's Anik Satellite Program was proposed as a great benefit to the North. Conclusions reached by the Task Force include the following: that the people not living in the economic centers seriously lack communication facilities and that the Anik program will not be in accord with the expressed wishes of northerners and will not be in line with the types of communications required for social change. Part II of this report is RC006017.

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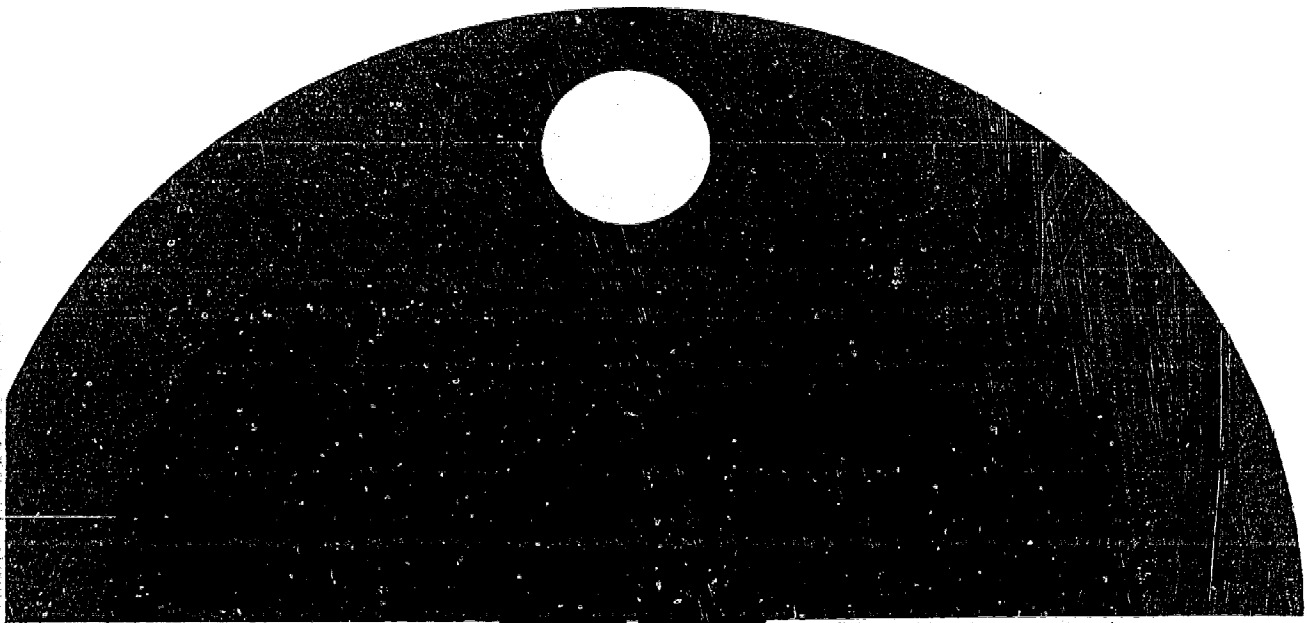
Man in the North Technical Paper

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Study/Part I

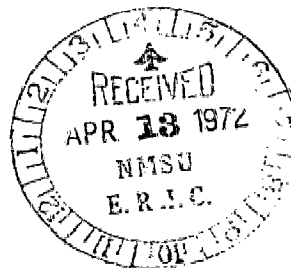
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006016



PEOPLE COMMUNICATIONS

IN

CANADA'S NORTH

Part I: The Problem

**a report of the Communications Task Force
sponsored by the Man in the North Project,
a three-year research project of
The Arctic Institute of North America on
community development in the North
September 1971**

PEOPLE COMMUNICATIONS IN CANADA'S NORTH

Part I: The Problem

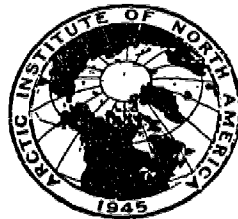
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FOREWORD

Communications in the Canadian North is the problem dealt with in this report. At a time when the autochthonous people are being precipitated into new life-styles, the problem is a particularly pressing one.

Modern communications technology may easily contribute to the process by which a minority is deprived rapidly of its cultural identity and forced to conform to the standards of the dominant society. But the same technology, if applied with due consideration to the needs and aspirations of the people it is to serve, can be a major positive factor in their transition period. It can permit them to further develop their own personality, and to infuse it into Canadian society.

The present study is the first of a two-part report by Man in the North's Task Force on Communications in the Canadian North. It attempts to present the problem in relation to the expressed needs and to current official policies. The second part, to be issued by end 1971, will offer suggestions by the Task Force for the best possible scheme of northern communications as related to the people.

Eric Gourdeau
Director
Man in the North Project

We are in great haste to construct a magnetic telegraph from Maine to Texas; but Maine and Texas, it may be, have nothing important to communicate.

--Henry David Thoreau, Walden, 1854

A. THE RAISON D'ETRE OF THIS REPORT

"The people in the village have never been consulted on any subject for over a hundred years." These are the words of John Hoyt, an adviser of the Yukon Native Brotherhood, when questioned about the involvement of the people in choosing a site for the relocation of some of Whitehorse's native residents. This is an attitude northern people often have when it comes to decisions, taken by southerners, that affect the lives of northerners. Too often in the past, northerners say, such decisions made without consulting the people to be affected have worked to the detriment of northerners. Recognition of this fact is one of the reasons that prompted the Arctic Institute of North America to establish its Man in the North (MIN) project and give voice to the opinions of northerners regarding the social problems of their environment.

In November 1970, MIN held a conference on Community Development at Inuvik, located in the Mackenzie River delta of the Northwest Territories. (The report of the Inuvik Conference is available at the Institute's Montreal Office.) The purpose was to assemble representative northern people--Indians, Eskimos, Whites--and to encourage the expression of their ideas about social problems in the North, with particular emphasis on what should be done about them. The result of the conference was that seven major problem areas were identified. These were:

- . communications
- . transportation
- . community centers
- . school drop-outs
- . a history book of the North
- . teachers
- . social health.

A separate task force will eventually be set up under the MIN project to study and recommend action on each one of these subjects. In all cases, heavy involvement of northern people will be called for.

The objective of the Task Force on Communications is "to define how communications technology, present and future, can best meet the true communications needs of northern peoples during the coming five-year period."

The members of the Task Force are as follows:

- . Willie Adams, Rankin Inlet, NWT, member of the NWT Council
- . David Brough, Toronto, audio-visual expert
- . Andrew Cowan, Ottawa, Director, CBC Northern Service
- . Wally Firth, Whitehorse, Yukon Territory, Indian-Eskimo Association
- . Miss Heather Hudson, Ottawa, Consultant DOC, Government of Canada
- . Mrs. Lena Pedersen, Coppermine, NWT, member of the NWT Council
- . Mrs. Nettie Peratrovich, Washington, DC and Anchorage, Alaska
- . Mrs. Gail Valaskakis, Montreal, Department of Communications, Loyola College, Montreal
- . Tony Williamson, Cartwright, Labrador, Extension Department of Memorial University, St. John's, Nfld.
- . Gerry Kenney, Quebec City, Planning Engineer, Northeastern Territories, Bell Canada (Task Force Co-ordinator).

All ten members of the Task Force are versed in one aspect or another of northern communications. Five of the ten are northerners and five are autochthonous (native) persons. Continuous liaison between the MIN staff and the Task Force is assumed by Eric Gourdeau, of Montreal and Quebec, Director of the MIN project

Input information for the Task Force work was derived from many sources:

- . examination of past conferences and commissions which considered northern communications, such as the Carrothers Commission, the Mid-Canada Development Conference, the Inuvik MIN Conference, the Yellowknife Northern Communications Conference, and so on
- . consultation with northern organizations specifically set up for the purpose of promoting better communications
- . research on the literature pertaining to communications and social aspects of the North and other underdeveloped areas
- . numerous personal contacts with northern people in the course of the Task Force work
- . and finally the experience of the members of the Task Force themselves in the North and in communications.

One must eat with the
stomach and with the head.
In the North today, we have
enough to eat with our
stomachs, but nothing to
eat with our heads.

--Josepi Padlayat, Saglouc, Quebec

B. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The major findings of the MIN Task Force on Communications are as follows:

1. Economic development of the North is at present very spotty, with hundreds of miles separating economically significant areas. An exception is the Yukon, the Great Slave Lake area, and the Peace River area of Alberta.

In general, the areas of economic significance are fairly well provided with communications facilities, if not the actual program material.

2. A large number, perhaps even the majority of northern people do not live in these areas, but rather in areas of little or no economic significance.

In general, the areas of little or no economic significance are lacking in communications.

3. The northern people have expressed a desire for communications permitting:

- a. the reception of relevant information
- b. the transmission of their needs and desires to those in power.
- c. lateral communications with others of their kind with similar ways of life and attendant problems.

Experts on communications in developing areas maintain that the needs in 3 above must be met if social change is to progress satisfactorily.

4. The Anik Satellite Program was sold to the public on the promise that it would be of great benefit to the North.

In reality, the Anik Satellite Program as it is planned will be of little value to the North. The original reasons for the Anik Satellite Program, as given in the House of Commons, do not appear to be valid.

We Eskimo people in the North feel so isolated. We never see each other to talk about problems that are the same for all of us.

--Mary (Panagoosho) Cousins, Frobisher Bay, NWT

C. WHAT IS THIS "NORTH"?

Definition

The area of Canada reported on here would, if superimposed upon Europe, cover all the European countries with the exception of Greece, Turkey, and a part of Russia. And in this vast land live only about 250,000 people.¹

What is the boundary of this "North" we are talking about? There is no specific political boundary defining Canada's North. The Province of Manitoba Royal Commission Inquiry into Northern Transportation suggests, for its report, a southern boundary for the North reflecting "the limits of continuous population distribution and continuity of the transport and communications system." This is the definition that has been adopted by the MIN Task Force on Communications and its interpretation is reflected in the dark line cutting across Map 1 from east to west. The exact location of this line is of course subject to debate; some may argue that it should lie a few miles more to the north or to the south in certain places. Universal agreement is not possible or necessary for the purposes of this study; the location of the line is sufficiently accurate to derive valid conclusions.

1. Instant World (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971) estimates 246,000 people living north of 55° latitude, which corresponds quite closely to the area covered by this study.

Economic development

The North is basically an empty land. Hundreds and even thousands of miles separate its centers of economic importance and its villages.

There are four basic types of operations that give economic importance to northern locations:

- . resource extraction
- . hydroelectric development
- . administration and logistical support centers
- . military bases.

Map 1 shows locations of economic significance in the North, broken down into the above four categories. It is readily seen that most of these centers are located in the Great Slave Lake region of the Northwest Territories and in the southern half of the Yukon Territory. (Information for the northern parts of the provinces is incomplete at this time. The Task Force is presently gathering this information.)

These regions are more highly developed than the rest of the North because the impact of transportation systems permitted the establishment of economically viable mines and administration centers. The remaining centers of development across Canada's North are widely scattered. It is in the economically significant locations that the majority of the North's white population resides.

Populations and communications

In the centers shown on Map 1 live some 100,000 persons, mostly white and often transient. The communications in these centers are generally very good. Almost all the locations shown on Map 1 have conventional local and long-distance telephone service. Almost all have broadcast radio stations, and many have television stations. But of the North's 250,000 people, many--perhaps the majority--do not reside in these locations of efficient and conventional

communications. Large numbers live away from these centers in much more primitive surroundings, often with no broadcast radio station, no television, no telephone (except perhaps radio telephone), and in many cases no access roads. Map 2 (following this page) shows locations in the North where 50 or more people live without the benefit of the communications just cited.

Precise data on the population pockets in the northern parts of the four western provinces is hard to find, and the information is incomplete at this stage. However, as an example, preliminary examination of the data available for the province of Manitoba within our study area indicates at least 10 locations with populations ranging from 580 to 2,250 with no roads, broadcast radio stations, television stations or long-distance telephone other than high-frequency radio telephone. These are shown on Map 3 (following this page) It may be expected that similar pockets exist in the other three western provinces.

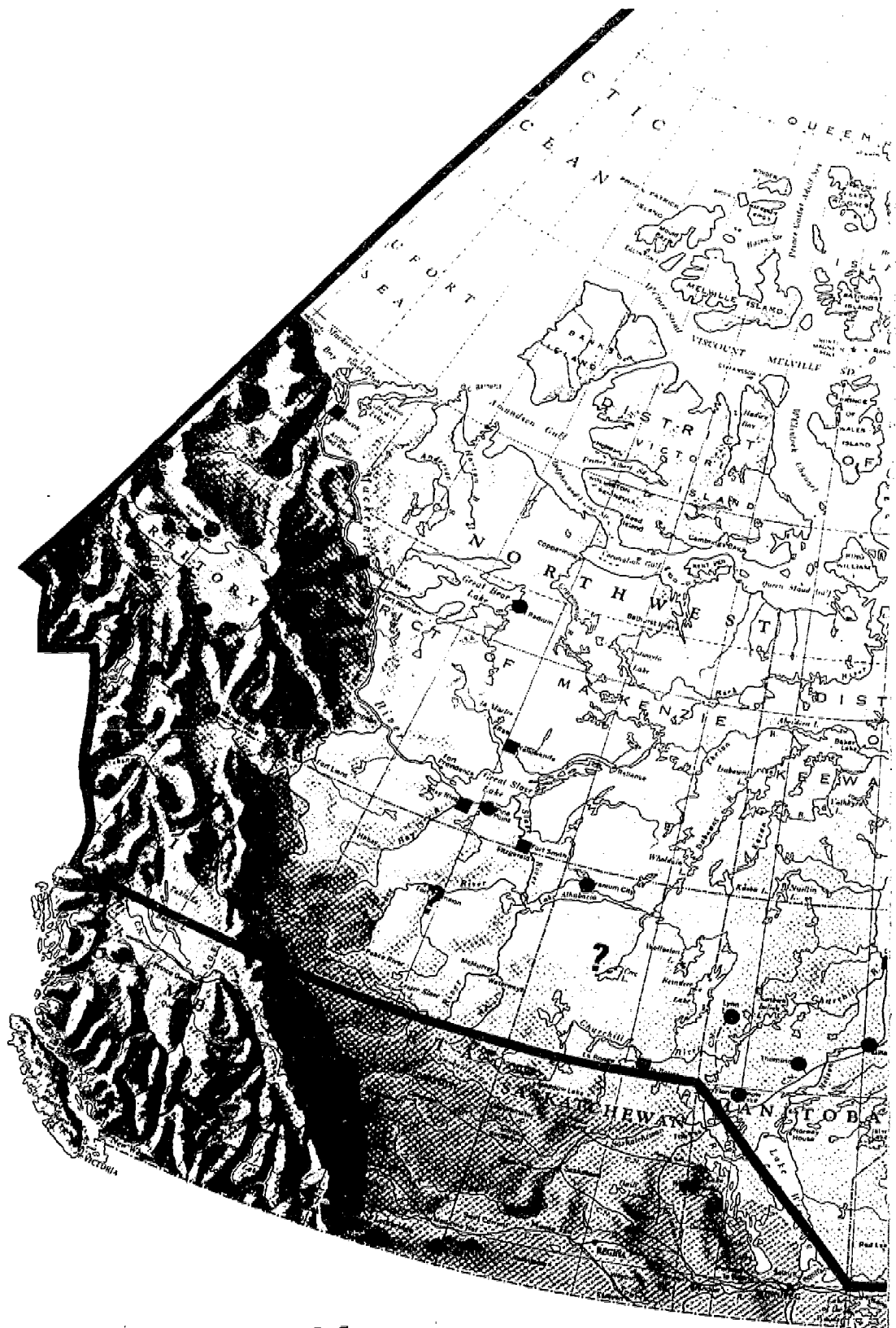
To summarize, a large part of the North's people live away from centers of economic significance and are thus lacking in communications, as well as other amenities.

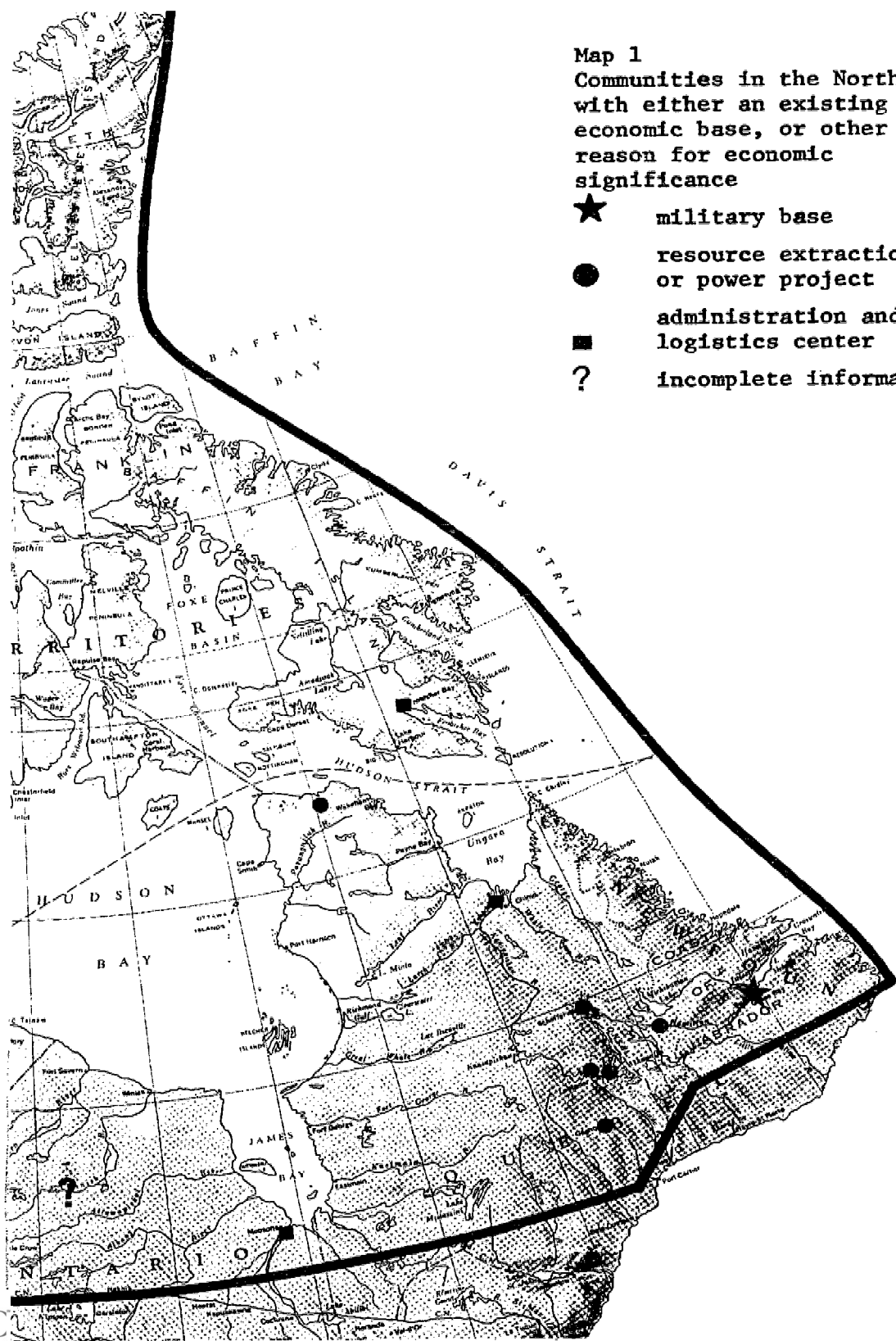
Social conditions in the North

A large percentage of the people living in the North (as defined in this Report) are autochthons; precise figures are not available. Let us examine their social conditions.

To begin with, here are a few statistics quoted from the April-May 1969 issue of Human Relations, a publication of the Ontario Human Rights Commission:

- . the death rate among pre-school Indian children is 8 times that of white children
- . the life expectancy of the Canadian Indian is 34 years; the average for all Canadians is 62 years
- . 46% of Indian families earn less than \$1,000 per year
- . 50% of Indian Children fail to reach Grade 7; 61% fail to reach Grade 8; 97% fail to reach Grade 12





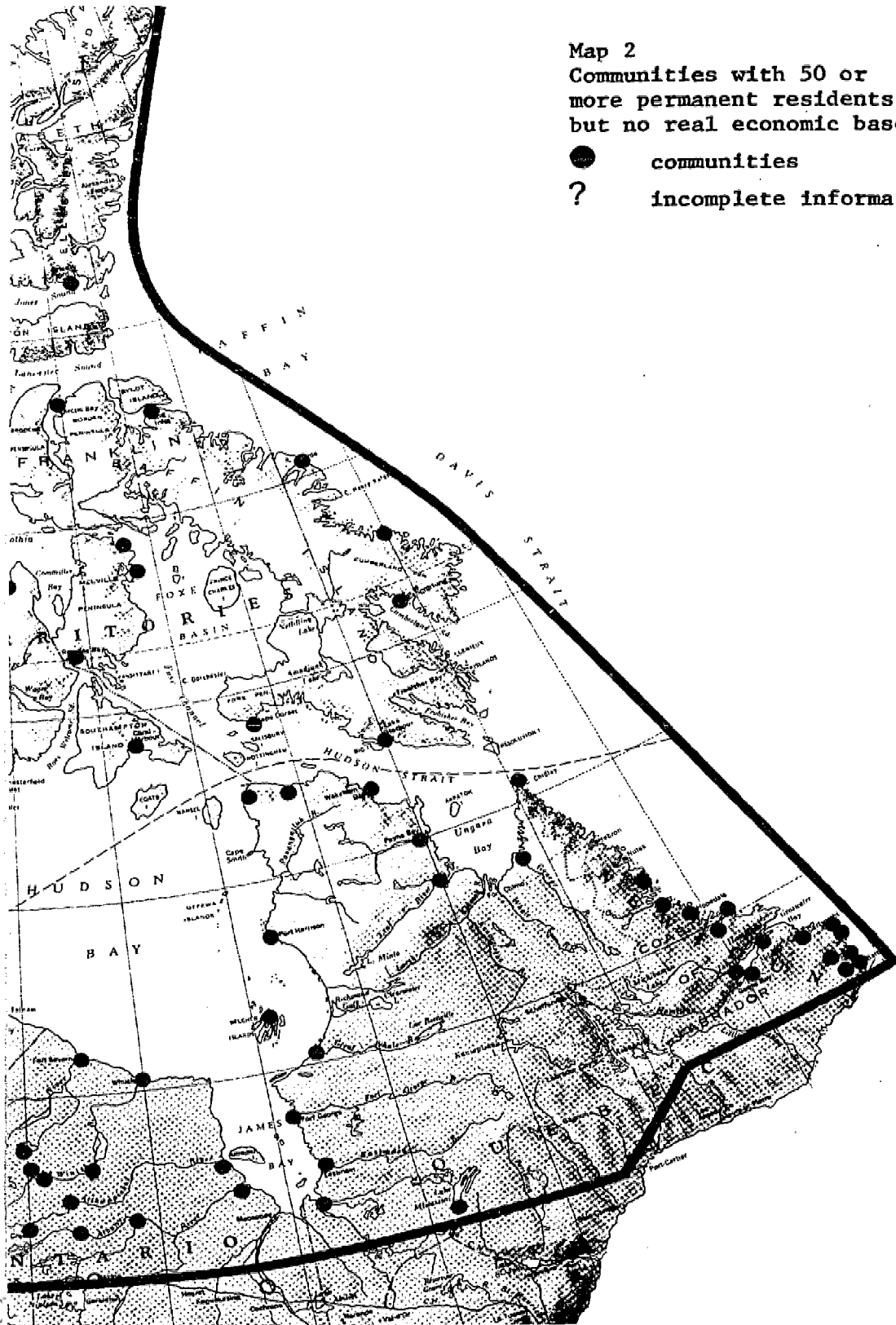
Map 1
 Communities in the North
 with either an existing
 economic base, or other
 reason for economic
 significance

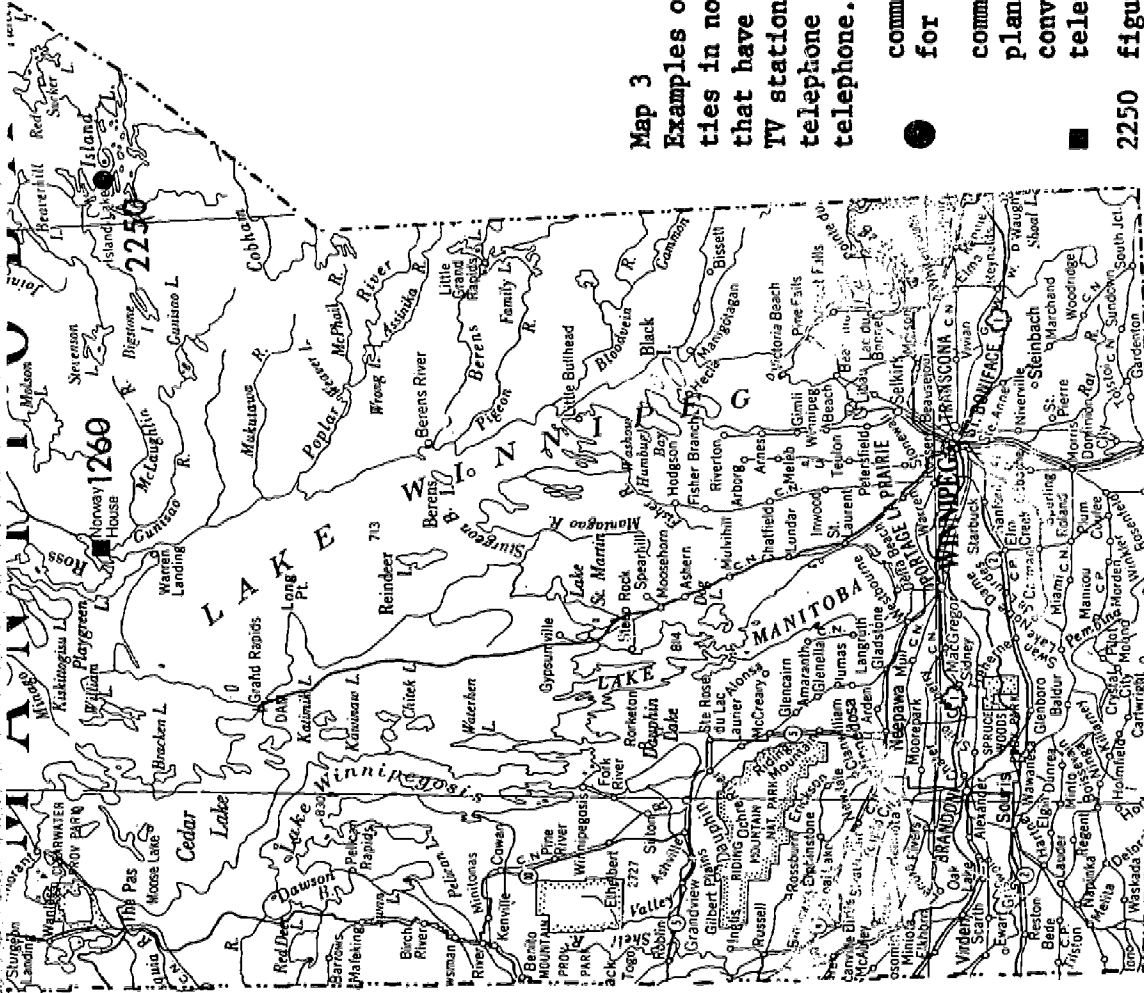
- ★ military base
- resource extraction or power project
- administration and/or logistics center
- ? incomplete information



Map 2
Communities with 50 or
more permanent residents
but no real economic base.

- communities
- ? incomplete information





Map 3

Examples of Indian communities in northern Manitoba that have no road, radio or TV station and no long distance telephone other than radio

- communities with no plans for improving communications
- communities with approved plans for installing conventional long-distance telephone service

2250 figures indicate population

- . in Saskatchewan, where Indians comprise 3% of the population, they comprise 80% of the female inmates in prisons.

In many respects, the story is the same for Eskimos. The Economic Council of Canada in its Annual Review, September 1968, provides these statistics.

- . the infant mortality rate of Eskimos is four times the rate for the Canadian population as a whole
- . the average age at death for all Canadians in 1965 was a little over 62 years; for Eskimos it was only about 20 years.

These statistics clearly point out that many of the North's people are, according to the Economic Council, "citizens minus." The 1966 Annual Review of the Economic Council had this to say about our "citizens minus":

Finally, no visitor to the North can help but be seized by the serious plight of the native people. Whatever the reason, the impact of modern civilization upon the culture and way of life of the Eskimo and Northern Indians has been sudden, drastic and disruptive. Their problem today is both difficult and urgent. The need to improve their social and economic condition, and at the same time to assure them of a rightful participation in the future development of the North constitutes a pressing challenge to the people of Canada today.

To summarize the situation, the Indian-Eskimo Association, the National Brotherhood of Canada, and the Canadian Metis Society had this to say in a joint brief presented to the Canadian Radio and Television Commission in December 1969:

Canada's native peoples require immediate and special treatment because they form a unique group in the nation. Not only are they the poorest of the poor: they stand out from the others because of their skin colouring, their features and their cultural background. Their position is comparable to that of the Negro in the United States; they are culturally alienated, economically handicapped and socially deprived. Law and custom have made them second class citizens.

There can be no doubt that drastic social change is urgently required if our northern peoples are to "participate in the future development of the North."

Social change is taking place in the black ghettos of the United States, very violently. We can read about it in the newspapers every day. Social change has taken place in Greenland quietly. In our Canadian North we still have a choice. Do we want change to be violent or peaceful? If we want peaceful change, then Professor David McQueen of Glendon College, York University (formerly Vice-Chairman of the Economic Council) to the Senate Committee on Poverty,² advises us that

One of the important things you can do will be to bring the silent constituency of the poor themselves to life...The poor, for various reasons which are no fault of their own, tend to be inarticulate. They are comparatively unacquainted with the process by which political decisions are made, with the process by which certain groups express their interest, and so express them that those interests in turn are dealt with through the medium of government policies. You will have to reach out to the poor, encourage them to be articulate and bring them along to the more fruitful consideration of their own problems. This is most important because they have a great deal to teach us about what is wrong with our present structure of

2. Senate Special Committee on Poverty, Proceedings, 22 April 1969. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.

anti-poverty programs, why they are not doing the things we often suppose them to be doing. The generation of more important participation will be the most important part of your work.

How can the people of the North be more articulate about their situation? How can they participate in the effective solution of their own problems? The next chapter explores what contribution the right kind of communications can make to northern social change and development.

Summary

1. The North is huge, as large as Europe.
2. It is sparsely populated; only 250,000 people live in it.
3. The North's centers of economic significance are few in relation to area and are widely scattered, separated by hundreds of miles.
4. The centers of economic importance are largely populated by white people, often transient, and are generally well supplied with communications.
5. A large part, perhaps even the majority of the North's people do not live in these centers of economic significance, but rather in isolated areas seriously lacking not only in communications, but many other amenities of life. In general these are autochthonous people.

Our inventions are wont to
be pretty toys, which
distract our attention from
serious things. They are
but improved means to an
unimproved end...

--Henry David Thoreau, Walden, 1854

D. WHAT ARE THE COMMUNICATIONS NEEDS?

The people speak

In 1966, the Carrothers Commission published its report which eventually led to the establishment of Yellowknife as the seat of the Northwest Territories government. During its investigation, hundreds of submissions were received from people concerned with the North, especially the Northerners themselves. Several dealt with communications. The following quotations are from two of them:

Submission #AC-143 by Joseph Koona (E5-680) of Pond Inlet:
I want to understand why some people that have to go hunting cannot get money before they go... How can anyone hunt without ammunition?

I have heard that in other places like Frobisher Bay, Arctic Bay, and Igloolik, people get ammunition when they have to go out hunting...

I have heard that in some other places people get much better help...

I want to understand why...

Submission #AC-107 by Pauloosie (E6-330) of Broughton Island:

It would be joyous if the land of the Eskimos could have an authoritative voice...

In these few words lies the essence of the communications needs of our northern peoples. In these few words, which express so eloquently the frustrations of our northern peoples in not being able to communicate effectively, may be detected:

- . the need to hear meaningful and relevant things
- . the need to establish ties between the presently isolated pockets of humanity that dot the North and who share similar ways of life, who face similar ways of life, who face similar problems-- who are in truth brothers--in other words, the profoundly human call for identity
- . the need to be heard in a meaningful way.

Although the above words were spoken by Eskimos, the basic needs that they express are the same whether the people involved are Eskimos, Indians, Metis, or Whites who live in the North, either temporarily or permanently. The manner in which these needs are satisfied may differ depending upon the people involved and the part of the country in which they live, but the same basic needs for meaningful two-way communication and identity exist for all peoples in all locations.

There have been many other expressions of communications needs by northerners: the Yellowknife Northern Communications Conference of September 1970, numerous submissions by northerners to the present Task Force, many verbal contacts, and perhaps the most eloquent expression of all, the spontaneous setting-up of northern communications societies by northerners themselves.

The message is clear. That relevance of communications to the northern context is an important factor is evident from

- . the repeated requests for local radio broadcasting stations

- . requests for local input to existing "network only" low power relay transmitters (LPRT's)
- . requests for television and radio programming material that relates to the northern audience
- . societies that have spontaneously evolved for the purpose of operating local radio stations, for example, Alberta Native Communications Society, Kenomadiwin Radio (Nipigon, Ont.), Pond Inlet Radio, Great Whale River Radio and so on.

The message is equally clear when it comes to communicating laterally among communities of similar backgrounds and interests. Examples of this type of communication are the projects of the Indians of the Pacific coast (RAVEN, radio and visual educational network), the Manitoba Native Brotherhood, Memorial University of St. John's, Nfld. in Labrador, the Eskimo happy hour in Nouveau-Québec, whose purpose (among others) is to promote inter-community communications.

On the subject of being heard can there be any doubt that northerners wish their views to be taken into consideration by those who hold the power of decision? Northerners have often told us that decisions are taken in the South which affect northerners without enough regard to their views. The Yukon Native Brotherhood indicated this need for a north to south communication channel in a positive way. When the Senate Committee on Poverty was holding its 1970 hearings in Whitehorse the Yukon Native Brotherhood submitted a brief on the conditions of the Indians in the Yukon. This brief was accompanied by a videotape report of actual conditions mentioned in the brief, for all to see. Memorial University of Newfoundland has also used videotape recording to make conditions in Labrador known to cabinet ministers and members of Parliament.

Thus, not only words but concrete actions as well speak for the desires of northerners for communications.

Social scientists agree

Dr. Wilbur Schramm, Director of the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University, is a well-known expert on communications in developing countries. He is the author of several books on mass media and communications. He has participated in the three Unesco regional meetings which were part of a survey to determine mass media requirements for countries in the process of economic and social development. One of his books, Mass Media and National Development,³ deals extensively with the question of communications in underdeveloped countries. (Can anyone question that our North is an underdeveloped "country"?) Here is what he has to say about communications and social development in underdeveloped countries:

Free and adequate information is thus not only a goal: it is also a means of bringing about social change. Without adequate and effective communications, economic and social development will inevitably be retarded, and may be counterproductive.

He goes on to say that the media must carry information needed by underdeveloped people to play their parts in a modern society, and continues:

But it must also provide channels by which these people may discuss with their fellow villagers and with other villages what policies and practices they shall adopt; and it must provide channels by which the needs and wishes of the villagers may be carried up the hierarchy to form a part of the higher level decisions.

Sound familiar? It should. Back in the section on needs expressed by the people we saw that community radio stations were mentioned as being desirable. Are they not the "channels by which these people may discuss with their fellow villagers"?

3. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1964.

Joseph Koonoa said that he heard that in other villages, people received ammunition to go hunting, but that in his village he was told it was impossible. "I want to understand," he said. Does this not indicate a need for "channels by which these people may discuss with...other villages"?

When Pauloosie speaks of how joyous it would be if the Eskimo land had an "authoritative voice," was he not referring to "channels by which the needs and wishes of villagers may be carried up the hierarchy."

Examination of the needs as expressed by the northern people themselves reveals a very close correlation with what Schramm shows is required for effective social change, that is:

- . the reception of information relevant to the social context
- . the lateral channels between villagers and villages for discussions of mutual problems and solutions
- . the channel back up the hierarchy for the feedback of the villagers' needs and wishes.

What do we mean when we say relevant information? Many northerners consulted by our Task Force felt that much of the information they were receiving by radio and television was not meaningful to their lives. The programs did not concern themselves enough with local affairs. They were more concerned with distant locations. There was lack of local flavor to the programs. It was not "their" radio and television. Mrs. F. Bodie of Yellowknife in her statement at the Northern Communications Conference, Yellowknife, November 1970, typifies the attitude of northerners in regard to programming. She said that they are interested in news on television about the Northwest Territories. They would like more say on television programming. They are also concerned about radio programming in which there are programs suited to an urban audience and not suited to the North.

Again there is remarkable agreement between the northerners and Schramm, who says:

In many countries...(feedback) has been accomplished, with great effect, by building localness into the media. Radio becomes local radio; newspapers move into the towns and send their reporters into the villages. They abandon the idea that programs must be produced entirely in the radio or television studio....In other words, they rely heavily on local production. And by so doing they bring about a feedback of local news and opinion into the media, and encourage the audience to think that it is indeed their channel--not merely a channel that comes to them.

Every citizen of traditional society, faced with basic decisions on values and customs, would rather talk them over than be harangued about them. This is why two way communication through mass media programs helps encourage development decisions.⁴

An important, possibly negative, effect of the wrong kind of communications is pointed out by Schramm: "It can raise the social temperature by raising aspirations when the developing economy is not ready to satisfy them." The importance of this statement will be seen in a subsequent chapter on the existing plans for northern communications.

4. p. 175. Some other parallel findings: D. Lermer, The Passing of Traditional Society, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1958; Y.V. Lakshmana, A Study of Two Indian Villages, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis, 1966; E.M. Rogers, Modernization Among Peasants; The Impact of Communications, New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1969.

White man talks too much.
He says he is going to do
a lot of things, then he
doesn't do them.

--Mary Ekho, Frobisher Bay, NWT

E. ANIK OR PANIK?

What was promised

It is planned that Canada's Anik communications satellite system will become operational in early 1973 following a late 1972 launching of the satellite itself. It is a well-known characteristic of satellite communications that distance between communicating points on earth is of little consequence. Via satellite it is as easy to link up with an isolated location thousands of miles away as it is to link up with a community next door--except that it is more expensive to build an earth station in an isolated location than in a non-isolated location. This characteristic, coupled with the following facts and promises, could only have created one picture in the minds of the Canadian public, and especially northerners--that Anik would have a tremendously valuable impact on the North and its people.

Anik means brother in Eskimo.

On 14 April 1969, Eric Kierans, then Minister of Communications, preceded a statement in the House of Commons regarding the purpose of Anik with the following words: "As I have said previously it amounts to a northern vision for the 1970s." He then went on to state what the satellite would do:

First, provide television coverage to the North and in underdeveloped regions. There is no other economic way this can be done. Second, provide telephone and message communications service to the North and to underdeveloped regions to bring these areas into the mainstream of Canadian life by high quality telecommunications.

There were two other stated purposes, to provide French and English television to all Canadians and to supplement existing microwave structures, but the first two purposes concerned the North.

On the occasion of a speech to the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce on 12 November 1970, Mr. Kierans stated:

Isolation--spiritual and physical--has been a facet of northern life. Improved communications is a major remedy. Our task is to see that isolation is ended and replaced by sound and effective communications to, from and within the North.

Laurent Picard, Vice President of the CBC, in a speech at the Harrison Hot Springs Liberal Party Conference in November 1969 said in speaking of Anik: "The main value of such satellite service would be to the remote and northern communities."

In an article in the 29 December 1969 issue of Le Soleil, a Quebec City daily, Gilles Bergeron, then Assistant Deputy Minister, Federal Department of Communications, was quoted (author's translation):

It (Anik) will thus end the cultural solitude of certain minority groups and will favor the development of Arctic regions, which it will then be possible to tie into large centers by telephone and television.

In the Commons debate of 14 April 1969, on the Telesat Bill, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Jean Chrétien, said:

It (Anik) has tremendous importance for Northern Canada, for its inhabitants and especially for the Eskimos and Indians. For the first time in their whole life, once

the system is established, those people will really be in a position to communicate with the other Canadian citizens and to take part in all aspects of Canadian life.

The above are only a few examples of the statements proclaiming the extensive impact of Anik on Canada's North. There can be no doubt that the strongest ostensible selling factor for Anik was the benefits for the North and its people that were to be the results of the program.

Now these promises of wonderful things for the North were spoken by respected and responsible people. They included cabinet ministers and other high-level government officials, plus senior corporate officials of companies involved in communications. There can be no doubt of the sincerity of these people when they spoke of ending "cultural solitude." It was a true and valid concern for Canada's autochthonous people that made them say that "for the first time in their whole life...those people will really be in a position to communicate with the other Canadian citizens and to take part in all aspects of Canadian life."

The concern of these people for the well-being of the North and northerners is valid and their statements are respected. It is this concern for the North that allowed a \$90,000,000 communications satellite project to be approved in both the House of Commons and the Senate. It was the recognition of a serious lack of communications and an urgent need for better communications in the North that caused politicians and business men to choose the avenue of satellite communications for the North.

However, we will see in the next section that in spite of the expressed concern of Canada's senior politicians for the North and its lack of communications, in spite of the expression of communications needs by the northerners themselves, in spite of the experience and opinions of experts in

communications in underdeveloped countries all over the world, in spite of all these considerations, Canada appears bent on a communications program for its North that is not even on target before Anik is launched, a program that takes no account of the people's desires nor of the opinions of experts in the field of communications in underdeveloped areas.

What will Anik really do?

The Anik communications satellite system, as presently conceived, was described at the International Communications Conference in Montreal in June 1970 by John Almond, Assistant Vice-President, Engineering of Telesat Canada. Mr. Almond's paper detailed an initial system (costing some \$90,000,000) consisting of thirty-five earth stations plus, of course, the satellite itself. Twenty-three of the thirty-five stations will be in the northern area encompassed by this study.

The twenty-three northern earth stations will be of two types:

1. Northern Telecommunications Station (NTC) providing TV reception and two-way message (voice and written) communications. Frobisher Bay and Resolute Bay are scheduled for this type of station. However, Rankin Inlet may be substituted for Resolute Bay, or may become perhaps a third NTC.

2. Remote TV station (RTV) providing for TV reception only. The twenty-one stations will be installed in:

- . Yukon Territory: Clinton Creek, Dawson City, Elsa, Whitehorse, Faro, Watson Lake
- . Northwest Territories: Norman Wells, Fort Good Hope, Inuvik, Yellowknife, Pine Point, Fort Smith
- . British Columbia: Cassiar, Fort Nelson
- . Saskatchewan: Uranium City, La Ronge
- . Manitoba: Churchill
- . Quebec: Great Whale River, Fort Chimo, Fort George
- . Newfoundland: Goose Bay.

What does this mean for the North? The effect on Canada's North of the \$90,000,000 Anik satellite program as planned today will, in brief summary, be as follows:

1. Frobisher Bay, Resolute Bay and perhaps Rankin Inlet will receive live network TV. Resolute Bay, and perhaps Rankin Inlet, will also benefit from standard long-distance telephone service which would replace the radio telephone they now have.
2. Twenty-one other communities will receive live network TV. It must be mentioned that the only benefit derived from the satellite in these twenty-one cases is to provide the possibility of live TV as it occurs on the southern network, rather than the delayed taped TV now provided by the Frontier Coverage Package (FCP) stations.

Let us briefly examine the nature of the twenty-three northern communities that will be affected by Anik. The table on page 24 gives some pertinent data.

A glance at the table on the following page quickly indicates that the locations to be affected by the satellite, with only a few exceptions, are already provided with broadcast radio, TV, and conventional telephone. In other words, only four of the twenty-three locations can be said to be isolated from the point of view of standard communications. These four communities with a population of some 3,000 will have, with the launching of Anik, a more solid contact with the outside world than they had before: not necessarily what the "needs" indicate they should have, but in any case, a more solid contact with the outside world.

The remaining nineteen communities with a population of some 59,000 will receive "live" southern TV instead of "taped" southern TV.

Possible additional plans

In addition to the above definitely planned use of the Anik satellite, consideration is being given to using a satellite channel for so-called "thin route" service to small isolated communities. These communities would benefit from one to six

COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE AS OF AUGUST 1971

| Location | Medium | | | Pop- ulation | Economic base |
|---|----------|-----------|-------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| | Taped TV | CBC Radio | Convent- ional LD Phone | | |
| Frobisher Bay, NWT | no | yes | yes | 1,971 | Administration, logistic support |
| Resolute Bay, NWT | no | no | no | 173 | Logistic support |
| Clinton Creek, YT | yes | yes | yes | 405 | Mining |
| Dawson City, YT | yes | yes | yes | 775 | Administration, tourism |
| Elsa, YT | yes | yes | yes | 484 | Mining |
| Whitehorse, YT | yes | yes | yes | 10,800 | Administration, logistic support |
| Faro, YT | no | yes | yes | 950 | Mining |
| Watson Lake, YT | yes | yes | yes | 1,115 | Mining |
| Norman Wells, NWT | no | yes | yes | 363 | Oil |
| Fort Good Hope, NWT | no | yes | yes | 380 | Trapping |
| Inuvik, NWT | yes | yes | yes | 3,300 | Administration, logistic support |
| Yellowknife, NWT | yes | yes | yes | 8,000 | Administration, mining, logistic support |
| Pine Point, NWT (includes Hay River, Fort Resolution) | yes | yes | yes | 5,200 | Mining, commun- ications, fishing |
| Fort Smith, NWT | yes | yes | yes | 2,618 | Administration, logistic support |
| Cassiar, BC | yes | yes | yes | 1,500 | Mining |
| Fort Nelson, BC | yes | yes | yes | 1,600 | Oil, mining |
| La Ronge, Sask. | yes | yes | yes | 994 | Mining |
| Uranium City, Sask. | yes | yes | yes | 1,665 | Mining |
| Churchill, Man. | yes* | yes | yes | 3,200 | Administration, logistic support |
| Fort Chimo, Que. | no | no | no | 701 | Administration, logistic support |
| Great Whale, Que. | no | no | no | 965 | Administration, logistic support |
| Fort George, Que. | no | no | no | 1,351 | Administration |
| Goose Bay, Labrador | yes | yes | yes | 13,500 | Military, administration, logistic support |
| Total | | | | 62,010 | |

* Community-owned TV station affiliated to CBC

long-distance telephone or data channels each plus a program channel for reception of network radio from the South. Although the thirteen locations have not been definitely selected yet, it is expected that a population of some 5,000 persons would benefit.

The "thin route" concept is not at this moment decided upon. It is only being considered as a possible additional use of Anik. It is expected that its implementation would add some \$3 to \$3.5 million to the capital cost of the Anik program.

Relevant program material

Is any consideration being given to the relevancy of the program material that will be beamed over the satellite channels to northern locations? On 17 May 1971, the following questions (verbatim) were asked in the House of Commons:

1. Does the CBC plan to use a satellite to provide television service to the people of the North and, if so, in what manner?
2. Will the programs be the same as those now broadcast or will programs be especially prepared to meet the tastes and needs of the people of the North, particularly the Indians, Eskimos and Metis?
3. Will such programs be made in the North by the people living there including the native people?
4. Have the people of the North, particularly the native people, been consulted about the kind of television programs they would like to receive by satellite?
5. Are there any plans for a television production center in the Northern Region similar to the centers existing in all the other regions of CBC, which would produce programs for satellite transmission?

The following answers were given by Mr. James Hugh Faulkner, Parliamentary Secretary to the Secretary of State, who cites the CBC as his source of information:

1. Yes, the corporation plans to use the Telesat satellite to transmit CBC English and French network services for ground reception and broadcasting by existing and planned stations in the North.
2. The full live network service will be transmitted, instead of the four hour program package now available on a delayed basis. There are no present plans for programs especially prepared for northerners, but it is possible that such a regional service could be developed in the future for scheduling in time periods where national network service is not scheduled. Work is being done with this objective in mind.
3. Not initially.
4. Yes, the views of people who live in the North were expressed at a Conference on Northern Communications held at Yellowknife in September 1970.
5. At present there are no plans for such a TV production center in the North.

These answers make it quite clear that no special effort is planned to impart regional or local relevance to the program material that will be broadcast in the North.

There is also an inconsistency to be detected in these answers. Answer 4 said that the views of the people of the North were expressed at the Yellowknife Northern Communications Conference. This is so, and these views reflected the obvious concern of the people about relevancy in any material that would be beamed to them both by radio and television. "Broadcasters must understand the thinking, cultural differences, and the concerns of the people who need help. This can be achieved by native broadcasters or others who have empathy with the people" (Rev. Adam Cuthand).

The inconsistency is obvious when it is noted that answers 1, 2, 3, and 5 indicate no plans for programs with relevance to the northern context.

To what degree will the planned use of Anik meet the needs of the North?

If we consider on the one hand that there are some 250,000 people in Canada's North, as defined in this study, and

- . that the expressed desires of the northerners for communications include the need to receive meaningful and relevant information, the need to establish ties with their brothers in other locations who share similar ways of life and similar problems, the need to be heard in a meaningful way
- . that local involvement in communications media is considered very important by northerners
- . that experts on communications in underdeveloped situations agree with the expressed desires of the northerners as being necessary for beneficial social change;

on the other hand, if we consider the Anik system as planned today, we see that

- . of the North's 250,000 people only 55,000 will be affected by satellite communications
- . even if the "thin route" concept were implemented, only 5,000 additional northerners would benefit from it
- . no plans exist for imparting "relevancy to the context" into the programming material for the North
- . no plans exist for local or regional emphasis to the programming material for the North.
- . the Anik satellite program will cost in the order of \$90,000,000.

If we consider all these factors, we can only conclude that the \$90,000,000 being spent will bring little benefit to the North and its people in relation to the amount involved. The justification of the expenditure of such an amount can obviously not be found in the benefits that will accrue to the North and its people, but must be looked for elsewhere.

Why Anik

Let us examine the original four reasons given for the Anik satellite program, which would make Canada the first country of the world to have a domestic geostationary satellite communications system:

1. TV for the North
2. Telephone and message communications service to the North
3. An extension of television service, in both languages to all Canadians
4. A backup to the present east-west microwave network.

Let us examine the validity of these reasons in the light of the information already presented in this report.

1. TV for the North with no attempt to make it relevant to the northern context is definitely not in accord with the desires of northerners. In fact it could well "raise the social temperature, raising people's aspirations when the developing economy is not ready to satisfy them" (Schramm).
2. Telephone and message communications to the North is a valid reason, but only if the benefit is in proper relation to the cost. As planned, Anik will bring telephone and message communications to only four communities in the North that do not already have them. And even if the as yet unplanned "thin route" concept were implemented, the additional number of communities would initially be 13. A total of 5,000 additional people would benefit at a capital cost of \$3 to \$3.5 million. The price is very high in relation to the benefits.
3. Providing an extension of television service in both languages to all Canadians as presently planned with Anik could be done more economically by microwave. This was admitted by Eric Kierans in a 3 August 1970 interview with Pat Watson, and has also been stated by Robert Scrivener, President of Bell Canada.⁵

5. "Communications Satellite and the Electrical Transmission of Intelligence through Telecommunications," paper presented at the Harrison Hot Springs Liberal Party Conference, November 1969.

4. A backup for the existing east-west microwave system is not a requirement. This system is already adequately protected both by cable systems and by the many diverse and separate microwave systems that crisscross Canada and the United States.

What are the real and valid reasons for Anik? In view of the questionable validity of the original reasons given for Anik, and especially in view of satellite techniques soon to be probed by Canada's experimental CTS--to be launched in 1974, it holds promise of earth stations at \$20,000 each instead of Anik's \$200,000 stations--the Anik programs that exist today must be evaluated. It is not the necessity of a satellite program for Canada that is being questioned, but rather the use to which satellite technology will be put, within the framework of the Anik project as it is planned. The problems of northern people communications can best be solved if more account is taken of the expressed desires regarding these problems of northerners themselves.

Summary

1. Great social benefits are promised for the North when the Anik satellite system goes into operation.
2. In reality, the Anik program will not be in accord with the expressed wishes of northerners nor will it be in line with the type of communications required for social change, according to experts on the subject.
3. The original reasons for the Anik program do not appear to be valid.
4. Technology must be applied to solve a problem, not simply to apply for its own sake. New solutions must "begin with a problem...not...with a piece of new technology but with a recognized and significant problem for which the most appropriate technology could be selected"⁶--a most logical guideline for northern communications.

6. Schramm et al., "The New Media; Memo to Educational Planners," Unesco.