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COMMUNITY RADIO: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION

COMMUNITY RADIO:  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF A VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION

BY  
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A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE MASTER OF ARTS  
MCMASTER UNIVERSITY  
(DECEMBER) 1975

Master of Arts (1975)  
(Sociology)

McMaster University  
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Community Radio: The Development of a Voluntary  
Organization

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NUMBER OF PAGES: v, 288

## ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of this thesis is ethnographic. It is a case study of the development of Canada's first non-profit, urban community radio station, CKWR-FM. The people associated with CKWR-FM sought to develop a citizen access facility, in which all programming would be done by local residents. Their station was owned and managed by a voluntary organization, Wired World, Inc., membership in which was to be widely open to area residents. Planned as a non-commercial facility, the station was to be financed primarily from local charitable donations.

In addition to its ethnographic intent, the thesis offers some insight into the process of organizing to effect social change, providing an opportunity to critique some of those aspects of organization theory concerned with voluntary associations. The thesis demonstrates the importance of understanding the development of such an organization from a social action perspective. Two organizational characteristics are found to be particularly noteworthy in this case study. One concerns the meaning of voluntarism and the effects of a dependence on volunteers. The other concerns the relationship between government and the voluntary sector.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank members of my committee, Carl Cuneo, Victor Marshall and William Shaffir. Particular gratitude is due to Victor Marshall, my supervisor, whose help and encouragement in both the collection and analysis of data were much appreciated. Also special thanks are due to Douglas Baer for many helpful discussions concerning various aspects of Wired World.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to the people of Wired World, past and present. I wish them luck in their enterprise.

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## Chapter 1. Introduction.

On August 18, 1973, the people of Wired World, Inc., a voluntary association, were granted a licence to operate a citizen owned urban community radio station, the first in Canada. In granting the licence, the Canadian Radio Television Commission (C.R.T.C.) had said:

The Commission will follow with interest this experiment in facilitating community expression on radio and hopes that it may help develop a more meaningful role for community dialogue in the private broadcast sector. (Decision CRTC 73-400).

Community radio, and in particular a study of Wired World's development of that concept, is the subject of this thesis.

The Wired World people were trying to use the broadcast airwaves in a way fundamentally different from that used in the past, at least in Canada. Radio frequencies are a scarce resource (we are limited by international agreement to only ten clear channels, as well as some less powerful frequencies (Peers, 1969 ; 378)). The airwaves are regulated by government agencies (the Department of Communications and the C.R.T.C.) in the public interest. The Broadcasting Act states that broadcasting undertakings in Canada use radio frequencies which are public property (Canada, 1967-68: section 3a). The Wired World people were trying to extend the sense in which that is true, by turning over the use of a broadcast frequency to the people to use as they see fit. Most of the Wired World people

did not question the assumption that this could be done, and that the only way to do it was by allowing the citizens to own, to operate and to finance their own non-commercial stations.

Since 1932 the Canadian Broadcasting System (C.B.S.) has comprised two sectors, a public and a private sector, differently owned, differently financed, and serving quite different purposes. The public sector is represented by the C.B.C. (Radio Canada), a Crown Corporation, reporting to Parliament, and charged with serving specified national purposes. It is financed for the most part by government subsidy, but also receives some advertising revenue. The private sector is comprised primarily of privately owned broadcast stations, subject to government regulation, but primarily in business to make a profit, and totally financed by advertising revenue. Our most recent Broadcasting Act (1967-68) declares these two sectors to be part of a single system, the C.B.S., which is to be controlled in the national interest in such a way as to preserve and strengthen the political, social and economic fabric of Canada.

Community radio stations offer themselves as alternatives to established radio stations, both in the public and private sectors. They differ from established stations on a number of basic dimensions: their structure of ownership, the type of financing they try to achieve, as well as their ultimate goal - the nature of the programming they seek to produce. Community

stations are alike in the sense that they are all alternatives to the established media, but the alternatives that each provides - in the areas of ownership and control, financing, and the nature of the programming - differ from one another as well.

This thesis is a case study of the development of one such community radio station, Wired World's CKWR-FM. The people of Wired World were trying to build an "open-access" facility: they wanted the programming on their station produced not by professionals, but by the residents of the region where the station was to broadcast. Their station was owned and managed by a voluntary organization, membership in which was widely open to people in their region. Planning to be a non-commercial station, they obtained charitable status for their organization and have tried to finance it primarily from local charitable donations.

The primary purpose of this thesis is ethnographic. It seeks to describe the nature of the alternative the Wired World people sought to offer (as they saw it) not just in the area of programming, but in its management and financing as well, and to document a number of the issues that arose in establishing this sort of facility. In addition to its ethnographic intent, the thesis offers some insight into the process of organizing to effect social change, providing an opportunity to critique some of those aspects of organization theory concerned with voluntary associations.

The development of community radio. An ethnography.

In legitimizing the need for an alternative medium, the Wired World people argued that the programming on commercial stations is largely determined by their business nature. So, too, for the Wired World people, the nature of their programming alternative was shaped not only by their programming goals, but also by the structures through which they sought to realize those goals.

There are few detailed descriptions of the operations of alternate media organizations.<sup>1</sup> Since this thesis is a case study of one community station, it cannot provide the basis for drawing some of the conclusions that a comparative study might allow: judgements concerning the (possible) success of community radio ventures, or of the efficacy of particular forms of ownership or financing for achieving particular ends. This case study is presented as a contribution to a pool of such studies which might form the basis for such a comparative study. In so doing, it seeks to give an idea of the nature - including some of the apparent strengths and weaknesses - of this particular radio station, at least in its organizational stage, focusing not just on the programming, but on its decision-making and financial structures as well. Perhaps its example might suggest possibilities for other alternatives not yet studied or even tried, and might demonstrate the complexity of evaluating the alternative media.

The process of organizing.

Most of the data for this thesis was collected when the Wired World people were still building their organization and preparing to put their radio station on the air. In addition to describing the development of a particular type of radio station, therefore, this thesis also seeks to offer some understanding of the process of building an organization.

It is assumed that social reality is a socially constructed process, best understood by reference to the common sense understandings and 'in-order-to' motives of its participants (Schutz, 1971; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Silverman, 1970). But while social reality is a socially constructed process, that does not mean that an understanding of the subjective meanings of the participants of an organization is sufficient by itself to understand the development of that organization. We live in a world of socially objectivated meanings where, to paraphrase Berger and Luckmann (1966:109), those people with the most power can impose their definitions of reality on the others. The discussion of the development of Wired World's organization seeks to highlight its socially constructed nature, and in so doing to recognize its members' location in the society they sought to influence.

One of the Wired World people remarked in a taped interview that:

I'll tell you the thing that kept me interested in Wired World, if you really want to know. This is something I still don't understand. And that is that every time we sat down to discuss a nitty gritty issue... we didn't have to discuss it because we all had the same views. And it was a most peculiar experience. You would assume that you would have different views, but in fact we all had the same approach and therefore there was no discussion. That has happened all the time all the way through...

One of the reasons that there was no need for discussion was that the Wired World people, most of whom were highly educated, middle class people, shared a system of common sense assumptions about the nature of their society, about whether and how it should be changed, and about how things ought best to be done. It was taken for granted that citizen participation was a good thing; that one should work within the system to change it; that democratic organizations were preferable to autocratic organizations; that people operating through voluntary associations could be effective; and that the profit motive and commercialism were undesirable. A number of those assumptions came to be articulated, because the Wired World people had to legitimize their pursuit to the C.R.T.C.; but their organization was largely shaped by their "knowledge" about the way things ought to be done. This knowledge had been developed through their previous associations in their society and through whatever information happened to come their way.

Wired World was formed when a number of people with similar or compatible ideas about citizen participation in the media began working together. Over a period of months and years, they formed an organization, gave it structure, and developed a



common goal which they sought to achieve through their organization. They did not come together because they sought the common goal of a community radio station. They came together as they discovered that they had related interests, and as each worked to achieve his (her) interests they came to share a common goal (Weick:8). (Their organization might well have continued without their coming to share this common goal.)

In building their organization, the Wired World people had to negotiate not only with one another, but with their environment as well. They needed government approval to own a radio station; they sought considerable financing, both from government and business, to build and maintain their station. That negotiation, particularly with government, involved concessions from both sides, though government had more power and therefore more control. These and other environmental contingencies affected their goals, the means to achieve these goals, the likelihood of their success, as well as their taken for granted understanding of how things ought to be done.

The Wired World people did not seriously question the belief that a group of citizens could set out to have their own radio station. In the process of working, they developed a set of ideas; they sought to carry them out; and at least to the extent that they are now programming on their own station, they have realized their goal.

The Wired World people did not carefully and systematically plan what their goal should be or how it should best be achieved. Though some members complained of too many philosophical discussions, there was actually very little long range or even short range systematic planning, at least at the collective level. Rather, their rationality was a "bounded rationality" (March & Simon:203); they acted, and when confronted with difficulties sought a sufficient solution rather than the best possible solution to their difficulties. As Weick argues,

What all this suggests is that rationality is best understood as in the eye of the beholder. It is his aims and how he consciously sets out to accomplish them that constitute the clearest, most easily specified component of rationality. (1969:10).

The rationality of their action was limited in the sense that people generally "satisficed" in solving problems, and often were not even conscious themselves of why they were doing what they were doing.

The Wired World people saw themselves as people from the community taking the initiative to better the life of their community, and seeking out or developing whatever outside resources might be available for that purpose. The initiative they took, however, was partly inspired by government propaganda, and was developed in a direction compatible not just with the views of the Wired World people, but of government as well.

## Methodology.<sup>2</sup>

The primary technique for collecting data for this thesis was participant observation. By this means I generated 800 pages of field notes from observation of, interviews with and correspondence with the Wired World people. I also had at my disposal all of the Wired World files, including much of their correspondence, the financial records and secretary's records up to the end of 1973, the application for a broadcast licence, a transcript of the hearing in front of the C.R.T.C., tapes of a few of their radio programmes, and several other items.

The major period of participant observation was from September through December of 1973. I visited the station again for two one week periods, the first in February, and the second in April of 1974. I have known Wired World from its inception, however, having been married to one of its founding directors.

While collecting the data for this thesis, I was an active participant at Wired World, working for the organization in several capacities, allowing myself to influence decision-making to some degree, and at the same time maintaining a careful record of my own and others' involvement.

The data collected in the field notes included all that I could recollect that happened while I was at Wired World. It included any and all conversations, all of the observed activities of myself and the others, and the moods and reaction to

events of myself and others.

The analysis was begun by generating analytical files for various topical areas - such as government funding, leadership, decision-making, philosophy -- which seemed to have been particularly important to the Wired World people. All references to a given topic area in the data were brought together and theoretical memoes were generated and tested from the data. It is from these theoretical memoes that the thesis was eventually put together. Much of the analysis thereby generated originated from the analyses of the Wired World people themselves.

At the time I was associated with Wired World there was a small number of people (perhaps 15) who did most of the work of the station, and who developed its policies. (While I was there I was one of those people.) When I refer to "the people of Wired World" or the "regulars" it is this core of active workers to whom I refer.

The attempt of the Wired World people to develop a citizen-owned non-commercial community-programmed radio station is an exciting experiment, but it is an experiment nonetheless. This means that for much that they have done, there were no obvious models to follow. It suggests the possibility of some successful and interesting results, just as it suggests the inevitability of a number of mistakes. While this thesis is occasionally critical of their approach, those criticisms

should in no way detract from an appreciation of their accomplishments.

The thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 provides a review of some aspects of the history of broadcasting in Canada, in order to put the development of community media projects in some perspective. Chapter 3 is a history of Wired World, up to the time its members received their licence to broadcast. Chapter 4 is concerned with Wired World's programming goal, and reviews the philosophy and practice of citizen access radio at Wired World. Chapters 5 through 8 are concerned with Wired World's structure of ownership, and focus on some of its internal organizational characteristics. Chapters 9 and 10 are concerned with environmental issues, and review strategies and results of fundraising, both at the local level and from government. Finally, in chapter 11, I try to make some sense of the whole.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Salter (1973) offers an analysis arising out of some community radio experiments in the North and West; and Maril (1973) examines a listener-supported station in the U.S.

<sup>2</sup>A detailed methodology is offered as an appendix to the thesis.

## Chapter 2

### Community radio in the Canadian context

Charles Siepmann, an American writing more than 20 years ago about broadcasting in Canada, noted that "systems and institutions... are always native in character and origin" (1950:154). Canada's system of broadcasting is unique, and as Peers noted "(i)t not only mirrors Canadian experience, but helps define it" (1969:3). Wired World's community radio station is a part of Canada's broadcasting system, and Wired World's development cannot be understood without reference to that System. This chapter offers some historical background concerning the place of community broadcasting in the Canadian Broadcasting System. Then, given that context, the remaining chapters of the thesis focus on the development of Wired World's station within the Canadian Broadcasting System.

The national motive and freedom of the air.

Shortly after the Wired World people received their broadcast licence, Graham Spry sent them a letter in which he said:

You are pioneers of a new form of FM radio ownership in Canada and you owe it to Canadian audiences to make that success notable and permanent.

Spry, together with Alan Plaunt, Brooke Claxton, and others, had been a pioneer in Canadian broadcasting himself. He was a founder and active worker in the Canadian Radio League, an organization whose pressures on government in the early thirties was largely responsible for the implementation of some major recommendations of the Aird Report (Canada, 1929) and in particular the development of the C.B.C. (Prang, 1965; Spry, 1965; O'Brien, 1964; Peers, 1969). Appointed in 1928 to inquire into radio broadcasting and its future management, the Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting (Aird Commission) made its report the following year, voicing unanimity on the proposition that "Canadian radio listeners want Canadian broadcasting" (Peers, 1969:34,44). Stressing the importance of broadcasting for the promotion of national unity, the Aird Commission recommended the establishment of a publicly owned system, with revenues coming primarily through licence fees, and with no private stations (Peers, 1969:47).

According to Spry, there were two main motives in the movement which led to the development of the C.B.C.: a national motive, and a motive which sought the free use of broadcasting by all sections of opinion (in Spry's terms, "freedom of the air") (Spry, 1935:107). For Spry himself, apparently, it was the latter motive which was the most important (Spry, 1935:110). As he said:



There were numerous groups in the League which felt that so long as private interests owned and operated broadcasting, minority, especially radical minority, opinions would be excluded from the air. This view was held by the Trades and Labor Congress, by the United Farmer groups and above all by those initiating the Canadian Radio League. It was re-enforced by the belief that Canadian private enterprise was inadequate to compete with the great "electrical groups" controlling radio broadcasting in the United States (Spry, 1935:114).

However, it was the national motive (expressed in both pro-Canadian and anti-American terms) which, according to Spry, was predominant (Spry, 1935:107). He wrote at the time:

A national radio system, intelligently directed, would give Canada many of the stimuli her national life requires. It would stimulate musical composition, dramatic composition, and the talent to interpret both. It would enable different sections of Canada to speak their hopes and problems unto the others. It would give this country the basis of an informed public opinion such as the educational system, the press, the theatre, the motion picture, our literature have not yet given. Here is a majestic instrument of national unity and national culture. Its potentialities are too great, its influence and significance are too vast, to be left to the petty purposes of selling cakes of soap (Spry, 1931: 169).

And thirty-four years later he wrote again:

The activists of plus or minus thirty years who ran the Canadian Radio League were not thinking of broadcasting only for its own sake: they were thinking of it very deliberately and consciously as an instrument of communication which could contribute to the easing of the problem of Canadian nationhood; the strengthening of the east-west axis; "bi-culturalism and bi-lingualism" in the delicate relationships between the French and English Canadians - the concept of a "mosaic" rather than of a "melting pot" of New Canadians, of an effective federal power in the structure of the central and provincial governments; resistance to the pulls of the continent and

American business; and a part for state enterprise built from Canadian experience and needs, though perhaps inspired by British or European analogies in distinction to an exclusive acceptance of American theory of private enterprise in a free market. (Spry, 1965:138).

Even before the Aird Commission's report the possible importance of broadcasting as a powerful instrument for national unity had been recognized (Special Senate Committee, 1970:194). As early as 1923, the Canadian National Railways had begun establishing its own radio network, under the leadership of Sir Henry Thornton, with the purpose both of advertising the railway and of developing national unity through the medium of broadcasting (Peers, 1969; Weir, 1965). When the C.B.C.'s predecessor, the C.R.B.C., was established in 1932, Prime Minister Bennett said:

First of all, this country must be assured of complete Canadian control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence... Secondly, no other system than that of public ownership can ensure to the people of this country, without regard to class or place, equal enjoyment of the benefits and pleasures of radio broadcasting (Spry, 1961:224).

The act of 1932 was passed without a dissenting vote, and all the many enquiries, commission and acts since that time have re-affirmed the basic national purpose of broadcasting in Canada (Spry, 1961:224-5; Peers, 1966:254-5). The most recent broadcasting act, passed by Parliament in 1968, declared a broadcasting policy for Canada, and established a new regula-

tory agency for its implementation, the Canadian Radio Television Commission (C.R.T.C.) (Canada, 1970). The White Paper which preceded this Act stated that the most important objective of public policy relating to broadcasting was to ensure that Canadians retain sufficient control over broadcasting to preserve and strengthen the political, social, and economic fabric of Canada (Secretary of State, 1966:5). The Act declared that radio frequencies were public property to be regulated as a single system, comprising public and private elements. It responded to the national concern in the following ways. With regard to the system as a whole, it required that broadcasting stations be owned and controlled by Canadians and that each broadcaster should provide programming "of high standard, using predominantly Canadian creative and other resources" (Canada, 1970: Part 1, sections 3b,3d). It required further of the C.B.C. that it provide information, enlightenment and entertainment, to all parts of Canada, that it contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and that it help develop national unity and the expression of Canadian identity (Canada, 1970: Part 1, section 3g). "Indeed", argued the Davey Report, "broadcasting is so much a beast of burden that we have saddled it with responsibility for holding the country and our Canadian culture intact" (Special Senate Committee, 1970: 194).

The Commercial motive.

National purpose and freedom of the air have not been the only motivating forces in the development of Canadian broadcasting. Another important force has been the belief in free enterprise private broadcasting. According to this perspective, government interference is dangerous, and what is more desirable is a system of broadcasting in which a number of stations compete with one another for audiences, and thus for the advertising dollar. Such a system, it is argued, assures that the public will get what it wants (Peers, 1966:255).

The national motive in Canadian broadcasting has always been pronounced as more important than the commercial motive. This was true at the time of the founding of the C.B.C., and it is still a part of our official broadcasting policy (Canada, 1970: Part 1, section 3h). The private commercial sector of our broadcasting system, however, has grown continually larger and more prominent in comparison with the public sector. At the time of the Aird Commission there were already a number of private stations depending on advertising for their revenue. They sharply opposed the recommendations of the Aird Report, which called for one national system of high power publicly-owned stations, replacing the commercial stations. It was against these commercial interests that the Radio League had worked in its lobbying. In fact, it is worth emphasizing that

in its early lobbying the Radio League enjoyed the support not just of nationalists, concerned with cultural survival or the survival of the state, labour leaders, concerned with the effects of big business, and educators, looking for more than entertainment in radio, but also of newspaper interests, who, if they did not yet have a station of their own, saw in the new medium of radio a threat to their own advertising market. The proposal of the Radio League and the legislation which resulted from it were a compromise. There would be a national service, with a number of high power stations, and there would also be a number of local smaller privately-owned stations, regulated by the national service. Still, it was planned that the public authority would be dominant in both a regulatory and an operational sense (Peers, 1966: 257).

After the C.B.C. was established, the Radio League ceased its work, but the commercial broadcasters continued theirs. Their stations continued to grow in numbers and importance, while the C.B.C. was limited in its spending power. As Spry suggests, the private sector has enjoyed expanding revenue and low programme costs while the C.B.C. is financially limited and charged with heavy national responsibility.

Canadian broadcasting as a whole has not suffered from a lack of expenditure by the public. It has suffered from the uses to which great sums have been put, notably in the private sector. We have not lacked resources; we have lacked the right structure

and the right purposes. The CBC, in contrast with the private sector's expanding advertising revenue on the one hand, and the low, syndicated private program costs on the other, is controlled on the revenue side and heavy with obligations on the expenditure side (Spry, 1961:221).

The C.B.C. lost its dominance in the regulatory sense as well, with the establishment of the Board of Broadcast Governors in 1958. In fact Trotter argues that that was the end of the single broadcasting system for Canada. According to his analysis the result of taking the regulatory powers away from the C.B.C. and having separate Boards for the C.B.C. and the B.B.G. was to make the B.B.G. a regulatory agency for the private sector, and to place the public and private sectors in competition (Trotter, 1966).

Peers claims that the private stations are predominant in every way except in the production of programmes (1966:258). In Spry's terms:

What, over nearly 30 years from 1932 to 1961, Parliament intended is clear. What we have is also clear. It is not a system of national public ownership with local private stations, but a system of local private stations with a lesser public sector serving and subsidizing private stations. The private advertising sector is the dominant sector. The public service sector is the subordinate (1961:225).

Such a system of private dominance has not been supportive of national objectives. Though private broadcasting is extremely profitable<sup>1</sup>, the private broadcasters have been

been reticent to use more than the minimum in earnings for programme production, relying rather on inexpensive American programmes. The Davey Committee assessed the private broadcasters' performance this way:

We feel there is simply not a shred of evidence to support the (Canadian Association of Broadcasters') protestation that the private broadcasters, if left to their own devices, would produce plenty of high quality Canadian programmes. Some private broadcasters have produced high-quality Canadian programmes. We feel this country should recognize them for what they are: persons so exceptional in the private broadcasting world as to be virtually of another species... the vast majority of private broadcasters have done the minimum required of them by law, and no more... They have been content, as one of the exceptions once noted, to "sit at the end of the pipe and suck" (Special Senate Committee, 1970: 205).

When Graham Spry and the others in the Canadian Radio League first lobbied for the establishment of a public broadcasting system, they were motivated by two primary concerns: the national motive and the realization of freedom of the air. They sought a structure which would allow for the satisfaction of both of these goals. Neither a private monopoly, controlled by the upper classes, nor a state monopoly, controlled by the government in power, could, they felt, assure freedom of the air. Their solution at the time was to place broadcasting in the hands of a publicly created corporation, which they hoped could be independent of state control (Spry, 1935:115).

Romanow (1975) suggests that with the Canadian content restrictions of the C.R.T.C., the Canadian Broadcasting System is meeting its national goal. It is true, as he points out, that the C.R.T.C. is developing and enforcing increasingly stringent Canadian content restrictions in its broadcast and cable policies. This, however, can as easily be viewed as evidence that the national goal is not being met rather than that it is. According to the Davey Report, the C.R.T.C.'s chairperson, Pierre Juneau, believes that, in the words of Thomas McPhail, "Canada has one decade remaining in which its members have to make up their minds whether they want to remain a distinct political, cultural and geographical national entity" (Special Senate Committee, 1970:11). The Davey Report argues:

what is at stake is not only the vigor of our democracy. It also involves the survival of our nationhood... Geography, language, and perhaps a failure of confidence and imagination have made us into a cultural as well as economic satellite of the United States. And nowhere is this trend more pronounced than in the media... the Canadian media - especially broadcasting - have an interest in and an obligation to promote our apartness from the American reality. For all our similarities, for all our sharing, for all our friendships we are somebody else (Special Senate Committee, 1970:11).<sup>2</sup>

In implementing its broadcast policy, the C.R.T.C. has expressed strong reservations about the effects of commercial practices on broadcasting. With regard to the renewal of the C.B.C.'s licence, the Commission wrote:



The Commission noted that "the most powerful influence on the CBC results from the fact that marketing and commercial practices have been more deeply involved in the historical development of broadcasting in North America than elsewhere." The Commission stressed that it is convinced that North American broadcasting in the future will find it necessary to become gradually more independent of the merchandising environment. (C.R.T.C., 1974:1).

Thus they required the C.B.C. to eliminate radio advertising entirely by January, 1974, and to cut television advertising in half by 1978, in order to encourage the C.B.C. to be less a commercial medium, and more a public service (C.R.T.C., 1974:3-4).<sup>3</sup>

The Canadian Broadcasting System which has evolved, with the predominance of the private commercial sector, and the relative impotence of the C.B.C., has not yet sufficiently met either of the original Canadian Radio League goals (even though the national goal is and always has been stated by governments to be of primary importance). Some might argue that given the present predominance of the private sector these goals cannot be met. It is in that light that Spry's remark to the people of Wired World - that they were pioneers of a new form of FM radio ownership and that they owed it to Canadian audiences to make their success notable and permanent - is particularly meaningful. For in the development of this alternative, citizen owned and controlled non-commercial community radio,

there might arise the means of further satisfying those earlier, and still basic, aims of Canadian broadcasting.

The C.R.T.C. and the encouragement of local participation.

The development of citizen-owned, non-commercial (urban) community radio stations began with Wired World's licence, but community radio, and community media more generally, have been in evidence longer than that. Since its inception, the C.R.T.C. has begun a series of policies and policy proposals aimed, at least in part, at the realization of local participation in broadcasting, proposals which could encourage not only more broadly based use of broadcasting (and thus freedom of the air) but also the development of a locally based indigenous national culture.

One such area in which local participation has been encouraged is the C.R.T.C.'s cable television policy. As long ago as May, 1969, the C.R.T.C. announced that cable companies should encourage local and educational programming on their facilities (C.R.T.C., 1970:336). In its policy statement on cable television two years later, it re-affirmed that position, encouraging the development of channels on cable television for community access, and stated:

one of the objectives of Canadian broadcasting should be to encourage more diversity, more choice, more

variety of subject matter, of opinions, of ideas - rather than to reduce choice and diversity... The Commission believes... that... cable television can also contribute forcefully to the achievement of the fundamental objectives of Canadian broadcasting (C.R.T.C., 1971a: 12,13).

One way cable companies could so contribute, according to the Commission, is by trying to encourage a mix of three possible types of community programming on such cable stations:

(1) programming of and for the community, planned and produced by people in the community, (2) programming of and for the community, planned and produced by the cable television system, and (3) informational programming obtained or produced by the cable television system (C.R.T.C., 1971a:17,18).

Another area in which local participation has been encouraged is in the development of FM radio policy for the private sector (C.R.T.C., 1973b). Declaring that FM radio, a largely untapped resource<sup>4</sup>, should be fundamentally different from AM radio, they recommended that FM stations in the private sector gear themselves to special listening groups, rather than to a mass audience. As part of that recommendation, they also propose to insist that private FM stations make use of Canadian local talent in their programming.

The new FM policy proposal suggests that the Commission is going to be much more demanding of the private broadcasters.

At the same time it is encouraging the development of citizen-owned FM stations, stressing original and quality programming:

The Commission endorses and encourages the involvement of community and student groups in forming organizations to apply for FM licences... When considering proposals from these groups of potential broadcasters, the Commission will be more concerned with the originality and quality of their programming plans than with more traditional preoccupations of long term financial guarantees and the ability to provide full schedules of service immediately (C.R.T.C., 1973b:14).

Challenge for Change and social change.

The C.R.T.C. had begun encouraging community participation on local cable stations as early as 1969. But, as the Commission notes, even before community programming began on cable, Canadians had been pioneers in the use of both film and videotape in exploring community awareness and expression (C.R.T.C., 1972:18). An early and relatively well known example of the use of film to encourage social change was an experiment of the Challenge for Change unit of the National Film Board and the Extension Department of Memorial University of Newfoundland (Gwyn, 1972). In the summer of 1967, these two groups converged on Fogo Island, in rural Newfoundland, with plans to use film as a catalyst for community development and social change. Fogo Island included several outport villages, isolated from one another, and sufficiently poor that their people were destined for resettlement. The crew made a series of

short films centred around individuals or events, rather than around issues, which were first edited according to the wishes of those about whom they were made, and then presented first to the people of Fogo (brought together for the screening) and later to the government, as a way of communicating the problems of the Island. Government responses were also taped and played back for the Fogo Islanders. The process of making the film, it is claimed, brought the Islanders together into one larger community which then cooperated, with the assistance from the government, to better their lives on the Island; resettlement was abandoned (Gwyn, 1972:5-6).

In other similar projects, the Challenge for Change and Extension Service people moved from film to video tape, a system which, with the introduction of (relatively) inexpensive and portable videotape recorders, was found to be quicker, less expensive, easier, and thus a more democratic medium than film had been (Gwyn, 1972:39).

Challenge for Change also began a campaign across the country to encourage the use of videotape recorders for promoting social change through the facilities of community cable television. When the C.R.T.C. was encouraging community use of local cable channels, Challenge for Change was publicizing the use of portable videotape recording equipment, and encouraging people to form community groups to develop local

programming. Challenge for Change also provided large scale funding for a number of those community groups. A group called "Town Talk" in Thunder Bay, Ontario, for example, was given a grant of \$90,000 to develop community cable broadcasting.<sup>5</sup> Metro Media in Vancouver was another organization making use of community cable television, which was funded by Challenge for Change. Other community cable groups, including Wired World in its early days, obtained monies from other branches of government, such as O.F.Y. or L.I.P. to develop their projects. But the assessment of many of those interested in portable videotape equipment for encouraging social change was that community cable television was probably more of a distraction than a help. (Gwyn, 1972:22-23).

#### Community radio in the North.

At the same time that people were experimenting with videotape recorders on and off community cable, others were exploring the social uses of radio in the North. Kenomadiwin, originally funded and set up by people from the Company of Young Canadians<sup>6</sup>, became in 1970, according to one of its founders, the first community broadcast effort to be licensed by the C.R.T.C. in Canada (Salter, 1973:1). This station, broadcasting on the AM band, is set up in a simply-equipped van which travels between six communities in Northwestern Ontario,

encouraging community participation in each of the communities in turn.

Since that time the C.B.C. has set up a number of local programming facilities in the North, making use of their low power relay transmitters (LPRTs) to allow natives to broadcast in their communities in their mother tongues. It is part of a policy for developing local programming in areas which have no other local service. Its first such experiment, in Espanola, Ontario began in September of 1971. Since that time the C.B.C. has set up several other facilities in the Northwest Territories. At these stations, the community people are allowed a small proportion of time each day to broadcast programmes of local interest, and the LPRT receives C.B.C. programming during the rest of its broadcasting time (Ward, 1972; Mercer, 1974).

The Department of Communications also became involved in community programming in the North. In order to establish first local broadcasting service in Northern communities, they established two FM stations in the North, one in Baker Lake, Northwest Territories, where most of the broadcasting is in Inuit, and the other in Big Trout Lake, Ontario, where most of the broadcasting is in Cree (Mercer, 1974). For these Northern people radio is intended to provide not just information, entertainment and enlightenment, but also a basic person-to-

person communication facility (Jiles, 1974). In its approval of these licences, the C.R.T.C. expressed concern that though these were government financed stations, they are not a part of the national service (the C.B.C.). Thus the C.R.T.C. encouraged cooperation between these stations and the C.B.C. in order that they could become a part of the publicly supported national service to which the Broadcasting Act referred. (C.R.T.C., 1973a:185-6; C.R.T.C., 1974:111-12).

In addition there are a number of (in many cases unlicensed) AM stations, owned and operated by people in the far North, and generally operating with minimal makeshift equipment. One such example is the station at Pond Inlet, Northwest Territories, 90 per cent of whose programming is broadcast in Eskimo. There, where everyone has a radio which is left on all the time, the station provides a principal means of communication for the people, as well as providing local entertainment (Ward, 1973; Mercer, 1974).

Urban community radio.

The C.R.T.C. noted as early as December, 1969, that the possibility of a citizen-owned non-commercial urban community radio station was being discussed by some people in Manitoba (C.R.T.C., 1970:104). But it was not until Wired



World's licence application was approved in August of 1973 that the idea became a reality in Canada.<sup>7</sup> Since that time a number of other citizens' groups have received similar licences. They include Coop Radio, in Vancouver, whose licence was approved in May of 1974, Radio Centreville, in downtown Montreal, whose licence was approved in October of 1974, and a company incorporated under the name of "La Radio Cooperative FM du Saguenay Lac St-Jean", whose licence was approved in June, 1974.<sup>8</sup>

In approving these applications, the C.R.T.C. has developed a policy for citizen-owned urban community radio which has been applied consistently. Each of the stations is non-commercial: the C.R.T.C. has indicated in each decision that it will allow simple statements of sponsorship which neither promote nor mention a sponsor's products, classified advertisements on behalf of individuals, and informational messages on behalf of non-profit organizations, but no direct advertising. The Commission has looked for evidence of support representative of the community to be served, and insisted that people of differing views be given opportunity for expression on matters of social concern. The Commission has insisted that if community support is not forthcoming, the licensee will be expected to surrender the licence. And, in line with its new FM policy, the Commission has insisted that the proposed programming be different from that already present

and that it provide a definite service to the community.

In considering the involvement of community groups in applying for FM licences the Commission is vitally concerned with the originality and quality of their programming plans and the potential for community service (C.R.T.C. decision 74:116).

The commission's support of these community radio stations is evidenced by the fact that they have received new licences at a time when the Commission has been developing policy and generally not licensing new private FM stations. Though there have been four of these new community stations licenced since August of 1973, a brief glance at the 1973-74 annual report of the C.R.T.C. indicates that during the period from April 1, 1973 until March 31, 1974, only five new FM licences were granted to other than non-commercial community groups: four were to the C.B.C. and one was to provide first local service in part of Newfoundland (C.R.T.C., 1974).

The development of community radio stations has been encouraged by several branches of the federal government, not only by the granting of broadcast licences, but by publicity campaigns like those of Challenge for Change, which encourage citizens to seek change through the media and by direct funding for community media groups. Both freedom of the air and the national motive are sufficiently broad notions that they are subject to varying interpretations, serving quite different

interests. While community radio stations differ among themselves in terms of the nature of their aims, still, community radio can be seen as at least a partial means of realizing both the national goal and freedom of the air. As we shall see in the case of Wired World, their own legitimations to the C.R.T.C. have been phrased in terms of variants of both of these two motives. With community radio, as with other broadcast forms, it is necessary to move beyond the statement of these broad values to examine more specifically what these stations are doing and with what apparent effects. Having discussed in broad terms the context in which community radio has developed in Canada, the thesis now turns more specifically to a discussion of the early development of Wired World in that context.

## Footnotes for Chapter 2

<sup>1</sup>In 1957, according to a Canadian Bank of Commerce letter, private broadcasting ranked third in profitability among 140 leading industries (Spry, 1961:216).

<sup>2</sup>This is hardly a radical nationalist position which the Davey Committee has taken. They apparently felt the need to apologize for stressing the need for separateness from the United States, saying, "The United States happens to be the most important, most interesting country on earth" (1970:11) (emphasis theirs). It is interesting to note that "important" and "interesting", rather than "powerful" are the adjectives used to describe the United States.

<sup>3</sup>According to a Canadian Press article, that decision has led to an interesting feud between the C.B.C. and the C.R.T.C. The C.B.C.'s president apparently wanted more income in order to improve service, and thus was more reluctant to cut back television advertising, even with increased government revenues. He therefore took advantage of a section of the Broadcasting Act requiring negotiations and conciliation in the case of a dispute between the two bodies ("CBC continues feud..."). Such a procedure lends credence to Trotter's view, stated before the establishment of the C.R.T.C., that our present "single system" is not in fact a single system at all.

<sup>4</sup>"The Commission considers FM radio Canada's last major undeveloped communications resource. Almost all available AM frequencies are being used now by the 327 CBC and privately owned stations. But of the 491 FM frequencies allotted to Canada, only 79 are in use at the moment." (Miller, 1973).

<sup>5</sup>Shortly after their community's cable company was purchased by MacLean-Hunter, "Town Talk" ceased all programme production. (Gwyn, 1972:23-4).

<sup>6</sup>When their experimental licence was renewed, two years after they went on the air, the C.R.T.C. noted with some concern that they were still funded by the CYC (C.R.T.C., 1973a:190-191). The C.R.T.C. has not supported large scale government funding of broadcast facilities, except through the C.B.C.

<sup>7</sup>There are some stations being licenced in the United States which bear some resemblance to community radio stations in Canada. There is a description of one such "listener-supported radio station" in Maril (1973).

<sup>8</sup>I am reasonably familiar with the aims of Coop Radio (CRTC Decision 74-116), Radio Centreville (CRTC Decision 74-388), and of course Wired World (CRTC Decision 73-400). I do not have information about the fourth group, "La Radio Cooperative..." (CRTC Decision 74-155), other than the information from the decision, which indicates similar ownership, control, financial structure and dedication to local programming.

### Chapter 3

#### History of Wired World.

Wired World was incorporated as a community service organization in the province of Ontario in July, 1971. It was originally founded to be primarily a community cable television facility, but after its first year of operation, partly because of the expense (and other difficulties) of working with cable television, and partly because of the incentive of some of its members who had been actively working in radio, its members decided to concentrate their efforts on radio. In the spring of 1972, the Wired World people set as their objective the creation of an entirely community-programmed FM radio station. Their application for a broadcast license was heard in the spring of 1973, and the following spring their station was on the air.

My formal contact with Wired World began in the fall of 1973, shortly after they received their broadcast license. It was an organizational time: the Wired World people were preparing to broadcast, by building their station, seeking financial support and developing an administrative framework for their operations. In addition they were programming one hour per week on a local commercial fm station.

The Wired World people offered an impressive description of the state of their organization's development at their hearing

in front of the C.R.T.C. For example, speaking of the accomplishments achieved through the use of volunteers, one of them told the Commission:

The people of Wired World have built studio facilities, designed impressive new audio systems and searched to find equipment available at low or no cost whatsoever to the organization. These highly professional jobs have been performed over the past two years by highly competent and professional people free of charge... Likewise talented citizens such as actors, writers, musicians and directors have appeared to donate their time and knowledge to the production of 75 weekly radio programmes of direct interest to the citizens of Kitchener-Waterloo. The quality of their work has then generated the interest and involvement of their friends and fellow citizens.

Another regular described Wired World's involvement of community members in terms of "the constant snowballing effect of Wired World's contacts within the community". Pointing to the need for a station of their own, one of them remarked:

Given the small amount of air time and the obscure hour of presentation it is no small achievement that instead of draining obvious resources unfolding Wired World has continued to snowball in size and scope... Every week interest in the organization grows... The ever increasing volume of users can no longer be handled by the restrictive use of air time currently donated by CHYM-FM.

These accounts were reflected in the membership statistics presented to the Commission:

Who are the members of Wired World? The membership is representative of the Kitchener-Waterloo area as a whole: union and business personnel, students and teachers; housewives and people of many of the ethnic origins found in Kitchener-Waterloo; people who are first and foremost members of our community, and secondly, citizens eager to communicate with each other. Our membership includes some 300 voting and affiliate members. Even with our limited air time of one hour per week, we have broadcast some 77 programmes including 385 separate segments involving at least 780 people in the production since January 11, 1972... The board of directors is representative of our membership as a whole. We are composed of two women and six men ranging in age from 22 to 70. We are both native-born and naturalized Canadians who live in Kitchener, Wtaerloo, Bright and Heidelberg.

The organization, the Commission was told, was not just growing at a fantastic rate, with a large and involved membership, it was also enthusiastically received in the community as a whole. As one said:

Our success so far in presenting community radio in Kitchener-Waterloo has led to the very important respect and support of community leaders who have donated money, helped to provide space for studios and transmitters and given air time and merchandise. Their support has opened many doors for us and obviously has saved us much money.

Most of the work, they suggested, had already been done.

Given a licence, they were ready to go on the air. As they put it:

... we have the facilities now, with the exception of the actual transmitter and also telephone broadcast lines to go on the air on a limited basis... We have but one more step before the experiment in our area can become a certainty and that step is permission from the Canadian Radio Television Commission to operate CKWR.

The picture of Wired World's organization presented to the Commission was certainly an impressive one. At the time the organization had eight directors, four of whom had been directors when Wired World was founded. A fifth had joined the board a year later, and the other three had become directors a few months before the hearing. While the Wired World people had stressed their representativeness to the C.R.T.C., its board of directors was quite unrepresentative in a number of ways.<sup>1</sup> In terms of education, for example, seven of the eight directors had at least one university degree; of those seven, five had advanced degrees as well. In terms of age, three of the directors were in their early to mid-twenties in



two were in their thirties; and two were in their early forties. The other, at 70 years of age, was both their only senior citizen and their only director without a university education. He was a retired factory worker. Of the other seven directors, only three had some form of employment separate from Wired World. Politically, five of the directors clearly identified themselves as at least as leftist as the N.D.P.

When I arrived there was a small number of people who did most of the work of the station and developed its policies. (When I refer to "the people of Wired World" or the "regulars" it is this core of active workers to whom I refer.) The regulars included all but two of the eight directors.<sup>2</sup> Two other regulars would have been directors, but could not because they were not Canadian citizens, as required by the C.R.T.C. Another became a director later on. During the fall, five others became regulars, including myself; three of these became directors as well. Most of the people who did any work for Wired World actually did an extraordinary amount. Thus, most of the 14 regulars attended most meetings (and certainly weekly directors' meetings) regularly, appeared at the house often four, five or more days each week, and were close to full time volunteers for the organization. The five who had jobs outside of Wired World were somewhat more restricted in the amount of time they could be there, and were, comparatively, somewhat less than full time volunteers.

Of this group of fourteen regulars, eight were relatively young, i.e., in their early or mid twenties; all but three were under forty. Three of the "older" people were full time volunteers<sup>4</sup>, and at one time or another all of the young people were full time volunteers.

In sum, at the time the organization received its broadcast license, it included a relatively small group of active volunteers - people who did its work, and who, as directors, were shaping its policy. These people were primarily highly educated middle class people, politically left wing in the sense that they supported attempts to better the position of the working class, and liberal in the sense that they believed in citizen participation. They had involved many people from various backgrounds on their weekly hour-long programmes, and were preparing to continue to do that on their own station. The following pages provide a brief history of Wired World from its founding until its members received their license to broadcast.

The origin of Wired World.

In February, 1971, a special issue of the National Film Board of Canada's newsletter, "Challenge for Change", was published, entitled "Community Cable TV and You". The purpose of this newsletter was to inform people of the existence of community channels on cable television facilities,

and to encourage them to use these channels for their own purposes, particularly to promote community dialogue and social change. The issue was time to coincide with a conference on community programming by cable, sponsored by the Canadian Broadcasting League<sup>5</sup>, and with C.R.T.C. hearings on cable regulations and community channels. It suggested that television could be used to generate community dialogue, and that television equipment can be easy to use. It ended with a challenge:

If you come up with a good plan - one that will be of real service to your community, that is practical and financially feasible, that has a built-in guarantee of continuity, and that provides for different programming from what you now see on your TV set... the C.R.T.C. will give you a sympathetic hearing.

These community channels will be regulated as you see fit. They can give you a voice and help you to act to develop your community. But only you can make these things happen.  
(Challenge for Change, 1971:11).

One person challenged by this newsletter was John, who had strong feelings on the importance of local control over one's economy and culture, was intrigued with the possibility of community dialogue, and had the money necessary to instigate such a project. So in March of 1971 he asked Keith, whom he had met at Radio Waterloo (the cable fm radio station operated by students at the University of Waterloo), to write a report on community cable use in the Kitchener-Waterloo area. Keith presented this report, and called a meeting of people he

felt might be interested in establishing a community television group.

Though the group itself dissolved after a few meetings, Keith assisted one of its members in writing up an application for an Opportunities for Youth grant for developing community cable television in Kitchener-Waterloo. The application promised to hire eight people to produce a total of six hours per week of prime time community programming on the local community channel. Keith was offered a job in Ottawa, and left town. The grant - for \$9000 - was approved on the 19th of May. John was asked and agreed to manage the project, and to be administrator of its funds.

At the same time Larry, a co-manager of Radio Waterloo, had been experimenting for some time with community participation in programming at Radio Waterloo; he was interested in obtaining a broadcasting licence for Radio Waterloo to be a university and community station. In a brief entitled "Radio Waterloo - An Effective Communications Medium", in April, 1971, he wrote:

Broadcasting in Canada has levelled to the mediocre because of its desire to reach the largest amount of listeners. Since radio is a business and mass appeal is a prime criterion, minority programming and programming in the public interest is often neglected. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation deals with these areas quite effectively, but they are restricted to regions instead of communities.

We feel that a non-profit community oriented radio station could fill the void left by commercial broadcasters and the CBC. A campus radio station could be operated by students, receive financial support from the university and community could be feasible. Such an outlet could tap the resources of the university and community to provide alternate programming to what is being provided, and the facilities for any group or organization to produce programming pertaining to their minority interests.

... Initially, a community radio is more feasible than a community cable television system. Production costs in radio are a fraction of a comparable television presentation. The equipment is cheaper and easier to use and could be made available to individuals more readily. In the case of Radio Waterloo, many of the facilities are available; now we should channel our efforts into using them effectively.

Since Radio Waterloo's budget had just been drastically cut, Larry needed extra funding in order to be able to continue his activities there. He, too, filed an Opportunities for Youth grant request: "Community Involvement in Student Broadcasting", whose purpose was "to study the programming requirements of the Kitchener-Waterloo area and the University communities, and to set up a non-profit community oriented radio station which will fill the void left by commercial broadcasters and the CBC" (from a press release, May 27, 1971). This project was approved with a grant of \$7400 on May 26, just a week after the television grant had been approved.

John had cooperated with Mike, Radio Waterloo's other co-manager, in setting up the television group. At the same

time Radio Waterloo was working on its radio project. Since both projects were concerned with community media, it was natural for them to decide to cooperate. Radio Waterloo continued in its previous policy of encouraging community use of its facility, and Mike and John helped the television group by teaching a number of its members how to use portable television equipment. John records in the book they began writing a year later:

It seemed that each time we returned to borrow equipment from one of the local educational institutions, their restrictions on its use became more stringent. The U. of W. architecture school decided that their equipment could be let out on "non-university business" only with the explicit permission of the university president. Conestoga College decided that their equipment had to be kept locked up for the summer "for repair". The U. of W. audio-visual department decided that their portapak could be signed out only by a professor, for course-related work. They permitted the use of their studio for video-taping a discussion on community media for a class project, but refused to allow the resulting tape to be shown on the cable. Grand River Cable TV had no equipment at all. Some way had to be found to provide equipment on a dependable basis for community programming.

John, Larry and Mike discussed the possibility of establishing a non-profit community service organization to purchase equipment and establish a community base for community media. John then took the initiative to incorporate an organization, asking Larry and Mike, as well as friends Nancy and Peter, and a lawyer, to serve with him on its Board.

The organization took as its name the name that the O.F.Y. projects had decided to make themselves known by: Wired World: Waterloo County Community Media.

Community cable television.

Although Larry worked steadily for the establishment of a community radio station, Wired World's emphasis in its first year was with community cable television. John provided an initial contribution of \$6000 to buy portapak equipment and get the group off the ground. They rented an office, first in Kitchener, and later in Peter's house. Peter and Nancy were hired (to work full time at half pay) to oversee the operation, to begin to develop community support and interest, and to find other sources of funding.

While the television O.F.Y. project's lack of equipment was the original reason for incorporating Wired World, the project soon proved more troublesome than helpful for Wired World's founders, and Wired World developed quite independently of the O.F.Y. project. The O.F.Y. members were not willing to work as a group and several of them were producing little or no programming. A few cooperated with the Wired World founders, while most borrowed Wired World's equipment in the same manner as others in the community were encouraged to borrow it. Before

the summer was over, John had dissociated himself from the group.

When Wired World began its television work, Kitchener's cable company, Grand River Cable TV, had no equipment, and was producing no programming of its own. They gratefully received the programming provided by Wired World.

At first Wired World involved itself in a few local political issues in need of publicity. The most dramatic of these is the Oxlea-Eaton deal which came to light that summer in Kitchener. As John recorded it in the draft of the book the group later began:

News about a secret deal between Kitchener City Council and the Oxlea Developments, Ltd. soon reached the ears of some members of Wired World. It seemed that the historic farmers' market and the city hall of Kitchener were to be razed to make room for a commercial development... The entire press, radio and TV establishment, had agreed to withhold the news until after it had been voted final approval by city council.

Angered by the secrecy surrounding the affair, these members of Wired World contacted other citizens who then organized into small task forces. A quick call to the student newspaper, the Chevron, brought yet another group into action...

The Chevron made the story public in its special community edition. The rest of the story is nicely outlined in the MacLeans article, of June, 1972. It suffices to say that the council meeting of Monday morning was forced open to the public; Wired World cameras covered the event for cable TV.



But the Wired World founders decided that something more was needed than covering emergency happenings - that their real need was to put the equipment in the hands of others in the community. So they responded to an advertisement for community TV workshops sponsored by the Labour Council of Metro Toronto, the Ontario Federation of Labour, and Intercommunity Television, asking for a workshop for themselves. This became the model for the workshops which Wired World then provided, free of charge, to people in the Kitchener-Waterloo area. One of the O.F.Y. project members presented workshops during that first summer and was hired by Wired World to continue them in the fall. From July, 1971 until June of the following year when Wired World ceased its cable television programming, Wired World produced at least one hour of programming per week, pretaped and edited, for the cable channel. In addition, it presented at least 26 formal group instructional television workshops. People who had learned to use the equipment made their own programmes (in fact the Portuguese community representatives and the Kitchener Public Library began their own programmes on the cable channel, using Wired World's equipment).

And some people made use of the equipment for their own purposes, unrelated to cable programming. In a description of Wired World written in January, 1972, its members say:

The schedule of programmes does not accurately reflect the usage of the equipment since at least 50% of the usage has not resulted in programmes. The Lakeshore Village woman who teaches a gymnastics class has used it to show the children their form. A drama group has

used it in their rehearsals. Project Headstart has used it to help disadvantaged children develop a more positive self-image. Seminarians at Waterloo Lutheran University have used it to practice their preaching. The Fat Angel has used it to interest teenagers. The library has used it for their children's programmes and the Kitchener Parks and Recreation and the Waterloo Community Services Board have used it to present a compilation of their summer programmes to their respective Boards. These are just some examples of the kinds of usage of our equipment.

In terms of frequency used, in the twenty-six week which Wired World has been operating (to December 19) the equipment has been used 338 times or an average of 13 times per week. Since its inception, Wired World has given twenty-seven workshops in the use of our television equipment and in the editing of tapes. These workshops have resulted in well over 100 persons who are now able to use the equipment. This number does not include scores of people who have been shown on an individual and informal way how to use the gear.

With the end of the year came a deterioration in Wired World's relations with Grand River Cable TV. In December Grand River built their own studios, hired their own producer, and prepared to do their own community programming. They sent a letter to Wired World informing its members that they would be allowed to do one hour of programming each week, that it must be pretaped, previewed at least two days in advance, and that Wired World could not be granted access to Grand River's equipment.

The people at Wired World were quite angry with this. They submitted a brief to the C.R.T.C. hearing on Grand River

Cable Television's licence application, in mid-December outlining their grievances. They suggested that while Grand River was planning programming which would be produced and directed by its own hired personnel, Wired World's was of quite another type - in which people in the community were trained to be able to produce their own programmes.

Grand River Cable Television Limited is one of the four largest cable companies in North America having over 55,000 subscribers. They have a monopoly on cable services in one of Canada's fastest growing areas. We submit that they have a special responsibility which they can well afford, yet still maintain their very considerable profit earnings: to make equipment available to community groups to do community originated programming, and to give encouragement to people who are legitimately trying to communicate together.

It has cost Wired World \$285.00 per hour to produce each of 39 hours of community originated programming... While we have to this point been willing to undertake this cost because we believe in the necessity for community originated programming, it should not be necessary for a community to have to raise \$11,000 to communicate together. It is our recommendation that Grand River Cable Television Limited should be directed to give clear preference and priority of channel access to community originated programmes. They should also be directed to give all encouragement necessary to enable citizens to do their own community originated programming.

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Wired World is also concerned that Grand River Cable has rejected our initial enquiries for use of their studio for an occasional live programme, even during our regularly scheduled time slot...  
(from Wired World's brief to the C.R.T.C.)

The difficulties in dealing with Grand River, the expense of producing programmes, and the difficulties they had in finding any sources of funding made inevitable the

decision which came in the spring of 1972 to discontinue their cable television activities. They decided to concentrate their efforts on community radio.

Community radio.

While Wired World's public activities, its hired personnel, and most of its money were being used to develop community cable TV, one of its directors was actively working toward quite another goal. Larry's original plan had been to obtain for Radio Waterloo a licence to operate a university and community FM radio station. Radio Waterloo carried some community programming in the summer of 1971, and before - performances of local musicians, and productions of a local drama group, for example - and Larry's O.F.Y. grant was concerned with developing more programming and studying the feasibility of establishing a community FM radio station.

One of the most successful ventures of the O.F.Y. radio group was a programme produced by Larry, concerned with the Oxlea Eaton issue, and entitled "Kitchener 1990". John reported on this programme in the draft of their book:

Knowing that the programme deserved audience it could not reach by cable FM, Larry approached the two commercial stations to suggest a network arrangement. The first station refused, objecting that they would have no control over content... Radio station CHYM, however, agreed to carry the programme simultaneously. To do this, they had to

apply for network status for one night, for Radio Waterloo and CHYM-AM; the request was subsequently approved.

The two hour programme included a panel of seven people representing all sides of the issue, taped comments from people at the market, and was followed by calls from listeners giving their reactions and further comments.

Early in the fall of 1971, Larry left Radio Waterloo, and continued his efforts to establish a community radio facility, working now just within Wired World. Having made the initial contact with the people at CHYM, Larry and the others at Wired World prepared a sample one hour magazine format tape, and approached CHYM-FM for permission to do community programming on their station. CHYM-FM offered to donate one hour of time - Sunday mornings at 9:30 - to the Wired World people to do their programming. Wired World's community radio programme subsequently began on CHYM-FM in early January, 1972.

These programmes were originally produced using the facilities of Radio Waterloo or CHYM. In June, 1972, CHYM donated an old production board, and by autumn the Wired World people were able to produce tapes in their own studio. Before the spring of 1972 most of the people who came to Wired World came to do television programmes; later, as Wired World

moved more toward radio, people were encouraged to use its radio facilities as well.

The people at Wired World produced 106 weekly programmes for its programme on CHYM-FM, continuing that programme until early in 1974, when they began their test transmissions for their own station, CKWR-FM.

One of the most dramatic examples of Wired World's programming was its radio adaptation - a three hour tape - of Shakespeare's Richard II. This production was described at Wired World's hearing in front of the C.R.T.C. for a broadcast licence:

From past experience we have had actors from all age groups and backgrounds participating in drama and a good illustration of this was our experience with our production of Shakespeare's Richard II. Over 30 people were involved in the programming, including students, teachers and insurance executives, a restaurant owner, a newspaper reporter and professional actors.

The local university offered us their theatre for the recording over a two-day period.

We obtained three local sponsors to finance the production without any difficulty and received nation-wide press-coverage on our efforts.

We also sold tapes of "Richard" to our high schools and the public libraries and both local and out of town school boards have expressed a great interest in our future productions which will be up for sale at a reasonable cost.

Most of Wired World's programmes on CHYM, however, were magazine format programmes, including several different items. Frequent use was made of community notices, groups such as "Pollution Probe" making presentations, local musicians playing their instruments, interviews with people on the street, production of plays, stories and poems by local writers, weekly reports from workers involved in a long and bitter strike, etc. The people at Wired World kept no accurate record of the programming they had done on the radio, though they did keep tapes of some of these programmes.

Obtaining a licence.

In April of 1972 the membership of Wired World formally decided to concentrate their efforts on radio. As they recorded in the draft of their book:

The decision we took in early spring was to apply to Opportunities for Youth for a summer radio development grant. Then we would apply for a radio licence for a non-profit FM broadcast station, and simultaneously apply to the Secretary of State for funds with which to get started. The TV equipment was to be retired, except for those groups who were willing to pay the costs of upkeep, or who were willing to search out other sponsorship for their project, which they could in turn make available to us.

At about that time John bought a house on the main street of Kitchener, to house Wired World's office, and the studios which would eventually be needed for its radio station.

Much earlier Larry had begun the process of corresponding with friends from Ottawa who were involved in community media, and who provided him with a list of contacts in various government departments who might be useful both in getting funding and in obtaining a broadcast licence. Larry had met a person several years before who was able to provide him with contacts at the C.R.T.C., the Department of Communications, and the Department of the Secretary of State. Larry kept people from various of these departments informed of activities at Wired World in a series of letters which outlined very clearly various of the particulars of Wired World's philosophy, which often exaggerated Wired World's successes, but which communicated quite accurately an impression that what was happening at Wired World was really quite remarkable and exciting.

With an O.F.Y. grant which included \$12,700 for salaries, Wired World hired twelve people off and on throughout the summer of 1972. Several of these people were new to the organization, and some of the directors' energies were used in a rather unsuccessful campaign to motivate the newer people. Wired World's radio programming continued; plans were begun for submitting a licence application, and some work was done on developing for Wired World a special simplified console for community use. Started in the summer, renovations to the house began in earnest in the fall.



In August, 1972, a change occurred on the board of directors. Mike, who had been inactive since the first summer, resigned, and he was replaced by Bob, at the time a university student and an active volunteer for Wired World. A short time later Peter left the area and Wired World, and Tom, Wired World's chief engineer, replaced him on the board.

After consultations with members of the board about various aspects of the licence, Bob sat down and wrote much of the licence application himself. Schedule 19, which outlines Wired World's "philosophy" or approach to community broadcasting, was written by Larry. Wired World's licence application was forwarded to the C.R.T.C. in September, 1972, and its people eagerly awaited a speedy hearing and a favourable decision.

Two things were necessary before Wired World could have a licence to broadcast. First, permission had to be granted by the Department of Communications (D.O.C.) to allow Wired World to operate at a given frequency and power; and secondly permission had to be granted by the C.R.T.C. to operate the proposed station. A number of difficulties had to be overcome in both areas before Wired World was granted its licence.

The technical difficulties encountered are outlined in detail in a report prepared by Bob for the D.O.C. ("Use of

Low Power FM for Community Radio and the Problem of Finding Space for It", March, 1973). The following is a brief summary from that report:

In the summer of 1972, Wired World commenced work on a technical brief for a low-power FM outlet in Kitchener. Since Wired World was not in a position to pay a broadcast consultant for this work, Wired World's own staff completed the brief in an arrangement whereby Sruki Switzer, chief engineer for McLean Hunter Cable and a long-time advocate of low-power licences for non-profit use, would check all calculations and apply his seal to the completed document (as a contribution to Wired World.) In the search for frequencies, Wired World found that the Department of Communications had left no allotted channels to Kitchener-Waterloo. In order to obtain a frequency which could be used, an unused allotment from a nearby town ... was used after brief consultations between Wired World and the Department of Communications...

The completed technical brief was sent in along with the C.R.T.C. licence application in the fall of 1972, and a month later Wired World, in checking with the Department of Communications, found that it might be very difficult to obtain the frequency... A "drop-in" channel was suggested as an alternative...

An immediate search for a "drop-in" frequency began, and computer programs to search all possibilities were drawn up and run. It became immediately apparent that no channels could be "dropped in" to Kitchener without violating D.O.C. minimum criteria for spacing from adjacent channels in some way. One channel was found to violate D.O.C. criteria by only nine per cent, but had to be ruled out because it was not suitable from the standpoint of the United States... Two other frequencies violated criteria by up to 20%, of which one appeared to be usable with respect to the U.D. This frequency was 100.3, and Wired World then attempted to negotiate with the D.O.C...

During negotiations for the 100.3 mHz. frequency, it became known that 100.3 mHz was in fact an unusable channel because of United States allocations, and that it had originally been considered satisfactory because of a reading error in a list sent to Wired World concerning which frequencies were acceptable for use...

This latest rejection so demoralized the people working on obtaining a frequency that the search was almost abandoned...

The D.O.C. was contacted again in desperation. It was unofficially suggested that Wired World might change the allocation scheme slightly... During discussion with the Department of Communications it was found that it would be easier to completely eliminate a channel from Owen Sound than to reduce one in Toronto... Therefore, channel 254 was found to be the best (98.7 MHz)...

(pp 11-19, excerpts)

When the group ran into technical difficulties several of its volunteers were asked to help with solving problems. The work necessary to find Wired World a frequency included writing the programmes for, and carrying out four or five computer searches. As Bob wrote in his report to the Department of Communications:

Speed in processing the technical application was very important in Wired World's case, and this processing was retarded considerably by the difficulties in obtaining a frequency. The C.R.T.C. could not bring any application to a hearing until the D.O.C. indicated its approval, and delays in Wired World's progress towards obtaining permission to operate its transmitter could have proved fatal...

(p20)

After the technical difficulties were resolved, problems were encountered with the licence application. When talking to the people in the D.O.C., the Wired World people discovered that the application was being held up in the applications department of the C.R.T.C. By the end of the year, the application still had not been processed, and it was becoming clear that it would have to be altered substantially.

In fact early in the new year, they rewrote the licence application, submitting the newer version, and asking the Commission to ignore the first. In the first

application, Wired World had indicated that a substantial portion of its funding would come from a large grant requested from the Secretary of State. Wired World's grant request had been formally turned down. Since the grant was supposed to cover operating expenses, the people had proposed in their first application to rent their equipment, thus keeping their capital costs very low. The second application was more realistic, more honest, and more defensible than the first.

The people at Wired World wanted to be sure of a hearing with the C.R.T.C. before summer, in order that the momentum of the group not be lost. So in March they contacted the Vice Chairman of the Commission, whom they knew to be a proponent of non-commercial community FM radio, to see what he might do to expedite a hearing. With his help a hearing was arranged for June of 1973.

At a general meeting in April of that year, the Board of Directors of Wired World was expanded to ten people, and people were elected to fill two of the four vacancies thus created. Those two were Jane, who was active particularly in the area of development of programming since about the time of the first licence submission, and Ralph, a senior citizen whose contributions to the organization, particularly in the area of renovations to the house, were substantial.

Wired World's hearing took place in Ottawa in June of 1973. Ten Wired World members made presentations at the

hearing, and fifteen additional people from the Waterloo Region traveled to Ottawa for the event. The people at Wired World received their approval notice from the C.R.T.C. in August, and continued their plans to put CKWR-FM on the air.

#### Conclusion.

Wired World is situated in a fifty year old house on Kitchener's main street. At the time when I first became actively involved, its centre of activity was the kitchen; there was to be found the main desk, the telephone, the mail slots, a large working table, and all the equipment for making and serving coffee or tea. Early in the day, when there were few people there, it was a relatively effective work area. As the day progressed, more people arrived and it became less and less so. Regulars conferred there; members came in occasionally to catch up on news, to help a bit, or just to say hello; people came in to participate in a programme; and new people came in to have a look around, and to get introduced to community radio. People occasionally moved to the nearby livingroom; more often they did not. For someone intent on getting a job done, with people frequently milling around, the telephone ringing, and others seeking or giving advice, the work was often quite frustrating. But for someone primarily valuing it as a friendly meeting place it was just as it should be.

At that time, Wired World was for the most part a small and informal voluntary organization, primarily composed of its

regulars, a group of perhaps 15 people who volunteered many hours of work each week to its operations. These regulars were a fairly uniform group - both in the sense of being well educated and in the sense of sharing a common ideology (at least with respect to the use of the media).

But even among the regulars, particular people had particular hours when they were most likely to be in, and as a result Wired World was really quite a different organization for different people. For example, in the early days, Nancy used to come in every day generally in the morning and early afternoon, and Bob and Larry came around most days late in the afternoon and stayed through the early evening. Since Wired World was located in his home at the time, Peter was almost always there. Nancy remembers it in those early days as involving primarily Peter and her; thus she said of Larry's involvement in the early days:

He and Bob would drop over to George Street maybe once every two weeks, never more than that.

While, on the other hand, Peter's wife indicated that Larry and Bob were there most days when she got home from work, and Peter added that "every day they were there for several hours". It is not so much that Nancy forgot, or distorted, but it was a different Wired World she saw, and that Peter saw, and that Larry and Bob saw.

Similarly, when I arrived, there were several different Wired Worlds one might have seen, depending on the time of day one came, or the people with whom one associated. Thus, the

Wired World Jane knew in the early days was primarily older people doing television programming (though when she started radio was being done by the younger people); the Wired World Ralph knew, on the other hand, was composed of young men working with radio.

The Wired World people had come together with a common commitment to develop citizen access to the mass media. After a year of working together, seeking funding, and working cooperatively with the cable company and a commercial radio station, they set as their goal the establishment of their own FM radio station. While that goal was less expensive than their cable television work, and would have given them unlimited programming time, it still required further negotiations with outsiders - particularly to obtain their broadcast licence.

Once they received their licence, the Wired World people prepared to put their new station on the air. This preparation involved obtaining and installing equipment, building studios in their house, developing funding, and, of course, further developing their theory of citizen access radio, as it would be practiced on their new station. The following chapter explores the theory and practice of citizen access radio the Wired World people developed.

## Footnotes for Chapter 3.

1. I cannot estimate the representativeness of its general membership because at that time they had essentially no membership records.
2. One had moved out of town, and the other had provided legal assistance in the early days, but has never been involved in day-to-day operations.
3. By older, I mean people who were beyond their mid-twenties.
4. I have classified those people who averaged several hours each day of work for the organization as full time volunteers.
5. The old Canadian Radio League was revitalized by Graham Spry and others under the new name, Canadian Broadcasting League, to act as a pressure group and encourage citizen involvement in developing broadcast policy.



## Chapter 4

### Community Radio: The Wired World Approach.

The people of Wired World organized themselves into a non-profit voluntary organization and set out to establish their own community radio station. Community radio stations offer themselves as an alternative to established stations, both in the public and private sector. As such they are occasionally uncritically accepted by those who are disenchanted with the performance and/or possibilities of the established media, while for others they provide a source of inspiration for what the established media might be doing. These stations offer alternatives in the type of financing they try to achieve, in their structure of ownership and in their ultimate goal: the nature of the programming they seek to produce. They also differ markedly among themselves in all three of these areas. In addition, each community station may be providing alternatives along several different dimensions. Before turning to a detailed analysis of the establishing of Wired World's station, I should like to explore a number of different ways community stations might be providing alternatives to programmes on the established stations. Then I discuss the Wired World philosophy of citizen access, the manner in which the Wired World people planned to implement that philosophy, and the manner in which it was actually implemented.

## Critiques of the Mass Media.

Critiques of the nature of programming of the established media, as well as proposals for alternative media, focus on one or several of three levels of analysis: the content of communication, the access to communication, and the structure of communication.

For example, proponents of the national goal in our broadcasting system are focusing at the level of content of communication when they seek more Canadian music, plays, issues or other subject matter featured on the Canadian media, or when they seek a Canadian perspective in the handling of foreign subject matter. Likewise, those concerned about freedom of the air have operated at the level of content when they have sought for the expression of minority views, or of labour views. As Spry had written shortly after the establishment of the C.B.C.:

The positive aspect of... freedom of their air was the hope that new movements of opinion, as represented by socialist groups, trade unions, and farm associations, would be able to develop their support by the use of radio. The negative aspect was the apprehension that radio broadcasting under private enterprise would become an instrument solely for the use of great business organizations. (Spry, 1935:107).

Some may criticize the content of the media because they believe there are particular items or perspectives which are not being presented. Others seek different content in the media to serve particular functions not now being served. For example, Groombridge, in his book Television and the People,

suggests that broadcasting ought to serve the function of preparing citizens for better and more meaningful participation in the affairs of their society; he wants professional broadcasters trained to design their programmes to serve that end. The Senate Committee suggested, on the other hand, that the media should be evaluated in terms of their success in preparing their audiences for social change. (Senate Committee, I:84).

Some critics, instead of (or in addition to) focusing at the level of content of communication, stress the importance of access to communication. Access is viewed sometimes in the limited sense of opportunities for citizen feedback (Singer) and sometimes in the more radical sense of providing citizens the resources to use the media themselves. Benn, for example, is taking this position when he argues:

The public as a whole are denied access or representation in these new talking shops of the mass media as completely as the 95 per cent without the vote were excluded from Parliament before 1832. The real question is not whether the programmes are good, or serious, or balanced, or truthful. It is whether or not they allow the people themselves to reflect, to each other, the diversity of interests, opinions, grievances, hopes and attitudes to their fellow citizens and to talk out their differences at sufficient length... The people... have the right to demand a greater ease of access to the community through the mass media... (Benn:21-22).

Schiller, too, who examines mass communications in terms of its role in strengthening the American hegemony abroad, sees in open access a possible alleviation of that power:

If the groups that are pressing for rationalization of existence in the industrial state and a reconstitution of the social order can claim massive access to the new communications, hitherto an impossibility, hope remains that the disasters that a mindless yet powerful economy is provoking may be survived. (159).

The Senate Committee also supported the theory of citizen access, though turning to cable television as its likely source. Cable television is the best source instead of the established media, its Report argued, because the established media are reluctant to support true access, since it may cost the stations their audiences, their income, and ultimately their licence (I:216).

C. Wright Mills argued in The Power Elite (303-4) that the established media increase the power of the few and the impotence of the masses. He distinguished between a society of publics (resembling a classic democratic model) and one of the mass. In the former, he suggested, as many people express opinions as receive them; public communications are organized to encourage members of that public to answer back; such opinion can find an outlet in action; and the public is spared authoritative institutions. In a mass society, on the other hand, fewer people express than receive opinions; one can answer back only with difficulty; authorities control the channels of action which might result from opinions; and the mass has no autonomy from institutions.

The public and the mass may be most readily distinguished by their dominant modes of communications: in a community of publics, discussion is the ascendant means of communication, and the mass media, if they exist, simply enlarge and animate discussion, linking one primary public with the discussions of another. In a mass society, the dominant type of communication is the formal media, and the publics become mere media markets: all those exposed to the contents of given mass media (Mills: 304).

Mills' critique of the mass media focuses on the structure

of communication. He claims that mass communications provide no communication, that rather the mass media make most people mere spectators, entrusting only a few with the power to communicate, thus discouraging the possibility of a democratic society.

Enzensberger (101-2) tries to move beyond a radical critique of the structure of the mass media to a revolutionary alternative. Citing Brecht, he says that radio should be changed from a means of distribution to a means of communication: that it should be made technically capable not only of allowing the listener to receive messages but to transmit them as well. He chastises critics of the left for analysing the media primarily in terms of its manipulative use, arguing from a Marxist perspective that the media must necessarily be manipulative, but that if structured differently they can be mobilized for different purposes.

The question is therefore not whether the media are manipulated, but who manipulates them. A revolutionary plan should not require the manipulators to disappear; on the contrary, it must make everyone a manipulator (107).

Enzensberger called for a technologically feasible restructuring of the mass media such that each receiver could be a potential transmitter, and for the necessity of a corresponding social (collective) control of the production process in order to achieve his emancipatory (revolutionary) ends.

Some of the people of Wired World were attracted to their station for political reasons: they saw in community media a

social change mechanism, one which would allow greater freedom of the air, and the development of citizen participation. Some were less politically involved, but sought an outlet for the development of local cultural talent. They agreed, however, that the primary emphasis of the station would be neither political nor cultural; rather, they focused their critique at the level of access to communication, while expecting that a change at that level would affect the content and structure of communication as well. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I shall specify Wired World's general approach to community radio, and outline some of the structures its people have tried to develop to make their approach more than just a philosophy.

The Wired World philosophy.

In the introduction to the book which the Wired World people began writing early in 1972, they outlined a number of beliefs their founders had shared at its inception. The first of these was that active citizen participation was a good thing for a community. Another was that for people to participate fully in their community there were many forms of knowledge and skills which everyone should share, and that media communication was one of them. A third belief was that a community media resource can help increase the level of understanding in a community of one group about another. A related belief was that a community media resource can increase self-knowledge of those groups who make use of it. They believed that community media provide a good excuse for interaction, and

that when people learn to use the various media they will find the experience interesting. And finally, they believed that most existing commercial media were impersonal in nature, and would not encourage the sort of citizen communication they envisioned.

Particularly in that first year, but in many subsequent discussions as well, the Wired World people engaged in conversations in which they developed their philosophy concerning community media, applied it to the particular case of community radio, and began developing the structures they saw as necessary to bring their goals about. Much of their philosophy is outlined in Schedule 19 of Wired World's licence application:

The purpose of this application is to allow a group of Kitchener-Waterloo citizens the legal sanction to put a non-commercial, non-profit FM community radio station on the air. The station will be a "pipeline" for interested citizens by which they can exchange ideas and express themselves in a manner which they choose..

At present, the four radio stations in Kitchener-Waterloo are providing a service dictated mainly by their business nature. Generally, they are programme "sources" which program to mass audiences to hopefully reach the largest amount of listeners at any given time in their "market". This "mass appeal" programming ethic is the result of stations existing on the revenue of commercial sponsors. If a sponsor pays for a radio spot advertising, he wants to be assured that his announcement will be heard by a large number of potential customers... Wired World's proposed FM radio station would exist on listener donations, user donations, and the greatest degree of direct community support as possible through "sponsorship" of programming. Commercial "spots" would not dictate mass appeal programming.

Also, the present outlets are programmed by professional people, hired by the business owning the broadcast facility. Programming from this small originating group of station employees is intended for as large a mass as possible. Few local citizens are directly involved in

the content and production of programming. Also, local "artistic" use of radio is minimal. Live music by local musicians and radio plays written and produced by local writers and actors is non-existent. Wired World's proposed FM radio station would allow direct citizen involvement in the content and production of the programming on that station. They will be encouraged to assume responsibility for programming content in their particular segment of the broadcast day. Also local artists will have the facilities for live music and radio plays which they produce... Ideally this will bring about understanding and enjoyment to those producing and to those listening. It is a means by which the community can "self-animate" itself in many ways...

The people at Wired World saw themselves as developing an "open-access" facility. From Schedule 21 of their licence application:

The proposed facility is to be an "open access" outlet, and it is the intent of Wired World not to initiate programming itself. Anyone from the community wishing to use air time would be permitted to do so, within two restraints: 1) restraints of the broadcast act, libel laws and slander laws and 2) limitations of time...

Wired World does not see itself as a programming source; although we are willing to accept responsibility for program content on behalf of community users because we must do so under current legislation, we cannot definitely commit ourselves to "X" definite hours of a certain type of programming per week.

The Wired World people saw their role not as programmers but as community developers, encouraging people to come and do their programming. Again, from Schedule 21:

The need for "community development" in the field of community radio (more adequately phrased "radio development") is based on two premises: first, that people are conditioned to equate "radio" with "commercial radio as it now exists", and second, that people initially may have difficulties in understanding how they personally can make use of the facility. These two "problem areas" in the development of meaningful community access suggest that the establishment of radio facilities in a community is only one step towards effective use, which in turn can be defined as a state in which any member of the community is fully aware of the existence of the community radio outlet and what he could do personally if he wished to, and thus has made a choice to either make use of or not



to make use of the radio facilities... Within these parameters, we see the "development" process as being one in which the "developer" (someone representing the facility itself) tries to introduce as little "manipulation" as possible.

They saw themselves as community developers in the sense of radio development, but not really in any broader political sense. Basic to their philosophy was the desire to reflect the community as it was, occasionally with its various political positions, and frequently with no political position at all.

Though they planned no significant technological change (for example, in the ratio of transmitters to receivers), the Wired World people expected their approach to alter the structure and meaning of mass communications, at least on their station. The intent and anticipated impact of Wired World's sort of community radio was first to make the broadcast airwaves readily accessible to any and all people, and second to deprofessionalize the process of programme production. It was their hope that to the degree that these aims are successfully achieved they will have significantly altered the structure of communication. They were trying to challenge a very basic assumption of broadcasting: that its facilities are used for mass communication. Part of the definition of mass communication is that it is directed toward a large, heterogeneous and anonymous audience (Wright:13). The Wired World people envisioned quite a different use of the air waves for their station: one where messages might be directed toward rather smaller, homogeneous, and responsive audiences.

The approach emphasized communication rather than distribution, the communicator rather than the audience. They did not encourage programming to a mass audience, but rather expected that each community programmer would appeal to a particular minority public. (It is for this reason that they believed they had to be non-commercial, for it would defeat their purpose to claim to guarantee an audience.)

The Wired World people expected that if ordinary citizens rather than professionals produce the programming, as they wish, that would significantly alter the content of communication as well, because local artists, previously denied access to commercial stations, would be able to use these facilities, and because those with particular issues or interests to raise (and particularly - though not exclusively - those whose ideas the established media would ignore) would have a means to raise them. Thus, though the emphasis was on citizen access, the assumption was that content would be affected too, in such a way as to further both the national aim (particularly at the local level) and freedom of the air.

Implementation of the philosophy.

I was involved with Wired World when most of its people's activities were concerned less with developing programming and more with the physical, administrative, and fundraising work necessary to put a new radio station on the air. People were building studios and otherwise renovating the house; they were buying, scrounging, and building technical facilities; they

were seeking government and foundation grants, and soliciting local company donations; they were establishing systems for record keeping and coping with other bureaucratic details. Very little time was spent on the processes for developing programming: facilitation and animation.

Facilitation, as defined by the Wired World people, was the process of helping people to produce their own programmes. It involved teaching people to use the equipment, offering advice and suggestions when solicited about how a programme might be put together, informing people of the laws governing broadcasting, and keeping proper records of what was being programmed.

Facilitators were to be formally trained in community relations, the broadcast law, the operations of Wired World, and the use of the equipment. The facilitator training process, as developed and outlined to the Board in December, 1973, included four parts:

(1) a group training session, including a group discussion of Wired World's philosophy, the broadcast laws, the role of facilitator, and on-air procedures.

(2) individual equipment training sessions, in which a trained facilitator teaches the novice in the use of the equipment, so the novice would also be able to operate unfamiliar equipment with little difficulty;

(3) work with a trained facilitator, in the actual production of programmes and maintenance of logs

(4) and finally an interview after which the facilitators'

training committee recommends to the Board that the novice be approved (or not) as a facilitator.

When Wired World received its licence there were perhaps five people - all volunteers - who were competent facilitators. Between then and the time their station began broadcasting (more than six months later) one formal training session had been held (accommodating 13 of the 25 people who had signed up for training), and perhaps six of those people had received some individual equipment training. That is to say, facilitator training was essentially non-existent. By the time the station went on the air, there were enough trained facilitators for each to be responsible for one full evening's programming.

One year after they went on the air, there were approximately 20 people working as facilitators (three of whom had been facilitators when the station began broadcasting); these 20 people worked for times ranging from one to ten hours per week. They had been informally trained, however, by learning to make their own programmes, and then being encouraged to similarly help others when new facilitators were needed.

It was expected that the facilitators would be "animators" as well. Animation, as defined by the Wired World people, meant encouraging people to make use of the station's facilities. As one early member had said:

There is a whole process that you have to go through before people will come off the street in droves saying "let us do a programme". There is a whole myth of professionalism, the mystique about the inaccessibility

of microphones and so forth. And as soon as people are over that initial hurdle then it becomes something they can do and then they have to figure out what they want to say.

They saw animation as involving two processes: first, going out to people in the community and encouraging them to take advantage of Wired World's facilities (or to become a volunteer); and second, involving and motivating those people who do walk in the door, and otherwise making them feel comfortable at the station. The Wired World people did not develop formal procedures for animation, but they did have an idea of what they wanted to have happen.

In terms of the first stage of animation, their goal was to achieve a snowballing effect. They described one such successful example at the Commission hearing for their licence application. In this case a volunteer arranged to read short stories by local, unpublished writers, stories which were obtained from the public library.

The volunteer who read them was impressed with one short story... contacted the author ... (and) produced a dramatic and highly praised... version of his short story. ... (T)he writer... came to understand the Wired World method of programming... which involved three volunteers, writing, typing and technical production, and two actor volunteers who had done previous work at Wired World, all of this over a period of about seven weeks. ... (The writer) has been back with two more plays, both now in production, and is working on the fourth...

In addition, this person began involving himself in music programming and seeking others out for programming on the station. In this case the animation work was extremely rewarding - a programme was produced, a new person was (tempo-

rarily) heavily involved, and new programme ideas were proposed. More frequently a good programme was produced, but the new person not so heavily involved. For example, when one regular heard about a new issue in Waterloo causing a great deal of concern among some of his friends, he called these people and asked them if they were willing to make a radio programme for Wired World's weekly programme about this issue. He made an appointment with two of the people to meet that evening at the station and make such a programme. He discussed with them what it was they wanted to say, suggesting various alternatives for the format of the programme: they could tell their story; he could interview them; they could interview each other; they could telephone city officials and question them, etc. He also asked them to think of any other sort of format they might like. They eventually decided to record a few telephone calls, then ask the regular to interview them (providing him with the questions beforehand). The twenty minute programme was recorded - the regular offered to edit it for them - and three hours after they arrived, they left.

These two people found the microphone quite intimidating - one suggesting that it was more intimidating than city council meetings. They were also surprised that it took so long to do such a short programme. (The Wired World people hoped that with the instituting of live programming on their station, more mistakes would be tolerated, and time somewhat decreased. This has happened to some extent.) These people have not since been back to the station.

In this second case, a programme was produced, but the new members were not drawn into the station. Sometimes, of course, animation was less successful, and did not even result in a programme.

Some seeking out of new programmers did occur. Most people encouraged friends to become involved. One or two spent some time calling the public library, community organizations and individuals and trying to involve them. But the overall time spent on this form of animation was minimal.

The other part of animation, besides seeking out new programmers, was making people feel sufficiently welcome and a part of the station that they would become further involved. While I was at Wired World, part of this process was developed quite well, when people remembered: newcomers to the house were first given a tour of the facilities, then brought back to the living room for a cup of coffee and given "the spiel": told about Wired World's philosophy and encouraged to do some programming. The other part of that process - helping the newcomer find something to do, which might be sufficiently rewarding that he (she) would want to come back - was not developed at all. People talked about it, and worried about it but most did nothing about it. Again, there were a few people who spent some time doing this, but as one said:

Everybody is too busy doing their stuff to talk to anyone who comes in the door. That's what the real problem is. Often people are completely ignored.

Thus, for the most part, it was the people who felt at home and were able to find themselves something to do who were likely to stay.

Wired World had an image problem. As it happened, many of those who did easily assimilate into the group were young people - in their late teens or early twenties. Though there were older people involved as well, they were often less visible - whether because they were less numerous, not as frequently at the house, or not clearly visible in the house. Thus, one person remarked about their senior citizen full-time volunteer:

I am usually infinitely relieved to find Ralph stashed somewhere when I am taking people for a tour of the house, because he presents a different image.

This image affected their community relations as well. For example, a planned direct line to the library - to facilitate coverage of public meetings - was rejected by the library, apparently because of Wired World's "long hair" image.

The Wired World people wanted to attract "establishment" people to the station, both to build a favourable reputation and to more truly represent the community; however, they did not non-establishment people - whether young people or people who were non-conformists on political or social issues - to feel unwelcome. This problem, like most problems at Wired World, was worried about but never formally resolved. When it did arise in specific instances, it was resolved in a way which did not threaten the positions of the non-establishment people. In formal encounters with outside groups, however,



the older, more "respectable" people were featured.

Programming: the policy.

The Wired World people claimed that the programming on their station would (and should) be a function of the "needs" and desires of those who chose to produce programmes. However, they did have a conception of what should be considered a "good" programme, and they did establish a number of programming policies and priorities to be used in scheduling citizens' programming. First, they wanted the programmes to involve local residents, whether in their production, or by using the works of local residents, or by dealing with local issues. Second, they planned to give priority to those programmes which involved a high degree of production effort. Thus, priority would be given to a locally produced play over a programme in which a local resident would spin discs. Locally written and produced plays would be especially encouraged. Third, they wanted their programming to be different from existing programming on commercial stations. They did not intend to reject emulation of commercial programming, but they did not encourage it. As their first programme guide said:

At the end of June, as at the end of every three week period, the programme schedule is completely revised, and an opportunity is created for new programmers and new programmes to be heard. Applications are now available for the summer programming period, July through September.

Programmes which involve local citizens in production, which are on subjects of community interest, or which deal thoughtfully with some single theme, have priority for scheduling in "prime time".

Applicants are warned that mindless disc-spinning is gently discouraged. Broadcasting oceans of pre-recorded sound may tax the capabilities of commercial radio, but it serves slight purpose in community radio. Already in just over one year of broadcasting, CKWR volunteers have managed to fill a third of its heavy schedule with live, locally-produced material. It is in this direction that we shall, with your help, continue to move.

They also sought to encourage as much variety in programming as possible. To ensure variety of programming they planned for the development of a number of programming areas; for the purposes of animation, facilitators were expected to work in particular areas (such as community affairs, children's programming, drama, educational programming, ethnic programming, labour, music, religious...). The areas were to be determined in part by what areas seem to be neglected. Finally, they planned that the immediacy of a programme should to some degree determine its priority. To satisfy this requirement they decided to set aside one half hour each day as free time for unscheduled programming.

Programming, it was decided, would be scheduled in thirteen week segments, and subject to review and revision at the end of each period. In addition to having particular areas of interest, each facilitator would be responsible for the programming during a particular time slot. Scheduling of particular programmes in given slots was to be arranged at the programmer's, rather than the listener's convenience. And, it was hoped, scheduling would be flexible - with the length and nature of a given programme determined more by the content and less by the precise time segment to be filled.

Programming conflicts were anticipated. For example, it was feared that one type of programming might be over-represented. The question of how much of any given type was really too much, not representative of the community, or thwarting the goal of variety was not really resolved, however. It is interesting to note that the types of programming particularly worried about were the ones the Wired World people enjoyed the least. So plans were made to restrict the amount of time available for particular programme types if that problem did arise. There was the related concern of how to determine which programmers in a given area would be given priority - if, for example, there were two people "representing" the Portuguese community, or fifteen people wanting to play rock music, who should be selected. The solution adopted was the following:

Conflicts in time amounts and scheduling will be mediated by a CKWR-FM facilitator in a group situation composed of those parties in conflict. Solutions such as shared time blocks and alternating between one programmer and another are examples of solutions to possible conflicts. Appeals can be made to the directors and general membership if necessary.

Programming: the reality.

The Wired World people had been producing an hour long magazine format programme - "Wired World's Community Radio" - on a commercial station for nearly two years before they went on the air. Unfortunately, I cannot look systematically at the programmes produced by the Wired World people during that two year period: most of the tapes were erased for recycling. I did gather five sample programmes, however, before most tapes

were destroyed. All of these programmes had one or more frequently several promotional announcements for the station.

Some were very short and informational:

Community radio is your opportunity to express yourself by doing anything you want to do. Interested? Why not call Wired World during weekdays at 579-1150 or visit us at 1342 King Street East in Kitchener.

Others were longer, and frequently sought financial support.

The major content of the programmes was extremely varied, and included the following kinds of items: discussions of local Mennonite history interspersed with hymns in celebration of a Mennonite sesquicentennial, a person discussing the service provided by Kitchener's parks department, another reading (not local) poetry, someone describing his trip to Russia to see a Canada-Russia hockey game, interviews with two senior citizens, a discussion of plans for a senior citizens' week, a child interviewing participants at a dog show, library announcements, a discussion of recycling by a member of a local anti-pollution group, reading of letters supporting (and not supporting) Wired World's licence application, man-in-the-street interviews, a local musician playing his composition, reading of some locally written poetry, and a report from the workers (out on strike) at a small local plant which had been strikebound for over a year. Perhaps their most impressive programme had been a locally produced three-hour radio version of Shakespeare's Richard II. Each of the programmes were produced by three or more Wired World regulars and anywhere from one to ten or more others.

The programmes, when complete, and often filled in with recordings, were an hour in length. Relatively speaking they took very little of the Wired World people's time. While I was there, the blackboard which recorded appointments for programming listed an average of two or three appointments per week. Each might involve one Wired World person for a few hours.

For the first several months after Wired World's station went on the air, its people averaged approximately five hours per day of broadcasting, most of which was during the evening hours. The programming included a number of previously taped items. Most notably, an "alternate" theatre had worked with the Wired World people to produce and tape weekly live variety shows over a period of several months, often three hours in length, featuring only local talent - primarily musicians, and occasionally poets and other performers as well. It was planned that this would be a regular and continuing feature of Wired World's programming, but the theatre went out of business, and the variety shows were discontinued. In addition, Wired World's people had produced and taped several radio plays, which were inserted into the station's original programming. The rest of the programming was produced by those from the community who became involved and by the facilitators themselves, and included a labour programme, a children's programme, several hours each week from the university campus facility - mostly emulations of commercial radio - some ethnic programming, and several people playing music of various types. At that time 46 per cent of the

programming was rock and other contemporary music; there were five different groups interested in playing gospel music, and the Wired World people were worried that the programming was not sufficiently varied.

One year later they were programming 75 hours per week. The programming included the following types.

TABLE 4.1. Programming on CKWR one year after going on the air.

<u>Programming</u>	<u>hours</u>
ethnic	6½
news	3
discussions	
local and other issues	5½
arts	2
labour	½
sports	1
women's	½
magazine format	16
music	
entirely local	3½
jazz	8
blues	3
classical	3
other topical	6
general	11½
open time	5
TOTAL	75

The ethnic programming was produced weekly by seven different groups, generally in their own language. The groups included

Hindustani, Chinese, Caribbean, Northern European, Croation, Turkish and Portuguese. The news was produced in ½ hour segments by different people and with very different perspectives. Two segments, for example, were presented by competing communist groups; a third was a report from the BBC world service. In addition, five hours were left open for possible timely programmes, and approximately half of the other programmes were sufficiently flexible to encourage the insertion of community announcements, interviews, or other short items. Noticeably lacking at that time was locally produced drama; other productions requiring a significant amount of local preparation were also under-represented. Noticeably over-represented (particularly in the applications for programming) were young people wanting to emulate commercial disc jockeys, generally playing rock music. (In fact this was the only area of programming in which some people had been turned away.) After a year of broadcasting there were 20 facilitators and over 50 community members (including the facilitators) programming on a weekly basis.

Wired World's community radio.

The Wired World people could have designed quite a different plan to the one they did. They might have determined to present a particular political point of view. Salter's critical discussion of community radio is primarily from this perspective: the alternative media she seeks are issue oriented, political agitators, which might help alleviate problems and gain power

for those involved. They might have opted for any number of cultural alternatives - presenting a particular educational focus, highlighting certain musical or drama works, or even, as they did stress, developing local talent. They chose to have their primary critique emphasize citizen access to the media, with the only programming priorities being in developing local participation in the content and production of programmes. The basic structures they developed for achieving open access were the jobs of facilitator and animator. However, animation was scarcely done, and while facilitating was done, it was organized at a more informal level than had been originally planned. The model was evolving from one where a facilitator teaches a novice to produce his (her) own programme, to one where a facilitator controls the equipment for the programmer, and the programmer, too, could learn to use the equipment.

In spite of a lack of animation, new people continued coming to the station, and after a year on the air, there were over 50 people participating in regular weekly programmes. Some citizen access was occurring. The Wired World people had not tried to determine whether anyone was listening to the programmes being produced.

In terms of politics, few citizens had turned to Wired World's station as a forum for exploring controversial local issues; where they had, the airing had not had appreciable effect. The station was more frequently used for community announcements and for programming on local services. In terms



of the development of local culture, while the station did not begin to meet its objectives, it still far exceeded the output of the other stations. The long term political or cultural effects of the station, however, were yet to be determined.

When the Wired World people first began broadcasting on their own station, they ran into an interesting dilemma. Though it was people from the community who had established Wired World, in many cases they had seen themselves not as programmers, but as facilitators and animators, establishing a service for the community - which was everybody else. Initially they had been programming an hour each week on a commercial station, acting as facilitators for others. When their station went on the air, however, each facilitator was responsible for filling three or more hours each week, some of which could be filled by the contributions of those whom they helped; but much of it became their own programming time. The distinction between their roles as facilitators and as programmers became less clear, and one began to hear comments like: "I don't want religious types on my programme". When they went on the air the community became those who were involved in the radio station - not everybody else, but they, themselves. It was a community others could join, but the energies of the Wired World people were spent less on animation and development of a broad base of membership, and much more on the programming itself.

The long-range goal of the Wired World people had been to encourage a disparate group of local citizens to produce their own programmes, and to have those programmes include as many as possible local cultural and political productions. When faced with the more immediate goal of producing several programmes per day and maintaining the facility, much of the philosophy and planned strategy for implementing it were lost. The Wired World people became programmers whose example might be followed by others, rather than facilitator-animators, developing citizen access media. The programming that resulted was disappointing. Local artists and people concerned about local issues generally did not see Wired World's station as fulfilling their needs. Programming on radio was difficult for people even to conceptualize, and this station could not even offer the reward of an assured audience. As long as it was left up to others to involve themselves, the people who did come primarily came to entertain themselves by spinning discs.

Even before the Wired World people were broadcasting on their own station, facilitation and animation - the principal means they planned for achieving their goal of citizen access programming - were, for the most part, neglected.

While the primary goal of the Wired World people was developing citizen access radio, they also chose particular organizational and financial structures for bringing that about. A study of the development of Wired World's organization

suggests that its people were as concerned with the form their organization would take as with the ultimate goal it sought to achieve. In addition these intended organizational structures helped give citizen access its particular characteristics.

In addition, some organizational characteristics, particularly the voluntary nature of most of the organization's work and its dependence on a significant quantity of outside resources affected the nature of the citizen access which the Wired World people were achieving. It is to some of these organizational issues that I shall turn in the remaining chapters of the thesis.

## CHAPTER 5. Wired World's organization: an introduction.

Wired World's goal is the development of citizen access to the media. Its people could have chosen a number of devices for realizing that goal, including: seeking access, as individuals or collectively, to the commercial stations, the C.B.C. or their community cable TV channel; or establishing their own station. Having chosen to establish their own station, there were still several possibilities open to them concerning its organization. For example, it could be owned by a few people or by many; it could be controlled by a small executive committee or by a large membership, and it could be managed by a few professionals or by many volunteers.

Given that their goal was citizen access, the Wired World people might have chosen to have a tightly controlled organization, in which a broad base of programming would be assured, by the hiring of professional community developers whose job would be encouraging citizen participation in the programming. But they did not. What they did try to develop is a democratic organization, easily open to outsiders, and based primarily on volunteer labour. Chapters six through eight attempt to make sense of the structure of the organization the Wired World people did develop. In order to make sense of that structure, however, this chapter discusses why Wired World came to be organized as it was, at least from its members' point of view. It will be argued that the Wired World people sought, in

addition to achieving their ultimate goal, to have what they considered an appropriate form of organization - one whose structure would promote certain organizing values which they regarded as important.

1. Organizing principles and values.

Initially it is difficult to find a rational basis for understanding Wired World's organization. A comparison with other stations would find Wired World to be more disorganized and less efficient than other stations; at best it might see it as successful under the circumstances. Such a comparison, however, evaluates the group's performance in terms of a basic organizing principle which, though it may be appropriate for other stations, is not sufficient for understanding this one. This is the principle of bureaucracy, which has been held to be the dominant organizing principle of complex organizations (Weber, 1946:196-244; Perrow, 1970b:6).

The bureaucratic principle, and the logic of efficiency which underlies it, has gained such prominence in our society as to be almost overpowering. Just as in the fifties the American, Daniel Bell, could declare an end of ideology and no longer recognize liberalism as ideology, so, too, in building and studying organizations we have become so obsessed with bureaucracy that we occasionally forget that it is not the final measure of an organization, but rather one of many possible organizing principles. The logic of efficiency, on behalf of

which bureaucracy is either praised or condemned, is even less frequently challenged by the positing of other possible basic organizing values.

An organizing value may be defined as a particular characteristic which a person or group of people want an organization (or organizations in general) to evidence. It is not a characteristic of the organization, but a goal which a person might attach to the organization concerning its manner of operation. Such an organizing value may be held because it is seen to support the goal of (the leaders of) the organization, because it conforms to some higher value, or out of some rational interest, for example, self interest.

Perhaps the most common example of an organizing value is efficiency to serve the organization's principal purpose. In fact, as I mentioned before, this is sufficiently common that social scientists, at least, occasionally forget that it might not be the only relevant value. For example, Silverman assumes the value of efficiency in his action analysis of organizations, when he says:

...organisations originating within a bureaucratised society will tend to be created with a bureaucratic structure - even when, one might add, they are designed to overturn the political system of that society (e.g. radical political parties, trade unions). This is because the founders of organisations, whatever their aims, will usually take their ideas about efficient organisation from the stock of knowledge characteristic of their society at that time. (148) (emphasis mine).

Wired World began when five or six people with similar or compatible ideas about community access to the media were

brought together to found an organization. Each of those people who came to Wired World developed a number of ideas not just about citizen access to the media, but also about the kind of organization best suited to accomplish that end. These ideas were influenced by a number of factors, including their past organizational experience, the contingencies they encountered as well as their own beliefs about the way things ought to be done. Through a process of negotiation with each other and with their environment, these people developed a common plan for their organization. By the time of their hearing in front of the C.R.T.C. in June of 1973, the people of Wired World had agreed to concentrate their efforts on their proposed community radio station, and they had also agreed on what they regarded as an appropriate organizational structure for achieving that end.

Wired World's organization could be analysed in terms of its efficiency in achieving its goal of citizen access or in terms of how well it meets the more general goals of freedom of the air and of cultural nationalism. However, what was interesting about trying to understand Wired World's organization was that there were a number of organizational principles and underlying organizational values which the Wired World people had come to agree were important in defining and building their "ideal" structure. Though it is a researchable question whether Wired World came to reflect these values and principles of organizing, a meaningful understanding of its development, in order to be faithful to its socially constructed nature, must take them into account. (Silverman, 1973).

## 2. Wired World's organizing values.

It was in Wired World's first year of operation that its people set for themselves the goal of establishing a community radio station and that they formulated the basic organizing values through which they wanted to bring this about. I do not mean to suggest that they sat down and systematically developed a philosophy of organizational design, for they did not. Rather, when the need for some structural definition was forced upon them, each responded with particular suggestions reflecting his or her underlying concerns or values. Through argument and discussion they reached a compromise which took these values into account. While I cannot claim to be sure of all the organizing values affecting Wired World's development, I can isolate three such values which became sufficiently widely accepted to be considered basic to Wired World. These are accessibility, accountability, and "gemeinschaft".

By the first value, accessibility, I mean simply that it be important that many and diverse people be encouraged to advise and/or participate in the organization, both with regard to the use of the organization's facilities and with regard to the administration of the organization itself. The value of accountability refers to the belief that there ought to be some clearly defined person or group of people who could be held responsible for the organization's activities, whether they were to be held responsible to members, to individuals and groups in the community, or to legal authorities (such as the C.R.T.C.).



And finally, "gemeinschaft", for want of a better word, refers to the importance to many of the members of the organization's being first and foremost a place where one could relax, feel at home, have a good time, and be among friends.

A. Accessibility. If one were to seek one basic organizational value which was more important than the rest for the people of Wired World, it would almost certainly be accessibility. As one put it:

...I thought that the reason for the whole enterprise the whole time would be to allow people who otherwise might not have the chance, to say what they want to say. And for me that always remained the central objective of the whole operation. I guess it did for others as well, more or less, to a greater or lesser extent. And I imagine still remains the main reason for existence.

Or as another expressed it, community radio means constantly bringing in new people. When I asked by what criteria one should measure Wired World's success or failure, this regular gave as the most basic criterion what she called "non-elite groupism". Defining her term, she said:

If it ever gets to the stage that it is the same old people all the time then that is the end, because that isn't community radio... I think that would be my prime criterion. I don't think money would ever really bother me; I'd be able to rationalize that away... The elitism thing would bother me. That would make me stop, myself. Another thing that would make me stop myself is if we are getting new people all the time but we are only getting into one area of programming. I mean if we weren't really offering variety. That would bother me, too, and I would begin to quit.

The first decisions - to form an organization and to incorporate it is a community service organization so that they might apply for charitable status - were made by three of the

founders at the time when they were involved in radio and television OFY grants. That they would be a non-profit organization was a taken for granted assumption. They sought charitable status both so that their donations to the organization could be tax deductible and also in order to encourage donations from others. But the reason their organization was formed was to provide a vehicle through which citizen access could be achieved. To accomplish this goal, they believed, the organization itself had to be accessible.

B. Accountability. In order to incorporate they had to define membership and formalize a structure for their organization. This led to a basic disagreement about how formal the structure should be and about how restrictive membership should be. On the one hand the younger people were distrustful of any structure which might jeopardize the basic value of accessibility, and opposed attempts at formalizing structure and imposing restrictive membership criteria. Thus, in a letter to John after their first formal meeting Larry wrote:

Once again, it is extremely difficult to get all segments of the community involved in using community television and radio. An elitist fee of three dollars structuring it into a closed group defeats the purpose of community involvement from all segments. (Yes, dollars is still spelt d-o-l-l-a-r-s). What seems structurally sound and what is practical with relation to aims and goals are two different matters.

The older people, on the other hand, while accepting the basic goal of accessibility, wanted to ensure that the organization would be responsible (accountable), both in the sense that individuals and groups in the community would see

it as a responsible group (thus one worthy of access), and in the sense that members would have some responsibility towards it. To accomplish this they wanted more structure and somewhat restrictive membership criteria. As one said in an interview, with regard to structure:

...I guess I felt more professional, that this was in fact a professional and real live group if it had this kind of structure behind it which I could delineate for groups like the library and those kinds of groups that needed that kind of assurance... If you are in fact relating to the real world that is still where the real world is - you need a Board of Directors and you need these kinds of things, if you are to be taken seriously.

And with regard to membership criteria, she added:

I felt uncomfortable in assuming responsibility for that equipment without a degree of responsibility on the part of the borrowers because those who would borrow that television equipment earlier on were not terribly responsible people in and of themselves. That was one thing. The other thing was I think that I appreciated that there needed to be some kind of membership, that anything that was loose and structureless just wasn't effective.

The compromise they worked out reflected both of these basic values - accessibility and accountability - but in a general enough way that each group could interpret it quite differently.

According to one of the older people:

It was resolved in a general enough way that we had one interpretation of it and the boys had quite another. In other words I think we thought of it as imposing some structure on the organization and having some guidelines and I think the boys saw it as merely a legal nicety in order to get incorporated, and it really didn't mean anything. But both groups felt better. It is interesting that we both felt satisfied with the resolve.

That both of these values were still of basic importance to the group at the time of their hearing is evidenced by their statement to the Commissioners at that time:

As you can see, we have endeavoured to make our organization as widely accessible as possible to the people of Kitchener-Waterloo area while retaining a structure, with the Board of Directors, which is legally and morally accountable.

C. Gemeinschaft. In their first year of operation the Wired World people had defined a structure for their organization. However, during that time they were still basically a small group of people working toward a common goal. (Developing the organizational structure became a part of the goal.) As one of them described those early days:

motivations were always based on friendships and comradeships and good times and understanding and trust.

They proceeded in those early days primarily on that basis, which I have called the value of gemeinschaft. Though they were to try to impose some formality on the organization, gemeinschaft remained for most, and particularly for the young people, a value which must not be sacrificed. By the time of the hearing, their presentation included the following remarks:

I am sure the members of the Commission are aware of the numerous aspects which have to be accomplished and respective costs normally incurred bringing an application before the governing body at a public hearing such as this. But all of this was primarily voluntary and nature speaks for itself, and if I may give you an inkling of some of the human processes which have occurred: to try to put them in words would be impossible, although words like "cooperation", "dedication", "honesty", "sincerity", "respect" and "love" I feel must surely apply. Suffice it to say that the open house where people are at liberty to pursue their own interests - a weekly radio programme which is for children taped one week, and a Shakespearian tragedy the next - together with the newer idea of a community radio station, have been the pretext for development of many mutually

rewarding personal relationships which, in my opinion, would have been extremely unlikely otherwise. And based upon my personal experience I can foresee the FM broadcast licence as being the necessary catalyst for the further cultural, political, social - but most important of all - human development in our community.

And they concluded the whole presentation by noting:

Nothing I have said, however, should detract from the fact that Wired World is simply a house on the main street of Kitchener which people can use and have been using to this point as a meeting place, which contains a lot of radio facilities for people who are interested in doing programmes...

### 3. Organizing values and organizing principles.

Organizing values are characteristics which a person or people want an organization to manifest; three shared values particularly important to the Wired World people were accessibility, accountability, and gemeinschaft. The Wired World people developed a number of organizing principles for realizing citizen access, and for realizing these organizing values. An organizing principle is a means of structuring an organization with regard to its decision making procedures, its division of labour, the nature of work, boundary maintenance, etc. (Thus where an organizing value is an end for the organization - as organization - an organizing principle is a means towards that end or towards other ends.)

Theoretically, there is no necessary relation between a given organizing value and principle. Though, as Silverman (148) noted, it is widely believed that bureaucratic ways of organizing increase efficiency, that is a hypothesis until

empirically tested. Similarly, in realizing their goals - including their organizing values - the Wired World people relied on their common sense knowledge of what structure suited a particular end. However, it is not clear a priori that the structures they chose best realize the ends which they sought.

There is a further complication. Though the Wired World people built their organization with particular principles and values in mind they did not necessarily realize these principles as intended. People do not act only according to values. As Weber noted, they may be also instrumentally oriented, affectually oriented or acting out of habit (Weber, 1968: Cohen et al). In fact Weber characterizes value-rational action as relatively speaking uncommon (1968:25). One should expect, then, that the nature of Wired World's organization will depend not only on the organizing values and principles important to its people, but also on their instrumental and affectual motives and on their less conscious typical ways of acting.

Chapters six through eight focus on three organizing principles emphasized by the Wired World people. Chapter six concerns voluntarism, by which is meant the principle that most of the station's activities will be carried out by volunteers. Chapter seven concerns the decision making structure, which the Wired World people believed should follow a representative

democratic model. And chapter eight concerns openness, which is the principle that the organization should be open at all levels to any local residents caring to join. In each chapter I discuss the organizing principle, as originally planned, and as coming to be manifested, bearing in mind both the goal of citizen access and the organizing values which were important to the Wired World people themselves.

## CHAPTER 6. Voluntarism.

Sills identifies three key elements which apply to most voluntary associations:

(each is) an organized group of persons (1) that is formed in order to further some common interests of its members; (2) in which membership is voluntary in the sense that it is neither mandatory nor acquired through birth; and (3) that exists independently of the state (1968:362-3).

This definition is sufficiently broad to include various kinds of "making-a-living associations" (such as labour unions and professional associations), "minority membership associations" (such as philanthropic foundations and lobbies), as well as "spare-time participatory associations" (those voluntary associations whose major activity is not related to the business of making a living, and whose volunteer members constitute a majority of the participants) (Sills, 1968:363-4).

Wired World fits Sills' model of the spare time participatory association, and its characteristic which is the particular focus of this chapter is the fact that its volunteer, or non-salaried members constitute a majority of its participants. A heavy reliance on volunteer labour was a basic organizing principle for the people of Wired World. The issue of what voluntarism means in the case of Wired World is analysed by raising two questions: (1) What would seem to result from the fact that most of the work of the organization is carried out by volunteers rather than by salaried personnel? and (2) What is meant by the term volunteer work?



Broadly speaking, there are two major types of activity which are pursued at Wired World. The primary activity is programming, its *raison d'etre*. The other type includes all those support activities which ensure that citizens' programming will occur: animation and facilitation, technical work, bureaucratic chores, etc. This chapter focuses on voluntarism at both levels, both identifying a number of problems of relying on volunteer labour, and also exploring the meaning of volunteer work.

The chapter is organized as follows. First the nature of voluntarism as an organizing principle for Wired World is discussed. Second, the nature of involvement of the volunteer worker is explored. Third is a discussion of some effects on Wired World of its form of voluntarism. And finally, the chapter analyzes some implications of this discussion of voluntarism for the sociology of voluntary organizations.

(1) The nature of voluntarism at Wired World.

The Wired World people defined the ability to programme as a service which the organization provides for the public, much as a city might provide recreational or library facilities for its residents. It was a service they determined to offer free of charge - to ensure no one would be excluded for financial reasons. This meant that no one was to be paid for doing programming on Wired World's station. Programming, per se, was not considered work, but rather a privilege, just as borrowing a

book from the library is not considered work.

This conception was consistent with Wired World's original concept of citizen access. Wealthy individuals or corporations, it was reasoned, could afford to buy time on commercial stations to communicate with an audience; this ability to communicate should be a right shared by all, rather than a privilege for only those who could afford it.

While citizen access was regarded as a service comparable to that of a public library, Wired World differed from a public library in the sense that it was administered not by a government agency, but by a voluntary association whose members were the programmers themselves. Throughout most of the time leading up to receipt of their licence, the Wired World people had tried either directly or indirectly to pay a number of the people carrying out the activities necessary to providing the service of citizen access programming. When I arrived there were no paid employees; the organization had little money, and what they did have was used immediately for capital expenditures and non-salary operating expenses. The Wired World people had told the Commission that they were prepared for such a contingency. Anticipating that it would be difficult to raise money in their first year or so, they had accompanied their licence application with a series of at least eleven letters each promising to volunteer large amounts of their time to the organization in the event that they could not be paid. The following were typical offers of volunteer effort:

For the past two years I have worked to establish the concept of community radio doing the following jobs mainly without pay... I work approximately 50 to 60 hours a week and will continue to do so for the period leading up to CKWR-FM's first renewal.

In the coming year I will continue to be present as a receptionist-animateur at Wired World for at least two days per week. I also will undertake to help produce (or edit, etc.) at least one drama production per month, and will be responsible for co-ordinating at least two hours per week of programming from the community.

Three of the people offered to work at least full time; five people promised to put in at least twenty hours each week; and the other two pledged smaller amounts of time.

While I was at Wired World there were fourteen regulars several of whom were working close to full time for Wired World, without pay. The volunteer effort going into the organization was, to say the least, impressive. As one said:

I haven't been around that long but I have never seen so much accomplished on such a limited budget. There are so many dedicated people. Now when I think of something as simple as a political campaign which will last a month... and deal with a tremendous input of volunteer labour... people who are knocking on doors, people addressing envelopes,..., where the day an election is called we would motivate 300 people to go to anywhere from four to eight hours a day with absolutely no dollars changing hands amongst those. You hire a campaign manager but everybody else is volunteer. And you still go through anywhere from \$20,000 to \$40,000 in one month. And when you see what has been accomplished by Wired World without having that type of money, you have to be optimistic. It really is phenomenal.

The amount of work done by Wired World's volunteers was impressive. My own example was probably average. I spent roughly six hours a day, four days a week at Wired World, fulfilling the functions of receptionist, secretary, typist, and greeter to new people. My projects included establishing

telephone and membership files, putting new volunteers to work, helping to write a sponsorship brochure, making sponsorship calls, helping design a committee structure, writing a sponsorship questionnaire to assess results, acting as chauffeur when there were bulky purchases to be made, participating in meetings, offering support to other regulars, helping (to the degree that it was a help) to bring a leadership crisis to a head, and writing the report for Wired World's contract with the Secretary of State. This work involved time spent at Wired World, and it also required frequent evenings and weekends, sometimes working with others, sometimes alone. Others' contributions were similar. As one said in a letter to me:

I sat down the other day and worked out my commitment to this Wired World on paper. I am really quite shocked and have received a much more vivid picture of how few people are responsible for so much. Somehow, knowing what I was up to shed light on the incredible responsibilities of others too.

However, the resources needed to put together and run a radio station were impressive as well. In addition to the need for staff, there were many equipment and maintenance needs which, though small in comparison with commercial outlets, were significant nonetheless, particularly for a small, locally-centred charitable voluntary organization. Their volunteers had to constantly scrounge for equipment - by getting other stations to donate their old equipment, and then repairing it themselves; or by arranging for office equipment to be donated; or by doing themselves all the work that would normally be hired out, such as building and repairing.

Perrow (1970) suggests four different types of resources which members can provide their associations: one's name, money, manpower, and personality. Money, he notes, is a particularly useful resource because it can be easily stored and used to purchase other resources. On the other hand, while manpower provides an effective legitimation of the organization, it cannot be stored as money can. While a primary need for Wired World was money, its primary resource was its members' manpower. The Wired World people did intend to use members' manpower as a principal and highly valued resource for their organization. Even if they did (or could) hire personnel it was to be volunteer members who would be hired, at only a subsistence wage.

The typical image of a volunteer is someone who allocates some amount of spare time to work for some cause for free. It is that image evoked by Sills' characterization of the spare time participatory association, and of Warner's (1973) characterization of volunteer work as of secondary importance relative to one's job. However, of the fourteen regulars who were volunteering while I was, eight were working close to full time for Wired World.

Though these people were "volunteering" for Wired World, the work represented for many their primary activity, at least in terms of time committed. Of the eight people volunteering close to full time when I arrived, two were supported by their spouses, one was living on retirement income, and the other

five were collecting unemployment insurance.<sup>1</sup>

There had been several times in the organization's past when as few as one or as many as ten people had been paid. In their application to the C.R.T.C. they proposed that \$46,000, or roughly 62 per cent of their yearly operating budget would be for salaries. They planned to allocate that money as follows:

TABLE 6.1. Proposed salaries for Wired World.

<u>position</u>	<u>salary</u>
1 part time engineer	\$5000.
1 office manager	\$8000.
1 secretary	\$5000.
3 resource persons @ \$6000	\$18000.
2 part time resource persons @ \$3500	\$7000.
2 honoraria for technical help	\$1000.
4 honoraria for fundraising coord.	\$2000.
TOTAL SALARIES	\$46000.

In the application they proposed that the Wired World people themselves would be hired;<sup>2</sup> only the position of secretary was left vacant in the proposal. Though the intention was that these people be paid, their pay was to be very little and was regarded as the minimum necessary to allow them to "volunteer" their services. Any of the people proposed in the licence application to take these jobs could have commanded much higher salaries elsewhere.

Though they were to be (minimally) paid, they still regarded the work as volunteer work. As one said,

It appears to be the coming thing that you pay volunteers. I am conservative and traditional in the sense that I

still thought it was my obligation to donate time for a number of things, you know... But it appears to be an elitist kind of view; that is what the ladies of leisure were able to do. And young people don't hold that view at all.

Or as another said

I think that may be the way that voluntarism is going to go, that people are paid a voluntary salary of \$100 a week, and that is going to be the meaning of voluntarism, a lower salary for a job that they probably find more interesting... That age of voluntary labour, that kind of activity is gone, it was really wrong to expect people to do that for nothing.

After the station went on the air there came to be many fewer full time volunteers. Most of those who had so volunteered eventually came to be sufficiently in debt that they sought full time jobs elsewhere. Some had had enough of Wired World, and did not continue volunteering, even on a part time basis.

In addition, when the station went on the air, the primary emphasis shifted from administrative work to programming and facilitating. Programming was done during evening hours. People came to the station for their programming and facilitating shifts, and other concerns were left aside to develop into crisis or to be forgotten. By this time there was one paid employee who did some of the essential tasks, but for most of the others the emphasis shifted to facilitating, a job which involved a shorter commitment of time as more people joined the station.

The nature of involvement of volunteers.

Etzioni: classified members' involvement in economic

organizations according to their degree and type of commitment to an organization's formal goals. According to that classification, one can be morally involved, if one has a reasonably strong positive commitment to the formal goals of the organization; one's commitment is alienative if one has a reasonably strong negative commitment to the formal goals of the organization, and instrumentally involved if not involved with the formal goals, but interested in the material rewards derived from association with the organization (Etzioni, 1961).

Such a classification may suffer from too strong an emphasis on the organization's formal goals. In any event, one should expect the nature of involvement to be quite different for an organization whose members' participation is voluntary. There were a number of inducements - moral, instrumental, and affectual - encouraging members to maintain or increase, and to decrease their involvement at Wired World. For each of the people it was a combination of several of these positive and negative factors which appeared to affect his (her) involvement.

It is certainly true that one belief which most, if not all, of the Wired World people shared, was that their goal - citizen access to the media - was a good thing, and that Wired World was going about achieving that goal in the right way; thus they did feel a moral commitment to the formal goal of the organization.



Their moral inducements extended beyond a mere valuing of the organization's formal goal, however. In addition, a few people, regardless of the strength of their moral commitment, sensed the degree to which they were needed, and that without them the organization might just fold. The remarks previously quoted about how each bore a large responsibility are evidence of that sort of feeling. So was the remark in a letter I received that:

the problem with Wired World is that if you go near it you can't help but pitch in out of pity. Maybe it really needs to die, but who wants to be the doctor that withholds medicine from the patient to allow the disease to become terminal?

That feeling also had a negative component, which was a factor discouraging involvement. It was expressed by one regular, concerning another:

Keith, it seems, was caught in the "what are we gonne do, we gotta do it now, oh my Gos what" syndrome. (This can be expressed as the image of an individual holding the entire world (was it Atlas) on his shoulders, only the world is wired). It is a syndrome I quite frequently display, it it tends to cause mild upsets of one's stomach (nothing serious), insomnia (ie., it's not that you can't sleep it's just that you don't feel you have time to), and assorted physical symptoms. Keith's intense involvement with the world of wires in the last month, plus the Larry federal government contract situation were two of the what I suspect to be many reasons for Keith's feeling that (paraphrase:) 'It might get to the point where I have to leave'. I offered as a solution a one to two week "holiday" which suited Keith quite well, although it has resulted in a bit of a standstill with the tech. committee which he ran.

Or as one said about himself: "I don't intend to become an institution."

There were also instrumental inducements encouraging people's

involvement at Wired World. A number of people were hopeful of getting jobs (even if poorly paying ones) through their involvement with Wired World, whether from the organization directly, or, more likely, from government grants. In fact this became a source of tension for some regulars, as noted in the following remark, written in a letter to me:

In one of my more paranoid delusion-type nightmares I see Wired World as a vehicle not for community action, community expression or anything of that nature, but rather as a platform for government grants.

For some, while Wired World might not provide a job, it did provide the training or contacts which led to jobs later on. Three directors and at least three others of the early regulars obtained jobs in communications, in government or in both, jobs which may well have been facilitated by their work with Wired World. Likewise another regarded her administrative work as useful for future employment. For others, Wired World may not have provided or led to a job, but it may have aided the work they were already doing while associated with it. For example, it provided me with data for a thesis, and it provided Larry with credibility in his dealings in Ottawa on behalf of more general community media concerns. And for some of the people, working with Wired World provided a legitimation for not working elsewhere; it provided a pleasant compromise between legitimate, but unpleasant employment and unemployment. (Maril raises a similar point in his study of a listener supported radio station in the U.S. (1973:125).)

Pleasure was another instrumental inducement. Some found

the support work interesting and enjoyable, while for others if that work was not pleasurable, the opportunity to make programmes was; thus they participated in the work in order to be able to make programmes. (A number of people were frustrated by the fact that the work was so pressing that they could never get to the pleasurable activity.)

There were also instrumental reasons for decreasing involvement in Wired World. For some, whether for psychological or material reasons (or both), the sort of "job" offered by Wired World came to be seen as inadequate. As one former regular said:

It was getting to me a bit. Yea, I guess it was getting to the stage with me with two and a half years at school and then being with Wired World, paid on a part time basis, I was beginning to reach my male ego time where I had to have something more substantial whether I was with Wired World or anywhere else... the guy who works in our office ... felt almost the same thing, staying at the Universite de Montreal for four and a half years, and it got to the point with him that he had to have a job.

For those who found Wired World useful in pursuing other ends, Wired World may have become no longer essential to the pursuit of those ends. For example, in my own case, once I had collected my data there was no longer a need for me to be there.

In addition, there were sufficient worries and responsibilities that often the work was quite unpleasant. As I recorded once in my field notes:

my feelings of tired and depression are certainly related in part to being involved in the operations of Wired World, which is by definition a hectic, nervewracking operation right now... the others, too, are certainly tense. The dinner dance is out of the way

now, but we have a \$12,000 transmitter to pay for right away, and no money.

A common sort of item in the field notes was: "Arrived at WW at 11:30AM. Stayed until 5:30PM. (Left totally exhausted and with a headache.)"

Finally, there were some affectual reasons for involvement. Some of the people found it a place where they could find a group of friends with whom they would be able to work comfortably.

Similarly there were affectual reasons for disliking involvement with Wired World. If a person or people were around the house whom a regular did not like, that regular almost certainly started decreasing his (her) own involvement in the organization. Several people started staying away in order to avoid one of the others prior to a leadership crisis; people came less as the number of their own friends decreased; and there were a few new volunteers whose presence caused a number of regulars to either hide in odd corners of the house, or to stop coming. As I record in my notes:

About this time \_\_\_\_\_ arrived, for the meeting of the Board no doubt. I noticed that shortly after she arrived Ralph and Tom moved from the kitchen - which is the natural gathering point of people - to the other office - which is generally deserted or has only people working and trying to avoid others - the room which Ralph describes as the one which will still be quiet after the station is on the air. I went and joined Ralph and Tom to drink my tea.

Two further factors should help clarify the nature of involvement of the Wired World volunteers. The first concerns

the constantly changing nature of people's involvement, and the second concerns a question closely related to the whole issue of involvement - the strength of commitment people evidenced towards their organization.

Wired World has not maintained a particular core of regulars for more than a few years. By April, 1975, eight of the 14 regulars who were there when I was were no longer volunteering close to full time for Wired World; five had left the organization completely. Not only were there several factors accounting for people's level of involvement, but the factors themselves varied considerably. As one volunteer said:

the nature of volunteers is that people volunteer for a number of different reasons. And it may be that after a certain amount of time those reasons are no longer valid, and so they go away. So the lifetime of a volunteer is probably no more than two years, and you have to constantly get new people involved.

Thus one regular found that as his friendship with another grew more strained, his other friends left the organization, and his debts increased, that his attachment to the organization (and its goal) lessened as well. Initially heavily involved, eventually he left completely.

Related to the changing nature of people's involvement was the unconscious nature of that involvement. The Wired World people did not methodically list the reasons why they would and would not involve themselves in its activities, before deciding how many hours per week they would volunteer. That fact is evidenced by the earlier quoted remark of one of the regulars

who had surprised himself when he did sit down and determine the degree of his own and others' involvement.

Finally, though the people of Wired World believed in its cause and worked several hours or more each week for their organization, few, if any, could be characterized as committed to Wired World or its goal. Rather, the Wired World people did plan that they would not have a lasting commitment to their organization. They did not think volunteers could or should last more than a few years. Most intended either to eventually decrease the amount of their involvement or to leave entirely. For example, one said in a recorded interview:

I have planned on working more or less full time for a year, volunteering. Following that if everything goes well, I would certainly hope to work there as a hobby maybe an evening a week, that sort of thing...

They thought it natural that the personnel would constnatly change. As another said in a recorded interview:

you have a small group of people who want to be there all the time and who can last by doing that for one year or two years or however long, and then that is it, and you are finished forever... and I don't think it's a bad thing that the core group of a dozen or however many who are there all the time... leave after one year or two years.

According to Warner (243-4), voluntary associations display the following characteristics, among others: the voluntary nature of involvement, the secondary importance of work relative to one's job, and the normative nature of inducements. While the Wired World people's involvement in their organization was voluntary, the previous analysis suggests that it is not so clear either that their voluntary work took on a secondary

importance or that the inducements for involvement were necessarily normative. I have already indicated that for many of the Wired World volunteers, their work for the organization was often a replacement for a job. Even for those who had part-time or full-time jobs, the volunteer work still often was regarded as more important: a job was obtained for support which would interfere minimally with the work of the station.

It is not at all clear whether it was exclusively or even primarily normative inducements encouraging involvement in this voluntary organization. Weber identified values as but one of several factors motivating action (Weber, 1968: 24-26). Cohen et al (1975) have argued that there was been a tendency for modern sociologists to over-estimate the importance of values in accounting for action. While values are considered particularly important in accounting for participation in voluntary associations (particularly the so called spare-time participatory associations), the example of Wired World suggests that here, too, one must avoid too strong an emphasis on values to account for action.

Rather, I have suggested that there were a number of instrumental and affectual as well as moral factors which, when combined, encouraged people to become more or less involved in their organization. In addition, as some of these factors changed, the involvements of the Wired World people also changed.

The the involvement of the regulars was intense while they were there, none of the people were expected to make a career out of working for Wired World. It was assumed that the involvement of those who volunteered (close to) full time would be but a brief phase of their life and of the life of the organization. Thus participation in Wired World often meant heavy involvement, but it did not mean commitment. People made no side bets (Becker:266) such that withdrawing their involvement would exact a price for them.

3. Some effects of reliance on volunteer labour for the goals and structure of Wired World.

A. The volunteer programmer. At the time I joined the station, one of its regulars was a professional actor in his forties, with a family to support. Thanks in part to his involvement, the organization had in its earlier days produced a radio version of Richard II. He had described this production to the C.R.T.C.

From past experience we have had actors from all age groups and backgrounds participating in drama and a good illustration of this was our experience with our production of Shakespeare's Richard II. Over thirty people were involved in the programming, including actors, technicians, and directors. These people ranged in age from 14 to 50 and included students, teachers and insurance executives, a restaurant owner a newspaper reporter and professional actors.

This actor had planned to be quite heavily involved in the station when it went on the air, as his letter to the C.R.T.C. in support of the licence testified:

My past donation of time to Wired World has amounted to over 100 hours as actor and director of their



drama programmes on a volunteer basis and moneywise this would amount to over \$1000.

I am prepared to donate to Wired World in the future my services as director and actor for at least one drama programme per week which in man hours will entail at least 20 hours or more per week and based over a period of one year this would amount in dollars to at least \$8000.

However, acting was also his primary means of support.

One way he hoped to be able to volunteer all this time for Wired World was by getting a grant to give him a salary for his involvement. He and others set up an organization, called the CKWR Artistic Society, which then applied for a \$40,000 grant from the Canada Council to cover certain of Wired World's expenses as well as living costs for people like him. After the grant was rejected, his involvement with the organization decreased significantly. People offered several hypotheses about why he was around less: personality clashes, political differences, disappointment with a fundraising venture in which he had been instrumental, as well as the rejection of the grant.

A year after Wired World's station began broadcasting, there was almost no local drama being produced. The station had to pay a yearly fee to CAPAC, to ensure that non-local performers whose materials were used would be reimbursed. But local artists who might choose to participate in the station did so with no reimbursement.

For political purposes the analogy with commercial stations, which says that the rich can buy time on established stations while community radio allows others to speak, seems valid.

However, in other areas, an analogy with commercial stations should see commercial stations paying the artists for their performances, rather than the other way around. When any serious performer or writer uses the air waves, the model in the established media is that the artist is performing a service for the station. Hence the artist expects to be paid for that service. A station such as Wired World's, however, which defines programming as a privelege, might be able to offer an artist exposure, but it risks reducing that artist to the level of amateur status.

The C.R.T.C. has been trying to promote and require the use of Canadian talent and resources in the development of broadcasting in Canada. Community radio is seen as a welcome addition, partly because it stresses the use of (local) Canadian talent. But if in that process the local talent is reduced to amateur status, the national motive is thwarted.

There is a further problem. Presently the C.R.T.C. is implementing a new FM radio policy, one which will encourage the use of local talent and resources. If community radio is used as a model for the established stations in developing citizen access, they too might regard the ability to programme as a privelege for locals, and further thwart the possibility of developing (local) professional Canadian talent.

B. Controlling and coordinating volunteer workers. The Wired World people found it difficult to control the work of volunteers, whether by encouraging them to do a particular

job or to refrain from doing something. One regular spoke of the difficulty in a recorded interview:

You always find yourselves having to motivate people, and you would find very little time to deal with things that you would be very very good at doing. And that would really start to zap away at your own creativity... Things kept being delayed and stretched out mostly again because of people. You know it is a volunteer organization, and that got horribly frustrating, just horribly frustrating.

With volunteers and particularly the new ones, giving them a job to do offered no assurance that it would be done. My own case at Wired World is probably an average example. While I was quite a useful volunteer to the people of Wired World while I was there, during a period of three months, there were at least five jobs which I agreed to undertake but did not do. Since they were jobs which I had promised to do, if I did not they were not done.

If motivating people to get the job done was a problem, so was encouraging people not to do jobs that should not be done. For example, when one regular was paying for COD packages out of his pocket, then getting reimbursed later on, he was disrupting the accounting system. But the regular handling accounts was reluctant to tell him so, for fear he would be hurt. In both cases, getting people to do jobs and getting them not to do jobs, others generally did not criticize -- felt that they should not criticize - for fear they would hurt, and possibly lose, another volunteer. As one said:

What is more difficult is to find fault... You can't say "My God, Frank, what a mess. My God, Frank, when in hell are you going to get those things done?" You can't say that when it is a volunteer thing.

Or in the extreme case:

It is often difficult to get rid of a volunteer when he is a volunteer; you can't fire a volunteer.

It was difficult both to encourage volunteers to do a particular job and to prevent them from doing something. While this hampered the ability of the people to insure that Wired World could be held accountable to the membership or to legal authorities such as the C.R.T.C., it remained a problem unresolved.

Beyond these specific problems there was the more general difficulty of coordinating the work of those who were around. Some people worked full time, others half time, and others still less. But in addition to that, those who worked full time did not keep regular hours. They could not be counted on to be in on a particular day, or to still be with the organization in a few months. Jane stated the problem nicely in a presentation she made to the Canadian Broadcasting League, in early 1974:

Our second problem that I don't think we have completely solved is the problem of volunteer involvement... Everyone goes through a stage I think when they are minimally involved and maximally involved... Now the organization has to find some way to survive that... We have one person... who... in the last six months has had maybe two periods when he spent 8 or 10 hours a day there every day for a week; in between he may have had periods of three weeks when he was only there one evening; and he has periods when he wasn't there at all... We have one employee we have hired. We have a part time technician. We have... about six (people) who are quite interested in spending essentially all their time there... And... maybe 15 people who spend time varying from maybe five half days a week to one half day a week. And... people who spend maybe a morning a month there. Now we have to find a system that can cope with this. I think we are gradually getting to it but it is a strain.

I do not want to suggest, however, that little work was done. The statement quoted above is as much a testimony to the amount of volunteer effort the organization enjoyed as to the difficulty of coordinating or channelling it. But one never had the assurance that what was being done one day would be continued the next. So, for example, Wired World has generally had the good fortune to have at least one technically competent volunteer. However, the organization does not have the assurance that there will be such a person when there is a serious technical problem.

C. Support for the "volunteer" worker. Most of Wired World's regulars were highly educated people, who came from at least middle class homes. (This is consistent with much of the literature on voluntary association participation (Wright & Hyman; Curtis). While volunteering for Wired World represented a financial sacrifice for these people, it would be misleading to suggest that they gave their services for free. Volunteering full time for Wired World meant one of three things. First, the volunteer had a spouse, pension or savings which provided needed financial support, and thus did not need his or her own job to survive; second, the volunteer was in a position to live on a small income that could come from occasional grants, occasional unemployment insurance benefits, or occasional part time jobs; or third, the volunteer was able and willing to work full time for Wired World while carrying another full time job on the side. (The latter two alternatives were generally out of the question for people with families.) Thus, since Wired World relied on volunteer labour only a very limited number of people

were able to work for it: those who were sufficiently wealthy not to need employment; those who, because of age or other reasons, received pensions; and those who were sufficiently unattached to family or other responsibility that they could voluntarily make the sort of financial sacrifices which continued unemployment would entail.

People occasionally tried to ease the situation for volunteers who were running short of funds by finding them part time jobs or grants. For example, early in the fall John and I plotted to find a part time job for Bob; later on Jane was wondering if she could do the same for Bill; and Larry arranged several contracts in Ottawa, which, he planned, would be used to pay some of the volunteers.

At about the time I arrived at Wired World, a number of its regulars had resorted to collecting unemployment insurance for support while volunteering for Wired World. Four of the five collecting unemployment insurance were unattached young men under twenty-five years old; the fifth, an equally young woman with a dependent, became Wired World's only full time employee after just a few months after she began collecting unemployment insurance. The morality (or lack thereof) of collecting unemployment insurance in order to work for Wired World was not questioned. From the point of view of the people involved, the cause was a good one, and there was no other way at that time to support it. Interviews with U.I.C. were frequently a troubling experience, not just for the individuals concerned, but for the organization as well. A volunteer cut

off U.I.C. might well be a volunteer lost to the organization.

In February, 1974, I received a letter, which said in part:

I got called into UIC the other day, so did Bill. Bill got to fill out a form which, I think, means they want to can him. Bill says they said it's standard (which I believe it is) but they told Jim that story too.

(Footnote: the Board moved to hire Bill for one month on the money Mary will not cost us by staying on UIC until Feb 15). Anyway, back to my interview. I walked in unshaven, tired... and of course, late... I walked out of the office being patted on the back... I didn't even get asked to fill out the silly form he usually hauls out of his desk at the very beginning of the interview. It's called keeping the initiative up, but not in the sense of hunting for jobs! And, believe it or not, I didn't even have to lie to him, not even a titch.

Anyway, this little event suggests to me I have about two months worth of rope... Figuring out how to live, however, is a minor consideration...

D. Relations between volunteers and paid employees. While everyone agreed that there was no possibility of having paid personnel when I first arrived, as the time when they would be on the air came closer, the people decided that they would have to hire someone to do jobs which were not being done. But hiring one person was quite a different situation from hiring the core of workers or from hiring no one. Even though the job involved minimal pay for some of the more unpleasant tasks associated with the station, the Wired World people anticipated a few problems involved in combining volunteers with a paid person (or paid personnel). For example, they feared that a full time paid employee might come to dominate the organization, and take the power of decision-making away from its volunteer owners. It was because of this fear that they defined that first job as "assistant station manager", and required that its

incumbent report to a volunteer station manager.

Another concern involved the question of who ought to be able to fill any given job opening. If outsiders were hired, the volunteers spent much of their time training the employees, and got little of their own work done. Thus one said of an OFY grant which allowed them to hire several new people one summer:

It tied up the organizational abilities of just about everybody who had been there to try to coordinate other people to try to do something.

It was the Wired World regulars who had the clearest understanding of just what had to be done, and who therefore, would be likely to be the most effective employees.

On the other hand, if insiders were hired, not only did they have to take time away from their volunteer activities to meet job requirements, but in addition it became very difficult to determine which insiders should get the job. At one point Larry produced a contract for Wired World from the federal government, which he had planned to use to pay himself and two other full time volunteers who had been around for a long time and who were by that time thoroughly broke. However, there were other people who, though newer, were just as desperate for support. It was Larry's opinion at the time that since the three had volunteered for so long they deserved the money. The other two, however, refused to take salaries from Wired World when others were excluded. The resolution in that case was that except for the salary of the assistant station



manager none of the grant money was used for salaries, but rather went to cover other expenses. Since the person hired as assistant station manager was a relatively new regular, she was in a good position to take on new tasks.

A related problem for some in the organization concerned government grants which were (or were to be) granted to individuals rather than to the organization. Full time volunteers would seek to get a grant in order to be able to "volunteer" full time for Wired World. When this was tried it caused tension. (See the discussion of the proposed "LEAP" grant, in chapter 10). There was little control the organization could exercise over its volunteers. Some argued that the grants had nothing to do with the organization; while others said that the organization should be able to exercise some control over who was to apply for grants, who would be paid, and what jobs were to be done.

Once the station's paid employee was hired, it seemed that problems concerning her relations to volunteers were less than expected. What problems there were focused more on personality clashes - a problem arising as frequently between volunteers - or on the question of finding money to pay the salary; her relations with volunteers seemed to become less of a problematic issue.

#### 4. Discussion.

This chapter has focused on the nature and effects of volunteer work on Wired World's organization. The point of particular interest here concerns the ambiguity of the term, volunteer work.

One of the characteristics of volunteer work needing further study concerns the support of the volunteer worker (an apparent contradiction in terms). Included among the people working for Wired World were a few with jobs elsewhere, who worked for the organization in their spare time. Many of the Wired World volunteers, however, were people who worked for their organization full time. A few were able to do this because of other support from a pension or a spouse's income. Most alternated between income direct from grants, from Wired World (which occasionally came from grants as well), from part time jobs, and from unemployment insurance. Among those "volunteering" full time for Wired World all were making a financial sacrifice; at the same time, all were receiving some (perhaps minimal) form of support.

As the term is commonly understood, to volunteer means to work for free (Sills:363). At least in the case of Wired World, however, volunteering no longer meant working for free, but working for minimal pay. The issue became particularly clear in the case of government grants (an increasingly common source

of support for some voluntary organizations), some of which are awarded directly to individual "volunteers" rather than to their organizations. Some would argue that an effect of government grants is to encourage volunteers to demand pay for their services (Carter:59). It would have made little sense in the Wired World case to call those workers who were not directly paid by their organization "volunteers", while the employees, who may even be receiving similar amounts or even less money for their services, are not.

It is proposed, then, that the concept of volunteer work should account not just for the distinction between salaried and non-salaried personnel, but also for those who take jobs as a service at much lower pay than they could otherwise command. Similarly, the concept of the volunteer should perhaps focus less on the question of whether one is paid for services performed, and more on whether that volunteering represents some gift or sacrifice on the part of the volunteer (whether that sacrifice be in terms of money or status).

The other characteristic of volunteer work deserving more attention concerns the nature of involvement in volunteer work and the control of the volunteer worker. Volunteer work is generally understood as a spare time (Sills:363) activity of secondary importance to one's job (Warner:243-4). In this case we found that for many of the Wired World volunteers, even some with outside jobs, their volunteer work constituted a

primary activity. Jobs when needed, were found to accomodate that volunteer work. The level of involvement of the Wired World people was often high (though not just for moral reasons). However volunteers avoided commitment to the organization in the sense that one could count on their continuing involvement, and even while they were there, little control was exercised over the work they performed.

The fact that regulars felt they could not pressure other volunteers to do or to refrain from doing particular chores made control over the organization, and thus its accountability to any group impossible. The station is accountable to its members in the sense that a member can become actively involved, and pursue his (her) own ends. But accountability in any other sense depends less on the organization per se, and more on the possible initiatives of ordinary members.

This case has shown that volunteer work is not necessarily of secondary importance to other forms of work; it does not necessarily imply a high degree of commitment; and involvement can be based on instrumental and affectual as well as moral grounds. The question of under what circumstances this might be generally true of voluntary work requires further comparative study of other voluntary organizations. The sociology of voluntary organizations should focus more attention on the nature and effects of volunteer work, comparing various of the groups which rely on volunteer labour, and comparing those

groups which rely on volunteers for most of their work with those which do not.

Wired World's organization is an exceedingly fragile system, partly because of its dependence on volunteer labour. By depending on volunteers for their work, however, the Wired World people have hoped to retain the administrative control of the organization in the hands of its citizen members. The following chapter analyzes the structure and process of decision making in Wired World's organization.

## FOOTNOTES

1. When I arrived marked the first time there were so many on unemployment insurance. Prior to that they had been supported either by grants, by attending university at the same time (and thus receiving some form of support) or by savings. By the time I arrived these sources had all been depleted.
2. At that time they planned to hire six of the nine people who later participated in the hearing presentation. Of the three presenters not to be hired one worked full time at his job unrelated to Wired World; another, one of the original hired staff, was about to move out of town; and the third was at that time working for the CBC and not actively involved in the organization.

## CHAPTER 7. Decision making.

Voluntarism was one of a number of principles which the Wired World people considered important in establishing their organization. Another important principle concerned the structure of decision-making. The people of Wired World have tried to establish a representative form of democratic decision-making for their organization. According to the formal criteria spelled out in their articles of incorporation, Wired World is controlled by its Board of Directors, which has the power to choose the executive officers, to administer its affairs, to make any contracts, and to exercise all powers authorized to the corporation. The Directors can select members for the organization by whatever criteria they choose, and are, in turn, elected yearly by the membership. Any by-laws of the corporation must be ratified by the membership. Membership meetings are supposed to be held bimonthly, and any voting member may bring any issue to a vote at these meetings, without prior notice.

The membership criteria the Wired World people did choose required some involvement in the station, and encouraged, though did not require, a two dollar membership fee. These criteria were designed to encourage a wide range of participation in the organization's affairs. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Wired World people planned to rely on members' manpower as a major resource for their organization (Perrow, 1970a). Even at the level of the Board of Directors, they planned to

define the Board as a working board; that is, those people who were to serve on the Board would be expected to participate actively in the organization outside of Board meetings (as had been the case with most of the Board members in Wired World's early days). In fact, active participants were more likely to run for Board positions and to be elected.<sup>1</sup> Informally, it was planned as well that most of the responsibility for day-to-day decisions would be passed on to the paid or volunteer resource persons. As one regular explained to the Commission:

The Board of Directors will be delegating the day to day responsibility for doing things, especially like preventing violations of broadcast acts, FM regulation, slander laws, libel laws, etc., etc., etc to paid radio animators and other responsible volunteers that the Board deems will be able to take on these responsibilities.

The Board was expected to meet frequently in order to keep in touch with these facilitators, as well as with any other workers.

This chapter discusses the decision-making process at Wired World, by discussing the evolution of the formal organizational structure, power and leadership within the organization, the system of task allocation and the role system, and informal patterns of communication. It will be argued that though the organization appears on a formal level to have rationalized its procedure, its lack of a role system, the informality of task allocation and regulars' preference for interacting with friends have made its formal structure relatively ineffective.



# 1. The formal organization.

Initially, Wired World was a small group of friends each with a limited number of tasks to do, with little need for or evidence of formal organization. Later, after they received their licence, the extent of their organizational work increased, and their need for structure increased likewise. As one said in an interview:

When you get to the stage of actually creating a radio station it is too big for everyone to know everything.

Another remarked:

I think it is interesting to see the degree of organization that has evolved through Wired World. We started so very loosely and through our experiences we have seemed to need more and more structure... I guess one thing that you learn is that you do evolve a set of operating structures, and that you probably can't impose them at the beginning, that they get introduced as they are needed in an organization like this. Through experience you find the need for certain structures, which probably couldn't have been imposed at the beginning, particularly when you don't have experience.

The period of my involvement with Wired World was a time of formalization of its organizational structure. For example looking at the secretary's records from the time of its founding in June of 1971 until the end of 1973, two thirds of the pages of those records cover the last four months of that thirty month period.<sup>2</sup> This increase, an indication of greater bureaucratization (Weber; 1946:197), was accounted for both by the fact that there was more business being conducted and by the fact that they were more carefully recording that which did transpire. The Wired World people also began holding weekly meetings of the Board.

All formal task and policy decisions were made by those who attended these meetings.

It was the same group of regulars who did most of the work, attended the directors' meetings, and who were therefore available to volunteer for new jobs as they arose. For example, when Wired World was planning a fundraising dinner dance, it was at directors' meetings that decisions about it were made, and all who attended were encouraged to spend some of their volunteer time selling tickets and otherwise helping in its preparation.

Directors' meetings dealt in detail with all of the station's activities which were formally dealt with. As the work load for the station increased, these meetings became longer, and decision-making became a task taking more and more of everybody's time. Three regulars met together and decided that the organization should be divided into a committee structure. As Jane said after the committees had been introduced:

When we had one hour (of programming) a week and were aiming towards this the directorship could actively keep a finger in every pie. But now we have had to divide our functions down into a committee structure... Well we had to delegate construction to a committee because we can't tie up the whole Board of Directors who have a lot of other things to discuss in discussing the nitty gritty of constructing the room... We have had to do the same thing with the technical committee. It got to the point where ten people were sitting around listening to details about technical decisions, like whether or not to spend more money on a super duper cartridge system, and the fine points made no difference to most of the people on the board.

The plan was that the directors would appoint committees composed of directors and other members, which would be responsible for supervising activities in their area, as well as making policy recommendations to the Board. The originally proposed structure (which was adopted with minor changes) divided the station's work into eight distinct areas.<sup>3</sup> Under the committee structure the Board was to retain its control over policy decisions, but day-to-day decisions were to be handled by the smaller and more manageable committees. One main reason for the move was to make Directors' meetings more manageable. Another was to allow or encourage some of the directors who were heavily involved in all aspects of Wired World's operations to opt out of some. For example, Bob (who at the time was probably involved in more Wired World activities than the others) was working and making decisions in all eight areas defined by the committee system. After its introduction he limited his involvement to four areas.

## 2. Power and leadership.

Among the regulars there was not one universally accepted leader of the group. In fact, Mary raised the lack of leadership as one of Wired World's problems: I asked her in an interview after she began working as the only paid employee what needed to be done to solve some of the group's problems:

- M. ... There would have to be one person with power. We need some authority figures, and I find that I am starting to do that to some extent now.
- I. Who fulfills that function now? Is there anyone?
- M. Not really. I think there will be with the programming committee. We really need that. I'm not doing it yet; I should be , but it is being resisted.

Most of the Wired World people were relatively uninterested in attaining a leadership position. At the time the committee structure was formulated, the plan was seen as a desirable way to limit people's spheres of influence. Similarly, people hoped the planned-for citizens' advisory board would serve as a pressure to limit their own power.

Though there was no accepted leader of the group, two of Wired World's regulars were seen to be central to Wired World's development. The two were Larry and John, the only two of the fourteen regulars who were founders of the organization. Larry had been responsible for bringing in six of the others and John for two. Three regulars had come as a result of publicity, and the last had heard about the group from a friend who knew Larry. John and Larry had been central to Wired World's development in an interpersonal sense, and in other ways as well.

John was central, not so much because of his level of activity for the group - though he did work several hours each week for Wired World - but because he was Wired World's largest money donor. In the period up to the end of 1973, John gave donations of \$23,721, and interest free loans totalling \$14,000, which combined were 41 per cent of Wired World's money income. None of the loans were repaid, and probably none will be. In addition to these

donations, John had purchased the house which Wired World occupies in 1972, for approximately \$26,000. He had worked out an arrangement with the Wired World people whereby he would pay for all utilities except telephone, Wired World would pay him a monthly rent and he would give Wired World donations to cover the amount of the rent, thus allowing him a tax receipt for the rent payments. However, this arrangement was only carried out for 8 of the 20 months between the time the house was purchased and the end of 1973. For the other 12 months no rent was paid, and no tax receipts issued. During the same period John incurred an additional \$1438 in expenses to the house, which were essentially indirect, non-tax-deductible donations to Wired World.

One regular had said of John's position in Wired World in a taped interview:

There is no doubt in my mind that we never would have existed without John. In fact when people say to me "how did you get started?" I usually start with John - John and some people that had some ideas.

Not everyone gave John such a prominent place. Another person had said in a taped interview with John and me:

I think that some others felt more fearful of John because of the money you put into it and therefore somehow probably subconsciously indebted in some way. That is something I never felt, at all, ever. It is only money, you know. And I always thought personally, and maybe that is a quirk of my personality, that I contributed as much as John did... Some obviously did feel a bit inhibited because John gave something tangible that you could count which others didn't have and therefore were in a somewhat inferior position, in their minds.

He then added that it was mostly young people, associated with an early OFY grant who had felt so inhibited. It was my impression (though I was too close to John to be able to judge this accurately, or to be assured of honest feedback from others) that there was only one regular whose relation to John was seriously affected - at the personal level - by John's financial support of the station. When I first arrived, this regular thoroughly disliked John. But perhaps because they came to share a common friend, or possibly for other reasons, his suspicion of John subsided, and their relations improved.

One might have expected John's opinions to carry a substantial amount of influence at the decision-making level because of his large financial contributions to Wired World. However, he was not around when most (informal) decisions were made. There were a few instances of financial decisions being saved until he was present. For example, discussion of one financial crisis was put off until he would be present; in that case he rescued them with another donation. Otherwise, his overall ability to influence did not seem exceptional. One test came when representatives of a local left wing newspaper asked permission to have a box with their newspaper available at the station. The six directors present at the deciding meeting had a tie vote on the issue. Afterward John made a strong and impassioned plea in favour of the motion, indicating the issue was sufficiently important to him that he wanted a revote. The directors agreed, and two people changed their votes: one, who had voted "no", first, changed his vote to a "yes", as John had asked; the other, who had voted "yes", the first time, changed to an

abstention. Though John won his vote, his support was neither automatic nor overwhelming. Had another director made such an impassioned plea, he (she), too, probably would have raised similar support.

John had the potential to wield considerable coercive power in Wired World's organization, not just because it was dependent on his donations, but because he could evict it from the studios at any time. But, for the most part, he was not seen as being more powerful or problematic within Wired World's organization than any of the others. This was so partly because some of the Wired World people were not aware of the extent of John's financial involvement. But it was also so because John and the others shared a similar perspective with regard to the goals and means towards those goals of their organization. To the degree that the concept of power involves the powerful person being able to get the powerless person to do something he would not otherwise do (Hall: 204), the issue of John's power did not arise. He did have the power to call a halt to the whole enterprise, but none of the regulars believed that he would do such a thing. John and the others basically agreed about what was to be done; he was known to be committed to the organization's democratic ideals; and most of the people therefore did not even see a potential threat.

That John did have extraordinary potential for power became evidenced more than a year after the station went on the air, however, when John's ideology began shifting away from that

of the others. The others began searching for ways to become financially independent of him, lest he move the organization in what they perceived to be an undesirable direction or lest he call the whole project to a halt.

While I was at Wired World the people most frequently consulted on an informal basis were Larry, Bob, Jane and Bill. Of those four Bob was the one most frequently consulted (or reported to) by most members of the group on most issues. He came to be regarded by all as, in the words of one regular, "an all round competent person", and as indispensable to the organization. However, he seldom sought out reports from other members, he seldom chaired meetings, and he happily gave up responsibilities where he could. He could perhaps be characterized as an informal, unwilling leader of the group.

People consulted Larry and the others frequently as well, and it was Larry, more than the others, who sought out reports from others and who chaired most meetings. Formally he was the vice president of the organization, and since the president had moved out of town, he presided over meetings when he was in town. Informally, his power within the group was substantial, and became increasingly problematic for the others, until eventually he was ousted.

From his own point of view, and that of several of the people of Wired World, Larry had almost single-handedly developed the philosophy and approach upon which Wired World's



radio activities were based. As he said of his 1971 OFY project: "it laid the whole development for what we are doing now." And speaking of his own lobbying with people in Ottawa on behalf of Wired World to get a licence to broadcast, he said "it was all going to happen because all the groundwork had been laid for over two years for that sort of thing to happen".

Larry's power was the power of expertise. He was the person primarily responsible for developing contacts in Ottawa - for the purposes of getting both a licence and government money. But more than that, Larry occupied a central role at Wired World. He had initially encouraged the organization's move to radio and the establishment of its own community fm station. Most regulars thought community radio an idea worth pursuing; for Larry it had become a mission. He described in an interview his realization of the importance of Wired World's activities:

I was beginning to see what impact what we were doing then was going to have and I was beginning to be a little bit unnerved by the whole thing... I was realizing that... our existence is going to have some pretty heavy changes on the city that we live in. I realized that it was going to have a pretty heavy impact on the direction of broadcasting in the entire country... the legal implicationsof it can be traced right through to almost the BNA Act in the Constitution of the Country in terms of freedom of speech, expression responsibility... broadcasting as a means of expression is an incredibly powerful mechanism for change both culturally and politically. And we have just been responsible, all of us, for establishing something which is a democratically run organization... it's just incredible. Whatever anybody says, nothing like this has ever really happened before anywhere at any time.

Describing his own involvement in the early days, Larry had said:

that was a time when... I had my fingers in everything. I had to keep it together, literally, not necessarily doing everything but trying to keep in areas, where I was incompetent at least trying to keep people positive... I began to see that I was going to have to phase myself out of everything for my own personal satisfaction. First thing I wanted to phase myself out of is any of the technical things and any of the financial things... that's not my forte. I shouldn't have to do that. And there were enough people around that knew how to do that...

He described his own plans and actions as perhaps a bit naive in the early days "but right on, always", and his history of the organization is a history of the frustration (and good times) he had trying to get people to carry out the plan which he had devised, and for which he had laid the groundwork.

He expected the same total commitment to the plan and its implementation from others that he evidenced himself: he had discovered an important truth, and from his point of view if others did not accept it they simply did not understand. So, for example, when I referred to John's respect for him, Larry reacted by saying, "Yea, John was right on to it".

Larry had devised a particular plan for developing a democratically run radio station, and he was convinced of the correctness of his approach. He wanted the station democratically run - according to his plan. The effect of this was that he frequently made unilateral decisions, and other people never felt confident that if they made a decision with which he disagreed that it would be accepted by him. On those

conspiracy. All three members of the executive limited their own participation rather than do something about Larry. They did this not because they did not want something to be done, but because they did not want to do it themselves. Even when they determined to oust Larry, they avoided telling him so. Again, out of kindness he was quietly excluded, expected to take the hint and leave. Even the most tolerant of the group, who did not want Larry excluded, wanted him to be excluded in this "kinder" subtler and spurious manner, if he must be excluded at all.

Larry did not take the hint, however, because he did not understand what the people were doing. Since they had not previously levelled with him, Larry's eventual ouster was both harsh and thorough.

The leadership crisis was particularly interesting because of the extent to which it was avoided. While people were willing (and eager) to complain to one another on a one-to-one basis, they were generally unwilling to complain to the apparent source of their tension - Larry - and they were extremely reluctant to take any positive action against him. They wanted the problem removed, but by somebody else. (And since it was a voluntary association, they could remove themselves from the problem if it did not go away.) The avoidance of the problem and possible resulting conflict was frequently rationalized in terms of friendly relations - that it would not be nice to do something; that it might hurt Larry; that one's own motives might be selfish.

was the removal of Larry from the executive. In that case three people had individually talked to one another about the problems involving Larry, or the desirability of keeping him off the executive; but the group did not get together, and no strategy was planned for insuring he not be elected.

One regular isolated two problems which made it unlikely that the others could deal effectively with Larry. First it was often more a leadership style than particular issues to which they objected, and second, the others were simply less aggressive. As this regular reported in a letter to me early in 1974:

Larry has taken over effective control of the organization (ie., become the dominant personality behind the decision-making process which as you are well aware extends far beyond decisions made at formal meetings.) It's difficult for me to elucidate further. There is, of course, some opposition from some people. But most of the people at Wired World don't react until a specific issue comes to a climax. For that matter, most "issues" aren't as clear cut - people (and I am specifically speaking about myself as well as a few others I have noticed) may feel "uneasy" about something, but will not oppose what Larry does unless they are "opposed". Feeling uneasy about something in general, and being opposed to some specific action are quite diverse situations. Keith, for his part, exemplifies an underlying feeling I myself have (but not to quite as great a degree). Unless cornered, Keith avoids direct confrontations with Larry, to the point of staying away when Larry is around. I think to a degree it boils down to the fact that Larry has more resilience to opposition than everyone else. His personal style has always been, as he himself would say, confrontationistic. To varying degrees, the rest of the people at Wired World shy away from confrontation, unless absolutely necessary. Hence a rather interesting interpersonal dynamic.

The Wired World people did eventually conspire to oust Larry, but what is remarkable is how long they postponed that

Individuals began trying to limit Larry's powers subtly and quietly. Some of the first moves came in the fall while he was away in Ottawa. After the committee structure was designed, for example, one regular mentioned that he had planned the station manager's job in such a way that Larry would not want it. During one of his absences in the late fall the Board passed two motions limiting his power: while they officially appointed him to the programming committee (whose chairmanship he had assumed without their consent), they defined the chairmanship as a monthly rotating position, to ensure that Larry understood that the position was not automatically his. At the same meeting they ruled that he could not form the advisory board by himself, as he had planned: it had to be largely organized by outsiders themselves. Shortly after John and I left, a new executive was elected by the new Board of Directors, and for the first time since the organization's founding Larry was not on the executive.

These attempts to limit Larry's power were largely individual efforts, however. Remarkably, there was very little active conspiracy on the part of those who found Larry problematic. Six of the regulars frequently complained to me about Larry's behaviour. Two of these were close friends of one another, and also consoled one another. Initially, however, most remained unaware of the depth of others' concern, and most (myself excluded) were repulsed at the idea of conspiring against Larry. The closest thing to a conspiracy

he has been like a body exuding a cancer, and everything has been soured by that and directed by that for quite a long time.

Most of the regulars would have agreed that the principal problem they found with Larry's leadership was probably summed up in a joking remark of one of them that the trouble with Larry was that he sometimes didn't recognize that he is not the organization. Or as I recorded another's comments:

Larry really thinks that he just wants to be one of the guys working at a community radio facility... while in fact it is obvious to any observer that Larry is trying to be a station manager, the boss, the one whose station, idea, etc., this whole thing is.

Larry's attempts to maintain control of Wired World caused considerable tensions. More interesting than the problem for the others of Larry's leadership, however, was their response to that problem. Long before people thought of formally or informally excluding Larry, some interacted with him in a misleading or dishonest manner - in a "spurious" way, to use Lemert's (1962 ) expression. Feelings of the hopelessness of reasoning with Larry were one reason the others engaged in spurious interactions. Another reason was to avoid conflict. To interact honestly with Larry was to invite controversy, precisely because they did view him as problematic. Such controversy was viewed as distasteful and unfriendly. In order to be kind and friendly with Larry, people avoided being honest with him, while at the same time feeling increasingly hostile towards him, and apparently not letting him know why.

Peter told me in an interview that he and Nancy had never had any problem keeping Larry under control. The following is a verbatim account of a conversation with Peter, his wife, Ruth, and me, concerning Larry's position.

- P. ... Nancy and I never experienced any problem (with Larry)... maybe it was because we were older or for whatever reasons we were able to say what we thought when we thought he was going on a tangent: "slow down,...". never had any problem as far as getting along, at all. I don't know why we understood each other better, but it went fine for us.
- R. You get along with a lot of people that other people can't get along with. That is your style.
- I. It is also true that Larry could control a lot of other people therein a way that he couldn't control Peter and Nancy. People who didn't want to be controlled.
- P. Maybe.
- I. People didn't know how to say "no" to him, didn't know how to say "slow down".
- P. And that is more the other people's problem than it is Larry's. They want to be controlled. If you are controlled, you agree to a certain extent to be so, I think.

Larry's relations with many of the Wired World people deteriorated markedly after they received their licence. He had had personal troubles which had made him less patient with others. In addition, he was described as utopian, manipulative, and unyielding; he was resented for apparently selling the group's ideas to government people for his own personal advantage; a few even described the problem as his mental decay. Newer regulars, not having known him before the licence was his expertise had been more needed and more used, saw no reason to afford him special status. Perhaps the most negative judgment came from one of the regulars who said in an interview:

occasions where he did submit to a group decision, he adopted the group position as his own, rather than acknowledging the authority of the group; those members who were concerned about his position came to feel that it was impossible to change his mind on most issues (though they did, in fact, occasionally overrule his decisions).

It had always been true that when there were personal animosities they often centred around Larry. In Wired World's earlier days, Peter, and then later Nancy had played the role of socio-emotional leader for the group. As Nancy explained in an interview:

Jane is one who needs to be encouraged individually, at least did... you had to be the buffer between her and Larry. And I think that was the big thing that both Peter and I did - Peter primarily when he was there, then when he left I did it - was to be a buffer between all of these factions... There always was right from the beginning I think a personality clash between Jane and Larry... and Peter used to have to monitor between Larry and Carl. Larry would get so mad at Carl for one thing and the other, and between Larry and Tom. Larry would feel that Tom wasn't pulling his weight or doing his share. And when I was there it was often between Larry and Tom. Bob also played that role between Larry and Tom. I don't think I ever had any problem with any of them. But as I say that became more and more my role, particularly when Peter left, was just to calm Larry down, and interpret Jane to Larry and that kind of role.

Though Nancy did not isolate Larry as particularly problematic, it is striking to note that all the personal clashes which required mediation in her example involved him.

The problem, of course, was not entirely with Larry.



Before Larry was ousted he had been effectively leading the group, against their wishes. His decisions were frequently the ones which carried. Though many of the others were not happy with the situation, they preferred limiting their own involvement to forcefully acting against him. It was their inaction as much as his action which put him in a position of leadership.

When the others did oust him, it was not to gain leadership for themselves. Though the group did have a president, and other executive officers, no one tried to assert control and direction over the organization's activities as Larry had done. It reverted to the state it had assumed when Larry had been out of town: the particularly knowledgeable people and the people who assumed the heaviest responsibilities were consulted more frequently than the others; but few kept control even over limited areas for any length of time, and no one attempted any over-all control.

### 3. Elementary tasks and their allocation.

Control of the organization would have been difficult in any event, because of the nature of the role system which was evolving at Wired World. In the early days, the determination of what jobs needed to be done and the allocation of those jobs to particular people was a very informal process. In fact at the organizational and the individual levels they proceeded not only informally, but also without carefully worked out

plans of action. One of the early volunteers commented:

... nothing that I ever did, and I think that Peter ever did, unlike Larry (Larry is much better - has a different kind of mind), but none of the things that either Peter or I did were deliberate. I mean we never did A because we wanted to move to B and C. We never had any long range plan... We were totally inexperienced, didn't know to think in that way, so everything we did was very pragmatic at the moment. And yet, when you look back on it you see that in fact it did provide the stepping stone for the next step. But it was never consciously thought out in that way, at all, I don't think, on either Peter's or my part.

Emery (1969) characterizes the organization as a system of hierarchical relations. He uses "hierarchical" to describe an entity, composed of subentities, themselves composed of subentities, down to a lowest level of subentity, where authority is not necessarily a part of that hierarchical relationship (Emery:2). Hierarchy, he argues, stems from the need to reduce the complexity of the system to manageable proportions, or elementary tasks. The tasks are then combined rationally into jobs, and the hierarchical system indicates the relations of the tasks (and jobs) to one another. If one were to then diagram an organization's hierarchical relations with circles representing elementary tasks and the links representing how they are joined in a complete system, a rational bureaucratic system might look like Diagram A, while an anarchic system would look like Diagram B.

DIAGRAM 1.



In the early days, Wired World's organization approached a system of benign anarchy: there was no hierarchical structure, except for a Board of Directors. But more important, elementary tasks were frequently not organizationally defined, and certainly not combined into rational jobs or roles. Rather many of the tasks people performed were tasks which they as individuals had identified as important and determined to do. Thus, for example, from before Wired World's founding Larry had begun writing to officials in Ottawa, first about the licensing of a student station for the University, and later about licensing of a community station for Wired World. A few years later Jane expressed surprise that Nancy had not been the person selected by Wired World to negotiate in Ottawa for a licence. In terms of the way things were done at Wired World, the "choice" of Larry was perfectly logical: people were informally self-selected and Larry had originally identified and pursued the job on his own; in the process he had developed expertise; it was logical that he would continue it. As Nancy said:

Larry seemed to know (the Ottawa people). There didn't seem to be need for anybody else. He threw all those names around; he knew them. Why would somebody else step in when he already knew them and they knew him? Never even thought of it; wasn't necessary.

Others would join in if it was a particular interest of theirs, too, but in the case of Larry's lobbying, others were not terribly eager to join in. Again, as Nancy remarked:

I wouldn't do it for a million dollars... I had neither the income nor the freedom to whip up to Ottawa for several days at a time; nor do I like those kinds of games. And I don't think I'd be good at it at all because I don't particularly like it.

Within this framework, however, it was common place for anyone to put another to work, helping with a particular task, if it was required. Thus a few times Larry did ask others to join in his political discussions; at my first visit to Wired World Ralph put John and me to work moving lumber; and nearly every day's field notes thereafter records someone seeking help from someone else in carrying out a task.

Elementary tasks came to be defined in a number of ways. Occasionally they were developed deliberately by the group, meeting to develop a plan of action. More frequently, however, they were developed by a few people outside of a meeting or by an individual member without consulting others. For a task to be done it had to be recognized as something needing to be done, it had to be assigned to someone, and it had to be actually carried out. Many of the tasks successfully accomplished were those defined and carried out by particular individuals - as in the example of Larry and the Ottawa politics. Once a task was done by someone it generally became visible to the others as a task. (Sometimes, though, most notably in Larry's case, there were tasks being done for the group of which the group was really not aware.) There was the chance that if one person dropped a task someone else would pick it up or be assigned it. But there was no assurance that when an individual dropped a task or left the station his (her) various tasks would be picked up by others. And assigning a task to someone offered no assurance that it would be done. (When Larry left, no one else picked up the Ottawa lobbying - for

money at the time - which he had been doing.)

A common defining characteristic of organization is a stable system of roles through which individuals pass (e.g., Parsons, 1951; Merton, 1957; March & Simon, 1958; Katz and Kahn, 1966). What is noteworthy in this case, however, is that there were not clearly defined volunteer jobs composed of a number of related elementary tasks. Rather, as the discussion of voluntarism suggested, each volunteer did what she (he) chose to do, frequently on her (h9s) own initiative, occasionally at the suggestion of others. When a new volunteer came to the organization, there were no clearly defined slots (jobs) to be filled. The jobs and tasks themselves varied, depending on who was around doing the work.

Given the lack of a clearly defined role system, it was not surprising, for instance, that people could ignore a serious discussion of fundraising in a directors' meeting the week before the bill for the transmitter (perhaps \$10,000) was expected when there was no money to cover it: each volunteer was already busy with his (her) areas of concern (which were also pressing) and there was no structural mechanism for calling fundraising to people's attention.

An effect of introduction of the committee structure should have been to focus more systematically on areas of activity which needed to be done, and to make more likely a rational process of defining essential tasks and seeing that

they were carried out. While the committee structure may have somewhat lessened some people's areas of activity and concern, it did not ensure that each area would be covered. The people committee, for example, has generally been one with few members, fewer meetings, and very little accomplished. The sponsorship committee was very active in the fall of 1973, shortly after the committee structure was established. Jane was its chairperson, and she organized a concerted fundraising campaign. But when she resigned, no one effectively took her place; the work was not done, and it was she who was left a year after she resigned with making that committee's report to a general meeting.

Though Wired World became more organized as the number of its tasks increased, it remained largely informal in the way its tasks were assigned and carried out. With the introduction of the committee structure, broadly defined work areas became a bit more visible, but there were still no clearly defined roles, and individuals still chose their own tasks. The system of task allocation was sufficiently informal (and enough of the possible tasks were neglected) that many regulars and most outsiders found the station disorganized. Thus one student who was involved briefly in Wired World wrote:

the lack of organization is the most obvious problem which must be overcome before Wired World... can be successful.

While a number of regulars cited lack of organization as a basic problem, often these same people found the informality

resulting from it particularly attractive. When I asked one such person about her initial reactions to the station, she replied:

Very good, I liked the atmosphere, the people; and the scene was rather confused. I mean just walking in and seeing all the things piled up all over the place. I got pretty excited about it. I started coming in all the time. It is the kind of thing that grabs people.

A few people felt that any structure risked losing that atmosphere. One woman, for example, regretted the signs of organization she saw at the station, because it detracted from the esprit de corps: the organization was becoming more important than its members. Another person who particularly valued the informality regularly attended, but rarely participated actively in meetings. When asked to comment on an issue at a meeting once he said, "Well, I think everything is just going to happen". Though Wired World had bureaucratized somewhat, there was a sense in which what he said was still an accurate assessment not just of what people wanted, but the way jobs were being done. Its only inaccuracy was that many things which perhaps should have been done simply were not.

#### 4. Communication patterns.

The statement that everything is just going to happen highlights the relative unimportance of the hierarchical structure at Wired World for what was done in the organization. Meetings of the Directors and committee meetings did provide a forum for exchange of information, but informal communication patterns were at least as important. In fact, at the committee

level meetings were frequently avoided altogether, because most of the regulars preferred informally doing things with their friends to coping with formal meetings. Thus, for example, the programming committee often met informally, even though that meant excluding one of its members. I recorded in my field notes:

On Wednesday Mary came to talk to me, all upset because she had just had a problematic telephone conversation with Bob. (Mary, Bob, Keith and Bill are now the programming committee, but it apparently hasn't met much in the last month, if at all.) Mary said that she was feeling excluded from the programming committee. It seemed that Bob and Bill and Keith tend to get together informally without her, and make decisions; she feels it is time for a meeting because there are a number of programming issues not satisfactorily resolved.

When I suggested to Bob that perhaps they were being unfair in excluding Mary from meetings of the committee, he agreed, and resigned from the committee rather than attend the meetings himself.

Wired World is a small and informal organization, and not surprisingly most of its information is not written, but rather transmitted in small, informal interactions. When the committee system was introduced the number of posted notices increased. It increased still further when the station went on the air. But it was still impossible to be aware of what was happening at the station without being frequently involved in informal interaction.

A number of the informal interactions occurred at the Wired World house. I record in one day's field notes, descri-



bing the general scene at the house that "there was the usual bedlam of people consulting with each other about everything". Few matters were saved for meetings (unless they involved something people did not want to do). More frequently, if someone had a problem he (she) raised it with whoever was around and with whoever might be most helpful or most supportive. I shall illustrate the process with an example. Bill came in one day with a tape he had helped Ralph to make, in which Ralph had interviewed the owner of a small old people's home in a small town near Kitchener. Bill wanted to know if the tape should be aired, and initially played it for Bob and me. The problem was that it was in effect a promotion for a profit-making concern (a concern Ralph was happy to support). Policy was unclear on where to draw the line between commercial and non-commercial programming, and so we did not know what to do with the tape. I suggested that we call Ralph into the room, listen to the tape, raise the issue, and then all settle the issue together. We explained our concern to Ralph, who said that matters involving senior citizens should be treated differently. The field notes record:

The situation was not entirely resolved, and for a minute people had to go their separate ways... In that pause... Ralph started talking about how we desperately need money... that the reason he had done this programme is that he knew that this woman and people like her weren't going to give us money unless they knew we were doing something for them, so we had to do these promotions for them... I explained to him that that sounded awfully much like advertising... he said that... we simply had to do it if we were going to make a go financially. Ralph went off to the attic to do his work, and I cornered Bill and told him about my conversation with Ralph... He asked me what I thought about the programme going on. I indicated that.. I was quite a lot more inclined to say no. I indicated that we should all talk to Ralph and make sure he understands... So Bill went and got Ralph, while I got Bob... so we could all talk this out. None of us succeeded in explaining to

Ralph what the problem was. Well, then Bob left, and Jane returned from lunch, and we played the tape for her... She listened straight through it and said it sounded to her like a commercial for the old people's home and should not be played... Things began to settle back to normal; I started correcting more membership cards, Bill went back to putting together this week's programme, Jane to the telephone, and Ralph was generally hanging around kind of uncomfortable. Well, at this point, John walked in, and Ralph started playing the tape for him. (Oh dear, thought I, John will say "that's really great, Ralph, it goes on this week".) Well, my prediction came true. Then Ralph said "they say we shouldn't play it." John asked for an explanation...

In this particular episode, everyone who was around was brought into one of a series of discussions concerning the issue at hand. It was a situation of some conflict, and, as the notes make quite clear, both Ralph and I were trying to rally our particular forces to our particular causes. It was not resolved in these conversations, and was eventually taken to a directors' meeting. The people at the directors' meeting were essentially the ones who had argued the case informally, though I was not at the meeting. Once the issue reached the meeting it was little more discussed. In fact only the particular tape was discussed, and the general commercial issue was not raised at all. No one mentioned that Ralph claimed it was necessary to do promotions to obtain donations. Ralph's tape was approved with the deletion of one strongly promotional sentence.

With this issue, as with most issues, the merits of the case were more fully argued outside of the formal meetings; general issues were seldom fully resolved; and final decisions were often expedient, in this case to avoid hurting Ralph.

In most situations, whether a conflict like the one above, or simply the passing on of information (like describing the results of a sponsorship visit), the informal communication was more prevalent than formal communication. Within that pattern, there were certain people who were frequently told what was going on with many issues. (These were the people with particular expertise.) Others made a point of asking what was going on. Those who were there were always free to join in, and generally found out what was going on. And these discussion occurred not just at the Wired World house, where simply being around kept one in touch, but also outside the house, where friends would meet to work on various problems.

## 5. Discussion.

Wired World's leadership crisis can be seen as illustrating some characteristics of its decision making process. The leadership crisis arose not because one leader's authority was called into question by others who wished to replace him. At one time Larry had been a central figure in the organization, a person whose expertise was used and appreciated frequently. He had always represented himself as a leader of the group as well. After receipt of the licence his expertise in dealing with government was no longer needed for that purpose and it was less appreciated for getting government money. His participation at the station also decreased substantially. Still he remained in a formal leadership capacity and came to be seen as increasingly problematic. Even after he was removed from all

formal leadership positions his attempted leadership was still seen problematic until he was eventually ousted from the organization.

There were two main problem connected with Larry's position: (1) though he was no longer doing a great deal of the work of the organization, he represented himself to both outsiders and other regulars in a leadership capacity; and (2) people did not enjoy interacting with him. Their response, for months before the leadership crisis, was to avoid contact with him, which as we tried to represent himself as leader, came to mean avoiding contact with the organization. When they did eventually oust him, they tried (though unsuccessfully) to do it in a "friendly" (spurious) manner, in an attempt to avoid conflict. After he left, no one else tried to assume such a leadership position. In fact, the two regulars who precipitated the ouster also left within a few months.

To some degree the development of Wired World's organization can be understood as a transition from a *gemeinschaft* to a *gesellschaft* form of organization. Begun as a small group of friends, the organization was becoming more rational on a formal level: developing a hierarchy, through the committee structure; holding more and longer meetings; and keeping more records. Hierarchy was evidenced in the sense that general work areas were defined.

This transition was limited however, largely because of

the nature of the role system and the manner of task allocation within the organization. There was no clearly defined system of roles; there were no volunteer jobs, only volunteer workers. Individual volunteers carried out those elementary tasks they chose to do, rather than being assigned tasks by the organization.

The lack of an organizational means of assuring that particular tasks would be done made formal decision-making relatively ineffective. Even when formal decision-makers did formulate particular plans of action, there was no assurance they would be carried out, because taking on a given task was a matter of individual initiative.

The nature of leadership in Wired World was influenced by its role system. If a leader is one who is understood to influence what his (her) subordinates are going to do, Wired World really had no leader (except people could be personal persistence lead others not to act at all). To assume leadership in this case (would have) meant taking the initiative to do the work oneself, and then (perhaps) representing one's own work as that of the group. Assuming leadership in that sense could (and did in Larry's case) have the effect of curtailing others' involvement, and in strongly affecting the direction of the organization.

Another factor working against the transition from a gemeinschaft to a gesellschaft form of organization was the

largely informal, friendship-based nature of communication. The Wired World regulars were volunteers, working on their own terms. For most, their terms included working with others whom they liked. If a Wired World regular was faced at the committee level or in the organization as a whole with someone he (she) did not like, he (she) simply withdrew. Similarly, conflict was handled by avoiding or minimizing it, even to the point of avoiding the organization rather than face problems which might arise. Since the running of the organization was largely a matter of individual initiative, and since others responded to conflict by withdrawing from it, Wired World remained particularly susceptible to takeover by any small organized group which might assert itself.

There were at least three forms of power evidenced at Wired World. One was the coercive power of John, on whose finances the Wired World people depended. During the period of study his power was largely unasserted, however. Another was the power of expertise of Larry, in the earlier days, and of Bob and others later on. And the third was the power of persistence, again displayed by Larry: one who was interpersonally aggressive could expect the others not to put up a fight, and one could have his (her) way. In each case, the power was of the sort to control the actions of the others only in the sense of leading them to inaction.

The Wired World people had planned to run their organization democratically, and to rely primarily on volunteer labour.

The final organizing principle, the plan that anyone should be free to participate at Wired World, is the subject of the following chapter.

## FOOTNOTES

1. There was an election for the Board during the time of my study, and I found that with two exceptions the election results could be explained on the basis of two criteria: (1) how much work the person was doing for Wired World and (2) how long the person had been associated with Wired World. Those who were doing a lot of work for the organization and had been involved for quite a while got votes from nearly everyone. The two exceptions were a person who should have done very well on these criteria but who was personally avoided by several people and a second who, though he did not meet these criteria was well known by all and respected as a good radio person. In addition, a few regulars were prevented from running for the Board because they were not Canadian citizens.
2. There are records for only six meetings in 1971, one meeting in 1972, and five meetings up to the end of August, 1973. Starting at that time there are records for weekly director's meetings and a number of other meetings (general membership and special interest) as well.
3. The committees adopted included a technical committee, a sponsorship committee (for soliciting business donations), a people committee (for coordinating membership, finding volunteers), a programme committee, a publicity and promotions committee, a facilitators' (training) committee, an operations committee, a construction committee, and for comic relief a worry committee, of which everyone was a member, and a power committee, whose membership was defined as a secret from all.



## CHAPTER 8. Openness.

A third principle particularly important in the setting up of Wired World's organization concerned its openness to outsiders. As one of the regulars said to the C.R.T.C. at their licence hearing:

We cannot pretend that Wired World represents the interest of every citizen of the Kitchener-Waterloo community, but we can say with some sort of honesty that we have tried as much as we feel is possible to work out means by which citizens of Kitchener-Waterloo and the Waterloo Region can not only make suggestions for programme ideas which will be listened to, but will be able to participate in the implementation of those very ideas.

At the level of programming, they wanted their facility widely used by disparate groups in the community. As the Commissioners were told:

Part of the facilitative process of the people working with Wired World (is to) encourage as wide a spectrum of use as possible. And if we have not done that, we have failed to some extent. That is one of the criteria for the success of this particular outlet.

In the running of the organization as well, the Wired World people planned to make their station open to the community. Any resident of the region, it was decided, should be encouraged to participate and offer feedback both in decision-making and at the level of day-to-day operation. This chapter focuses on Wired World's openness at three levels: programming, policy-making and support activities. It will be argued that the Wired World people achieved a passive, though

not an active openness: though they offered few restrictions to participation, they did not sufficiently seek out new recruits. As a result the organization did not display the diversity for which its members had hoped. Some explanations are offered for their failure to be actively open.

#### 1. Programming.

Openness to programmers of greatly varying perspectives and interests was an attractive goal, but a difficult task to achieve. For to accept programmers representing one particular view might well mean closing themselves off to potential programmers with opposing views. For example, some of the Wired World people were reticent to have any (or more than a token) representation from "extremist" political groups, lest the station be associated with these groups and its reputation in the community hurt. While Wired World did not turn away "extremist" programmers, it is probably that this resulted in the station's being less representative of its community.

The Wired World people originally planned that their principal means of assuring a wide use of the station's facilities would be having trained animators seek out community programmers of varying interests. Though the plan had been to hire animators who could do this, there was no money available for hiring, and therefore animation was done only by those (untrained) volunteers who chose to do it. In practice this

meant that little animation was done by anyone; most people did none at all. While the Wired World people frequently expressed concern about the fact that animation was not being done, they seldom did anything to correct that problem.

After the station went on the air, animation, as it had been conceived, was still largely ignored; but programmers did invite guests, generally their own friends or contacts, to take part in their programmes. Some of these people then chose to produce their own programmes.

Though the Wired World people did not actively seek out new programmers, they did remain passively open to new programmers, in the sense that new people who came to the station and expressed an interest in programming were able (and often encouraged) to do so. In the year after the station began broadcasting it did increase its number of active programmers to a point where there were well over fifty people producing programmes on a weekly basis.

Since they were only passively open, they were representative less of the community as a whole and more of those who took the initiative to involve themselves. One regular argued that Wired World could not possibly reflect the whole community at one time. As she said in a recorded interview:

I think it will continue to reflect the needs of those who choose to become involved, and I don't think it can be any other way. And I am sure that as the needs of those who are involved change every year, so the focus

of CKWR will change, and so it should as long as it is available for anyone to get involved who wants to, then that is the only safeguard that I can see that you can have.

Several regulars, however, were concerned that there might not be a sufficient variety of programming represented. Young people interested in playing rock discs were overrepresented among programmers. In addition it was often people who were interested in the media and the concept of citizen access who took the initiative to make programmes. Those who were less interested in the media per se but had social, cultural or political community concerns saw as many troubles as good points with community radio and often decided that for themselves, at least, involvement was not worthwhile. (Salter (1973:13) makes a similar point in her discussion of community radio.)

## 2. Policy making.

The Wired World people also wanted their station open at the level of policy making. Philosophically, the group wanted to ensure that it would not be elitist. They sought to obtain feedback from residents through a proposed citizens' advisory board, to be composed of representatives from citizens' groups in the area, and of any other interested citizens. This group was to act as a check on the organization, to monitor and criticize programming, and to make policy recommendations to the Board when that was appropriate. None of the several attempts to establish such a board during Wired World's organizational phase were successful. After the station went

on the air, none of the regulars resumed the effort.

A principal method of keeping the station open at the level of policy making was to have been through membership. Originally membership criteria were made flexible enough so that anyone could become a member. To be a voting member, they decided, one had to meet two of three requirements: pay a two dollar membership fee, participate in the production of a programme, or attend three regular meetings. All voting members had an equal vote in the general membership meetings. Anyone who had met one of the membership requirements was considered an affiliate member, and entitled to receive any notices circulated to the membership. In addition, anyone from the community could attend and participate in meetings, whether directors' or general membership meetings.

The plan was designed to make the organization open to new people at the level of policy making, but like several of the Wired World plans it was not well implemented, at least in the organizational stage. At that time while several new people each week joined in the production of programmes, most of these new people came to Wired World just for their one programme. Though they thereby became affiliate members, no records were kept of their names, and more frequently than not they were lost to the group as soon as they left. (In fact even those who came in more frequently, perhaps once a week for an hour or so, were often not listed in membership records, and were therefore ignored except at times when they

happened to be at the station.) Efforts to encourage the Wired World people to keep records of who had made programmes were largely unsuccessful, until after the station went on the air, and this information had to be recorded for legal purposes. The Wired World people preferred operating informally, as a group of friends, and resisted such attempts at formalizing, unless it was seen to be necessary.

Even those people who were recorded on the membership list had little assurance that they would be informed on, much less influence policy decisions. General membership meetings were infrequent and provided occasions for the Board to report to the membership on their activities, and to seek from the membership volunteer labour and money for on-going projects. Usually 25 to 40 people, including Board members, came to membership meetings. But membership meetings did not assert the authority of the general membership to give new directions to the group's activities, or to institute new by-laws. In fact, they were simply well managed forums for seeking recruits for work and were generally very dull affairs.

After the station went on the air, the membership criteria were significantly stiffened. It was decided that all voting members would have to pay an annual \$12 fee and programme at least one hour per month. (Directors maintained the prerogative to waive these requirements if circumstances warranted it.) This change was precipitated both by a financial crisis and by the desire of regulars to make member-

ship more manageable: they wanted to have a sufficiently small and committed membership that they could count on a quorum for meetings.

It was not possible to be involved peripherally and have any appreciable effect on policy making. Even keeping oneself informed was a matter of some frustration for those who wanted to be a part of Wired World, but not to be a full time volunteer. Since the principal means of communication was informal conversation at the house, or outside it, among friends (see previous chapter), the only way to be kept informed was to be present when a couple of Wired World regulars were talking to one another. One could ask any Wired World regular about any matter, and be assured an answer, but being informed also involved knowing what to ask about in the first place. Peripheral people did not call regularly to ask "What's new?", and the Wired World regulars devised no means of letting them know. As one peripheral member remarked:

It is very difficult to keep up with what is going on and this frustrates many people. One Wired World person told me that unless I was willing to spend at least a few hours each day at the house on King Street, I would not be able to keep up with developments. Furthermore, he stated that it was my own fault if I didn't drop in daily to 'get the news'. This is a very unrealistic attitude when the group is trying to attract people to the organization. Most people cannot spend three hours a day at CKWR, if only because they have a job to do, and/or a family to relate to.

Being at the station frequently, or regularly attending directors' meetings were the ways it was possible to keep informed and to influence policy-making. For those who did neither of

these, their membership was a mere formality.

I mentioned in a previous chapter that those people were elected to the Board who were active workers in the group. Whether on the Board or not, it was the active workers, rather than the general membership, who were involved in policy making. As I argued in the previous chapter, it was those who did the work who determined the direction of the organization. Therefore, the group was open to new people at this level in the same manner they were open to new workers.

### 3. Support work.

The Wired World people had intended to have many people involved not just in programming but also in doing administrative support work. Regulars frequently spoke of the need for more volunteers for fundraising, administration, programming - in all areas. As was the case with animation for programming, however, very few regulars actively sought out new volunteers.

The process of becoming a regular was very short for some people, much longer for others. Jim was coming in regularly almost immediately after his first visit, quickly found tasks for himself, and was on the Board and some committees just a few months after his first visit. For Jane, on the other hand, becoming a regular had taken about nine months.

A few new volunteers had been actively sought out; others



had responded to some form of publicity and wandered in to the station on their own. However they arrived, the process of finding volunteers work in the organization was not automatic, and was often unsuccessful.

There were a number of reasons why the regulars found it difficult to involve new volunteers in the work of the organization. One of the difficulties from the regulars' point of view was a lack of time: motivating others was itself a full time job, which kept them from the work they could otherwise do. As one regular had said of an attempt to put new people to work:

It tied up the organizational abilities of just about everybody who had been there to try to coordinate other people to try to do something.

Another regular put the same problem in a different light when she said in an interview concerning attracting new people:

Everybody is too busy doing their stuff to talk to anyone who comes in the door. That's what I think the real problem is.

When I asked if she meant that not occupying people was the basic problem, she replied, "It's not not occupying people... often completely ignoring them."

For those who did take the time to try to involve newcomers, the task still was not easy. I said in the field notes concerning one person's second visit to the house:

When Jim did pop in, I didn't know how to put him to work. First reaction was to put him back to work folding more brochures, but he had done that for hours yesterday, and it seemed a bit much. So I

decided to take him up to Ralph and see if he could find a job for Jim. Ralph has trouble finding jobs for people; as he says, he has in mind certain things that he ought to do, but he doesn't really know far enough ahead, or something, to be able to assign tasks to others. Anyway, this time he did have an idea, and put Jim to work downstairs, drilling holes in the beams near the ceilings for electric wires (perhaps connected with the new air conditioning system for the studio). So Jim spent quite a bit of time drilling until the drill overheated, then coming upstairs for a cup of coffee, or to fold more brochures.

This particular newcomer was relatively easy to involve, since he was willing to do anything and before long he started finding tasks for himself.

There were a number of reasons why the regulars would find it difficult to find a task for new volunteers. First, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, tasks were generally self-assigned, in fact self-defined: there were no obvious jobs which needed to be filled. This was further complicated by the nature of the work: much of the task was precisely finding out what had to be done. Some of what the Wired World people were doing was innovative, so there were no examples to follow. Even where it was not, it was work most of the volunteers had never done before, and they did not know what they ought to be doing. Each of the regulars, who were volunteers themselves, had found his (her) own tasks, but it was difficult to get them to define tasks for others. The newcomers who did get involved, therefore, were the people who could discover for themselves what to do. As one said, people just sit around until they realize that they know as much as anyone, then just find themselves a task.

Even if a regular could find a task, it was difficult to find one the newcomer would enjoy. One day I was looking for some work for a new (and older) volunteer:

the next task was to find her a task other than answering the telephone. (Most of the telephone answerers we have are for mornings, when it has been seldom ringing lately. So there is little for them to do.) I asked Jane if she had any areas in connection with patronage where she could use someone doing a specific task for her (I was thinking of calling and making appointments). Jane wanted to do the calling herself, but suggested that someone could make sure that followups are recorded and followed up properly. Tried to explain this task to \_\_\_\_\_ who had trouble following it precisely. She finally started looking through the telephone file, which she found was not properly cross referenced. She will do that next week.

I had managed to find a task to be done in this case, but the newcomer was uncomfortable with it, and found herself another task. After a few weeks at the station with no clearly defined work to do, she stopped coming.

Though they were not very aggressive in recruiting new people, the Wired World people did not want to discourage any new volunteers from working at the station. While I was at Wired World there was only one newcomer whose presence the regulars considered discouraging. This was a woman whose ideas about the media - and about most things - were sharply at variance with those of the regulars, whose physical handicaps made it particularly difficult to find jobs for her to do, and whose incessant chatter drove most regulars to distraction. Even in her case, however, people would not actively discourage her participation, but they avoided her when she came, and refrained from encouraging her in her participation, until

she eventually stopped coming.

Among the newcomers whom the regulars did want to be involved, some were clearly and immediately attracted to the place. Jim's remark that the station had a warm and homey atmosphere was a typical reaction for this group. But most did not feel at home, and soon stopped coming. It was frequently young people who felt most at home at the station. Though there were older people there too, they were often less visible, both because they were fewer in number and because it was often Wired World's youthful image that was portrayed to outsiders. For example, at one general meeting a cameraman from the local television station came and took ten short series of pictures; all ten pictures focused either on empty seats or on the young men with the longest hair. No pictures were taken of the older people or of the more "respectable" looking of the younger people. As it turned out, this film clip was not shown on the local television station; but the image prevailed among outsiders of Wired World as at best some enthusiastic young people, and at worst a bunch of hippies.

I have records of twelve people who tried to involve themselves in the organization some time after receipt of the licence. Four of these twelve became regulars. Of these four, two left within a year. Three of the four who became regulars were in their early twenties; I was the fourth, in my late twenties. Two had previous experience working with broadcast media. Of the eight who did not become regulars (and most

of whose participation dwindled to nothing) six were women over thirty; five were housewives, one was retired. Two of the people who did not stay were young men with some interest or experience in the media.

It was the younger people, the people with a particular interest in the media, and the people whose ideas about citizen involvement in the community were most similar to those of the Wired World regulars who were sufficiently comfortable in the group to become regulars themselves. That was at least partly so because the regulars who were there fit this image. They were more likely to befriend the others who were more like themselves; therefore these people were more likely to stay (Homans, 1961: 181ff). The successful recruit was going to be the one who could enjoy being at the place doing nothing in the time before he (she) could find an appropriate task to do.

The Wired World people worried about their apparent inability to attract older people. As one wrote in a letter to me:

some new people have become involved with Wired World. Unfortunately, we have here "media men", people who are so intensely interested in the existence of a media outlet that I almost tend to categorize them differently than the typical community member. Notice, also, these people are young, and male (one is a former journalism student, if that helps). I sense that an implicit clique is developing in terms of the house itself: there are only certain types of people who can fit comfortably into that situation with these type of people around. Hence, for example, the discomfort \_\_\_\_\_ felt when she was at Wired World. For that matter, Keith fits into this category but for different reasons... Wired World isn't exactly becoming a center

for community intellectual involvement.

Of course, not all of the people associated with Wired World were regulars. There were people who had been regulars in the past, people who came in once or twice a week, or perhaps less frequently, people who had participated in several programmes, and people who were even more peripheral, but still at least affiliate members. But since the membership records were so bad, these people were generally lost to the organization unless they took the initiative to keep themselves informed.

The first reaction of an outsider might well have been similar to that of one professor who had sent her students to do volunteer work for Wired World: she believed that the regulars were actively discouraging the help of new people, that their own involvement with the group was sufficient that they could not let go of the reins to allow others to do something. However, that was not really the case. The Wired World people were open in the sense of being receptive when newcomers could successfully involve themselves, in spite of the fact that little time was spent actively seeking out and encouraging those newcomers. As one student said:

As for making use of the people who want to be involved in Wired World, and drawing new people into the organization, perhaps CKWR has been less successful. The workers at the station are very busy running it, and cannot cope with introducing people to the organization.

Another of the students put the problem in perspective when she said:

the shortcomings of our project were due largely to ... (the) lack of organization in the sense that we began without concrete ideas and Wired World personnel did not have the coordination to really put us to work usefully.

#### 4. Discussion.

The Wired World people were firmly committed to the principle of openness to outsiders (from the community) not just at the level of programming, where the principle of openness was synonymous with the concept of citizen access, but also in the administration of their organization. The preceding discussion suggests, however, that their organization was not as open as they had intended.

The greater or lesser openness of an organization (or permeability of its boundary) is understood to vary according to whether there are restrictions to admittance or leave. For example, Katz and Kahn (1966:123) suggest that entrance into organizations with rigid boundaries is not the decision of the individual seeking admittance, while in open organizations people can enter at will. According to this criterion, Wired World's organization was very open indeed: it was only at the level of membership that there were any restrictions to admittance at all. There were other considerations, however, which did limit Wired World's openness, and which ought to be considered in assessing the permeability of an organization's boundary.

First, in order for Wired World's organization to be open to outsiders, it was necessary not just to offer no restrictions to newcomers, but to actively seek newcomers out , and to continually encourage their involvement. The Wired World people frequently did not actively seek out newcomers' involvement, and it was for that reason that I have characterized their organization as passively open. Such passive openness can, like explicit restrictions, have the effect of excluding others' participation . Since Wired World was only passively open, its regulars were seen by outsiders seeking admission to be elitists, trying to maintain their own control of the organization.

Second, regardless of whether the organization was actively or passively open, its members were not able, as they professed to prefer, to be open to all or varying groups in their community. Though there might be no restrictions to admittance, the presence of individuals representing one perspective apparently discouraged the participation of individuals representing other perspectives (sharply) at variance with that perspective. A policy of active openness could have alleviated that situation (and such had originally been the regulars' plan), by actively seeking out people from widely varying perspectives and interests. But it is unlikely that the problem could have been eliminated entirely.

It might be argued, then, that the Wired World people did not more actively seek out new recruits because of their own



need or desire to control access to the organization and maintain their own control. However, particularly for programming and support work (where they were passively open) the Wired World people both needed and wanted to have more people involved in the organization. There were other factors than the regulars' possible desire for control which accounted for their being only passively open.

One factor accounting for their being only passively open was the nature of the Wired World role system: since there were no clearly defined jobs, and tasks were self assigned, it was difficult for the prospective volunteer to figure out what to do, and it was difficult for the regular to find a task to assign him (her). This was made more difficult by the innovative nature of the work and/or the fact that the volunteers were untrained in even the non-innovative aspects of the work.

A second factor accounting for their being only passively open was the fact that the regulars, too, were volunteer workers in the organization. As the discussion of voluntarism suggested, people worked on their own terms, doing self-selected chores. Few people opted for recruiting others to the station for any appreciable period of time.

The third factor concerns the importance of liking (Homans, 1961). Those who did recruit newcomers more often than not recruited others whose involvement they would like. Similarly among

those potential volunteers it was those who felt liked by, or in term liked, the regulars who were more likely to feel comfortable at the station and to stay.

And finally, though Wired World's organization has been characterized as passively open, it should be emphasized that some of the Wired World people were actively recruiting new and varied workers and programmers. Because of the novelty of the work, however, and because outsiders did not necessarily see an obvious benefit for themselves associated with Wired World's facilities, the process of involving others in the station was not an easy one.

The previous four chapters have reviewed a number of the internal organizational plans and outcomes which have affected Wired World's development. The success they achieved and the form their organization took were dependent not only on these internal workings, but also on some external characteristics. Perhaps the most dramatic examples of their relations with their environment arose from their need for considerable outside funding. In the following two chapters I shall turn from a discussion of internal organizational matters to some of the considerations which arose from Wired World's money seeking relationship with its environment.

## CHAPTER 9. The Financing of Wired World: 1.

In the preceding chapters I have argued that the Wired World people were trying to build their station as a citizen access facility, and one which would be owned and operated by the citizens who chose to use it. They knew that such a facility would need continuous funding, and they intended to obtain that funding by running a non-commercial, non-profit station, and seeking charitable donations to cover its expenses. The people of Wired World had always assumed that if their community media facility were to be a success it had to be financed by the community it served. However, they expected that community support would not come easily and swiftly because their enterprise was novel, and the community needed to know about it and recognize its value before that support would be forthcoming.

There is no indication in the records that they ever seriously considered the idea of running a (non-profit) commercial station. At about the time that their application was being prepared, the secretary's minutes recorded:

Application typed by next Wednesday. CKWR. Non-commercial non-profit. That way there's a better chance at a licence. No competition for the advertising dollar. Commercialism interferes with the philosophy. Radio stations will help us. We are a charity. Avoid the implied control that advertising represents.

That quote suggests that there were both idealistic and practical reasons for choosing to be non-commercial. They

developed their non-commercial philosophy more fully in the licence application:

At present the four radio stations in Kitchener-Waterloo are providing a service dictated mainly by their business nature. Generally, they are program "sources" which program to mass audiences to hopefully reach the largest amount of listeners at any given time in their "market". This "mass appeal" programming ethic is the result of stations existing on the revenue of commercial sponsors. If a sponsor pays for a radio spot advertising, he wants to be assured that his announcement will be heard by a large number of potential customers. Similarly, the ad rate can be greater if the radio station can prove that more listeners are tuning that station than another station, and higher rates charged during "peak" times. Wired World's proposed FM radio station would exist on listener donations, user donations, and the greatest degree of direct community support as possible through "sponsorship" of programming. Commercial "spots" would not dictate mass appeal programming, because there would be no commercials.

In the rest of this chapter and the following one, I discuss the strategies the Wired World people devised to develop support, and the successes and failures they encountered. This chapter focuses on local and other non-governmental sources of support, and the following chapter discusses government funding. I shall argue that by being non-commercial, Wired World has not avoided the control by outside (often business) forces which commercialism entails, and that as long as they set for themselves a goal requiring a significant amount of storeable resources, they are not likely to avoid such control.

#### 1. Actual costs and sources of revenue.

When the Wired World people applied to the C.R.T.C. for a

broadcast licence, they had to demonstrate in some detail how much money they would need in order to equip and run their station and where that money would come from. As one regular explained to the Commission:

As a non-profit organization thriving on the energies of its volunteers, Wired World practices a form of finance that is often indescribable in normal terms of commerce. For instance, the volunteered expertise of carpenters and electricians and electrical engineers and others such as the president of a telecommunications company is very difficult to put into figures. The people of Wired World have built studio facilities, designed impressive new audio systems and searched to find equipment available at low or no cost whatsoever to the organization. These highly professional jobs have been performed over the past two years by highly competent and professional people free of charge. This expertise would have cost a commercial outlet a great deal of money.

In their projections to the C.R.T.C., the Wired World people anticipated that further capital costs would amount to \$35,320. In addition, they foresaw operating costs of about \$75,000 for each of their first three years of operation. These costs were to cover the hiring of eight employees (at a total of \$46,000 each year), as well as rent, insurance, administrative and programming costs, and minor miscellaneous expenses.

The Wired World people assured the Commissioners that if they could not raise sufficient monies in their first few years of operation, they would be willing to work on a volunteer basis, thus eliminating (most of) the need for salaries. It still remained that for their first year of operation they would need anywhere from \$61,670, if they hired no one, to \$107,670, if they hired all of the people originally projected. They

also assured the Commissioners that if they could not develop local support, they would voluntarily surrender their licence.

The Wired World people anticipated revenue from the following sectors and in the following amounts, as specified to the C.R.T.C. in their licence application.

TABLE 9.1. Anticipated sources of revenue for Wired World's first three years of operation.

<u>source of funds</u>	<u>year 1</u>	<u>year 2</u>	<u>year 3</u>
1. Direct payment	\$ 7,000	\$10,000	\$10,000
2. sale of tapes	11,000	15,000	15,000
3. grants	17,000	15,000	15,000
4. subscriptions	10,000	15,000	15,000
5. contributions	10,000	10,000	10,000
6. sponsorship	15,000	15,000	20,000
TOTAL	\$60,000	\$80,000	\$85,000

Direct payment referred to those users who could afford to and were willing to make contributions when they made programmes. Though direct payment was not to be required, they suggested that it would be encouraged. They also planned to sell some of their particularly good tapes (radio plays, for example) to educational institutions and/or the C.B.C. Under the heading of grants, they included grants from foundations, corporations and the municipal and other levels of government. Subscriptions were to be member payments associated with a programme guide, and contributions were member donations in excess of that. Finally, sponsorship, to be ultimately their

largest source of support, would be charitable donations solicited primarily from businesses and acknowledged over the air.

In the period from the founding of their organization, in the spring of 1971, until the end of 1973, Wired World actually received \$91,607 in money income.<sup>1</sup> Table 9.2, below, shows the principal sources of that income.

TABLE 9.2. Total money income received from all sources for the period ending 31 December 1973.

<u>source</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>% of total income</u>
government, all levels	\$45,150	49% <sup>2</sup>
John, donations	23,721	26%
John, interest free loans	14,000	15%
all other sources	8,736	10%
TOTAL	\$91,607	100%

The government money received by Wired World includes grants from the local, provincial and federal levels, and contracts from both the provincial and federal levels of government. Most of this government money did not technically go to Wired World, and was not included in their accounts. (This was money that went directly to individuals who used it in order to be able to work for Wired World. This and related issues are discussed further in the following chapter.)

The figure for all other sources includes membership fees, local individual donations, rental of Wired World's equipment, sponsorship from local industry, and other non-government

local grants.

The Wired World people had intended that most of their funding would come from sources other than government and John. As Table 9.2 shows, at least in the first few years of operation these were its principal means of funding. The proportion of money coming from these two sources was particularly great in the first years, however, and had already begun to decrease somewhat after the group received its licence. Table 9.3 indicates that the proportion of money coming from John and from government had already begun to decrease in 1973.

TABLE 9.3. Money income received from all sources, initially and in 1973.

<u>source</u>	<u>1971-72 amount</u>	<u>% of total</u>	<u>1973 amount</u>	<u>% of total</u>
government	\$32,280	52%	\$12,870	43%
John	27,510	45%	10,211	34%
other sources	1,707	3%	7,029	23%
TOTAL	\$61,497		\$30,110	

Since rent was not always paid to John (and therefore recorded in the books), and since he incurred extra expenses in keeping the house, these figures underestimate the extent of his contributions. It is also true that Wired World received support from several other sources not reflected in these figures, because that support was not money, and was generally not recorded in the books. For example, most of Wired World's furniture had been donated by members. Approximately 500 personal record albums had been donated by the end of 1973.



And a number of pieces of equipment have been donated, occasionally new, and more often used and in need of extensive repairs. One of the directors frequently averaged \$20 a week in donated construction costs, when he bought items for Wired World out of his own pocket. And, of course, as was mentioned in Chapter 6, most of Wired World's work was done by volunteer labour.

## 2. Soliciting support.

The financial situation of Wired World has never been good. More frequently than not, there was more money owed in outstanding bills than money available to pay them. I recorded once in the field notes:

(Bob) reported that we have \$4500 bills outstanding, most due within 30 days, some sooner, that we have \$1000 with which to pay these bills, and that we can expect another couple thousand dollars worth of bills to come in in the next month or so... Larry then said let's move on to the library report...

Financial crisis was a normal situation, and so it happened several times that a report like this would be made, and no one would mention that there was a problem; rather people would calmly move on to the next item on the agenda. Occasionally, financial crisis was faced at meetings:

... we are in considerable need of fundraising. I would like to get out of this board of directors right now in the next five minutes some positive ideas for fundraising and some volunteers to do it.

That is a quote from one of the directors at a board meeting, encouraging people to solve that fundraising problem. In

this case a proposal was suggested - that time it was seeking a grant from the Region - and the group moved on to the next item on the agenda.

While I was at Wired World there were long periods of time when everyone ignored the problem of fundraising. At other times most of the Wired World people were spending much of their time trying to raise money. The rest of this chapter discusses strategies and successes of the Wired World people in raising money from some of the actual and potential non government sources of support.

#### A. John.

The single largest source of support for the Wired World people, particularly in their early years, had been John. Most of Wired World's directors agreed that their organization could not have gone as far as it did without John's financial support. As one put it:

The organization couldn't have happened without John's financial help. It might be easier for the next organization, but there is no doubt in my mind that we would never have existed without John.

However, people except perhaps John himself never planned that he would be such a heavy contributor. Rather, he was always there to rescue them when a financial crisis seemed immanent.

About the time the station went on the air, its directors began to reject some of John's offers for assistance. As one said in an interview:

I guess I have a feeling that after all the money that has been sunk into this organization if the organization can't find some way other than tapping John's personal purse that the organization shouldn't continue.

John represented an easy source of support, but not one on which the Wired World people wished to rely. While they often fell back on the unsolicited donations from John, it was other sources, outside sources, from whom they had solicited support.

#### B. Local businesses.

The Wired World people had anticipated that local businesses should provide a principal source of funding for their station. Their first approach to local business, back in their cable television days, had been a dismal failure. As they wrote in early 1972:

We sent out letters to every business and manufacturing company in Kitchener-Waterloo... It cost us \$27.00 for postage. We had a 10¢ pool on how much money we would receive from this solicitation. The pool had a one month time limit. I hoped we would receive our \$27.00 back. One guess was as low as \$5.00 and one was as high as \$500.00. At the end of the month, the pool went into petty cash. No one had won. We received exactly one letter. It expressed interest in using our facilities for training salesmen. We received no "Tax-deductible contributions". The lesson learned? Letters of solicitation without personal follow-up are worthless.

The Wired World people decided that personal solicitations were necessary, that they would need something to show in order to get money, and that something was eventually defined to be a broadcast licence. Thus it was not until the fall of 1973, after their application had been approved, that they began their first concerted campaign to develop support from the

local business community.

The Wired World people had several meetings in the early fall to plan their strategy for local fundraising. Knowing that they would have extensive capital expenses, they determined to try for the sort of larger donations for which they must approach businesses. It was decided to approach manufacturers first, because retail establishments were heavily advertising in the other media. How the approach was to be made was problematic. Though they were to be a non-commercial station, they had received permission from the C.R.T.C. to carry short messages thanking businesses for their support:

The Commission wishes to emphasize that although the service to be provided will be non-commercial, simple statements of sponsorship of an institutional nature will be allowed if the statements do not specifically promote the sponsors' products or services.

People worried about semantics: they had previously used, and the Commission used, the word "sponsorship". That seemed to have too much of a commercial ring to it. They wanted it clearly understood by the businesses that it was charitable donations they were seeking, rather than advertising. So they decided to ask for "patrons" rather than "sponsors". (This itself led to an interesting problem, for they were then apparently seeking "patronage", another word with not quite an appropriate connotation. The two words came to be used interchangeably.)

Another problem area encountered was how to arrange the logistics for which company was to be a patron for which

programmes. They knew that some companies would be willing and happy to "sponsor" a Wired World drama production, but perhaps not some other types of programmes. But they felt that drama was perhaps the easiest type of programme to "sell". After much discussion they decided that they could not associate a particular company with a particular type of programming, because the effect of this would be to make certain types of programmes easily supportable and others not. This might have the commercial effect of discouraging certain types of programming. Rather, they determined to ask companies to become patrons and provide for a given amount of programming (eg: an hour per week for a given thirteen week period), and when credit was given over the air, they would be announced together.

The line between a commercial and non-commercial station has occasionally been a hard one for the Wired World people to draw. An earlier chapter discussed one member's attempt to do a programme on one commercial concern's activities, in order to encourage support from that concern. Another tried to get other Wired World people to do a programme on fashions, in order to gain the sponsorship of a dress shop. As such cases appeared, they were discussed and resolved in the particular case, but it was a matter difficult for the Wired World people to resolve in more abstract terms. A few regulars over-reacted to this problem, concluding that businesses simply could not be discussed over the air. Others insisted that businesses are an important part of the life of a community and could not

be ignored. Their informal resolution of the commercial non-commercial problem took the following form:

1. No programming was initiated in order to get donations.
2. The general guideline prevailing was expressed well in an analogy used in their one facilitator training session: the commercial issue in the radio station can be seen comparably to the trumpet section of an orchestra. It is an integral part of that orchestra, but only as long as it is a part. It mustn't be allowed to dominate the orchestra.
3. The problem was dealt with in particular cases, as they arose.

Five volunteers took active part in writing, designing and typesetting a brochure to be used for sponsorship calls, describing the station, the types of programming it would include, and encouraging businesses to become patrons. Once the brochure was prepared, fundraising began in earnest. A volunteer called each of the 246 companies listed in the Manufacturers' Index for the City of Kitchener (a booklet compiled by the Chamber of Commerce), spoke with its senior person, and requested an appointment for two Wired World volunteers to come to "talk about CKWR" and solicit a donation. Care was taken to ensure that whenever any young hippie-like volunteers were sent out on a call, they were accompanied by an older, more "respectable"-looking person. A short questionnaire was devised to be filled out by the volunteers after each visit, for record keeping purposes, and in order to be able to evaluate successes later on. The information below is taken from these

questionnaires. Though it is not certain that a questionnaire was filled out for every call, they were for most calls, including all of the successful calls.

The campaign to solicit financing from Kitchener manufacturers began in late October and was finished by mid-December. The results were as follows:

TABLE 9.4. Results of manufacturers' campaign.

	<u>number</u>	<u>per cent</u>
companies phoned	246	100
companies visited	37	15
companies giving	4	1½
donations, including personal money, resulting from call	6	2
TOTAL MONEY PROMISED:	\$2057	

When volunteers called the companies seeking appointments, it often took several calls to get through to the right person at any given company. Of the 246 companies, 37, or 15 per cent of them, granted interviews to the Wired World people. There were promises of donations from four of the companies visited. In some cases it took several follow-up calls after the appointment to elicit these promises, and then several more to actually obtain the money. At least twenty-one of the thirty-seven visits were followed up by personal letters written by the volunteers to the company heads, thanking them for their time.

In addition to the company donations, Wired World received

two personal donations from these calls, resulting in an additional \$62. Thus the total cash promised was \$2057. Thus for each visit to a company Wired World was promised \$55.60. For each call initially made, Wired World was promised \$8.36.

At the same time as this manufacturers' campaign, there were an additional 20 visits made and recorded to restaurants and retail establishments. Some of these were appointments made by Wired World, and in other cases volunteers took the initiative to make visits on their own. These visits resulted in a total of \$810 promised in donations, plus a donation of \$450 worth of carpeting. Including the worth of the carpets as cash, this amounted to \$1260, or \$63 per visit to the other establishments. The higher success rate here than for the manufacturers is probably accounted for by the fact that of the six establishments giving, at least five were previously known by the person visiting, and of the three personal gifts resulting from these calls, at least two were previously known.

Combining the visits to manufacturers with other visits made in the campaign, we find there were 57 visits to companies

TABLE 9.5. All business solicitations.

	<u>number</u>	<u>per cent</u>
total visits:	57	100
companies giving	10	17½
company or personal gifts	15	26

Total monies promised: \$3317.



of various sorts over the period of not quite two months. The total money promised was approximately \$58 per visit.

Seventeen people took part in going out on these various visits. Most visits involved two people: there were 106 instances of a person going out on a visit (people-visits).

TABLE 9.6. People-visits to establishments

<u># people</u>	<u>% of people</u>	do	<u># people-visits</u>	<u>% people-visits</u>
17	100		106	100
8	47		87	82
3	18		49	46

A few of the people were doing a lot of the work on the patronage visits. These visits were extraordinarily time consuming. During the two months of this campaign a few of Wired World's full-time volunteers were spending most of their Wired World time on fundraising. Most of the people who were there every day were spending at least half of their Wired World time on fundraising. This meant that during this fundraising period, many other things simply were not done. Two of the three people doing 46 per cent of the people-visits left the Kitchener area after this campaign was over. There has not been as successful a fundraising campaign approaching businesses since that time. In fact, most of the time since that campaign, there has been no such campaign to raise funds.

While the Wired World people were seeking charitable donations from businesses, they were somewhat stunned to

find the businessmen taking a much more practical attitude towards the possibility of giving money to Wired World. As one person who did not give money said:

You should plan on coming here and telling me how giving money to your organization is going to help our organization to sell more sweaters.

The largest donation came from a company which employed several thousand auto workers. I was a visitor for that call, and recorded in the field notes:

(The man) to whom we talked was the secretary treasurer of the corporation. He had received a copy of our literature, but had not had time to read it. I introduced us, indicated that we were there to ask for money and to tell him about our station. He asked what good we did. I gave him the usual artistic, ethnic, educational line. We had a business-like session. Early on he indicated that it seemed like it would be good PR for his company to support something like this. I gathered he felt he really needed good PR.

Many weeks, and several telephone calls later, he did agree to give a donation of \$1300. At that time, he made it clear that he would rather have his company associated with artistic and ethnic programming, than with anything controversial. He indicated as well that he would like recognition for the donation. One of the (smaller) company donations was made anonymously. All the others wanted and expected to have their donations acknowledged over the air.

Several of the company executives openly expressed concern that they did not want to support the station if it was going to encourage controversial programming. Wired World's policy with regard to controversial programming was far from radical:

allowing people to voice their opinions on controversial issues, while seeking representatives of the other side to offer a rebuttal.

Still, in talking to the company executives, the Wired World people found it necessary to emphasize more strongly their less controversial programming - the artistic programming, and the opportunity for ethnic groups to programme in their own languages, for example.

Even when the company representatives did view the station's efforts positively, the station still had to compete with several other presumably equally deserving charities. I recorded another patronage visit at which the executive seemed supportive.

He said we were obviously doing a service for the community, expressed particular interest in the children's programming when we showed him the brochure... He gave us a long spiel about how this was a hard time for his business... indicated that he could do a programme about business difficulties on CKWR... He told us that they received at least one request for funds a day, and that their usual procedure was to hold meetings every other Friday to decide what to give to. That they hadn't had any meetings lately, but that they would have one this Friday, and decide, and let us know early in the week. He reemphasized several times that we seemed a good group (though he never said that he thought he could get something for us, we were encouraged.)

This company did not give a donation to Wired World.

Another company executive suggested that his donations generally go to the favorite charities of his employees - that such a policy seemed in the best interests of his business.

Given that Wired World was not an established community service (at the time of this drive the station was not yet on the air), its level of success in seeking money from the businesses was quite good. As one of the regulars said:

This is a problem that we have by being a non-commercial non-profit operation. We are in direct competition for those giveaway dollars with United Appeal. I think that the fact that we are successful in perhaps one out of ten is a ratio which most people use.

One regular cited what he regarded as a positive effect of the campaign: that it gave ordinary people an opportunity to meet with company presidents, and vice versa. Most of the Wired World people found soliciting of money from local businesses quite unpleasant. And a few thought that the organization was necessarily compromising itself by seeking donations from businesses. One way it was seen to compromise itself was by catering to the interests of the businesses. Thus, for example, one volunteer expressed the view that he should not do a particular satire he had planned because it might offend those who must contribute money. It was also seen to compromise itself by directing energies in that direction. When the campaign was going on, people were spending much of their time talking to company presidents rather than to less powerful people. So if anyone was learning about the station, it was feared, it was those who needed its facilities the least.

#### C. Foundations.

Since the founding of their organization, the Wired World people have applied to several foundations for support, but

have received no foundation support. One of the regulars defined the problem, as they saw it, in a letter to a foundation which turned them down: "Because of our initiative it seems we do not fall into anyone's categories, a most ironic situation." Most of the people felt that the possibility of foundation support was not hopeless, and they continued to apply sporadically for grants. However, as with the other forms of fundraising, each application was quite time-consuming, taking a volunteer away from other work.

#### D. The use of radio to solicit money.

When Wired World was programming an hour a week on another station, its members used to insert one or several requests for donations in each programme. A typical insert:

You know there's an old saying, if you give a little, you receive a lot and where our dollar campaign is concerned, this is quite true. If each member of this community would give just \$1, they would receive so much in return - a full time FM radio station that they can utilize to express themselves or to show what talents are in the area. So do give a little and help us make CKWR a reality...

Requests for funds were frequent enough that a few regulars compared the programme to a religious revival programme. The requests brought very few, if any donations, however.

When the Wired World people went on the air on their own station, they asked for money much less frequently. There have been a few times, however, since they have been on the air, that they have held 48 hour marathons: one person pledges to stay up and on the air for 48 hours, while people are asked to

pledge continually during that time. The first marathon raised between \$500 and \$1000, and the second one raised a bit more than \$1000. In both cases, the response was less than expected or needed, but it was enough to help them past the crisis of the moment.

E. Membership, special events, and other plans.

The major anticipated sources of funds had been membership fees, and small individual contributions. Initially, since there were no membership lists, there were no great drives to solicit financial support from the members. However, in the fall of 1973, one of the regulars gathered names of people who had been participating in programmes at the time, and sent a letter to perhaps twenty of these people, asking them to send some money, \$2 or hopefully more, and become voting members. Wired World received back one \$2 membership from this campaign. It seemed that with the membership, as with the businesses, it was necessary to make personal requests.

There have been a few sporadic attempts to raise money from the membership, and from other residents in the area. Many of the Wired World people, however, have been reluctant to ask anyone, and particularly to ask people they know, to give money.

While I was at Wired World, they had one major fundraising event, a dinner dance, held in October, 1973. The food was relatively expensive, the regulars overestimated the number

of people who would come, and the organization lost around \$100 on the event. However, it did help increase Wired World's visibility in the community. There have been a few other fundraising events since that time. Most, like this one, generate mostly good will, and do little better than breaking even.

The Wired World people had also planned to encourage those programmers who could to pay for their use of the facilities. Generally, however, when programmers came to the station, they were not asked to give money. It has been during the marathons that station users have taken the opportunity to give money to the station. Particularly loyal contributors in this regard have been representatives of the various ethnic groups programming on the station.

### 3. Members' responses to local fundraising.

When I was associated with the people of Wired World, expenses were at a peak, because they were building their station, and incurring substantial capital costs. The people wanted to develop local funding, but had not yet done so to a sufficient degree. One of them reported to a media conference about the time they went on the air that fundraising was one of Wired World's two basic problems:

I was horrified to find... that according to our budget we had to raise between \$500 and \$600 a week. I think we have had very few weeks in the last year that we have raised that - like about one week. It takes an incredible amount of work to get money out of the community. And you have to work at it from several different angles at once. You have to be visible; you have to look terribly responsible; you have to do PR work all time time, do publicity work all the time, particularly when you are not on the air. People keep reassuring me that once we are on the air we will have no more fundraising problems. I don't think that is true, but it may be a little bit easier. This is really one thing we haven't really solved...

At that time, some were more optimistic than others about the likely future successes of fundraising. Many of them felt at the time that they were dealing with a chicken and egg situation: they needed money to get on the air, but they could not convince people to give unless they could see a station broadcasting, and know what they were giving for.

When the station first went on the air, after the big fundraising effort had been completed, people differed considerably in their projections for their financial future. Larry remained the eternal optimist:



There has never been a radio station anywhere almost which once it is on the air goes off the air. We'll have no difficulty in financing it; it will be a slow process, but from now on it is going to be a lot smoother sailing... I honestly and genuinely feel that we have nothing but very productive times ahead with that radio station and with our organization Wired World Incorporated... I honestly believe (that financing is going to be relatively easy).

To my knowledge, no one else was that optimistic; some believed they could manage as they were proceeding to meet operating expenses, if they hired no more people. Some believed, as one regular said: "fundraising will never be easy. Fundraising is going to be difficult." A few thought the group should try for more government funding, or even for a limited commercial policy. Most, however, remained committed to the view that the station simply had to obtain most of its financing from its community.

One of the Wired World people offered an explanation for why, even after the station went on the air, local fundraising efforts were not sufficiently successful.

Everyone understands the necessity for local funding but nobody is willing to go out and do it. More people should go out on calls, but also people with some stake should be going out on the calls, like the advisory board.

What fundraising had required, in order to meet the limited success of the campaign to get business donations, was that many people devote several hours each week, continually, to working in that area. Nobody liked fundraising. Given the way tasks were allocated at Wired World, it is a wonder that any time at all was spent on fundraising. As it was, there

was an occasional flurry of activity, but generally the level of fundraising activity was very low. And, in everybody's judgment, the amount of money collected was clearly inadequate.

Some of the Wired World people believed that since fundraising required large amounts of continuous, unpleasant activity - work that was generally not being done - that the organization ought to hire a fundraiser. Others worried that there would not be the money generated to pay a fundraiser's salary, or that a satisfactory person could not be found to fill such a job. In any event, during the time of this study, the hiring of a fundraiser was considered, but no one was ever hired.

#### 4. Discussion.

The people of Wired World determined to have a non-profit and non-commercial station, at least partly in order to avoid the control by business which commercialism would imply. The preceding discussion suggests, however, that they did not satisfactorily avoid the problem of control in the process. When the money was sought from business or foundations some of the people were responding to direct controls: they made sure their description of their operation was favourable to the groups from which they sought support. They had to maintain the sort of respectability which would not offend those who might contribute. They also were interacting with potential contributors rather than accomplishing their purposes; so it was

these people - company presidents - who were finding out about the station.

Beyond the problem of possible direct control, fundraising was problematic because the Wired World people had to spend very large amounts of time working on it in order to get even minimal amounts of money. The one source for which this was not a problem was John. Either he offered money before it was requested, or, if he did not, he agreed to give or lend money readily. In any event, though the time involved in seeking money from John was not great, the Wired World people preferred not to have to resort to him for funds.

Finally, the Wired World people have always operated in a state of (occasionally worsening) financial crisis, and have had to keep their operating costs as low as possible. All their efforts brought them to a financial position where they still had to remain marginal: they could only afford to operate on a volunteer basis, accomplishing little of the work they had originally envisioned; and they had no assurance that there would be sufficient funds to be able to continue even that limited activity more than a few months into the future.

The Wired World people had determined to rely on their members for as many of their resources as they could. Those members' principal contribution to the organization has been their manpower: except for John, they had contributed only a small proportion of the money for the organization. Their

goal, however, required a substantial amount of money, both initially and on a continuing basis. When a voluntary organization requires that a significant amount of its resources be in the form of money, it must be dependent on the source of that money to exist. The issue for an organization such as Wired World, then is what source of money it chooses to be dependent upon, if there is any choice. In choosing dependence on businesses, they were in a position little different from if they had chosen to run commercials. As long as they chose a goal requiring considerable funding, it was not surprising that they turned to the two potentially largest sources: private enterprise and government.

This chapter has demonstrated that being constantly in need of more money affected Wired World, by keeping it a marginal operation, and in taking its people away from their work to solicit funds. It showed as well that seeking money from private enterprise encouraged the Wired World people to stress those activities which private enterprise would condone, and, at least in terms of time, discouraged the Wired World people from seeking programming which would have been less popular in business circles. The Wired World people's money seeking relations with government were problematic in much the same way as they were with private enterprise, though perhaps on a grander scale. The following chapter discusses government funding of Wired World.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Part of this income, \$14,000, was in the form of interest free loans, for which there is still no thought of repayment. In addition, a significant part of Wired World's resources has come in forms other than money income. These matters are further discussed below.
2. Percentages are rounded off to the nearest per cent. Money amounts are rounded off to the nearest dollar.

## CHAPTER 10. The Financing of Wired World: II.

While the previous chapter focused on Wired World's attempts to solicit money from local and non-government sources, another source from which they sought support (and one which provided nearly 50 per cent of their money income) was government. This chapter explores Wired World's money seeking relationships with government. First an account is presented of how much money Wired World has received from the various levels of government, indicating the proportion of its total income which that represents. Second Wired World's attempts at raising government money are described, developing on paper, much as the Wired World people did in practice, some common sense rules for getting government support. Next some of the effects on the organization of the grants they have received are discussed. And finally I discuss in more general terms the issue of government funding for Wired World, indicating some of the more long term effects of dependence on government money. I shall argue that a particularly interesting issue arising out of Wired World's money seeking relations with government concerns the nature of the relationship between government and the voluntary association, and the issue of voluntary organizations becoming not so much an alternative or check on government, but rather its tool.

1. Actual government monies received.

Wired World's money seeking relations with government started long before the group decided to apply to the C.R.T.C. for an FM broadcast licence. It had been formally established by John in response to the equipment needs of a television O.F.Y. project; he established it in cooperation with Larry and others from a radio O.F.Y. project. Combined these two grants had amounted to \$16,400.

There are a number of issues that arise as I include these grants under government money received by Wired World. One is whether money is granted to Wired World or to some member of the organization. A second is whether that money is actually beneficial to Wired World. (Here we find that this is not money that went directly to Wired World, and at least in the case of the television project, most Wired World people would have agreed that it was more of a liability than an asset.) These two issues arise with a number of later grants as well. There is a third issue, in Wired World's case unique to these grants: that is that these grants were awarded before Wired World was established. Many of the people at Wired World would have been likely to not include these grants in any listing of Wired World's income on the basis of either the first or second issue listed above (or both). And certainly most Wired World people would have excluded these grants from Wired World's income on the basis of the third issue. My preference is to include them in the listing in spite of all three issues. Whether the

grants are direct or indirect, beneficial or not are issues important for a discussion of types of grants and their possible effects, but not justification for denying their existence or impact on the organization. In addition, though technically prior to the founding of Wired World, these grants were a vital part of its development.

In 1972, Wired World received two grants from the government. The larger was another O.F.Y. grant - "Establishment and Development of Community Radio Facilities" - again awarded to individuals working for Wired World, rather than to the organization itself. This \$12,880 grant provided salaries for people working on the licence application, including the technical brief, as well as on the renovations needed to turn a house into a radio station. Wired World also received a grant of \$3000 from the Secretary of State Department of the Government of Canada (SOS).

In 1973, Wired World received a grant of \$2000 from the Regional Municipality of Waterloo; a grant of \$500 from the City of Kitchener; a grant of \$750 from the Ontario Arts Council for the production of radio plays; a contract for \$5120 from the Ontario Ministry of Social and Community Services, "Operation Resources", for writing a resources manual for communication tools for citizens' groups in Kitchener; a contract for \$2500 from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Office of Community Radio, to write a community radio manual (a how-to-do-it book); and a contract of \$2000



from the Department of Communications, Government of Canada, to write a report on proposals for dealing with frequency allocations for low power community FM radio stations.

In the period from 1971 to the end of 1973, Wired World had received \$45,150 from the various levels of government. The majority of that income, 81 per cent of the government money, had come from the federal government.

TABLE 10.1. Breakdown of government income by level of government.

<u>source</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>% of gov't income</u>	<u>% of total income</u>
local gov't	\$ 2,500.	5%	3%
provincial	5,870.	13	6
federal	36,780.	81	40
ALL LEVELS	\$45,150.	100%	49%

It would appear that government continued to be an important source of funding at least into early 1974. The Citizenship Branch of SOS awarded Wired World a contract to write a report on the history and development of the organization, for which they paid Wired World \$4500. At the same time two individuals at Wired World received government monies, which could enable them to continue working at Wired World: one received \$8000 from the Citizenship Branch of SOS to help them develop their communications policy, and the other received \$500 from the C.R.T.C. to describe what sort of equipment is necessary to set up a station such as that at Wired World.<sup>1</sup> I do not have more recent data, but expect that the degree of government support might have decreased markedly.

There are a few other ways in which government has provided financial support to Wired World in addition to direct grants and contracts. Though none of these are reflected in Wired World's financial records (and therefore there are no exact figures available), it would still be useful at this point to indicate that government financial support of Wired World includes more than the grants and contract outlined above.

For example, the C.B.C. pays individuals and groups such as Wired World \$10 per minute of edited material of tapes which are of sufficient interest and quality to be broadcast on the national network. There have been a few instances in which Wired World has provided up to fifteen minutes of programming, and been paid for this. In addition, Wired World has received broadcast recordings (on a continuing basis) from the C.B.C.

There are a number of less formal ways in which the Wired World people have received support from the government. For example, when they asked some people at the C.B.C. for a possible formal donation of (used) tapes, they were advised to just help themselves to a supply from a tape bin. Through this approved "rip off" Wired World received approximately \$500 worth of tapes. In addition, a few members of Wired World have been given access to government billing numbers, in order to place long distance telephone calls at no charge.

Ripping off the government can (and does take a number of forms, including stealing items and using restricted government

services (as mentioned above) and accepting contracts but not fulfilling them. What is particularly interesting about this procedure is not just that the Wired World people would do such a thing. (Actually they disagreed about the morality of the government rip offs.) Rather, it is interesting to note the apparent normalcy of this procedure at the other end, for the civil servants. Perhaps the government (and its crown corporations) command little more loyalty than any other big business, and once the civil servant finds a cause (such as Wired World) that he/she would like to support, the question is merely how to obtain that support with the least hassle. Outright, unrestricted grants are likely to warrant close scrutiny (probably even the need for approval) of one's superiors. Contracts are a bit easier to justify (and the reports from them are seldom read anyway). The rip off is (if done right) an invisible form of donation, therefore not in need of approval or justification.

Wired World has also received some indirect support from government through unemployment insurance. At one time or another at least several people have collected unemployment insurance for periods of from several weeks to several months in order to be able to work full time for Wired World (or while at the same time working full time for Wired World).

And finally, while this does not directly benefit Wired World, it should be added that individual directors of Wired World have received monies from the government to provide

transportation costs to various conferences held as far away as Newfoundland and British Columbia, conferences concerned with issues related to community media.

## 2. Wired World's attempts at raising government money.

The people of Wired World applied for many more grants than they received. Since they did not keep careful records of even their formal grant requests (and since most of their grant requests were informal), I can present an approximation of the process of applying for grants, but not a precise picture.

When the Wired World people began trying to get money from the government they were all novices: they did not know to whom to apply or how.<sup>2</sup> Over the years they developed some expertise, and became more successful in obtaining government monies. That is to say, through the process of applying, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, they discovered and sometimes used a number of common sense rules for applying for government grants. Through a discussion of the process of obtaining federal government monies, I shall specify a number of these common sense rules learned by the people of Wired World.

### A. L.I.P., O.F.Y. and the Canadian Standard Grant Request.

The plans of the Wired World people in the summer and fall of 1971 to tap foundations and local businesses for support had

been completely unsuccessful. Thus, as they record in one of their own historical accounts, they turned to the government for funds:

Despite our concern that we might become beholden to government or divorced from community support, we elected to seek grants from various departments of the provincial and federal government, at least during the first year.

In their first recorded attempt at government funding, the Wired World people sent briefs to the community development branch of the provincial government and the Citizenship Branch of SOS requesting seed monies to pay for the administrative costs of the cable TV project. Both requests were turned down, apparently because of a jurisdictional dispute with regard to cable activities.

In November of their first year they applied for the first time for a grant under the Local Initiatives Programme (L.I.P.).

It was during that fall that L.I.P. was announced. And so it seemed natural since we had had that O.F.Y. that that is where you would go.

It turned out to be the first of several L.I.P. grants applied for by various people at Wired World, and turned down by the federal government. Each involved the writing and rewriting of applications, negotiations with the various people in the federal government concerned with the application, months of waiting. The first was to conduct workshops to train people in the use of portable video equipment for use of community cable tv; when that was rejected, the group feared it must cease its television operations because of a lack of funds, and the

Kitchener Public Library applied for a municipal L.I.P. grant, to take over Wired World's equipment, hire its people and do the same thing, as part of the library's service. That, too, was turned down. And at about the same time (late '71, early '72) Larry applied for an L.I.P. grant for his community radio work. That, too, was turned down.

The Wired World people found these repeated rejections quite demoralizing - both because without such government monies they would have to discontinue their television activities and because they saw other groups receiving large grants from L.I.P. As Nancy said:

I don't know that we ever assumed that government would come through, because they never had. We had had totally negative experiences with them, but every negative experience made us mad, madder because groups that we felt were less worthwhile kept getting funded.

They recorded some of their frustrations - the lessons they had learned in comparing their unsuccessful applications with some which had resulted in grants - in a satirical tape which they produced, called "The Canadian Standard Grant Request". The tape began with a few basic guidelines for making a successful grant application. They are worth quoting in full.

Here are a few basic rules which you must never violate when completing your application for a grant.

1. Never be specific. A vague, non-committal reply is always preferable to a "Yes" or "No" answer.
2. Emphasize the democratic nature of your project - how everyone will participate in every decision, even if you're an out-and-out dictator.

3. Never mention your qualifications or related experience. After all, ordinary citizens are not expected to know anything.
4. Never, under any circumstances, begin your community project before you have received your grant. All preliminary work must be kept absolutely secret, otherwise your project will be rejected. Obviously if you're doing anything, you don't need a grant.
5. Always stress the disastrous consequences for your community if your application is denied. The fact that life will go on as usual whether your grant is approved or not is of no consequence to anyone.
6. Always request a grant at least ten times greater than you could possibly spend.

The bulk of the tape purported to be a guaranteed successful grant application: one need only copy it down, providing the name of one's own project wherever indicated, and occasionally choosing from a number of multiple choice items. Though they did not tell the listener, the Canadian Standard Grant Request itself was actually a composite of successful grant applications to the federal government. In addition to abiding by the rules listed above, this composite grant application supports the principle claim of the satire, which is that "the secret of your success depends upon how you word your application form."

It supports this claim first by frequent use of the popular rhetoric. In this case the term repeated almost ad nauseum is "community betterment". It also supports this claim by abiding sufficiently to the suggestion that you "be as obscure in your application as the agency to which you are applying is in its guidelines" as to lack essentially all

content (and thus be usable as a "standard grant request" for any project).

These were rules which the Wired World people learned, but did not necessarily follow. The next year, they applied for several more L.I.P. grants, again all were turned down. As one Wired World person wrote in a letter to a civil servant (not connected with L.I.P.):

We are all quite broke... Basically, all of this resulted from Local Initiatives deciding that we do not fit into a high priority in terms of "community betterment" (this sounds like something out of a satire tape, "The Canadian Standard Grant Request" which Peter did). We admittedly did not pour out as much of the "community betterment" syrup in our L.I.P. submission, but quite honestly we didn't feel there was any need for a lengthy preamble (commonly called "BS")... We fit their criteria almost too beautifully. The word from (the man at the top of L.I.P.) though, is that we are a "low priority", and this, along with the fact that L.I.P. has funded a few things in this area which verge on being "fly-by-night" has made our people very upset and discouraged after the work we've all done.

In the above submission, apparently, Wired World did not bother with the popular rhetoric. However, sometimes its people took great care to use the acceptable words. For example, the following quote from my field notes concerns an attempt of Bob and I to rewrite a letter requesting monies (this time from a foundation):

I used the word citizen. Bob objected. Suggested I use "resident" instead. I asked why. He said that he had heard from them that apparently know that the word "citizen" is now too radical, that when people use it the people reading the requests are suspicious. He said he didn't understand what was wrong with "citizen", and though he hadn't heard anything against "people" he was kind of afraid of that one too, but that he had been told that "resident" is now in and certainly acceptable. So "resident" it was.



Apparently some of the rules in the Standard Grant Request were close enough to true that people in some of the funding agencies of the government have taken the tape quite seriously. I asked Peter, its author who had since become a civil servant, if it was true that the Standard Grant Request was now part of O.F.Y. officers' training. He said that it was, referring to an O.F.Y. project officer, who had some contact with Wired World:

he was going to a Canada wide conference of O.F.Y. people, and he asked me for a copy of that tape... he was going to play it... So he took it, and had one copy. Then they made dubs and sent them to all the regions for O.F.Y.

Peter still hears occasionally that another colleague in another branch of the civil service has heard the Standard Grant Request.

B. It helps to be known.

The Standard Grant Request was evidence that the Wired World people had learned that some ways of phrasing applications for money were more successful than others (even if they generally did not follow through on their own satirical rules). That was not the only lesson they learned from those early L.I.P. submissions. They discovered that their rejections were based, at least in part, on inaccurate information about their organization in government offices; and they discovered that their rejections were based, again to some degree, on an unfavourable impression of one of their members: since John had provided much of the capital to get the group established, and had supported other attempts at providing alternative media in the area (such as an underground newspaper), Government officials feared he was trying to build himself a media empire in the

Kitchener-Waterloo area. As Peter said to John, referring to the SOS regional officer:<sup>3</sup>

there are a hell of a lot of projects that do get taken over by so called elitist groups, and that is what he suspected in our case. And he had to satisfy himself that that wasn't the case... Once he saw that you weren't there dictating to us how the hell we were trying to reach people and got to know the operation a bit, his fears subsided.

To win this civil servant's trust was a long and time consuming process, as Nancy noted in a taped interview:

he checked John out. And it took, again, you know, these are lengthy things. You think, "My God, we didn't accomplish anything", but everything we did took so much time... that whole gaining his confidence took six months, and five visits maybe, spread out along that time. And then he told us not only that you can get small grants for specific programs (he had never told us that before, that you shouldn't apply for something for the whole thing, that you should apply for specific things). And then... if people from Ottawa would come down to visit the offices... he would send them up to see us, and again it was a PR thing on his part for us, it was very nice to him to do that, and it also gave the Ottawa people a chance to see real people.

The Wired World people learned in those six months after the initial failures with L.I.P. that they would be better off applying for small grants for particular small projects than to apply for a large grant to cover their whole operations. (In both '72 and '74 they applied for and received grants of under \$5000 to produce Portuguese programming;<sup>4</sup> thus in '73 they applied for and received a grant to produce radio plays, some of which were locally written.) They also learned that their chances of success would probably be even greater if instead of applying for monies themselves for these small projects, they could get the groups to be served to make the application.

But, of course, the main lesson they learned, as the above quotations suggest, is that once you have gained the confidence of the civil servants they will supply the basic rules for getting the needed grants. John and Peter put it this way in a conversation:

John. It proves that being solid, one of the components of being solid is knowing government pretty well, and having good connections, and having spent some time doing that, so that /  
 Peter. It would also be true if the Conservatives or anybody else were in power... It is the nature of the business.

#### C. Larry's approach to government.

By far the greatest amount of negotiation with the government for obtaining its money was done by Larry. Shortly after the L.I.P. rejections, the Wired World people had delegated to Larry the job of mailing press clippings, grant applications, policy statements and personal letters to any civil servant who might be interested.<sup>5</sup> But Larry did more than that. Actually he had begun the process of developing helpful contacts in the federal government (for getting both a licence and funding) months earlier. When he first proposed to the others that Wired World might apply for an FM licence he suggested that the station's "seed monies" would come from the government. And he had begun an intensive campaign at lobbying for the cause of community radio and first asking for, then later demanding, government money from any agencies and individuals who might possibly be interested.<sup>6</sup>

Larry was fortunate. He met Sam, a person who lived in

Ottawa and knew a lot of the people in government who were interested in community media, thereby developing his own contacts in government, and frequently receiving advice on how to proceed next. Larry kept Sam informed about all of Wired World's attempts at securing funds and Sam, who was in touch with virtually all the community media groups in the country, passed on new contacts, new ideas. So, for example, as Nancy recalled with regard to how Larry got involved in his first conference:

Sam, you see, would often call Larry, or Larry would call Sam every other day and say "what's happening?" He called Sam and Sam said, "well, there is this big meeting of all the biggies in communications at Memorial University..."

At conferences, in letters, in occasional trips to Ottawa, Larry carried the same message: community radio is terrific; we're doing it, and doing it well, all by ourselves; we need and deserve your money to continue our work. By February of 1972 he wrote to Pierre Juneau, the Chairman of the C.R.T.C., that he had discussed his ideas with people in the C.R.T.C., the C.O.C., SOS, the C.B.C., Information Canada, the Department of Urban Affairs, and the Canadian Broadcasting League, sixteen people in all. The message to Juneau was typical:

We must emphasize at this point that we have been very busy in the actual day-to-day workings of a project involving much personal time. Our ability to make trips to Ottawa to talk to various government departments for financial support is limited; presently, we are quite busy creating community interest through Wired World's community radio programme on CHYM-FM and through a programme on Grand River Cable TV, and, quite frankly, we're close to being broke. It is with this in mind that we are appealing to you for any form of assistance which you might be able to give us... We feel that, with the experience we have acquired to this point, we

are the closest in Canada to the actual implementation of an "experimental open access" radio facility in an urban area - and just need some help, if only in terms of "moral support".

Once Larry developed his contacts, he also developed his own style for handling the government people. One element in this style was a tendency to paint a picture of Wired World's activities somewhat rosier than actual practices warranted. For example, in a proposal to SOS for a contract for Wired World he claimed:

1. "Wired World has no paid staff." Technically, this was true at that time, but it was the first time since its inception that it was true.

2. "Volunteers have created the organization, financed it, applied for a precedent-making broadcast licence, and are now responsibly controlling an FM radio station which broadcasts quality programmes produced by a wide spectrum of the Kitchener-Waterloo community." That was said in November, 1973, five months before the station went on the air for the first time.

3. "Wired World is achieving initial success in financing the programming on CKWR-FM from local contributions." This was said when the first attempt at getting local money was just beginning, and the overwhelming majority of Wired World's money was coming either from the government or from John.

4. "Information on activities is distributed through the CKWR-FM Programme Guide and other local media." It was a year after the station went on the air before there was a programme guide.

5. "CKWR-FM's Programme Advisory Board is a working board consisting of forty individuals representing group interests..." There is still not an advisory board.

6. "Trained volunteers, called 'facilitators', are given workshop sessions which cover all aspects of Wired World's legal, financial, philosophical and moral principles, in addition to learning broadcast techniques." Half-hearted facilitator training began about a month after this proposal was submitted, and was soon discontinued.

In addition to exaggerating about the station's local activities, Larry also phrased requests for funds in terms of the funding agency's criteria. Thus the application to the Company of Young Canadians (never approved) proposed to hire animators, because C.Y.C. is interested in social animation. The application to LEAP (which the Wired World people later withdrew before its anticipated acceptance) proposed to hire three particular volunteers with what might be regarded as handicaps, because it was a programme to hire unemployables. The application for large seed monies to SOS (November '72, for \$102,000, rejected) was for operating costs, because that was what they would prefer. When granting agencies did not have programmes directly applicable to Wired World's interests, Larry would urge that their criteria be changed to Wired World's advantage. Thus, in a letter written by Bob, one person in SOS was urged to reconsider a grant application and told:

I feel that this matter is of importance both to Wired World and to the SOS Citizenship Branch in the

fulfillment of its mandate. Failure to establish criteria under which Wired World could be funded will jeopardize an experimental project which could be the pilot for an entirely different use of broadcast airwaves in Canada.

Larry also discovered that he and the Wired World people had information which would be useful to various people in government and thus that he could make contracts with the government, to give that information in exchange for much needed money. Contract money was easier to obtain both because government could get useful information that way, and because it was easier for a friendly civil servant to justify contract than grant money to watchful MPs.

In addition, Larry kept everyone in touch with everything that was happening, both in terms of the activities of the station locally, and in terms of efforts at raising money from the government.<sup>7</sup> The ten letters to C.B.C. people, twelve letters to C.R.T.C. people, and numerous other letters to people in SOS, DOC, CBL, Challenge for Change, CYC, and the others in the files, are far from a complete letter file, representing a small portion of these activities. Most of the work was done by telephone. During one three hour interview I had with Larry, he received four long distance telephone calls from various government people in Toronto and Ottawa.

It was this persistence of Larry's, according to Peter, which accounted for Wired World's later successes in getting money and a licence.

It was always Larry, though, for the contacts with the C.R.T.C. and how to follow it up and "let's send them more materials". And the rest of us, including Bob and everybody else, "oh, no, not again, they're going to be sick of us. You don't want to send them more." "No, no, that is the way to keep your name in", and he is right. But it takes a lot of bugging, and I guess most of us don't like to do that all the time. I can do it more than (my wife), but I don't do it as much as Larry... He hammers away, and you never forget, and that is what is necessary here, having lived here for awhile in that environment I see he is absolutely right, right on... You have to be hammering away, always there, pick, pick, pick, pick, pick. "get rid of this bugger", you know, "give him his licence. Get him the hell out." That is the way, you know, they seem to operate. It is not the theory, but in practice that is how it happens. And a group from Vancouver or wherever who is interested in something from the secretary of state could mount a sustained attack on secretary of state or any other department, I think, and if they work long enough on it and didn't give up because of all the delays, they would get it.

The floating crap game.

Peter pointed out to me in that same interview that it was not just persistence that Larry had going for him. Community media had become quite a popular idea in certain civil service circles. In addition to grants given to citizen's media groups (under LIP, OFY, Challenge for Change and SOS Citizenship), three federal departments, the DOC, the Citizenship Branch of SOS and the National Film Board cooperated to appoint a "Citizens' Communication Task Force" (Gwyn, 1972a: 41), to study a number of the issues concerned with the use of film, video tape recorders (and radio) for citizen to citizen, and citizen to government communication, as well as for social change.

But that is not quite the real picture as Larry (and some-



times the others) came to know it. Sam had introduced the expression "floating crap game" to Larry to refer to those people in and around government circles vying for power or influence (in this instance with regard to community media). At the time Larry came on the scene, community media (though perhaps not yet community radio) was quite popular. The task force, to his mind, was apparently a "task farce", set up to legitimize what floating crap game members already wanted to do: pour huge sums of money into organizations such as (and including) Wired World. In a letter to a C.B.C. Community Radio representative, he explained what he regarded as the purpose of the task force:

our friendly local SOS man says we will probably get a substantial grant from them in about four months to set up the radio station. Apparently Harry Sanders and the C.R.T.C. are extremely enthusiastic. Only Pelletier is negative toward funding media projects.<sup>8</sup> (I would have the same reservations based on what they've funded through Challenge for Change.) Another holdup is that Wired World has been initiated from within the community without outside help, financially or otherwise. I guess they can't cope with the idea of something like this being created by those who want it and not by a government agency. Because of this the Sec. of State's Task Force will serve guidelines to substantiate Harry Sanders' view of our philosophy and passify Pelletier...

In his persistence Larry came to know and use this crap game quite effectively. Perhaps his most helpful person in the crap game other than Sam had been Sanders in SOS. Among the mandates of Sanders' department was "exploring methods to improve communication among citizens, and between citizens and Government, thereby contributing to a heightened sense of Canadian unity and solidarity." (SOS, 1972:5). It was to Sanders that Larry had turned with hopes for a large federal grant, to get the station started.

By the end of 1972 the final report of the task force was not yet available. However, Sanders could write to Larry that:

one recommendation upon which the group has agreed is that certain models of citizen's resource centres be funded on an experimental basis. It seems clear from examining the preliminary report that Wired World was within the boundaries of the kind of projects the study group had in mind.

By the end of 1973 there was still no large grant. But there had been promises of a confidential cabinet document being prepared which would recommend large scale funding of Wired World and a few other similar groups on an experimental basis. Hopes for the cabinet document were shattered when one of its proponents - a civil servant from DOC - lost his power, and therefore his job.<sup>9</sup> But later hope revived, and early in 1974 Larry himself was hired by Sanders to write the rationale for government funding of community media ventures such as Wired World, to be used in compiling the cabinet document.

By this time the majority of Wired World's directors had registered themselves as opposed to large scale government funding of their station. Pierre Juneau, the C.R.T.C.'s chairperson, had also publicly spoken against government funding of community media groups. As part of his "crap game" activities, Larry, who was still committed to large-scale government funding, worked to change Juneau's mind, or at least shut him up in order not to hurt chances for the proposed cabinet document.

Gradually Larry's relation to government, and to Wired

World, had changed. He was no longer applying for grants, but sitting down with Sanders and seeing how to rationalize pouring \$10,000 into the organization. He was no longer writing letters asking that criteria be changed, but he was hired on contract to write the rationalization for a cabinet document proposing a new funding programme. Larry not only knew the floating crap game and how to use it; he had become a part of it. For this, and other reasons, he had also become less a part of Wired World.

### 3. Some effects of government grants.

In March of 1974 I took on the task for the rest of the Wired World people of writing a contracted report to SOS setting out in some detail a history of the process of Wired World's becoming Canada's first citizen owned radio station. One of the issues touched upon in that report was the feeling, on the part of a number of the Wired World people, that government money was problematic, that it had certain strings attached which made it less than desirable. This was not a universal sentiment. For example, Peter, who knew both sides, reacted quite negatively to those claims, pointing out that the control which any given civil servant could exercise over those monies was really insignificant:

I disagree 100 per cent with the people who fear... government control. It is really hard for the government to control something like that... The powers at this end, at the so-called control end, are so dispersed. The problem is specious. There is no problem. Maybe it has to just have sat there for awhile to see that, before you are convinced that that is the case. And I am absolutely convinced.

But at one time or another in the four or five months preceding that report at least seven (out of a core group of perhaps twelve) Wired World regulars (including all three executive officers) had expressed strong reservations about government grants. Peter was right that there was generally no direct control. But the more indirect (and possibly occasionally unintended) controls were felt to be quite significant. This section specifies some of those less direct controls.

Type of grant.

One of these controls had to do with the type of grant. I mentioned in the previous section that the Wired World people discovered that contracts were often easier to get than outright grants. But while they were easier to get, they were not necessarily easier to receive; contracts have explicit strings attached. With each contract, they were paid a certain amount of money, and in exchange they were expected to file a particular written report.

From its inception until early 1974 Wired World received four government contracts.<sup>10</sup> One of those contracts caused relatively few headaches; Bob was writing a paper for other purposes anyway, and so arranged to receive contract money for it and to file it with the government.

With another, a contract for the Ontario government, a report was never written. For the third, a report was filed,

but it was an inadequate report, thrown together after it was due, under pressure from the contracting agency. And the fourth contract was for the report I wrote, mentioned above. That was a contract which Larry had arranged and presented to the Board in late 1973. Wired World was (as usual) desperate for money, and so its people signed the contract while recognizing it would be difficult to fulfill.

By the time this last contract was presented, most were committed to fulfilling their obligations, but few were prepared to take valuable time away from Wired World's work to do the government's work. I appeared on the scene at the last minute (to collect data for my own research) and offered to do the contract for them. I asked Jane at the time why, on reconsideration, she thought the organization should not have accepted that contract. She said:

Because I think we are too much involved in the thing itself to be writing a history, you know, and that is taking away from our efforts. Probably not as much as it might have if... I mean here you are a man from Mars who has come in and has decided to write it for us which is great, which might not have happened to another group in which case we would really be quaking. From the very beginning I had misgivings about who was going to write it. I assumed it would be Bob and I wasn't too crazy about losing him for the two or three weeks that it would take.

Thus, had I not been available they would have again been stuck with the unhappy options each contract presented:

- (1) to accept the money and not fulfill the contract (a morally repulsive option to some, a justifiable rip off to others); or
- (2) to fulfill the contract, thus taking time away from Wired World to work for the government. After the experience with

this contract most of the Wired World people preferred the option of avoiding contracts (unless, as in the case of the DOC contract, they involved little extra work).

With contracts the string were obvious. With grants they were more elusive, but still securely tied. For example, the O.F.Y. money was generous, but the overwhelming majority of it had to be for salaries.<sup>11</sup> With the 1973 O.F.Y. grant, for example, \$12,700 out of a total grant of \$12,880, or 98 per cent of the grant, had to be allocated to salaries. So during the time of the O.F.Y. grant five Wired World regulars were on salary and they had to spend their time (unsuccessfully) trying to motivate the other seven people whom they had to hire under the terms of the grant. I asked Bob in an interview what that O.F.Y. grant had accomplished. He replied:

It tied up the organizational abilities of just about everybody who had been there to try to coordinate other people to try to do something. So in a sense I believe virtually nothing was accomplished.

Their O.F.Y. television grant, the previous summer, had been even less helpful. As they recorded in a historical note of their early days:

Half the time was spent worrying about what the local O.F.Y. projects were doing to us, or fretting over what arrangements we might make, or be forced to make, with Grand River Cable TV.

O.F.Y. and L.I.P. provided predominantly salary money. Even if they are not that restrictive, most of the substantial granting programmes which Wired World might have considered (or for which Wired World might be considered) would pay operating

costs rather than capital expenses. When they first applied to the C.R.T.C. for a broadcast licence, they hoped for large-scale SOS money to pay for getting the station established. But because SOS prefers to give money to cover operating costs rather than capital expenses they changed their plans for the station to suit those purposes. Thus Bob explained to me in an interview that there had been two licence applications:

In the original application we said we were going to have virtually no capital costs because we were going to lease all the equipment. It seemed to be a convenient way of getting out of answering the embarrassing question of where are you guys going to get the money if we give you the licence... There was a bit of a change of philosophy in the second writing of the licence application. The capital costs... Everything tended to become more realistic. There was more of a sense of proportion. Instead of talking about \$120,000 a year operating expenses we talked more in the order of \$60,000 a year and I think we actually wrote right into our licence application, if not that at least our presentation, that we thought we could get by with half that if we had to.

The reason they became more realistic was because their grant had been rejected. As Bob said:

It was decided by us to do the second version. Especially in light of what had happened - our secretary of state grant was officially turned down, although we were phoned a couple of days ahead of time and told to expect it and not to worry about it. And it became apparent to us that it would probably look better publicly in the form of a tighter presentation to be a bit more above board. While it was certainly feasible to lease equipment and that sort of thing, were we going to do that anyway? And what happens if it seemed that we could demonstrate to them that we could do it, but it was probably so far removed from what we would in fact do that it would be better to try to compose an application which came a little bit closer to the truth... The concept of leasing \$20,000 worth of equipment is just entirely absurd.

Absurd it was, and unlikely to be done, apparently. But it seemed a way of avoiding the bind of not being able to get money for capital expenses from the government.

At least in its station's formative years, Wired World's greatest financial needs have been for money to pay for capital expenses. These are also the years when the Wired World people expected that there would have to be the greatest reliance on government funding, because the station would not yet be known in its local community. But the money available from government was either in the form of contracts - which meant Wired World people had to work for the government instead of Wired World for a period - or grants to cover salaries or other operating expenses.

Granting criteria and their effects.

The (possible) grants were not just restrictive in the type of monies they offered. I suggested in the previous section that some funding agencies would be likely to support people for particular types of jobs. Thus, in order to get some money, Wired World might find itself hiring three animators when its greatest need was for a fundraiser. Or if the type of job is not specified, the type of person might be. For example, not surprisingly, one of the criteria for evaluating OFY grant applications is the degree to which the application will involve youth. That is to say, not only must people be hired, they must be young people. This meant that at least during the term of the OFY grant, there would be many more young people around the station than others - on a full time basis - and that would have an effect on who else was likely to walk in the door.



Grant size.

Though they never received one, the Wired World people have also become more and more concerned about the possible effects of receiving large-scale grants. Bob expressed those reservations in a late night interview when asked if he would want to accept a large government grant:

Well, of course, there is a matter of scale. First of all, I think that it is inevitable that the amount of money that is being received, I am not expressing myself very well, but money has an impact... We might end up doing things such as creating conditions within the organization such that we are used to spending the money, and thus become dependent on it. Even if that doesn't happen the money itself, just the magnitude of the money. And also to what degree are we, what sacrifices have to be made in order to get that money. One can say that the money is free money, that it is grant money to do with as you please; that is not entirely true, I don't think. Even in the sense that you have to have, you probably have to have some people coping with the Ottawa bureaucracy, just in the running of that grant. It is not true.

The Wired World people became sufficiently concerned about the possible effects of large scale funding that in early March, 1974, the Board passed a resolution that they not approach the government for direct large scale funding.<sup>12</sup>

Moral strings.

For a few, but certainly a minority, of the Wired World people, government money carried with it some extra, moral, strings. As Jane put it in an interview:

You always have the feeling that somebody is going to come around and investigate you and decide that you are wasting the government's money and report you to the government and have questions in parliament

and all kinds of hoop la. You wouldn't have that with a charity. If they decide to throw the money to you that is their problem. Government always has responsibility. At least in my opinion. We have never had anything happen, but it could happen, and it is something you keep in the back of your mind all the time you are taking government money. At least it is something in the back of my mind.

Some attempted resolutions and their effects.

There are a few ways in which various of the people at Wired World have tried to avoid some of the negative consequences of receiving government moneys. One is by accepting only small project grants, and a second is by separating the grant from the organization. I shall briefly discuss each of these in turn.

Perhaps the most popular type of grant among the Wired World people (and one most assured of success in Ottawa, as I mentioned previously) was the small project grant. While these grants avoided a number of the problems associated with government funding mentioned above, they also raised some problems. Some small projects which are fundable - in other words popular - with some agency of the government will result in programming on the station, while unfundable projects might not.

Thus, thanks to the multiculturalism programme, which has enjoyed popularity in Ottawa recently, Wired World can have extensive Portuguese programming. Likewise, thanks to the Ontario Arts Council Wired World was able to have radio plays for a short period of time. However with the small project

grants the people in the organization did not determine what programming there might be; the funding agencies did.<sup>13</sup>

The approach of trying to avoid the negative effects of government funding by separating the government grants from the organization itself is clearly demonstrated in the case of a LEAP application made by several individuals at Wired World . Three people from Wired World, who, for one reason or another, could be considered unemployable and thereby possibly eligible for a LEAP grant, were advised by Larry to apply to LEAP for salary money for themselves so that they could be paid to be full time volunteers for Wired World.<sup>14</sup> In order to apply to LEAP, these people had to demonstrate Wired World's support for their plan. There was disagreement among the members of the Board about the LEAP application. I recorded Larry's reactions (and a few of my own editorial reactions) to their discussion in my field notes as follows:

Larry remarked to me with utter disapproval that the board had wasted two hours discussing the LEAP programme "which has nothing to do with Wired World" while they should have been discussing programming. (He added that the conversation had created incredible tensions, that Jim couldn't sleep that night and was ready to give up in disgust.)... Larry's position was that it is suicide for community radio groups to get involved with the government. The two have to be kept separate, as Coop Radio has done (!) and as Larry was trying to get Jim (and 2 others) to do. They just go (as individuals, quite separate from Wired World) to agencies such as LEAP (this is fine (!)) and apply for a grant to do whatever the criteria of the granting agency is likely to go for (haven't figured out if he sees any obligation to do that), and if you get it fine, but it doesn't have anything to do with Wired World and they mustn't waste their time discussing it.

Some of the other regulars' reactions were stated nicely in a letter I received from Bob in which he outlined the

positions of various of the people taking part in that two hour discussion:

Realizing the political futility of trying to in any way stop the L.E.A.P. program, or doing anything which could potentially result in its abandonment, I am at least trying to get a few ideas across. First, we should be looking at Jim and \_\_\_\_\_'s potential employment as if they were employees of Wired World: what sort of paid tasks need doing? \_\_\_\_\_ and Jim (mostly Jim) want to do whatever interests them and will fit a grant criteria, while my approach is, as you can understand, somewhat different... Larry, and to a lesser extent other people, has really gotten the "it has nothing to do with Wired World" idea across well. At this point, I have suggested that Wired World needs a full-time fundraising (priority #1 for hired staff). \_\_\_\_\_ indicates if people wish, he is willing to do this for a considerable part of his time (say, half), and Jim is also willing to handle co-ordination but generally feels stronger in opposition to myself and Keith than \_\_\_\_\_... I fear for Wired World's amateur status. Jim indicates in the fundraising meeting that he feels I am "blackmailing" him when I suggest that his work with LEAP should include fundraising coordination... Bill believes even more strongly than Jim in the "independent sets" philosophy... "Wired World is a facility... People work here as volunteers, if they can fund themselves to continue their volunteer involvement, all the better." Out come the counter arguments. "It seems to me Wired World is being used here as a facility not just for programming, but for getting personal money..." "These projects directly affect Wired World by affecting the nature of the people around here... Besides, the projects need Wired World to function. The relationship at the least ought to be two-way, and it should be up to the board to determine whether this is the case." Jane agrees with me but "under the circumstances"... Would be marginally or perhaps just slightly more than marginally supportive of any move to exert control over L.E.A.P., etc. Keith. More extremist even than I.

Wired World eventually decided not to support the application to LEAP; it was subsequently withdrawn, and one of the applicants left the organization. The above quotation suggests that the effect on a largely volunteer organization such as Wired World of separating the grants from the organization itself is to take control for the direction and nature of the organization away

from the organization and into the hands of those who can obtain personal funding and those who supply it.

Granting of money to individuals instead of the organization can also create interpersonal tensions. One of the factors contributing to the ouster of Larry from an active role in the group resulted from such a personal grant. As Bob recorded in a letter to me before the ouster:

As I have already suggested to you in my previous letter Larry is now a \$8,000 (either per annum or per less than one annum) employee of the federal government... It is Larry who screamed loudly to almost every federal government employee he met about how terrible it was that some people were paid "to do nothing or literally fly around the country" while people at Wired World were not receiving any money and were "almost starving". Now, Larry is part of the "crap game", yet he spends most of his time at Wired World alongside volunteers who are out of work (and in a few cases in very bad financial shape.) ... I will conclude by paraphrasing what Keith said to me... "I suppose we would have all been almost able to say, 'Yea, fine, congratulations, Larry,' if he hadn't cried so loud about the government when he wasn't being given money."

This wasn't a problem for all of the people, but for Bob and a few others it was a substantial problem. First they saw Larry as prostituting himself to the government - by spending his time trying to sell his ideas to the people in Ottawa, with little return. Later they saw him as a part of government, a broker (to use Bob's term), selling their ideas to the people in Ottawa, and taking his own commission.

## Discussion.

The development of citizen owned and controlled community radio in urban Canada is interesting in itself. The fact that the first three of the groups which have applied for and received an FM broadcast licence have received substantial government funding suggests the important role which government has played in that development. For all three groups, the principal sources of funds have been OFY, LIP, and SOS citizenship.

In financial terms the growth of government funding of people's community projects has been enormous. As Gwyn wrote, in an article on the role of "government as Saul Alinsky":

Opportunities for Youth (OFY) was born officially on March 16, 1971, when Pierre Trudeau... announced a \$14.7-million fund to underwrite summer projects dreamed up by students... That was nineteen months ago... Today the idea is costing \$250-million, at least. OFY itself had \$35-million for its second season; the Local Initiatives Programme (extended three months beyond its original deadline) had \$180-million, and even without the boost of the election, is certain to go far higher this winter; a brand new programme, New Horizons, for old people, has just been bankrolled for \$10-million. (Gwyn, 1972b:22).

Gwyn traces the origin of the OFY and LIP programmes back to the Company of Young Canadians. In 1965 the CYC began sending (paid) volunteers out into communities to effect social change.<sup>16</sup> Years later several of the early CYC "erstwhile radicals" had become civil servants in Ottawa's departments of Manpower, Health and Welfare, the CBC, SOS (Citizenship) and Information Canada. It was some of these people who wrote the

proposal which (when youth unemployment became sufficiently troubling) led to OFY.

In addition to the development of OFY and LIP, SOS Citizenship had been revamped early in the seventies.

Citizenship had started life in 1941 as a wartime propaganda agency, its purpose being to make sure that what the Mackenzie King government described as "putative aliens" (this meant more or less anyone whose last name wasn't English or French) stayed solidly on our side. Through the 1950s and 1960s, it functioned mostly as a collection of vaguely do-good programmes no other department wanted. It ran, that is to say, citizenship courts, and travel and exchange programmes, and dished out dribs and drabs of money to ethnic organizations and groups like the Boy Scouts. Early in 1970, Pelletier put Bernard Ostry, a former CBC Public Affairs chief in Ottawa, in charge of Citizenship. At forty-two Ostry was one of the capital's most skilful power brokers and inevitably, in a capital that's still pretty much anti-pizazz, one of its most controversial... As his right-hand, Ostry brought in Mike McCabe, former eminence grise to Mitchell Sharp, and a late-blooming idealist. As most of official Ottawa looked on in horror, the pair turned Citizenship into a flamboyant, free-spending animateur sociale. Traditional, father-knows-best groups were upstaged. Instead, massive grants went out to militant native groups, tenants' associations and other putative aliens of the 1970s. (Gwyn, 1972b:23).

By early 1974 community media groups were not yet on the list of putative aliens for massive grants, but the cabinet document referred to earlier was being written to arrange that. And while Wired World was waiting for the massive grant from SOS Citizenship they continued to receive small project grants and contracts.

Gwyn speculated optimistically about the long-term effects of these Ottawa granting programmes - OFY, LIP, as well as the programmes in social change oriented departments of the

government, like SOS Citizenship.

There's also considerable room for doubt that Ottawa has any idea what it's really created. What started out as a disguised make-work scheme is developing into a lifestyle or, in Cam Mackie's phrase, "public economy."... In political terms, the programmes have created their own constituency, and, it has to be added, their own dependents. In political terms, too, power is being decentralized, right down to community groups. These groups aren't likely to accept its ever being taken back. (Gwyn, 1972b:24).

Most cities in Canada now have several community groups involved in various sorts of social change experiments, surviving, as Gwyn says, by skipping from an OFY grant to LIP and back again (and frequently not surviving when they run out).

A few at Wired World, however, were less optimistic than Gwyn about their long term effects. As Bob expressed it in a letter to me:

I wonder when and where Wired World is going to stop concerning itself with the federal government and start concerning itself with the community itself... It's almost impossible to oppose some of the grants, because the same old argument crops up: "but it's got nothing to do with Wired World. This is a separate project." As ridiculous as Keith's suggestion is, I'm really beginning to wonder whether it would have been better to run commercials (local) than chase after government money the way we are, with very capable assistance from Larry.

Wired World seemed to be becoming a platform more for obtaining government grants than for community action or expression. The reason for this concern was that it seemed that the people attracted to the station were those who were accustomed to living on government grants. Wired World's



Standard Grant Request described them well:

With the knowledge and tacit approval of top Ottawa officials, the Local Initiatives Program and a similar program, Opportunities for Youth, are financing a small but growing number of professional citizens who exist on government grants and who are forging a new definition of work.<sup>17</sup>

We are producing a generation of professional grants-men, kids from universities with long training in how to deal with this era of public grant-giving.<sup>18</sup>

By the time Bob left the organization in the spring of 1974, well over half of the regular workers for Wired World could have been fit nearly into this description. In addition, fundraising efforts had been more consistently aimed at government than at the local community. In an organization with scarce resources this can be a significant problem. Their contacts with the "community", other than themselves, were becoming marginal.

The problem of long term effects of dependence on government funds can run even deeper than that. Salter (1973) identified it in describing her experience with Kenomadiwin. Kenomadiwin started as quite a political group, concerned primarily with fighting unhelpful policies of the Indian Affairs Department. By the time it had a licence, three years after negotiations had begun, all the personnel were new, and they had been exposed more to the rhetoric needed to deal with government than with the original political ideas. As a result of this, she argues, the station had been fundamentally changed:

working within a community media experiment demands

skills which are not generally useful in day-to-day life. These skills involve a vocabulary, a language which will raise money, make simple ideas acceptable in briefs to government. The experience in Kenomadiwin showed that as people learned the language of participation, the language of dealing with funding institutions and the broadcast industry they became increasingly cut off from their own communities. What seems to be involved is a shift in reference groups, but what underlies this shift is often an accompanying shift in values. As was noted in the discussion of Kenomadiwin, the goals of facilitating communication which were developed in the conversations with funding and broadcast institutions tended to replace the political perspective of the original group... What is being suggested here is that when this new leadership is forced to deal with outsiders in the definition of its work, the shift will occur. This would be true of most community media experiments.

For Wired World the problem has not been as severe, because its original philosophy is more in agreement with the government rhetoric. The group is less political than most. For example, participation has always been more important for the Wired World people than confrontation. And, in fact, it is the more politically minded and left wing among the Wired World people who were concerned about the effect of dependence on government funding.

But that may just be to say that if your philosophy corresponds to the government's you are more likely to succeed. As I pointed out earlier, all three of the citizen-controlled media groups which had reached the stage of applying the the C.R.T.C. for a broadcast licence by 1974 had depended quite heavily on government granting programmes. If they continue to be so funded it will not be surprising if they come to reflect and espouse the government's goals.

In order to obtain government monies, the Wired World people negotiated with a federal bureaucracy which they had characterized as a "floating crap game". The floating crap game the Wired World people knew was primarily composed of key civil servants in those branches of the government whose mandates could be seen as relevant for community radio. Its members sometimes worked together - as was the case with the Citizens Communications Task Force - and sometimes worked at cross purposes - as was the case when people in SOS tried to develop large scale funding for community radio while people in the C.R.T.C. actively discouraged such government support.

In order to take advantage of possible government funding organizations such as Wired World needed first to familiarize themselves with the members of this floating crap game. Next they tried to determine which civil servants might be most willing and able to support their endeavor: this was essential because their own projects were likely to rise and fall with the fortunes of the particular civil servants with whom they cast their lot. Finally, having cast their lot with particular people, they worked cooperatively with those people providing whatever resources they might have to offer in exchange for money, other support, or the possibility of support. The civil servants were in the position of power relative to the Wired World people, since they controlled the resources the Wired World people sought. However, they needed the Wired World people, or at least people like them, as well. For example, part of Sanders' mandate was developing tools for

citizen communication; the Wired World people had gained some expertise in developing these tools. Therefore it was of benefit to Sanders to maintain his relationship with the Wired World people. To the degree that the civil servants could use the expertise of groups such as Wired World, they could approach a position of unrivalled knowledge, enhancing their own power. (Porter, 1965:417ff).

While there was room for some negotiation, successful playing of the crap game involved acceptance of the rules of the civil servants with whom they worked. People used the popular government rhetoric, sought forms of funding largely dictated by them, et cetera. In this way government came to define in large measure the nature and success (or lack thereof) of the organization, even when the grants were not accepted.

In an article discussing the purposes and effects of OFY and LIP grants, Huston (1973) identified three general ways in which such grants effectively prevent collective action. The first was that referred to above: because of the selection of projects, groups submit to conditions that are likely to be acceptable in order to get a grant (without necessarily getting that grant). The other two characteristics of the grant seeking relation noted by Huston were also problematic for the Wired World people. One was what Huston called "the flood technique": first a great deal of time is spent seeking money, then too much money is given (or , as in the Wired

World case too much for the purposes of hiring is given). As Huston notes, and as was observed in the Wired World case, this creates organizational problems which detract from the possibility of success of the group. The third characteristic noted by Huston concerned length of the grant. Grants typically involved large sums of money for a very short period of time, both presenting a problem in spending it all in the allotted period and also creating a dependence on it which required seeking another grant.

Huston's argument was that the principal purpose of these granting programmes was to integrate marginals (in this case the educated unemployed whom he characterized as most likely to challenge the system) into the mainstream, by giving them a feeling of involvement. Wired World's organization was largely composed of people fitting this description of Huston's and it has been shown that its people were developing their organization in ways likely to be approved by government people, and that in the process their energies were frequently used dealing with government granting agencies rather than accomplishing their original purposes.

Voluntary organizations are often characterized by their separateness from government or big business. Perrow (1970:98), for example, notes that voluntary organizations provide a pressure group or alternative to government or economic organizations. And Sills (1968:363) claims that their most significant role in society is that of mediating

between the individual and society. What is particularly interesting here is the close relationship which existed between Wired World and government. Wired World was dependent on various branches of the federal government, both for obtaining a broadcast licence and for financial support. As a result of these dependencies, government bureaucrats, whether through policies (in the case of licensing) or through granting criteria were able to influence the structure and purposes of Wired World, and the direction it took. Through its massive funding programmes, the federal government has encouraged the development of the paid "volunteer", and has encouraged the development of a good portion of the voluntary sector in directions supportive of it and its policies.

## FOOTNOTES

1. In addition, there were two grants certain to come shortly after April 1974. One, for the production of Portuguese programming, included \$4000 from SOS Citizenship and \$1000 from Ontario, and another, also from SOS, was to hire two students for the summer.
2. This is a problem they also faced in obtaining their broadcast licence.
3. Peter had worked initially with Wired World, and later for the SOS (Multiculturalism) alongside this officer.
4. There is a relatively large immigrant Portuguese community in the Waterloo Region.
5. This job was primarily Larry's, but Bob frequently helped, and the others occasionally joined in when requested to do so.
6. Larry, and the others, had good reason to hope for significant help from the federal government. A number of citizens' media projects had (and continue to be) so funded. Metro Media (Vancouver) had received \$25,000 from Challenge for Change (a programme designed to improve communications, create greater understanding, promote new ideas and provoke social change, under N.F.B.); "Town Talk", a community cable group in Thunder Bay had received nearly \$90,000 from Challenge for Change; Radio Centreville in Montreal began with an LIP grant. The predecessors to Coop Radio in Vancouver (Neighbourhood Radio and Community Library and Research Service) had received funds from OFY and SOS Citizenship, respectively; and, of course, the

Wired World people themselves had received some OFY grants. I suspect there were many others.

7. One of the full time C.R.T.C. Commissioners once responded as follows to one of Larry's letters: "Thanks for sending me all that mass of paper about your activities, - i.e. the activities of Wired World. I found the whole thing most impressive and am stunned by your instinct for publicity."
8. Pelletier was Secretary of State at the time.
9. The Wired World people came to appreciate the appropriateness of the term "crap game". They did essentially have to bet on the fortunes of one civil servant or another in seeking their possible spoils.
10. It would be six if the two personal contracts Larry arranged in early 1974 were included.
11. The same would have been true for LIP money, if they had received any.
12. This is apparently a problem for other groups as well. Salter (1973:55) wrote of Living Radio Vivante in Ottawa that "this group like many others has come to know the difficulty of subsisting on government money (LIP-OFY) once the grants run out." In addition Coop Radio, Vancouver, stated explicitly in its application to the CRTC for a community FM licence that "The station will accept no direct government grant financing for operating revenues."
13. At the time that Wired World was applying for more grants specifically for radio plays, they had a special organiza-



tion set up for this purpose. That organization has been inactive since its large grant request was rejected. But it is interesting to note that the government criteria ( as the Wired World people have come to know them) encourage the development of small special purpose organizations associated with Wired World, rather than some other (and the originally intended) organizational form.

14. Larry had heard about the LEAP programme, from someone at C.B.C. Community Radio, after a group of people in Vancouver calling themselves Westernesse Production Company had received a LEAP grant sufficient to pay ten people for a three year period to create a production centre to train people in making community radio programmes. The group was separate from Vancouver's community radio station, Coop Radio, but planned to work through that organization.
15. Larry and I were discussing the LEAP issue with a representative from Coop Radio who described himself as more paranoid than most with regard to government funding. Apparently the Vancouver LEAP grant (see footnote 14) caused about two months of real consternation with the Coop Radio people. Some wanted the LEAP money to go to Coop Radio, others didn't want Coop Radio directly associated with government money. Their resolution was to keep the two things entirely separate, which meant that the Westernesse people, who had received the grant, worked "as volunteers" for Coop Radio. At the time of this conversation it was thought that the Westernesse people would probably be the ones to set up Coop Radio's radio school.

There were already some difficulties, however. The Westernesse people were in some cases not as competent as the (unpaid) coop radio people, and the public were "confused", not correctly distinguishing Coop Radio and Westernesse. I understood from later conversations with Coop Radio people that this resolution was not as helpful as people had hoped, and that Coop Radio people were considering discontinuing the grant after its first year.

16. Kenomadiwin, the first community broadcast effort licenced by the C.R.T.C., was originally a CYC project (Salter, 1973).
17. John Zaritsky, in the Globe and Mail, March 2, 1972, quoted in the Standard Grant Request.
18. University of Waterloo, Chevron, February 29, 1972, quoted in the Standard Grant Request.

## CHAPTER 11. Concluding remarks.

This thesis has been concerned with the development of a voluntary organization whose people were attempting to provide an innovative service - giving citizens access to mass communications channels - as a means of encouraging social change. After having worked together for a year or so, the Wired World people developed their particular goal of citizen access - a process of using facilitators and animators to encourage citizens to produce their own programmes; they had determined to establish their own radio station to realize such access; they had formed their group into a non-profit, charitable organization; they had articulated a number of organizational values; and they had devised the organizational structures through which they intended to realize all of these goals. Thus, as I have shown, their goal came to include not just a particular form of citizen access, but also a particular manner for bringing that about - financially, organizationally, and even interpersonally.

There are a number of factors which have been shown to influence the nature of their goal, as broadly understood. When the Wired World people first came together they shared a basic belief in the philosophy and practice of citizen participation and in the potentially important role a community media resource could have in its development. The Wired World people were for the most part middle class, highly educated, liberal people - people whose own personal positions were quite

comfortable, who saw injustices, mostly inflicted on others, which ought to be corrected, and who felt some responsibility and interest in voluntary involvement in their community.

Several of them were also nationalists - concerned that Canadian and particularly local performers should have access to audiences. It was those few who had had some involvement with radio or other media who took the initiative to start to develop citizen access media.

They did not simply develop the idea on their own, however. Some branches of the federal government had hired a number of people who also believed in the possibility of citizens' participation effecting social change. In particular, people from the N.F.B.'s Challenge for Change were both distributing propaganda which encouraged the use of media to effect social change and funding citizens' projects or establishing their own to do that. It was this propaganda from Challenge for Change which had precipitated John's interest. The C.R.T.C. was encouraging the development of citizen access on cable systems. SOS citizenship people were interested in developing citizen participation and increasing communication channels for that purpose. And quite aside from the explicit purpose of citizen access, OFY and LIP programmes - programmes which particularly appealed to middle class youth - were encouraging people to develop innovative ideas for their community for which the government might provide salary money.

So the Wired World people formulated their goal, partly as

a reaction to government incentive, and partly as a result of their own actions and ideas. The development (or reformulation) of the goal was affected as well by other environmental pressures. For example, it was largely a lack of financing and the uncooperative behaviour of their cable company which had encouraged them to discontinue their cable television work and concentrate on radio.

Finally, the establishing of their goal was not a rational process: the Wired World people did not systematically outline a goal for themselves either initially or later on. Rather than seeking the best solution when a problem arose, they sought any solution; they acted on the basis of sufficient rather than complete knowledge (Weick:9). Solutions sought were generally those that were most visible: the people relied on their common sense knowledge of the way things ought to be done (Schutz, 1971).

The Wired World people had not only to establish their goal, but to carry it out. As the preceding chapters have shown, they achieved it only to a very limited, even if impressive for volunteers, degree. They did get a broadcast licence; they put their station on the air several hours each day; residents came to the station to broadcast; and the station is still on the air. However, they did not develop either local political or local cultural programming to the degree they had hoped; animation was sorely neglected and facilitation not developed as they had hoped; they operated a marginal facility,

both in the sense that their services were more limited than they had hoped, and in the sense that they risked having to discontinue their facility's operation at any time; the organization was neither as accessible nor accountable as they had planned; and, at least for some of the regulars, with some bureaucratization the organization had lost much of the friendly atmosphere which was considered a basic part of its existence.

In the preceding discussion there are a number of factors which have seemed particularly important in accounting for what actually did happen at Wired World. Perhaps the most important factor concerns their dependence on outsiders. Establishing and maintaining a radio station is an enterprise requiring not just government approval and scrutiny in the form of a licence, but perhaps even more important dependence on a substantial amount of money on a continuing basis. In the case of the Wired World people, their dependence on (and lack of) sizeable resources forced them to operate at a marginal level, at which they could not begin to develop their plans for massive citizen access. In addition, even to generate the support necessary to maintaining such a marginal existence required the Wired World people's spending a large proportion of their time negotiating with outsiders for support.

Another factor which was found to account for what was happening (or not happening) at Wired World was its system of voluntarism. It was largely because of Wired World's dependence on volunteers that its role system was not

institutionalized; there was no way of ensuring that crucial tasks would be done - or sometimes even identified; and the decision making process became largely a matter of individual initiative. Wired World had become dependent on volunteer work partly as a matter of choice, but largely out of financial necessity. That is, though the Wired World people did describe their high voluntary participation as a strength in their legitimations to outsiders, it was only through such participation that they could afford to continue at all.

Complementing their dependence on volunteer work was the friendship based nature of their participation. The Wired World people interacted primarily with those whom they liked, avoided those whom they disliked, and avoided conflict.

All three of these characteristics - the uncertainty of a source of support, a dependence on volunteer workers, and the friendship based nature of participation - are characteristics probably more frequently found in voluntary associations than governmental or business organizations. But none of these characteristics are necessarily associated with voluntary organizations. Combined, these characteristics made the performance and survival of the organization marginal at best, particularly since it was dependent on both money and manpower for its continuance.

These difficulties were further complicated by the fact that the work to be done was not clearly defined: none of the

Wired World people were professionals in what they did (though they did develop some expertise), and much of the work to be done was innovative, so there were no precedents to follow. The innovative nature of the project slowed it down in another sense: though the Wired World people had legitimized their efforts to outsiders in terms of a need for increased communication, this "need" was more clearly recognized by government bureaucrats whose mandates were related to Wired World's purposes than by the citizens to be served. For the most part, citizens had not expressed a need for greater communication, at least not through this particular medium. And in many cases they did not see it as worth their while to become involved.

I have indicated that there were a number of factors which were important in establishing the goals for the Wired World people (including the proposed manner of its implementation) and that these included the ideas of the Wired World people themselves, the influence of government propaganda and government granting programmes, other environmental pressures, and the "satisficing" character of planning in the organization. I have suggested as well that there were a number of factors affecting the outcome of the Wired World people's activities, including their dependence on money and corresponding shortage of support, their dependence on volunteer labour, the friendship-based nature of participation, the innovative and not highly valued nature of the service they offered and the undefined nature of the work to be done. It should be emphasized,



however, that the development of their broadly defined goals and the realization of those goals were part of a reciprocal process.

This thesis has pursued a number of questions the Wired World people did not pursue themselves, at least as a group. They did not give a lot of thought to the process of organizing, though that is what they were doing, relying instead on their common sense knowledge and not reflecting systematically about their aims or the results of their efforts. Rather than rationally planning the founding and later development of their organization, they pursued limited goals which they saw to be both realizable at the moment and consistent with their general aim. When means or goals came to be seen as unrealizable, they sought alternatives.

In the process of defining, attempting to realize and redefining their goals, the Wired World people negotiated with a government bureaucracy they characterized as a "floating crap game", with important others in their environment, and with each other.

They are doing it still. How long they will continue is difficult to determine, but the likelihood of their eventual failure is great.

In seeking an understanding of the development of Wired World's organization, this thesis, like other institutional studies before it, has shown the importance of taking account not so much of formal characteristics, but of informal processes and relationships and of environmental concerns. (Perrow, 1970b:180). Perhaps equally relevant, it has suggested the importance of emphasizing not organizational behaviour per se, but members' interpretations of their own organizational world (Jehenson, 1973:220; Silverman, 1970).

In so doing, there were two characteristics, found to be particularly important for an understanding of this organization, and deserving further comparative study. The first characteristic concerned the nature of voluntarism at Wired World. It was noted that the meaning of voluntarism was quite varied, and an important matter of investigation; in addition, the voluntary nature of work was found to be basic to an understanding of many of the processes at Wired World.

The other characteristic of particular note concerned the relations between government and the voluntary sector. It was shown that the government - or, rather, a series of government organizations - appears to have had a marked effect on the development of Wired World's organization. This was not simply a question of government having forced Wired World in particular directions, however, but rather an interactive relationship where both the Wired World people and the government people tried to influence each other to further their own

ends. In this sense, the government constituted an enacted environment for the Wired World people, but one in which, comparatively speaking, the influence of the Wired World people was relatively ineffective, and that of the government marked.

## METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

I have known Wired World from its inception. One of its founders, who was a source of much of its financing and the only one of the founding directors who is still active in the organization, was my husband. Initially I had not been an active participant. Shortly after the Wired World people received their licence, in August, 1973, my previous research project had to be abandoned. At the time I determined to do a study of Wired World, both because I already knew much of the background information needed to begin and because studying Wired World provided the pretext for working for Wired World at a time when its members obviously needed more help.

The study did not begin with a clearly developed theoretical perspective. At the outset, Wired World seemed to provide a particularly interesting setting because its people were doing something that was innovative and something that was being taken very seriously by the C.R.T.C. In terms of communications in Canada, it seemed that the efforts of the Wired World people deserved documentation. My plan was to focus on the concerns of the Wired World people themselves, and to develop a theory grounded in the data (Glaser and Strauss).

The primary technique for collecting data for this thesis was participant observation. Participant observation has been

defined as

... that method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study... observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time. (Becker and Geer, 1957).

This appendix offers a detailed accounting of the methods used for collection and analysis of the data, as well as commenting on the nature and effects of my role of participant observer.

# 1. Collection of the data.

The data collected for this study included both the field notes which I generated and a number of items generated by the Wired World people themselves. I had at my disposal for analysis all the secretary's records, the financial records, all of the correspondence which had been saved at the Wired World office, both versions of their application for a broadcast licence, the transcript of their hearing in front of the C.R.T.C., many early documents they had written (including a draft of a book they began early in 1972), completed questionnaires on sponsorship visits, a few grant applications, tapes of a few of their early programmes, and records from the two early O.F.Y. grants which had provided the pretext for the founding of their organization. These items were complemented by licence applications from two other community radio projects, C.R.T.C. rulings and policy statements, Challenge for Change newsletters which had helped to inspire their founding, and other support materials.

The major period of participant observation was from early September to late December of 1973. During that period of time I was a full time volunteer for Wired World, working at the station generally four days each week, often for six or more hours each day. In addition to the times at Wired World I met with other regulars away from the site several times each week, to work on various problems or just to talk. Conversation often centred around Wired World; sometimes it did not. In addition, since my husband was also a Wired World regular, conversation at home often centred on the organization.

For the most part, my field notes were not prepared (in fact few notes were taken at all) while I was involved in the participant observation, or in the company of other Wired World regulars. Most, but not all, of the notes were prepared within 24 hours of the period of observation. An attempt was made to recollect and record everything that went on during the periods of observation. They consisted of any and all conversations concerning Wired World, including those which occurred at home; all of the observed activities of myself and the others; and the moods and reactions to events of myself and the others. By this means I accumulated approximately 400 pages of field notes.

Regular participant observation was discontinued in late December, 1973, when my husband and I left Kitchener-Waterloo. For the next five months I corresponded (and occasionally spoke on the telephone) with five of the Wired World regulars. I

returned for two visits of a week each, to collect additional data, in February (when the leadership crisis peaked) and in April (when the station was on the air). During this time I also wrote a report (Crapo:1974) for the Wired World people, to fulfill a contract they had signed with SOS, to provide a history of the organization. Correspondence, in depth taped interviews of seven of the Wired World people and observations from this period provided an additional 400 pages of field notes.

There are a few limitations of these notes which ought to be acknowledged. First, there were limitations due both to physical placing and the timing of my observations. When I was at Wired World, the kitchen was the centre of activity at the Wired World house. There were to be found the main desk, the telephone, a large work table, the mail slots and bulletin board, and the coffee and tea. That was where people came to chat, and that was where I centred myself. Since I was doing work for Wired World while I was there, however, I did not sufficiently keep track of other activities in other sections of the house. Also, because of external constraints my work at Wired World was generally limited to day-time hours. My data suffered as a result because Wired World was quite a different place depending on when one was there: the (relatively) older people were generally there during the day, while the younger people arrived in the afternoon and stayed after the rest of us had left.

Another limitation concerns the use of direct quotations in the field notes. During the main period of participant observation, though I was able to keep a detailed accounting in the field notes of what was going on, I was not able to recall direct quotes of members' conversations when I recorded field notes. No attempt was made to reconstruct direct quotes unless I was certain of them, and therefore those notes contained few direct quotes. The notes were complemented, however, by written records, including correspondence, and the in-depth recorded interviews. It was from these sources that the majority of the quotations used in the thesis were taken.

Finally, the in-depth interviews were recorded with only seven of the Wired World people. The thesis therefore reflects the perspectives of these people somewhat more fully than of the others. In addition, as I shall specify below, the perspectives of some of the Wired World people weigh more heavily than those of others as a result of my position in the organization.

## 2. The role of participant observer.

Though I had known Wired World from its inception, I had not been an active participant until the time this study commenced. There were a number of reasons why I had not been involved. First, I was not excited by the possible opportunity to use the broadcast media. Second, while observing Wired



World's people expending much of their energies often unsuccessfully seeking money from various sources, I determined to avoid organizations or causes whose operations required considerable financing. In any event, I was busy with other things.

I was a skeptic in those early days. Funding seemed impossible, and obtaining a broadcast licence an unlikely dream. One of the early people described me as "hypercritical" or even "hostile" in those early days. I did learn to use the videotape recorder, and helped with a few cable programmes. I occasionally offered advice, and discussed Wired World with my husband and other friends. But my involvement was minimal; I almost never appeared at the Wired World house.

The primary problem encountered on entering the field, both practically and theoretically, concerned the nature of the role to be taken in studying Wired World. Gold (1958) reviews several stances of participation and observation which the sociologist might take. These include the complete participant, whose role of observer is unknown to his (her) subjects, the complete observer, who observes, but does not interact with his (her) subjects, and the participant-as-observer and observer-as-participant roles, in which the researcher is clearly identified in both roles, but emphasizes one over the other.

I had assumed from the outset that if I were to be an observer of Wired World I would be an active participant as well. It was not so clear, however, what the role of active participant should entail. There were several possible stances. One would have involved being available to be put to work by anyone who might have extra tasks to be done. Another would have involved taking the initiative to do some of the more obvious and mundane tasks - chores of a secretary and receptionist, for example - while avoiding any attempts to directly influence other members' plans or actions. The most extreme role would have been to try to influence the others to accomplish my purposes instead of their own.

The role selected was a variant of that of the participant-as-observer. There were a few basic assumptions of the Wired World people which I did not share: assumptions concerning the desirable sources of financing, for example, and the basic political position that a station such as Wired World's might take. In participating with the Wired World people I chose to accept their basic philosophy as a given (not to challenge it in my role of participant). However, operating within that assumption, I was a full participant. I acted as receptionist, and secretary; I organized files, participated in meetings, accompanied people on shopping errands, helped write brochures and other legitimizing documents, went on on various sponsorship visits, acted as a communications officer (informing members when they had common concerns), helped design Wired World's committee structure, greeted newcomers, and in many other ways

participated in the activities of the station. I influenced policy making; and, as it happened, I was instrumental in their leadership crisis. I took that role, occasionally with regret, more often without regret, because to do otherwise would have been seen to be dishonest and unacceptable to the others and to myself.

While I did inform the Wired World people of my research intentions while working at the station, most of them did not particularly care that I was collecting data for a thesis about their activities. (Actually they would have scorned and avoided any sociologist who came only or primarily to research their activities.) They were sufficiently serious about their own endeavors, however, that they would not have countenanced a member who had a useful idea or criticism and refrained from sharing it in the interests of "science".

There were times when I was convinced that the Wired World people were heading on a course which would seriously threaten their own goals. The leadership crisis provides an interesting example. Over a period of months, many of the Wired World people had told me, in informal conversations, that they were very upset with the actions of one of their members, who assumed a position of leadership in a manner they found (and I found) offensive. A brief familiarity with the scene was sufficient to establish that his leadership was a matter of concern, and that one way or another it would have important ramifications.

I could have (scientifically, many would argue I should have) taken a neutral stance, gone about my business and taken notes concerning the development of the leadership crisis. However, it should be stressed that if I had, my inaction on this matter would have been interpreted as action by the others. Whatever my reasons for involvement or non-involvement, they were still left with having to account for my behaviour in their own terms. Thus, my non-involvement, too, would have had its effect, as long as I was there, on the development of that crisis.) However, while I was at Wired World, my actions were based more on membership loyalties - on the concerns of a participant - than on the concern for proper research. Thus, for example, when I saw the most active participants limiting their involvement in order to avoid the same troublesome person, as a member I did not refrain from encouraging them to cooperate with one another and solve their problem.

One problem cited in connection with a role stressing participation, as opposed to observation, is the problem of "going native" (Gold, 1958; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973:61). In the sense that I was known by the others to have been a "hypercritical" observer previously, I was not naturally allied with anyone. In another sense, however, I was the wrong person to do this research, since I had gone native even before entering the field. A number of the Wired World people were friends of mine; even if I tried to pretend otherwise, for example, I would be seen as allied with my husband.

Since I knew some of the Wired World people rather well before I entered the scene, and since I did participate fully, I was more frequently alligned with some of the Wired World people than with others. This bias is reflected in the data. A few of the Wired World people were more frequent "informants" than the rest. Some perspectives may be over-represented while others are slighted. In analyzing the data, I attempted to take that bias into account, but it should be acknowledged in any event. While there was some loss of other perspectives by being fully involved, and therefore occasionally alligned with one faction or another, the alternative would have involved a loss as well: I would not have been able to experience or know the concerns of any faction.

One effect of "going native" is that the interests and concerns of the participants cannot be lightly dismissed. Ethical concerns centre not just on the protection of science or the discipline, but also on the subject. Equally important, the researcher is forced, in a way that often need not arise, to consider not only his (her) own view of whether a subject is being fairly treated, but the subject's view as well.

I troubled over whether and to what degree I was influencing the activities of the Wired World people, and particularly whether it was my role as member or as researcher which was influential. The leadership crisis smoldered for months in my absence. When I returned for a brief visit, the others,

whom I had been urging to face and solve their problem, took sudden and immediate action. What was my role? I asked one if I had been a catalyst, and was told,

There is something to it. Maybe a beneficial catalyst. We might not have stumbled to it until it was too late.

Was it my research role or my member role which was effective?

One respondent was very helpful.

Resp: I think that in effect your observing us has changed us. I think that the very fact of your being there probably made me feel that it was time that I faced up to it... you can't observe something and have it go on the way it would have if you hadn't observed it... I am not saying your influence was terrible. And it may be quite necessary, but, to go back to your thesis, I think that the very fact that you are writing that thesis changes the subject of your thesis.

Me: I wouldn't have had that effect on you just as my obstinate self if I wasn't writing a thesis?

Resp: Maybe not, because I am convinced that you know a lot about us... from observing us. And look at it completely objectively, if you had been John's wife, some little mousewife down in Montreal, you wouldn't have come back at all, and you wouldn't have gotten us out of this contract thing... But that's like "if I hadn't turned this corner I wouldn't have met him" - this kind of nonsense. It is really not very fair to analyze all the little bits.

Even when I was directly and consciously influencing the Wired World people, however, they were not necessarily doing what I would have liked. In the leadership crisis, for example, I incited them to action, apparently, but they acted in their way, rather than mine. The resolution of the leadership crisis was one which I found very troubling, while the others were more pleased. Thus, while my influence was often problematic for me, it was less so for the others. A few were especially grateful.

I did influence the scene, but careful examination has convinced me that it was more my activities as member rather than those as researcher which were influential. However, there were two senses in which my role of researcher did have an effect on the happenings at Wired World. First, my role of researcher might have caused me to reflect about what was happening more than I might have otherwise. And secondly, as was pointed out to me, I would not have been there at all were I not doing a study of the organization.

The trip to Montreal provided a convenient excuse for leaving the field. When we returned to Kitchener-Waterloo my husband resumed his Wired World activities and I did not. Through his reports and those of others from Wired World, I have been kept informed of more recent developments. Now, as before, I am not excited by the opportunity to make radio programmes.

Analysis of the data.

While the role of active participant could be seen to carry certain risks, still it allowed me to understand more clearly the perspective of the Wired World people. As Schwartz and Schwartz argue:

In (active participant observation) the observer increased his identification with the observed and was better able to become aware of the subtleties of communication and interaction. Active participant observation appears to be more conducive to self-observation. By experiencing the effects of the

subjects on himself, he may be able to perceive more clearly their effects on those with whom they ordinarily are in interaction. It also may afford the investigator greater opportunity to discover the operation of his own distortions in perception. (1969:98).

Schwartz and Schwartz note further:

it is inevitable that in observing other human beings in interaction, especially in emotionally significant areas of living, the observer's own emotional life will be stimulated. The issue is not whether he will become emotionally involved, but rather, the nature of the involvement... Since the investigator has control over neither his affective responses nor their effects on his observations, he must contend with his feelings as part of his data. Only by increasing his own awareness of them, their bases, and their effects on him will he be able to counteract their distorting influences. (1969:99).

As an observer, I employed three basic safeguards to account for my influence of the research setting and the possible effect of bias of my active participant role. First, there was a careful attempt to record in the field notes anything that I did or said, and to record any apparent consequences of my actions. Second my supervisor read and provided extended comments on my field notes on a weekly basis, as they were being prepared. And finally, after most of the data had been collected I asked questions of a few key informants to determine both to what degree they saw me influencing activities at Wired World, and to what degree they saw that influence resulting from my role of researcher.

Early stages of the analysis profited particularly from the practical advice of Lofland (1971), and also from Schatzman and Strauss (1973) and Glaser and Strauss (1967). Beginning with a number of the general areas deemed most problematic by



the Wired World people, (e.g.: money, leadership, government...), files were developed which included all references from the field notes and other sources to those various topics. Explanations were sought for the occurrence of noteworthy events. These were recorded in theoretical memoes . The memoes led to the development of further coding categories, in a process which encouraged the testing of ideas in the available data.

By the time the analysis had begun, there was a large quantity of data available for exploring ideas. The analysis could have been substantially improved, however, if its early stages had been more explicitly begun during the data collection process. This could have allowed for a more systematic testing of ideas in the research setting than was actually accomplished.

Ideally, collection and initial analysis of the data should be a concurrent process, with the analysis providing new directions in the collection of the data, a process referred to by Glaser and Strauss (1967:45ff) as "theoretical sampling". Unfortunately, in the case of this study, it was not possible to initiate a systematic analysis until after most of the data had been collected.

Though much of the data is still useful for the analysis presented, it means that many of the ideas presented cannot be quantitatively tested. For, as Zelditch notes, "as a general

rule, only those data which the observer actually intended to enumerate should be treated as enumerable." (1970:227). Similarly it means that in some cases data were not systematically sought to support and refute particular hypotheses at the time of initial data collection.

Some of the ideas discussed herein - those relating to the substantive discussion of community radio and the organizational problems the Wired World people encountered - were thought about at length during the data collection. I benefitted greatly in the analysis of these ideas from the analyses of a few key informants. That is, some of these ideas developed through conversations with the Wired World people themselves. They were then further tested on the data available for plausibility and consistency (McCall, 1969:128).

The process used involved checking all the data available for evidence of support or contradiction of any idea arising from a particular datum. As McCall argues:

The key to data quality control in participant observation is, thus, the thorough use of multiple indicants of any particular fact and an insistence on a very high degree of consonance among those indicants, tracking down and accounting for any contrary indicants. (1969:130).

Ideas were tested both in the field notes and in the internally generated data - such as Wired World's own historical accounts, their secretary's notes and their correspondence with outsiders. In addition, an attempt was made to support statements concerning the Wired World people with quotations either from

these sources or from taped interviews with them.

While the data presented herein cannot adequately test relationships between given variables, it is useful as a means of suggesting possible relationships to be tested (Barton and Lazarsfeld, 1969:182). In addition, partly as a result of the nature of this particular data (specifically the fact that it does not deal with all participants equally), and perhaps partly as a result of the nature of organizational life itself, it has not been possible to assess the relative contributions of particular individuals at Wired World to their organization. As one of them remarked in an interview:

It is extremely difficult if not impossible to go back now or at any time and assess the relative importance of so and so and so. I don't know how the hell you could do that... That is your view... That is the way it comes across to you... mine might be quite different, and I am sure everyone's is... somebody has done something behind the scenes which is not recorded anywhere... May have been very important at that time. Or someone else has done quite the opposite... all I would ever say is that this collection of people together at this time produced this. And it appears that this might have been more important than that but who knows. It is really tough to lay the praise here and the blame there. I don't know how you can really do that, with any degree of veracity.

Also, from the point of view of many of the Wired World people, what they have done (or failed in doing) as a collective is more important and interesting than any personal contributions. For these reasons I have tried to minimize discussion of personalities in this thesis. An understanding of relationships is essential for understanding Wired World's organization, and in this sense personalities are discussed. Where the identification of particular people is less crucial, however, particular

people are not identified. In addition, where names are used, they are fictitious.

This data is particularly useful for generating ideas to be tested, and in particular for generating ideas which take seriously the perspective of those being studied. As Lofland argues,

any participants under study are themselves analytic. They order and pattern their views and their activities. While their world may seem random and chaotic to an outsider, it is safe to bet it is not that way to insiders (or if it is, one has already found his first analytic concept in that very fact). In order to capture the participants "in their own terms" one must learn their analytic ordering of the world, their categories for rendering applicable and coherent the flux of raw reality. That, indeed, is the first principle of qualitative analysis. (1971:7).

I found the analysis and reporting of this research project quite problematic. This was true primarily for two reasons. First, the project did not begin with a specific theoretical question, but rather out of a general interest in the activities of the people and in the community radio enterprise. The ordering of a varied mass of qualitative data into a coherent whole was therefore a difficult process. The difficulty was further complicated by my proximity to the people being studied. They were not just friends, but insightful and challenging people, and people I would continue to have contact with, even if not through Wired World. The concern was less with hurting, offending or alienating them than with disappointing them. It is in large part their ideas which made this thesis.

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