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JOURNALISTES AMÉRINDIENS: ÉTUDES SUR LE TRAVAIL D'UNE MINORITÉ PROFESSIONNELLE

NATIVE NORTH AMERICANS AND THE MEDIA: STUDIES IN MINORITY JOURNALISM

Sous la direction de/Guest Edited by Stephen Harold Riggins

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Collaborateurs/Contributors

Valda Blundell is an associate professor of anthropology at Carleton University in Ottawa. She has published papers on aboriginal cave art in Australia and on hunter-gatherer territoriality. Her current research examines revitalization movements among contemporary Canadian Indians, focusing on the roles of art and the "pow wow."

Debbie Brisebois is an executive assistant for the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation in Ottawa. After studying journalism and sociology at Carleton University, she worked as a north/south youth exchange co-ordinator and an information officer for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. She was also a media co-ordinator for the Third Inuit Circumpolar Conference in Frobisher Bay in 1983.

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Kim Kopola is program coordinator of the Native Educational Service and a student of history at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. She is also the host and producer of a television program, "Between Two Worlds," which is aired on station CFRN in Edmonton.

Sharon Murphy is dean of the College of Journalism at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She has co-authored books on the Black, Chicano, and American Indian presses, on female journalists, and on international perspectives on the news.

Ruth Phillips is an assistant professor of art history at Carleton University in Ottawa. Her doctoral research at the University of London was on African art, and she has published on Mende masks from Sierra Leone. For the past few years, she has conducted research on both traditional Woodland Indian art and on the contemporary art of Canadian Indians.

Iain Prattis is a professor of anthropology at Carleton University in Ottawa. In addition to his research on bilingualism and biculturalism, he has published papers on theoretical and methodological problems in economic anthropology and on the problems of unemployment in advanced capitalist societies.

Robin Ridington is an associate professor of anthropology at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. In addition to his extensive publications on the Beaver Indians of British Columbia, he has written articles on healing, mythology, native music and dance, and on symbolic anthropology.

Stephen Riggins was formerly an assistant professor of sociology at Laurentian University in Sudbury, Ontario and is currently an assistant professor of sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. He specializes in the sociology of the arts, and has published on the social history of 19th-century French music and on contemporary French cultural policy.

Robert Rupert is an associate professor in the School of Journalism at Carleton University in Ottawa. He was the first Canadian director of the Newspaper Guild and has also worked as a labor negotiator, conciliator, arbitrator, and consultant in collective bargaining and organizing. His other professional interests include policy and training in native communications. He has conducted training programs and workshops on native communications in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, the prairies, and in various locations throughout eastern Canada.

Carl Urion is director of the Office of Native Affairs and an associate professor in the Department of Educational Foundations at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. He has published articles on native education and on linguistics.

Gail Valaskakis is an associate professor in the Department of Communication Studies at Concordia University in Montréal. She has published papers on telecommunications and on participatory development in the Canadian North, and has frequently been a consultant for projects related to native communications and journalism.

Thomas Wilson teaches in the Department of Educational Technology at Concordia University in Montréal. His research interests include computer instruction and distance-education systems. The topic of his doctoral research is the educational implications of introducing satellite television into Inuit communities.

Editorial

Kathryn T. Molohon
Laurentian University

The support of the anthropological communities of Canada, the United States, and other countries, as well as the support of many people at Laurentian University during the extremely difficult task of salvaging ANTHROPOLOGICA has been encouraging. When I consented to try to rebuild this journal, I did so because I felt ethically obliged to help meet the needs of the anthropological community of Canada for a strong, internationally-recognized journal in social/cultural anthropology and related fields. There was no other choice but to do whatever I could to keep ANTHROPOLOGICA from ceasing publication. I was not interested in changing the focus or traditions of this journal, but rather in improving its quality and distribution. ANTHROPOLOGICA is Canada's oldest, and possibly best-known journal in social/cultural anthropology, and is well worth supporting.

The point of academic work is to increase the amount of mind in a world which can never have too much of that commodity. Thus, the continuation of an established academic journal is a vital part of the academic process. I believe we are succeeding, and I say we because many colleagues have helped with the continuation of ANTHROPOLOGICA. Among the many people who should be thanked for their help and support are members of the Editorial Board, the Editorial Assistants and others listed inside the front cover of this issue of ANTHROPOLOGICA, all people who consented to write reviews of articles, books, or both, and all the other people who have assisted in the production of the journal, including Leda Culliford, Ed Higgins, George Thomson, and Joanne Turple who helped with copyediting.

Foreword

Stephen Harold Riggins
Laurentian University

This issue of ANTHROPOLOGICA is devoted to a dialogue between social scientists and journalists on the topic of native North Americans and the media. Seven of the authors are either practicing journalists or have worked in journalism, while the remaining authors are engaged in research which addresses the effects of the mass media on native North Americans. Most of the papers in this volume by journalists document the activities of mass-media organizations or other projects that were established by native North Americans to assert their own identity, to create modern communications networks, and to voice their own concerns and views. The papers by anthropologists and scholars in related disciplines deal with topics such as native art or bilingualism which are directly relevant to native journalism.

The transformation of traditional cultures as a result of the recent communications revolution may eventually lead to the extinction of traditional cultures. One of the only effective means of survival for such cultures is to take full advantage of the modern mass media and to use these media as a source of symbolic production. All of the papers in this volume address aspects of this general problem, which is particularly acute in Canada. Three underlying themes can be found in the papers: (1) the contemporary threat to the survival of traditional cultures; (2) the attempt to resist cultural extinction by assimilating information technology; and (3) the difficulty of successfully resisting cultural extinction due to both the strength of competition from dominant cultures, and organizational problems which hinder the native media as an enterprise.

Although the assimilation of information technology by traditional cultures is a topic of interest to anthropologists, sociologists, and other social scientists, this topic cannot be investigated properly without the input of journalists. The reason for this is that journalists are in the best position to provide a precise and concrete insiders' view of the functioning of media organizations. Although native participation as professional journalists in the mass media can be traced back to the 1820s (see the article by Sharon Murphy in this issue titled "Native Print Journalism in the United States: Dreams and Realities"), the experiences and views of native journalists have received surprisingly little attention from social scientists.

The opening article by Robin Ridington describes his extensive research in creating audio documentaries of the reserve "soundscape" of the Beaver Indians in British Columbia. Ridington recounts historical changes in the Beaver Indian soundscape from the noises which are characteristic of a hunting and gathering society to the typical sounds of industrialism. Numerous suggestions are given regarding techniques for collecting "taken-for-granted" sounds. Not only are such

sounds a rich source of ethnographic documentation, but the recording procedures are also of practical use to broadcast journalists.

Sharon Murphy and her late husband James Murphy co-authored an authoritative study of native journalism, *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978* (1981). Murphy's contribution to this issue provides an overview of her research, including discussions of historical and contemporary native publications. Her statement about the unique educational role of nineteenth-century native newspapers in furthering Indian survival within a society dominated by European ethnic groups is equally applicable to today's mass media. Murphy also makes it clear that the characteristics of organizations which produce native publications have remained remarkably similar over the years. As was the case fifty or seventy-five years ago, most contemporary native publications have minimal staffs and resources. In light of this, Murphy's optimism about the future of native print journalism is especially noteworthy.

Joël Demay contrasts two approaches to journalism. The first approach is a widely-held professional ideal in North America, and is characterized as objective, impersonal, and politically neutral. Demay claims that the opposite journalistic position, which is critical, personal, and politically committed, is more appropriate for native journalism because it corresponds to the self-respect and self-accomplishment which is a part of traditional Indian education. He also suggests that native journalists pay particular attention to expressions of the latter perspective in publications from the Third World.

Stephen Riggins outlines the organizational structure and operating environment of a typical native Canadian newspaper, the *Toronto Native Times (TNT)*. This newspaper was published between 1968 and 1981, and was generally run by amateur journalists. As the only public voice for the local native community in the city of Toronto, Ontario, the *TNT* was chronically underfunded and had ill-defined goals. Riggins' analysis shows how the continual existence of systematic barriers has prevented the native press from being of greater assistance in reinforcing a collective identity and in asserting material and symbolic interests.

One of the highlights of the paper by Robert Rupert in this issue is his description of "trail" and "community" radio in the Canadian North. Listeners to community radio stations in northern native settlements participate more directly in programs than is typical for the commercial stations familiar to most Canadians. Rupert sees community radio stations as providing the model for future developments in native broadcasting. As the author of a report on native communications which was undertaken in 1981-1982 on behalf of the Canadian Secretary of State, Robert Rupert is well qualified to judge the professional standards of native broadcasting. His frank discussion of the technical weaknesses of a of a great deal of native programing is especially significant.

Kim Kopola is a native broadcast journalist who hosts and produces a weekly half-hour television program on native Canadian affairs which originates in Edmonton, Alberta. During an interview by Carl Urion, Kopola gives a personal account of several of the themes which also appear in Robert Rupert's article. The name of Kopola's show, "Between Two Worlds," conveys the viewpoint that native

life in Canada presently combines aspects of traditional cultures with a larger, technologically-advanced society. Kopola sees this as advantageous, and makes the point that contemporary native people are participating in all aspects of Canadian life. Her program might be seen as typical of a category of public service programs created by television stations which are not specifically required to offer minority programing.

In the 1970s, television was introduced into the Canadian North via satellite technology. Since its arrival, the Canadian Inuit have joined the ranks of the nation's most ardent television viewers. In an article analyzing the impact of television on the Inuit, Gail Valaskakis and Thomas Wilson report the results of their survey of Inuit television preferences. In the process, Valaskakis and Wilson document the most popular programs broadcast by both the Canadian and Inuit Broadcasting Corporations. Their research illustrates Robert Rupert's observations regarding native preferences for superficial mass culture, against which serious native programming must compete. This research also illustrates the observations of Prattis and Chartrand (see below) about the difficulties of preserving minority languages in view of English-language domination of the Canadian media.

Iain Prattis and Jean-Philippe Chartrand review the sociological and anthropological literature on bilingualism and conclude that bilingualism has obvious educational advantages for children in terms of cognitive flexibility and creativity. Due to the extent to which the mass media penetrate homes, bilingualism in the media is the key to the survival of minority languages. Native journalists may not realize the competitive advantages of bilingualism, or the manner in which language, identity, and culture are interrelated. Prattis and Chartrand also comment on the crucial role which the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation can play in preserving the Inuit language, especially through expanded children's programing.

Writing as an employee of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), Debbie Brisebois records the activities of the IBC and its production of television programs in the Inuktitut language since 1982. Her article supports Prattis and Chartrand's assertion that the Inuit want educational material and community discussions of public and local issues which reflect Inuit philosophy and culture. Since the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation is able to broadcast only one hour of programing each day, Brisebois documents the kinds of organizational problems facing native journalists which are also described by other authors in this volume.

The concluding article in this issue by Valda Blundell and Ruth Phillips describes mass media stereotyping in newspaper reviews of native art exhibitions in Canada. These reviews characteristically present a style of contemporary Ojibwa art known as the Woodland School as either the last flowering of dying "primitive" traditionalism, or as a conscious revival of this traditionalism. In addition, non-native reviewers tend to be insensitive to the ways native art combines Ojibwa sources and contemporary European influences to make innovative statements about present social and environmental conditions. Throughout their analysis, Blundell and Phillips provide a highly persuasive argument for the necessity of native-controlled media. Although this idea is implicit in all of the articles

in this volume, Blundell and Phillips provide what is perhaps the most detailed and convincing illustration of the misinterpretation, misclassification, and superficial treatment which native North Americans receive in the mass media.

It is hoped that this collection of papers will contribute to social science awareness of the role of the native media in an increasingly multicultural society. The native North American media is indeed a rich, though generally overlooked source of information on a wide variety of topics of interest to social scientists, policy makers, and the general public.

NOTES

Acknowledgements. As guest editor of this special issue, I would like to thank ANTHROPOLOGICA'S editor-in-chief, Dr. Kathryn Molohon, for the exceptional assistance she has given me in editing this volume. When responsibility for the editorship of ANTHROPOLOGICA was transferred from Université Saint Paul in Ottawa to Laurentian University in Sudbury, Ontario, the journal had not appeared for approximately two years. Dr. Molohon chose to complete back volumes rather than to start anew with 1985. Although this issue is dated 1983, some of the articles deal with time-bound topics, and it should be noted that the issue was actually completed in 1985.

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In Doig People's Ears: Portrait of a Changing Community in Sound

Robin Ridington
University of British Columbia

Le travail effectué sur le terrain parmi les indiens Beaver de la Colombie Britannique, au Canada, a permis de recueillir, depuis plus de 20 ans, des archives sonores qui documentent sur le processus de transition d'un mode de vie basé sur la chasse et le trappage, à un mode de vie intégrée à l'économie industrielle moderne. Cet article décrit les techniques qui permettent d'utiliser l'enregistrement sonore des événements courants pour créer des programmes documentaires qui illustreront ces changements. L'article compare les systèmes symboliques d'une société fondée sur la chasse et la cueillette avec ceux des cultures contemporaines et suggère que l'on peut tirer des leçons profitables de l'étude des renseignements dont on dispose sur la vie des chasseurs et des trappeurs.

Fieldwork among the Beaver Indians of British Columbia, Canada over a period of twenty years has produced an archive of audio tapes documenting the process of transition from a life based on hunting and trapping to one which is integrated into the modern industrial economy. This paper describes techniques for using aural actualities to create audio documentary programs that illustrate these changes. It compares the symbol systems of hunting and gathering people with those of people in contemporary cultures, and suggests that we may learn valuable lessons from the available information about hunters and gatherers.

INTRODUCTION

Culture is revealed as much through the ordinary, taken-for-granted sights and sounds of everyday life as through peak experiences which occur infrequently. When I first began to make audio recordings among Beaver Indian people in the mid-1960s, I neglected ordinary sounds in favor of what seemed extraordinary. My choices of important events which seemed worth recording reflected a preference for high-profile ceremonies and performances over periods of informality when, in my view, "nothing was happening." In addition, I was constrained by a very limited supply of reel to reel tape. Thus, recordings from that period contain invaluable documentation of prophetic songs, oratory, and narrative, but very little documentation of conversations, environmental sounds, or the punctuation created by moments of silence.

After an absence from the Peace River country in the mid-1970s, during which time the shaman or dreamer with whom I had worked passed away, my wife Jillian Ridington and I returned in 1979 with an audio documentarian named Howard Broomfield. Broomfield had recorded with composer R. Murray Schafer on the World Soundscape Project, and wanted to collect material for an audio portrait of a particular community undergoing rapid cultural change. This time, thanks

to an urgent ethnology contract with the Canadian Ethnology Service, we were well-supplied with tape. During the course of this and subsequent fieldwork supported by the Canadian Ethnology Service, we accumulated an archive containing hundreds of hours of recorded material. From this archive, we have produced a series of audio documentary programs on various aspects of Beaver Indian life. These programs have been aired on the Vancouver community radio station CFRO, on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) Radio's "Our Native Land," on the CBC Radio's "The Hornby Collection," in classrooms, and at academic conferences. They have also been presented to the native communities in which they were made.

FROM DOCUMENT TO DOCUMENTARY

The Beaver Indian audio archive is a collection of research documents. The fact that it contains particular sounds and settings reflects a complex and often opportunistic pattern of contact between ourselves and the people whose lives we wished to document. Sometimes, recording sessions became formal occasions during which people told us stories, recorded songs, or granted interviews on particular topics of interest. At other times, our presence as documentarians had little or no effect on the pace or content of events. Because we recorded extensively, we were able to document many conversations and ordinary interactions with a minimum of interference, once people became accustomed to our presence.

The overall objective of this research was to record a wide range of soundscapes, settings, events, and interactions. Recordings made during the research were primary documents. They documented what the language of radio production calls "actualities." At the time they were collected, these sounds were embedded in the context of ordinary life at a particular time and place. Although taken for granted by the people who were living and experiencing them, they were important pieces in the on-going flow of experience that defined cultural reality for those people at that particular moment.

Since echoes of the traditional soundscape were still present during the time of our fieldwork, we recorded them whenever possible. For instance, the documentary which we produced for the CBC Radio's "Our Native Land" begins with the dawn chorus of birds on an early summer solstice morning, and is punctuated by the conversations of camp dogs calling back and forth to one another against the steady background of moving water in a river. These sounds are subtle, and they blend to create the unmistakable signature of a particular time, place, and season. Yet these ordinary sounds of an early summer morning in a northern Indian village seemed quite extraordinary to Howard Broomfield, for whom they were a new and different world.

Rather than impose a judgement that some actualities were more important than others, we attempted to collect an archive which would include a representative sample of sounds that people in the community recognized as being in the public domain. For ethical reasons, we did not attempt to record events which were clearly private and privileged. Nothing was ever recorded in secret, and we always responded to requests that particular events not be recorded. Within

these constraints, we documented the significant sounds of the aural dimension of Beaver Indian culture during the time of our fieldwork.

By its very nature, the process of recording culturally significant sounds removes these sounds from a context that is taken for granted. Sound recordings of a culture's aural dimensions create documents that must be recontextualized if they are to be meaningful. An anthropologist's job is to create this recontextualization. If fieldwork documents are to be presented in an aural rather than a written medium, then recontextualization must be created through juxtaposition of the sounds themselves. This new context transforms the documents of ethnographic field recording into a documentary which uses them as actualities of the culture.

IN DOIG PEOPLE'S EARS

To illustrate the range of material in the Beaver Indian audio archive, Howard Broomfield produced an audio documentary titled *In Doig People's Ears*. Doig River is the name of a Beaver Indian reserve community located northeast of Fort Saint John, British Columbia, Canada. The audio documentary was produced entirely from actualities taken from the archive of primary documents. It was an aural catalogue or sampler designed to accompany the written catalogue of tapes which we compiled for the National Museum of Man in Ottawa. However, this audio documentary was organized according to categories significant to Beaver Indian culture rather than to the usual reference categories used by museums. It was especially designed to give Doig River people a feeling for the archive and its possible uses.

Unlike a conventional catalogue which presents information piece by piece and in a set order, *In Doig People's Ears* is a montage of sounds. It is a documentary piece rather than a collection of documents; a story, not a list. As such, it speaks to the sensibilities of people whose lives span preliterate and post-literate oral traditions. This documentary may be experienced at an intuitive level of consciousness, and may be received in the way that Beaver Indian dreams are received, to be analyzed later and by different techniques.

In Doig People's Ears was created as much for Beaver Indian people as for anthropologists or the general public. In the traditional culture of these people, songs were "brought down from heaven" by shamans known as dreamers. The documentary begins by creating a sense of the context in which life took place when the Beaver people were hunters and trappers. It juxtaposes soundscape actualities and recordings of cultural events in a way that both facilitates and reflects deeply-entrenched ways of listening and communicating. In addition, it presents soundscape information that formed the traditional basis of mutual understandings.

During large summer dances, Beaver Indian singers sang the dreamers' songs and played hand drums. As their songs reverberated deep into the bush, their chorus of voices and drums extended the community's soundspace far beyond

the normal range of camp life. Dreamers presided over these gatherings. They told of journeys taken in their dreams to the place beyond the sky, and spoke of the future. They sang new songs learned during the course of their journeys, and joined in the singing of songs brought down by dreamers before them.

After contact, the Beaver Indians visited non-Indians at stores and trading posts. Until the 1950s, most people lived in isolated bush communities which were inaccessible to non-Indians and their machines. Although they worked and sometimes socialized with non-Indians, they did not live with non-Indians on a day-to-day basis. *In Doig People's Ears* tells the story of the Beaver Indians before the 1950s in both their own words and those of non-Indian old-timers who looked in on their world from outside. Recollections of the past by non-Indians serve as a bridge to the introduction of actualities from the world in which the two cultures were in constant contact.

Occasionally, strangers listened at the edge of the soundscape defined by dreamers' songs. One of these people was a horse wrangler named Slim Byrns who recalled his first meeting with Beaver Indians in 1929. A friend at Doig took us around to visit Byrns and record his story. As a young white man who was new to the Peace River country, Byrns found a strange and different scene. To the Beaver people, this scene was as ordinary as the taste of moosemeat or the sound of footsteps squeaking on very cold snow. The sound of people singing, drumming, and dancing together was as predictable as the turn of the seasons. At that time, they did not suspect that their life in the bush would be threatened by machines and social forces beyond imagination. Slim Byrns recalled:

> That whole valley down there below Clark's was filled full of tipis and there must have been about a hundred head of horses and it was in midsummer and it had been a very productive summer and the horses were fat and shiny. And after they built their campfires down there and started playing their drums, in 1929 which is fifty years ago, it done somethin' to me that I shall never forget...with kinda mixed feelings. And we stayed up there at the top of the hill and grazed our horses and looked down into the valley and watched the campfires and seen them dancing around the fires. And that was my first really big experience with the Indians. They called it a tea dance.

The sounds of day-to-day life are taken for granted only as long as they are ordinary. In a community undergoing rapid change, ordinary sounds which were heard at one stage in a person's life may become exotic at a later stage. Beaver people who are alive today grew up within a soundscape dominated by the sounds of wind, running water, squeaking snow, rustling leaves, and the soft rhythm of moccasin-clad feet on the trails of their country. Against this background of natural sounds, they listened carefully to the voices and movements of animals. They also listened carefully to the voices of the people they knew and called by terms of relationship.

In this previous world, voices rose and fell in song and blended with the complex sounds of drums to become a single instrument of many textures. Dreamers' songs were a metaphor for the soul's journey from the ordinary reality

of the everyday world to the spirit world of dreaming. Singers held their drums close so that others could not see inside their mouths. They sang strongly toward the snares that were stretched across the inside of drum heads. The soundscape where these two patterns of vibration met was highly charged and constituted the center of a sacred circle of sound. From this highly concentrated point where complementary waves of sound came together, the dreamspace of the dreamers' songs spread out in a circle from the camp to the surrounding and sustaining bush.

Dreamers' songs were known as signs of the "trail to heaven." The regular rhythm of the drum beat was like the rhythm of feet on a trail, and a song's "turns" of melodic contours were like the turns of a trail on the earth. Dreamers were people who had gone through the experience of dying and following a trail of song to heaven. They were able to describe this trail because they knew it from personal experience. In traditional Beaver philosophy, the soundscape created by singing and drumming represented a conceptual landscape connecting heaven and earth. Song trails followed by dreamers were trails of the mind. Dreamers were people who were adept at following these spirit trails and then returning to the body's earthly sanctuary. Their songs were trails of connection between mind and body, spirit and substance. When bands of related people who had been dispersed over the long winter came together to sing and dance during the easy days of mid-summer, they created a soundscape that was large enough to surround and sustain the entire community.

Standing at the edge of such an acoustically defined cultural space in 1929, Slim Byrns was so moved that he recalled, "it done somethin' to me that I shall never forget." In 1965, during my first dance close within the center of the soundscape created by Beaver people who were drumming, singing, and dancing around a common fire, my own perception of the world was also changed. In 1969, I made an audio recording which began at the edge of the village, perhaps a tenth of the distance between the acoustic center of crackling fire, voices, and snared drumheads, and the outermost extremity of the soundscape in the dark, surrounding bush. This recording evoked the same scene which was described by Slim Byrns. It represented a soundwalk toward the center of a sacred space. The circle of sound that I captured on tape is now a treasured document from which a new context can be constructed in the form of an audio documentary.

As I walked slowly toward the center of the sacred space, higher frequencies of sound began to emerge from the low-booming carrier wave of drumbeat vibrations. At the center of attention was the powerful, wailing chant of a remarkable lead singer named Billy Makadahay. Other voices began to emerge from the chorus, and finally, the sound of people talking and laughing, mixed with the hot, explosive staccato of a flaring fire emerged to complete the acoustic portrait of this ceremonial event. Within this soundscape, an entire community had come together at the center of a dreamer's songs. In so doing, they evoked the spirits of those who had gone before. My audio recording documented a social setting which has passed into memory, along with a communal focus and intensity that I have not experienced among Beaver Indian people in recent years.

When I first began to record the sounds of Beaver Indian life, voices rising and falling together in song were still ordinary events. In the 1960s, dances I recorded were presided over by Charlie Yahey, the last dreamer of a hunting and trapping way of life. Because my observations were made from the center of the soundscape, my perspective was different than the one described by Slim Byrns. My recordings of dreamers' dances document the last moments of an ancient tradition. Even the very act of making these recordings affected the order of that tradition. During hot afternoons when people were resting between all-night dancing and singing, they asked me to play recordings of the previous night. The Beaver people were and are quick to recontextualize innovations. In this case, the innovation was a document already abstracted from the context in which it was originally produced.

In Doig People's Ears opens with the voice of a very old man named Jumbie whom I knew well when he was still an active hunter. Jumbie is one of the last Beaver Indians to have lived most of his long life in the bush. He is singing feebly, but with the intensity of someone recalling the empowering dreams of his childhood. The sound of his voice recalls a time when Beaver Indians trained their children to listen carefully for the sounds of animals in the bush. His song signifies a power which he gained from the animals when he was a child living far away in time and space from the white man's town where he now spends his last days. What was ordinary in his childhood had become an extraordinary sound when recorded for the audio archive. When I took him out of the Peace Lutheran Care Home and back to one of the reserves for a visit, he remembered the place as it had been when he was young. He said it "looked like a white man's town now." Then, he cupped his hands to his mouth and called out to his long dead relatives. He addressed them by kin terms and called to them and to the world that he once held in common with them. To reconnect himself with that place, he called out the proper terms of relationship. Although he did not recognize the place by sight, Jumbie trusted an evocation of its soundspace to connect him to his relatives in heaven. He listened for a reply from his relatives in the sounds of wind and water. Howard Broomfield was able to record that very special moment on tape, while I captured it on film.

SOUNDS OF THE INDUSTRIAL AGE

In the 1980s, the soundscape that Beaver Indian children now find familiar reverberates with vehicle engines, chain saws in the bush, the buzz of fluorescent lights and teachers' instructions in the schoolroom, canned laughter and saturated sound tracks from television sets at home, and country and western music. The latter is as constant and pervasive as drumming and singing were to elders in a previous generation. Both newer sounds and the echoes of a previous, ordinary reality which now seems like a distant dreaming of the old people were recorded. At one time, the old people were children who took the world of bush and animals for granted, just as today's children accept their own world without question. In years to come, the reality of today's children will seem like a dream to other children as yet unborn.

Recordings for the Beaver Indian audio archive which were made in 1979 covered the entire tapestry of the people's lives. Conversations, interviews with band officials, and informal narratives were all recorded. We accompanied Doig people to collect stories by old-timers like Slim Byrns in the white community. Children were recorded while talking, playing and singing songs taught by missionaries. We even recorded silences. The Beaver Indian audio archive is a stratified series of documents which reflects the sounds, language, and styles of people from different generations and with a wide range of knowledge and experience. Some of the sounds in Doig people's ears are delicate and subtle. Others take up the entire acoustic field. Some evoke the world of the bush and its animals. Others place the listener in the midst of an industrial civilization.

In years to come, Doig people may turn to their audio archive to hear themselves as they were at a particular moment in time. Eventually, the once ordinary world documented by the audio archive will be extraordinary to the ears of people in other times and places. Doig people may turn to recordings of today's ordinary sounds with the nostalgia and curiosity they now feel for recordings of Charlie Yahey in the 1960s. Unlike the recordings from that period, recent recordings document the full range of familiar acoustic environments. *In Doig People's Ears* is a documentary montage of sounds familiar to Beaver Indian people. It is a sampler of history as they have experienced it, as well as a history of how the Doig people were experienced by the settlers who took over much of their land.

Different generations of people at Doig River are sharply divided in their use of language. Although the oldest people on record in the audio archive speak little or no English, the youngest speak English in preference to Beaver. People of the middle generations are most comfortable in Beaver, and speak distinctive forms of "reservation English" according to their age, sex, and life experience. Characteristically, speech patterns which seem ordinary at a particular moment in time are the transient artifacts of a rapidly changing culture. *In Doig People's Ears* blends these voices and their different ways of speaking into a portrait of cultural change. Even non-Indian old-timers speak a language of horses, trails, and the fur trade that is far removed from the contemporary scene.

Before contact, the Peace River country supported the Beaver people and their ancestors for thousands of years. Even in today's world, the Beaver retain a sense of belonging to their country. They are still hunters, and the sounds and rhythms of the land provide them with security and identity. The land is large enough to swallow up the sounds of machines; snow still squeaks underfoot when it is very cold. Brash young men still whistle to dare the spirits that are the northern lights to dance down toward them. A style of speaking and singing has survived even the change of language.

The sounds of Beaver Indian drumming and singing are muted, but not gone, and it is not unusual to hear traditional music coming from a home or summer arbor. Upon approaching closer, one discovers that the music is being produced by a tape recorder, and the recording is one which I made of Charlie Yahey in the 1960s. In part because of my presence in the life of the Beaver people, what once seemed to me an extraordinary sound has now become part of the ordinary

acoustic environment. Cassette copies of my original tapes are in constant demand. With true Northern Athapaskan adaptability, people use the newly-available technology to preserve a tradition that remains important. They have even found a useful purpose for the resident anthropologist who would otherwise be quite useless in the bush.

DOCUMENTARY TECHNIQUE AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The audio documentary pieces which have been produced from the Beaver Indian archive of primary documents tell the story of an Indian community's changing ways of listening to the world around them. The pieces speak to both members of the community and to outsiders. They use a medium that respects the sensibilities of people who are still operating within an oral tradition, and they attempt to communicate a feeling for this oral tradition to people in our own culture who are conditioned to learn through the sequential ordering and authority of the printed word.

Ordinary life is synesthetic. It blends experiences from different senses, different times, different places, and even different cultures into a coherent and meaningful whole. The human mind blends and mixes information which is stored in personal memory and cultural codes. As it becomes integrated into successive contexts, past experience takes on different meanings. Audio documentaries are able to blend sounds from a particular cultural field in much the same way as the human mind blends experiences from a particular personal field. We make sense of our present experience by reference to the past, and we modify our interpretations of past events by reference to the present.

The medium of audio documentaries allows an anthropologist to present a montage of actualities which tell a story about a culture's past and present. These actualities modify each other's meanings within the context of the documentary. They can evoke the past to modify present experiences, and they can suggest alternative perspectives on the past. This montage has a synergistic effect. It creates a momentary, singular experience that gives the listener an opportunity to form a mental image of the events and settings being represented. Anthropologists must be responsible for using this medium to convey understandings that derive from sound anthropological thinking. The medium must not be used merely for dramatic effect. Rather, dramatic effect must be brought to the service of anthropology. Audiodocumentary techniques are particularly effective for communicating a sense of how a moment in the life of a person or culture is part of an ongoing process of culture change.

An old cowboy tells about how the Beaver Indians came together to sing and dance in the 1920s. His story rings true because of his recollection of their fat and shiny horses. A young Beaver Indian boy talks about wanting to become a lawyer. He knows that the world in which he grew up will not exist when he is mature, and says, "There isn't going to be a Doig here forever." The sound of singing and drumming continues to be part of the land and its people. An old man calls to his relatives in heaven and listens for a reply in the sounds of wind and water. Together, these separate documents create a documentary reality.

In all cultures, old and new blend into the experience of the moment. Traditionally, Beaver people consolidated their personal powers through dreams, and they have not given up this way of organizing their experience. Dreams allow the integration of personal experience with cultural form, and they permit both a reinterpretation of past experience and a prefiguring of what may be experienced in the future. Culture is an important template in the structuring of both of these processes. In vision quests, Beaver Indian boys and girls encounter giant animals which are already known to them through many stories. A Beaver Indian dreamer negotiates the trail to heaven because he is able to "grab hold of" a trail of song with his mind.

In the past, the individual experiences of Beaver people could be interpreted as personal manifestations of a timeless and enduring truth. Through vision quests, individual children came into contact with the powers of mythical time and space. Beaver Indian children came to know the stories of their culture as stories of their own lives. Myths that were relevant to the particular powers which they encountered in the bush served as guides throughout the rest of their lives. During the course of a lifetime, individuals could expect to grow into full realization of the medicine powers which they had encountered as children. In later life, the meaning of that childhood time out of time came into focus through dreams.

In all cultures, the meaning of any particular experience changes as it becomes recontextualized throughout the various stages of an individual's life. When the Beaver Indian people lived in isolated bush communities, they could understand individual experiences by reference to a common culture and the mutual understandings that come from knowing a common world of nature. Their dreams brought them together as people of a common mind, just as their dreamers brought them together as people of a common ceremonial order. They shared a mutually-understood, everyday reality of sights and sounds. The old man, Jumbie, was seeking this reality when he called out toward the sky to locate himself by reference to his departed relatives.

Today, Beaver people continue to share their mutually-understood, everyday realities of sights and sounds. Actualities of their everyday life are blended in our audio documentary to create the distinctive sound signature of a reserve community as it exists in the 1980s. Part of that sound signature is an echo of the past. Occasionally, people still sing the dreamers' songs, and every household regularly listens to these songs on tape. Beaver Indian people still hunt, trap, scrape moosehide, and make moccasins.

Another part of the everyday reality of contemporary Beaver people is the world of machines. Young people know cars and trucks as their parents knew horses and wagons. Nearly every household has a radio and tape deck, and many have a television. The sounds and sights of the world beyond the Doig River Reserve have become signatures of their day-to-day lives. Today, the reserve is surrounded by oil and gas installations, and pipeline pumping stations and wells fracture the stillness of the bush. We recorded both machines and the electronic media as part of the contemporary soundscape.

Beaver people now communicate with non-Indians on a regular basis, but

their world is still distinctive and very different from that of surrounding non-Indian communities. Although they retain a style which outsiders seldom encounter, our audio recordings document them as they are to one another. The audio documentary form of presentation assembles actualities from a cultural soundscape and creates an aural portrait of a community.

CONCLUSION

It is normal for human beings to experience the present as authentic and real. This is because sensations are more immediate than recollection. Although we know and even remember times when various details of life were different from the way we experience them at present, we usually accept the way things are no matter how we choose to compare them with the past. As members of the human species, we are biogenetically programed to accept developmental changes in the individual life cycle. Through symbol systems which integrate an individual's experiences at various stages in life, hunting and gathering cultures have traditionally reinforced this programing. These cultures also facilitate communication between people of different generations. On the whole, other human cultures are probably less well-programed to accept continual changes in the cultural instructions by which we attempt to make sense of our lives.

Traditional Beaver culture was rich in symbols for integrating a person's experiences at various stages in her or his life cycle. Vision quests, traditional myths, and dreaming were the principal channels through which people made contact with their own past and future selves. Because the developmental cycle could be expected to repeat itself from generation to generation, Beaver culture had time to develop subtle symbolic pathways to connect the experiences of children with those of mature adults and elders. Beaver names, particularly those of dreamers, were sometimes composites which meant something like "old person—young person." Old people looked to their childhood vision quest experiences as a source of empowerment. Children experienced these same vision quests as directing forces in their lives.

Culture change is a way of life for people in the modern industrialized world. The institutions and symbol systems of industrialized cultures emphasize changes in culture rather than cyclical, developmental changes in individual life cycles. Today, Beaver Indian people are experiencing the transition from being relatively autonomous, nomadic hunters and gatherers to being a settled minority within an industrial state. They are moving from relatively stable living conditions to ones in which unthinkable changes are the norm. The current rate of change within their own culture is enormous, and the generations of Beaver people who are now experiencing this change are unique. Their transition from hunting and gathering to participation in an economy based on food production and industry is a highly transient phenomenon which is occurring in only a few parts of the world today. The present process of social and economic change which is affecting Beaver people almost completes a global transformation that began shortly after the end of the last major glaciation.

The Beaver Indian audio archive of aural actualities documents a very special and distinctive process in human cultural history. Information in this archive may well be of theoretical significance in ways beyond those which are obvious at the moment. The changes in Beaver Indian culture which are recorded by the archive happen only once in a culture's history. They are unique to the generations of Beaver Indian people on record, and they are irreversible. Although Beaver people are as aware of their situation as we are, they are reacting to cultural change in ways that are distinctively their own. Even in the midst of the modern world, these people retain a flexibility, pragmatism, and sense of their own individual and communal worth that is a legacy of their nomadic, hunting past.

The Beaver Indian audio archive describes a poignant moment in human history. Because modern techniques of audio editing and mixing allow patterns and connections to be suggested in listener's minds, these documents speak to the dream-thinker within each of us. Nevertheless, Beaver people have accepted much of our work as ordinary. The reason for this is that they have experienced our work as they experience their own, everyday lives. In the process, we have become part of their taken-for-granted reality, as well a resource base from which they draw documentary information about their own past. At the same time, we have been able to give them certain insights about the intricacies of the modern world.

People from other cultures may perceive the world of our documentary productions as extraordinary. These productions attempt to create a synesthetic blend of ideas and experiences from actualities recorded among the Beaver people. As researchers, we are like Slim Byrns in 1929 as we graze our horses at the edge of an alien soundscape that has already "done somethin" to us. Perhaps both the original documents in the Beaver Indian audio archive and our documentary productions will contribute to an understanding of cultural changes which now threaten the very survival of our species in the nuclear age. Today, all people are part of the aboriginal population of this planet. We and the Beaver people are members of a common species facing a common peril. In times gone by, intelligent human beings moved away from situations which were life threatening. Today, although our entire species is at risk, we can no longer move away because we are people of the entire biosphere rather than of a particular territory.

If we survive the present nuclear crisis, soundscape documents of a people undergoing the transition from hunting and gathering to an industrial way of life may be valuable for planning the future through an understanding of the past. Upon maturity, Beaver Indians dreamed back to their childhood vision quest experiences for guidance. If our species achieves maturity, it may look back to its hunting and gathering heritage as a source of enlightenment. Although electronic media make it possible to preserve actualities from other times and places, without the intelligence of human understanding, these sounds lose all meaning and value. Human intelligence and understanding evolved with the hunting and gathering way of life. As hunting and gathering passes from actuality into memory, members of our species must adapt human intelligence to vastly different cultural conditions. In the nuclear age, failure to make this adaptation may terminate our entire

species. The intelligence of hunting and gathering ancestors is a resource we cannot afford to ignore.

NOTES

Material Relevant to the Beaver Indian Audio Archive which is on file with the National Museum of Man, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada:

A. ORIGINAL AUDIO DOCUMENTS

1. Reel-to-reel tapes recorded on a Uher 4000 Report L tape recorder between 1964 and 1971 (30 hours).
2. Reel-to-reel tapes recorded on Uher 4000 series mono and stereo tape recorders in 1979 (95 hours).
3. Cassette tapes recorded on JVC KD2, Sony TCD-5M, and Superscope CD-330 tape recorders between 1980 and 1983 (130 hours).

E. COMPLETED AUDIO DOCUMENTARIES

Broomfield, Howard

1983 In Doig People's Ears (42 minutes). Audio Documentary presented at both the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Canadian Ethnology Society, Université de Montréal, Montréal, Québec, May 11-13, 1984, and on CFRO Radio, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Broomfield, Howard, and Jillian Ridington

1981 Suffering Me Slowly (60 minutes). Produced for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Program, "The Hornby Collection." Vancouver, British Columbia: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio.

Broomfield, Howard, Jillian Ridington, and Robin Ridington

1980 Trails of the Dunne-za: A Suite of Four Radio Pieces. Four five-minute programs produced for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio Program, "Our Native Land." Ottawa, Ontario: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Radio.

Broomfield, Howard, and Robin Ridington

1979 Soundwalk to Heaven (50 minutes). Vancouver, British Columbia: CFRO Radio.

1981 Nextdoor Neighbors (30 minutes). Vancouver, British Columbia: CFRO Radio.

1982 Old Time Religion (60 minutes). Slide-tape "docu-drama" presented at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Ethnology Society, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, British Columbia, May 7-11, 1982.

C. CATALOGS

Broomfield, Howard

1979-1981 Catalog of Audio Tapes in the Beaver Indian Audio Archive: 1979-1981.

Ridington, Robin, and Myrna Cobb

1984a Catalog of Beaver Indian Slides.

1984b Directory of Audio Tapes in the Dunne-za Archive.

D. FINAL REPORTS ON RESEARCH CONTRACTS WITH THE CANADIAN ETHNOLOGY SERVICE

Ridington, Robin

1. Beaver Indian Aural History: Final Report on Contract No. 1630-1-053.
2. Beaver Indian Aural and Musical Traditions: Final Report on Contract No. 1630-1-481.

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1976 Wechuge and Windigo: A Comparison of Cannibal Relief Among Boreal Forest Athapaskans and Algonkians. Anthropologica 18:107-129.
1978 Swan People: The Prophet Dance Among The Dunne-za. National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper Number 38. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museums of Man.
1982a When Poison Gas Come Down Like a Fog: A Native Community's Response to Cultural Disaster. Human Organization 41:36-42.
1982b Technology, World View and Adaptive Strategy in a Northern Hunting Society. Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 19:469-481.
1983 From Artifice to Artifact: Stages in the Industrialization of a Northern Hunting People. Journal of Canadian Studies 18:55-66.

Native Print Journalism in the United States: Dreams and Realities

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Cet article étudie le développement des journaux indiens aux Etats-Unis et en retrace l'histoire depuis plus de 150 ans. L'auteur évalue la contribution des premiers journalistes indiens, et examine les ressemblances et les différences entre les premiers journaux indiens et les journaux contemporains ainsi que les problèmes que ces journalistes ont affrontés. Elle voit dans la capacité d'adaptation de la presse indienne (prise dans son ensemble), aux influences sociales et politiques un gage de vitalité pour l'avenir.

This article examines the development of native American newspapers in the United States and traces their history for over 150 years. The contributions of pioneer native journalists, similarities and differences between early and contemporary native newspapers, and the problems faced by native journalists are discussed. The fluidity which has generally characterized the response of the native press to social and political influences is seen as a guarantee of its future vitality.

INTRODUCTION

Well over a century and a half ago, a newspaper called the *Cherokee Phoenix* appeared in what is now Calhoun County, Georgia. This was the first in a series of newspapers published by and for native Americans.

The primary tasks of early native newspapers were educational, and they furthered survival in a world which was increasingly dominated by non-Indians. A survey of these early newspapers gives the impression that their editors felt that it was only a matter of time before tribal lands would be surrounded and stolen. To survive the imminent collision of cultures, Indians would need to be able to read, write, and converse in the language of non-Indian society. Early native newspapers offered news, information, and advertising, and they also alerted readers to dangers to themselves and their communities. When they circulated in varying degrees among non-Indians, native newspapers offered alternative views of Indian life and accomplishments.

As was the case for its non-Indian counterpart, the early history of the native American press was characterized by infrequent publication, primitive formats and content, high mortality rates, and minimal staffs and resources. In addition, there was substantial bilingual or even trilingual content in several early native newspapers printed in English as well as in Choctaw, Cherokee, Chickasaw, and eventually, Creek. Unlike non-Indian publications, Indian newspapers were imperilled by government policies or whims which might displace or decimate an entire readership before a paper could establish itself.

Pioneer native American publications were usually the official organs of tribal governments. Consequently, their editors often shaped editorial policy to promote the interests of the tribes they served. Even today, this same editorial shaping operates in many tribal newspapers, although a growing awareness of the need for freedom of the press is evident among tribal leaders. Despite tribal controls and sponsorship, early native newspapers were politically outspoken and often invited dispute and controversy. This practice sometimes led to name-calling and libel suits. In typical frontier style, it also sometimes led to physical violence and, in at least one instance, to murder.

In the southeastern United States, the Five Civilized Tribes included the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles. The first four of these constituted the center of early native journalism. Cherokees were the most active journalists, and only the Seminoles had no newspapers. Although many early tribal publications were initiated by or at least sponsored by religious missions scattered throughout "Indian country," most Indian newspapers began as a result of tribal efforts. The educational value of Indian publications was generally recognized by both Indian leaders and non-Indian government officials (Murphy and Murphy 1981; Foreman 1936).

Early native American newspapers served other functions as well. They advertised schools and hotels, publicized the settling of estates, announced postal schedules and unclaimed letters, printed steamboat schedules and merchants' sales lists, promoted patent-medicine companies, and recorded newly-enacted laws. They campaigned for law and order, warned women of dangers to their persons, and encouraged temperance. They also helped to establish towns by carrying advertisements to attract homesteaders. In general, they informed and supported the Indian nations.

The first Indian newspapers averaged between four and sixteen pages in length, and were about fifteen by twenty-four inches in size. Circulations ranged from a hundred to a thousand readers, and subscriptions cost between one and three dollars per year, often payable in advance. Like many of their non-Indian counterparts, the quality of these newspapers was uneven. Often, they criticized one another in their columns. For example, one editor wrote that his rival's newspaper needed "some fixin'," and that the "entire paper has the appearance of having been printed on a hand press and in an awful hurry" (College Paper March 4, 1904. Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science).

THE LEADERSHIP ROLE OF THE *CHEROKEE PHOENIX*

The *Cherokee Phoenix* played a major role in early Indian journalism. Founded on February 21, 1828, it was printed partly in English and partly in Cherokee and used the eighty-six character syllabic alphabet developed by Sequoyah, a Cherokee silversmith also known as George Guess or Gist. Efforts to establish this newspaper originated out of a combination of religious and political needs. On the one hand, missionaries recognized the potential of the printed word for "civilizing" and "uplifting" the Cherokees. On the other hand, the Cherokee Na-

tional Council was aware of the role which an accelerated educational program could play in its fight for survival. To counter non-Indian encroachment on their homelands, the Cherokees needed to learn to use non-Indian weapons. Through the medium of a newspaper, the Cherokee National Council hoped to unify opinion in the Cherokee nation and to gain outside support for Cherokee rights to their homelands.

With this in mind, the Cherokee National Council commissioned Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee school teacher, council clerk, and New England-educated missionary, to begin an intensive fund-raising effort to support a newspaper venture. Boudinot travelled throughout the east coast of the United States, speaking before philanthropic and church groups. At the same time, the Cherokee National Council committed $1,500.00 of tribal funds to finance the purchase of a press and type.

Especially during its early history, the four-page *Phoenix* (in Cherokee, *Tsa-la-ge-tsi-hi-sa-ni-hi*) was a focal point of the Cherokee nation. It portrayed the standards of Cherokee civilization, discussed problems and politics, and reflected the most persistent issues of Cherokee life. In addition, it informed people about the early phases of the controversy over government removal of Indians from their ancestral lands to Indian territory in Oklahoma. This controversy, and the political factions within the Cherokee Nation which grew up around it, set the stage for the decline of the newspaper, the death of Boudinot at Cherokee hands, and serious misfortunes for the Cherokee Nation.

On May 31, 1834, publication of the *Cherokee Phoenix* was suspended, ostensibly for financial reasons, but in reality because of Cherokee uncertainty and dissension regarding the threat of removal and the newspaper's role vis-à-vis this threat. Indeed, Boudinot had resigned as editor in 1832 because he advocated removal as the only viable hope for Cherokee survival, a viewpoint which was at odds with official Cherokee policy. On August 11, 1832, Boudinot had written in farewell, "I cannot tell them (the Cherokees) that we shall be reinstated in our rights when I have no such hope." It was not until 1843, following the disastrous "Trail of Tears," when Cherokees were forced to march from Georgia to what would later become Oklahoma Territory, that another Cherokee national newspaper was established. This publication, the *Cherokee Advocate*, first appeared on September 26, 1844 and was followed by two collegiate newspapers in 1848 and 1855.

OTHER NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEWSPAPERS

The early work of three other tribes also deserves mention. The Choctaws, who had been forced from their Mississippi homelands in the early 1830s, established the *Choctaw Telegraph* in 1848. Other Choctaw papers soon followed. In 1854, the *Chickasaw Intelligencer* appeared in Tishomingo City, capital of the Chickasaw Nation in Indian Territory (later southern Oklahoma). The *Chickasaw Intelligencer* ushered in a brief period of journalism which was interrupted by

the outbreak of the American Civil War. The war forced southeastern Indians into another losing stance where some of the wealthier were, or had been, slaveholders. Although southeastern Indian chiefs and leaders had urged a policy of neutrality, northerners commonly believed that "southern" Indians were pro-Confederacy. In reality, this belief offered a handy excuse for indigent non-Indians to covet lands and properties which had been ceded to southern Indians by treaties. During the years of the Civil War, Indian publications were suspended, bowing to various pressures and sometimes to forced government action. These publications were then reactivated during the reconstruction of the South.

Among the Indian newspapers established during this second phase of native journalism were the reactivated *Cherokee Advocate* (1879), the *Choctaw Vindicator* (1872), the *Atoka Independent* (1877), the Caddo Indian *Free Press* (1878), the *Indian Champion* (1884), the *Indian Citizen* (1886), and the *Tahlequah Telephone* (1887). The Creek Nation's influential and controversial *Indian Progress* appeared on October 22, 1875, promising in its inaugural issue to educate citizens so that they would "not fall an easy prey to scheming demagogues and plausible villains."

Other tribes also ventured into print. Through the Baptist Mission Press, the Shawnee Sioux published the *Siwinowe Kesibwi* (*Shawnee Sun*) as early as 1835. A little over four decades later, in 1878, the *Cheyenne Transporter* began publication on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in Darlington, Indian Territory (later the state of Oklahoma). The *Osage Herald* first appeared in 1875 as a Saturday publication, and was followed in 1910 by the *Cheyenne and Arapaho Carrier Pigeon*. Most of these newspapers served as general interest publications, offering community information and advertising, while at the same time playing the role of watchdog and crusader.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PUBLICATIONS

Other, more militant publications were also established after the turn of the century. One of these, the *Quarterly Journal* published by the Society of American Indians, included works by most of the major Indian writers and scholars of the day. This Washington, D.C.-based publication appeared in 1912, and was followed soon afterward by the *American Indian Magazine*, a national magazine focusing on Indians as a race rather than as a mere collection of disparate and competing tribes. About four years later, a newspaper called *Wassaja* was established in 1916. *Wassaja* used the slogan "Let My People Go," and promoted native enfranchisement, greater assimilation into American culture and society, and less emphasis on reservations. Another Washington, D.C. publication titled the *NCAI Bulletin* served as the newsletter of the National Congress of American Indians and opposed federal government policies aimed at terminating reservations and the reservation rights of Indians. Established in 1947, the pioneer role of the *NCAI Bulletin* resembled that of the *Cherokee Phoenix*. By mid-century, there were newsletters and newspapers on reservations across the United States, as well as in urban areas with substantial Indian populations. The *New Cherokee Advocate* was re-

established at the Cherokee national capital in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in 1950. Examples of urban publications were the Los-Angeles-based *Talking Leaf* which began in 1935, and *Smoke Signals*, begun in Sacramento, California in 1947.

Following World War II, a new era of expansion in Indian journalism resulted in about 400 currently operating publications. Among these are Alaska native publications which were established and have blossomed in the last thirty years (Murphy 1982). These have included the *Voice of Brotherhood*, which was begun in 1954 as an advocate of native rights and well-being, the *Sealaska Shareholder*, the *Tundra Times*, and the *All-Alaska Weekly*, all of which have generally been more sophisticated than Indian publications elsewhere in the United States. The sophistication of these publications may be attributed to both historical circumstances and to the fact that in Alaska, native people have not had the same reservation status as Indians in other states. Since the late nineteenth century, native Alaskans have attended public schools, competed for political office, and participated in the economic life of the area. Thus, they have been generally better prepared for the business and professional challenges of journalism than other native Americans. This statement is not intended to underestimate the challenges of native journalism in Alaska, but rather to put its accomplishments in perspective.

In late March 1984, the twenty-five year old *Navajo Times*, established in 1959, became a daily newspaper. After initially serving as a monthly, education-oriented paper, the *Navajo Times* gradually matured into a full-fledged, general-interest community newspaper. Today, it is still in the first stages of development as a daily newspaper, having shut down for several weeks in mid-April, 1984 due to problems with equipment and facilities.

The *Navajo Times* is part of a significant and diversified American Indian network of publications which arose during the 1970s and 1980s. This network encompasses newspapers in at least two-thirds of the United States, including several papers which claim national and international distribution and readership, scores of Indian high school and college publications, papers by prison culture groups, several scholarly and special interest publications, legal and financial publications, and literary magazines.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NATIVE PUBLICATIONS

Native newspapers may appear weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, quarterly, or even irregularly. They can be tribal, inter-tribal, urban, or regional in scope and affiliation. Their staffs may include skilled and experienced journalists, rank amateurs, and every level of skills in between. Staff members of native publications may be paid, underpaid, or volunteers. Although today's native press is almost entirely in the English language, growing numbers of editors are attempting to include short sections or articles in tribal languages. Factors which work against bilingualism for native publications include a lack of systematically prepared grammars, the occasional lack of specially-designed type fonts, and often, a lack of writers and typesetters who are skilled in tribal languages.

Few native newspapers could be considered money-making ventures. Most got their start and continue to exist only through various forms of tribal, educational, or governmental subsidies. Although a few native newspapers are financially independent, most are shoestring operations. As a result, many have short life spans, erratic formats and publication schedules, and extremely limited staffs. They may be inexpensively published, sometimes appearing as mimeographed, legal-sized sheets which are stapled together by volunteer hands. A popular format for native publications is the monthly newsprint tabloid of twelve to sixteen pages, closely resembling a small town weekly. Today, increasing attention is being given to advertising in order to help meet rising costs and to make native newspapers less dependent on tribal subsidies.

Another noteworthy characteristic is that the style and conventions of many native newspapers often differ from the so-called objective news reporting of the established non-Indian press. Stories in the native press are frequently written from an Indian viewpoint and may be unabashedly laced with the personal opinions of reporters and editors. Editorials, letters to editors, and political cartoons may leave no doubt as to where writers and editors stand on various issues. Of course, major native newspapers and influential native journalists are making many serious efforts to stress quality writing, professional reporting, and writing "in a colorblind fashion for the undefined reader" (LaCourse 1982:117). However, biases which exist in the work of all journalists are often more openly manifested in native journalism.

At the same time, increasing attention is being paid to complicated issues and careful analysis. Native newspapers have an acknowledged, historical mission which they alone can fulfill. This mission is to correct or put into perspective Indian news which is misinterpreted or ignored by the majority non-Indian press. Some of the areas of news reporting which are relevant to this mission include legal affairs, politics and government, education, health, culture and heritage, language preservation, entertainment, and the interracial situations created by reservation borders that are also frequently peripheral zones of violence. The impetus which native newspapers offer for the survival of self-pride and tribal identity suggests that they are essential. D'Arcy McNickle, the highly-respected Flathead Indian and anthropologist, called native newspapers a decisive force in creating an enduring policy of self-determined cultural pluralism (1973:169).

By the mid-1960s, he emergence of Indian legal publications represented another avenue for self-determination to which the native press had responded. Rose Robinson of the Washington, D.C.-based Phelps Stokes Foundation has called Indian journalists "chroniclers of their own contemporary history" (Medium Rare: Indian Communications Newsletter 1973 1(5 August-September):2. Washington, D.C.: American Indian Press Association News Bureau). Despite the importance of communication and training for the profession of native journalism, there is still a lack of visible incentives for young Indians to pursue journalism as a career. Salaries for work on native publications are generally low, and in most cases, Indian tribes cannot pay competitive salaries which would attract and keep

top editorial talent. Thus, the incentives for long hours of thankless work must come from other sources besides money.

During interviews in the 1970s and early 1980s, most native American editors could identify few, if any, journalistic role models for young Indians who might be in the process of choosing careers. The powerful newspapers which young Indians were reading seldom carried native bylines, and none had native editors. At that time, radio and television programs featured few, if any, Indians. As was the case for other minority groups, the white-dominated mass media and educational institutions were seen as lacking an interest in prospective Indian journalists and in the needs of native Americans in general, even when they could point to efforts at recruitment. Simultaneously, tribal newspapers acknowledged their inability to offer competitive opportunities for native journalists.

Beyond financial and career considerations, there are continuing tensions between the interests of Indian tribes and freedom of the press as guaranteed by both the United States Constitution and the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968. The Indian Civil Rights Act contains a fundamental guarantee of freedom of the press for Indian tribes, and also emphasizes that freedom of expression within reasonable limits, excepting obscenity, libel, and slander, applies to all Indians whether they are on or off reservations. Richard LaCourse, a scholar of the Indian press, has stated that "Freedom of the press is a burgeoning actuality within the legal documents of Indian tribes" (1982:105). Furthermore, native editors acknowledge the tensions they experience when criticizing tribal leadership or other aspects of Indian life. Many of these editors admit to being torn between self-censorship and the free marketplace of ideas. As one native editor told a researcher, "Yes, this is a mouthpiece for the tribe. Maybe I'm knuckling under sometimes, but when you think of the greater good (which is accomplished by self-censorship), you do it." Another editor, whose paper was controlled by the Board of Directors of an intertribal corporation said, "When it comes to leading strong campaigns, we must tread very carefully." This editor happened to be involved in just such a campaign at the time, and his paper folded not long after he made his comment (for a further discussion of freedom of the press vis-à-vis native journalists, see LaCourse 1982).

In working toward effective communication systems, native editors and tribal leaders have explored cooperative efforts such as media associations and regional advertising ventures. Examples of cooperative efforts include the American Indian Press Association, which was nationally active from 1970 to 1975; a subscription news service called the Northwest Indian News Association, which was begun in 1978; the Southwest Indian Media Collective, which was begun in Albuquerque, New Mexico in 1977 as a service for subscribers in Arizona and New Mexico; the Southern Plains Indian Media Association, and a cooperative advertising venture called the Indian Newspaper Publishers Association, which originated in the state of Washington in 1977. That same year also marked the beginning of annual Indian media conferences of print journalists, broadcasters, and video communications specialists. In the early 1980s, efforts were announced for a national Indian newspaper modeled on both the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New*

York Times, which would be published in Washington, D.C. and serve as a syndicated news service. In 1980, the Alaska Native Media Association, initially representing sixteen native publications and several freelance journalists, was established in Anchorage, Alaska. Formal planning for a Native American Press Association to facilitate cooperation among print journalists, with initial funding from the Gannett Foundation, was begun in 1984.

Both the history and the current circumstances of native print journalism in the United States offer many examples of courage and determination. At times, the native press has faced insurmountable odds. One of its most central characteristics has been the fluidity of its response to changing needs and conditions, and to economic, social, and political pressures. While fluidity may endanger growth, it may also guarantee the vitality of responsive growth. Native American print journalism has made many important contributions to North American life. Judging from its current directions, it promises even greater contributions in the decades ahead.

NOTES

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In discussing efforts of the early native American press in the United States, one must acknowledge the work of related, though non-Indian, mission, school, and agency presses and publications in the educational and often sentinel efforts described here.

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Le journalisme indien à la croisée des courants d'action journalistique

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Malgré plusieurs décennies de pratique journalistique, les Indiens d'Amérique du Nord (Canada et Etats-Unis) ne sont pas parvenus à une définition analytique de leur approche professionnelle. Cet article tente de montrer que quatre courants de pratique journalistique influencent présentement le développement du journalisme indien: le journalisme occidental nord-américain, le journalisme existentiel, le journalisme pour le développement, et la philosophie traditionnelle de la communication chez les Indiens.

Notwithstanding four decades of journalistic practice, North American Indians in Canada and the United States have not formulated an analytical definition of their professional approach. This paper assesses the four major approaches to journalistic practice which currently influence the development of native journalism: western North American journalism, existential journalism, developmental journalism, and the traditional philosophy of social communication among native peoples.

Les mass media du vingtième siècle posent aux peuples autochtones un problème épineux: comment définir non seulement à la lumière des circonstances et des besoins présents, mais aussi à la lumière de l'histoire, des croyances, et des traditions millénaires, la relation ambiguë qu'ils doivent établir et maintenir avec ces monstres omniprésents que sont les mass media, s'ils veulent utiliser ces moyens techniques à leurs propres fins?

Il ne semble pas, jusqu'à présent, qu'un effort particulier d'analyse et de synthèse ait été accompli par les peuples autochtones pour tenter de répondre à ce besoin de définir aussi précisément que possible ce que sont les journalistes autochtones.

Cet essai a pour but d'apporter quelques éléments de réponse et se limite au domaine bien particulier du journalisme indien en Amérique du Nord (Canada et EU).

Les média de la société nord-américaine font baigner les nations indiennes de ce continent dans une conception du journalisme bien particulière. La plupart des écoles de journalisme et des média américains et canadiens professent un attachement quasi-religieux à l'objectivité, la neutralité, l'impersonnalité, et l'absence de sentiments. Ces canons journalistiques s'accompagnent d'un rejet aussi constant que contre-naturel de l'expression des goûts personnels du journaliste et d'une sous-utilisation de ses facultés de jugement. La presse (au sens large du terme) de la société dominante, de Miami à Vancouver, et de Terre-Neuve à San Diego, tend à flatter le robot en l'homme-journaliste, le programmant à se concentrer sur l'exactitude des faits, l'équilibre des sources, et l'objectivité en tant qu'attitude mentale.

Le journaliste nord-américain est devenu au fil des siècles un technicien de l'information, l'agent collecteur et rapporteur du consommateur de nouvelles. La définition de la nouvelle s'est trouvée, pour sa part, limitée par une série de lignes directrices orientées vers "ce qui intéresse les foules". Tout ceci s'explique, bien sûr, par l'histoire de la presse nord-américaine, ses fonctions dans la société, sa peur maladive des initiatives de l'Etat en matière de communication de masse et son assujetissement à la philosophie de la libre-entreprise.

Il est difficile d'évaluer l'influence exacte de cette presse et de sa philosophie sur le développement de la presse indienne. On peut toutefois affirmer, sans peur de se tromper, que la population indienne de l'Amérique du Nord est soumise aux mêmes "massages de messages" que la population non-indienne, qui tantôt se superposent aux traits culturels et sociaux de cette population et tantôt entrent en conflit avec ceux-ci.

Le développement du journalisme indien en Amérique du Nord illustre en partie l'influence puissante des média de la société non-indienne. Le livre de Murphy et Murphy, *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978* (1981), recense la plupart des initiatives indiennes en matière de presse depuis la fin du dix-neuvième siècle. Dans l'ensemble, toutes ces initiatives témoignent, dans leurs structures, de l'influence prédominante de la société blanche nord-américaine.

Les caractéristiques, négatives ou positives, de la philosophie du journalisme nord-américain sont bien connues. Un nombre grandissant de chercheurs en communication de masse sur ce continent s'efforcent, dans leurs travaux et leur enseignement, de les analyser et de remédier aux carences qu'ils leur découvrent. Autant que faire se peut, bien sûr, car derrière la presse et ses particularités se dissimule tout l'appareil socio-économique et culturel d'une société hautement organisée.

Toute société a le journalisme qu'elle mérite, dit-on, souvent. Loin d'être satisfaisante pendant les phases de croissance qui ont suivi la révolution industrielle de la fin du siècle dernier, la façon nord-américaine de traiter les nouvelles a du moins aujourd'hui le mérite de servir de support inconditionnel à la société de consommation qui l'a engendrée. Il est difficile d'imaginer l'une sans l'autre, pour le meilleur et pour le pire.

Il est intéressant de noter également que les sociétés européennes ont vu leurs journalismes se développer de façon différente, et ceci malgré leur étroite parenté avec les sociétés canadienne et américaine. La dimension politique du journalisme des dix-septième, dix-huitième et dix-neuvième siècles ne s'est pas éteinte, étouffée sous les considérations économiques et les développements techologiques comme en Amérique du Nord. En fait, le journalisme européen demeure, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, personnel et subjectif, frondeur, en prise avec le public, et souvent politiquement engagé.

En observant le développement de la presse indienne au Canada, de cette seconde moitié du siècle, il me semble que ce que John Merrill a appelé "le journalisme existentiel" couvre une partie des traits originaux que le journaliste indien canadien veut pratiquer pour lui-même. Ces traits, bien sûr, le démarquent radicalement du journaliste travaillant pour les média de la société dominante.

Il vaut la peine de s'attarder quelques instants sur l'analyse de ce journa-

lisme existentiel qui semble répondre aux besoins des journalistes indiens, au moins partiellement.

Tout comme l'éducation des enfants des nations Cris est orientée sur le développement de la personne en tant qu'individu libre et totalement original, le journaliste existentiel ne peut être remplacé par un autre journaliste. La rébellion des Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, Tom Wicker et autres, contre l'anonymité et l'anonymat, contre la dissolution de l'individu dans la masse, rejoint les positions et les points de vue, personnels et collectifs, exprimés par l'individu journaliste indien.

Rester en dehors de la matière que le journaliste décrit et analyse, définit en partie l'objectivité prônée par tant de journalistes chevronnés du monde nord-américain. Cette règle d'or de l'ignorance de soi entre en conflit ouvert avec la définition même de l'homme en tant qu'être: si je veux être vraiment, complètement, je ne peux me limiter à un rôle de miroir; si je ne suis qu'un observateur neutre et non-engagé, alors, très simplement, je ne suis pas; je ne dois pas essayer d'échapper à moi-même, surtout si je suis journaliste. C'est seulement dans le respect de soi-même, des autres et de la vérité, nous dit Camus, qu'un bon journaliste accomplit sa mission. Dans le droit fil de l'éducation traditionnelle indienne, s'accomplir soi-même fait partie intégrante de l'action journalistique.

Au coeur même des forces multiples qui veulent dépersonnaliser tout individu appartenant à nos sociétés de masse, il est réconfortant (et ironique) de penser que, de ceux qui survivent en marge de cette société, peut venir une contre-force porteuse de liberté pour tout un chacun.

Le faible niveau de développement économique et social de la société indienne canadienne suggère très nettement la possibilité d'une troisième forme d'influence sur le journalisme indien. Quelles que soient les facettes de la société indienne que l'on examine, il est difficile de ne pas faire le rapprochement avec la réalité historique des sociétés colonisées et la réalité actuelle des nations en voie de développement.

Les nations du Sud ont, depuis leur accès à l'indépendance, travaillé à la genèse d'un nouveau type de journalisme, plus adapté, aux besoins économiques de leurs citoyens et à leur réalité sociale. Ce journalisme pour le développement (developmental journalism) et le journalisme rural africain séduisent les praticiens indiens de la communication de masse et leurs chefs politiques dans la mesure où ils pourraient s'adapter à la réalité indienne actuelle au Canada.

On peut décrire brièvement comment cette troisième famille de journalisme peut avoir prise sur ce journalisme indien actuellement en cours de maturation. Cette influence peut s'exercer sur la forme et sur le fond de l'information transmise ainsi que sur la relation presse-public.

En allant du général au spécifique, on peut ainsi dresser une liste (incomplète, mais néanmoins suggestive) de six secteurs d'activité journalistique que le journalisme pour le développement et le journalisme rural africain qualifient d'essentiels, et qui ont tout pour séduire les professionnels indiens de la communication de masse.

1. Dans cette nouvelle approche des média, information et éducation se rapprochent étroitement, jusqu'à devenir synonymes. Les média deviennent les vecteurs d'enseignement dont la population, surtout rurale, a foncièrement besoin.
2. Le lecteur/auditeur/téléspectateur se tourne vers son journal, sa radio, ou son téléviseur pour les informations et les conseils qui lui permettront de résoudre les problèmes pratiques et immédiats auxquels il est confronté. Il a besoin d'informations terre-à-terre (sans jeu de mots) pour améliorer ses techniques de travail, ses conditions de santé et d'hygiène, et pour contribuer au développement économique et social de sa communauté. Les média doivent donc être en prise directe avec la réalité quotidienne des gens et leurs besoins.
3. Supposant—à tort ou à raison—que la lecture d'un journal et l'attention portée aux informations constituent des activités positives, mettre les média à la disposition de tous fait partie des priorités de ce journalisme.
4. Le système de presse n'ayant pas derrière lui plusieurs siècles de développement, de structures établies, et étant par conséquent, moins rigide, il est possible de promouvoir une presse locale décentralisée. Assister la population des zones rurales dans la maîtrise de ces techniques de communication afin de lui assurer sa propre expression dans ses propres média constitue un autre but que ces journalistes s'efforcent d'atteindre.
5. Pour ces journalistes, l'information ne se limite pas à la collecte et la dissémination des nouvelles. Ils doivent s'engager dans l'après-lecture, l'après-écoute, ou l'après-vision. Les journalistes, agents actifs du développement, doivent s'assurer de la participation effective de leur public au développement. On peut noter ici que ce travail est difficile à effectuer sans relier journalisme à engagement politique, au sens originel du terme.
6. Dans le traitement de l'information elle-même, le journaliste doit avant tout considérer les limites et les capacités de compréhension de son public. Ceci se traduit par un langage très simple, un usage abondant de graphiques, de photos, de dessins, et d'illustrations de toutes sortes qui "parlent" davantage aux gens dont l'esprit n'a pas encore été complètement moulé par la langue écrite et imprimée.

En fait, le journalisme pour le développement peut se concevoir comme un journalisme d'action. Non pas l'action à la Clark Kent ou à la Tintin, mais l'action économique, culturelle, ou sociale, que le journal, l'émission de radio ou la télévision déclenchera dans la population réceptrice.

Ce journalisme pour le développement est porteur de bien des promesses dans de nombreux pays du Tiers-Monde. Ce n'est pas par hasard que la recherche de définitions et de lignes directrices que mène aujourd'hui le journalisme indien inclut les principales caractéristiques du journalisme des pays du Sud. Les conditions de vie des nations indiennes et des nations du Sud out un trait commun: la pauvreté.

Cette revue rapide des différents courants de pensée et d'action qui affectent le développement du journalisme indien ne saurait ignorer la tradition indienne de communication et le respect profond et ancestral des nations indiennes pour la transmission exacte des informations à travers les temps. Les anciens peuvent encore attester aujourd'hui de la formation exigeante à laquelle devait se soumettre ceux qui allaient devenir conteurs. Jamake Highwater nous a donné cette belle définition du conteur indien dans *Anpao*:

> Chez les Indiens d'Amérique du Nord, le conteur est un tisserand. (...)Les motifs qu'il fait naître sont toujours très anciens, mais les mains qui les tissent sont toujours jeunes(...) Les mots, commes les fils d'un tissage, sont nouveaux et

> miens, mais les contes eux-mêmes appartiennent à tous(...) Récents ou anciens, les contes n'ont pas d'auteurs connus. Ils forment le flot de la mémoire d'un peuple, bondissant d'images et de sens d'un endroit à un autre, d'une génération à une autre. Les conteurs et les contes sont si bien mêlés dans le temps et l'espace que nul ne peut les séparer.

Ces contes transmis de bouche à oreille, de génération en génération, jouaient, jouent encore, plusieurs rôles cruciaux dans la survie et le développement des sociétés indiennes. Morale, connaissance de la nature, science, histoire, géographie, étaient ainsi enseignées aux jeunes générations, et du même coup rappelées aux moins jeunes en une sorte de formation continue orale et adaptée. De plus, les conteurs, qu'ils fussent professionnels ou amateurs, fournissaient aux familles indiennes toutes les variations possibles des oeuvres de fiction de nos media modernes: aventures, tragédies, comédies, tout le registre des sentiments réinventés à Hollywood ou Fleet Street étaient mimés, contés, chantés, autour des feux pendant les longues soirées d'hiver. La tradition des contes et légendes demeure la réponse indienne à la question propre à la condition humaine, ce "pourquoi?" qui fait progresser l'homme. Les journalistes indiens ne peuvent ignorer cette longue tradition de réflexion, de poésie, d'humour, et de sensibilité, que leur ont léguée les générations antérieures.

En conclusion, il serait peut-être utile de souligner le fait que la définition balbutiante et incomplète du journalisme indien qui a été tentée dans cet essai ne prétend pas être une formule gravée dans le marbre.

Il faut y voir, plutôt, une tentative de défrichage. Les courants de pensée et d'action qui semblent concourir à former un nouveau courant original on été présentés de façon sommaire. Néanmoins, il serait intéressant de poursuivre la recherche d'une définition adéquate du type de journalisme dont les nations indiennes ont besoin.

Si cet essai peut amorcer un dialogue sur la question "Qu'est-ce que le journalisme indien?" il aura servi la cause du développement autonome des nations premières du Canada.

NOTES

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The Organizational Structure of the *Toronto Native Times* (1968-1981)

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En retraçant l'histoire du *Toronto Native Times*, au cours de ses treize années d'existence, l'auteur de cet article analyse l'instabilité des structures de ce journal comme typique de nombreux journaux indiens publiés dans les villes. Bien que les éditeurs du *TNT* aient eu l'ambition de produire un journal dépassant le cadre du bulletin communautaire, ils n'ont pu, à long terme, réaliser ce projet faute de ressources financières. L'auteur examine également les préjugés politiques les plus courants qu'on peut trouver dans les articles du *TNT*.

This article describes the history of a native Canadian newspaper published in Toronto between 1968 and 1981 and appropriately titled the *Toronto Native Times*. An attempt is made to show how the operating environments of native periodicals generally hamper fulfillment of their optimal roles. As such, the article provides information which is potentially useful to policy makers. While its opening sections are purely descriptive, the latter sections of the article relate the organizational structure of the *Toronto Native Times* to that of other native publications in order to provide a general perspective on problems confronting the native Canadian press.

INTRODUCTION

In 1983, Toronto's so-called ethnic press included publications in as many as thirty-seven languages. These publications included such languages as Byelorussian, at least seventeen periodicals in Italian, and four daily Chinese newspapers (Reutl 1983). Then, as now, no newspaper or magazine of professional quality spoke for Toronto's estimated population of 25,000 Canadian Indians in either a native Canadian language or English. Today, nothing other than an amateurish, and sometimes handwritten newsletter notifies native Canadians in Toronto of the services, events, and issues of local community life. In 1984, a highly sophisticated native magazine titled *Sweetgrass* began publication in Toronto. Following two years of work and three issues of what was originally planned as a monthly magazine, there seemed to be no funding for a fourth issue. Furthermore, since *Sweetgrass* was designed as a national publication, it was never an adequate means of communication for native Canadians in Toronto.

Over the years, native Canadian periodicals have been published in an environment characterized by a high level of professional isolation, including tenuous social and occupational ties between native journalists. One symptom of this situation is an absence of histories of native Canadian periodicals. Reforms which might give native magazines and newspapers a longer lifespan than they have had in

the past cannot be implemented while practicing journalists, native politicians, and government bureaucrats lack a clear grasp of the reasons for the persistent failure of these periodicals.

Organizational structure has been defined as "the routine ways people coordinate their efforts in actualizing a symbolic product or service" (Peterson 1982:147). This concept stresses the ways organizational factors, such as competition or the source and amount of funding, restrain or facilitate the production and dissemination of knowledge. In this article, the use of the term organizational structure underlines the argument that the closing of the *Toronto Native Times* in 1981 was not due to personal failings of the staff, but to the constraining social and economic environment in which the employees were obliged to work.

It must be emphasized that despite being one of Ontario's longest-surviving native periodicals, the *Toronto Native Times* was quite a modest newspaper. During some years, it was not much more than a quality friendship centre newsletter. Because the paper kept no archives, its history is extremely poorly documented. One reason why it is worth attempting to trace the life cycle of the *Toronto Native Times*, despite scanty information, is that the newspaper was representative of native Canadian newspapers in general. Although it was published in a highly urban environment one block from the University of Toronto campus, its organizational structure resembles that of many native Canadian newspapers, regardless of their locations.

Information gathered for this article is partly based on the personal experience of the author, who worked as a "reporter" for the *Toronto Native Times* from October 1980 until the middle of 1981. By the spring of 1981, it was apparent that the paper would cease publication. While tracing the newspaper's history, the author wrote an article documenting its difficulties, and in the process was able to meet and talk with most of the previous editors (Riggins 1981b).

THE VOICE OF A COMMUNITY OR AN ORGANIZATION?

"It doesn't look like much yet but it's a newspaper," proclaimed the very first issue of the *Toronto Native Times* in an attempt to reassure its readers when it appeared in the summer of 1968.[1] Indeed, the first issue was an unpretentious, one-page, mimeographed, and rather amateurish newsletter which constituted one of the activities of a journalism course at Toronto's "alternative" educational institution, Rochdale College. A co-sponsor of this early version of the newspaper was a short-lived organization called the Institute for Indian Studies, which was also located at Rochdale College.

The aspiring journalists who produced this early newspaper were still uncertain about its name. Two possibilities were offered: (a) *Anishnabe Times*; and (b) an effective though overworked pun--*Red, White and You*. However, the name *Toronto Native Times* not only had the advantage of being more appropriate, but also of having the memorable and humorous initials, "TNT." One reason readers and employees savored this acronym over the years was its irony. Except for the strength of its commitment to native self-determination, the *Toronto Native Times* was anything but radical.

After three mimeographed issues of what was ambitiously promised as a weekly publication, the *Toronto Native Times* quietly folded. Two years later in September 1970, the fourth issue of Volume One appeared. For the rest of its existence, the *Toronto Native Times* assumed a tabloid format which varied in length over the years from eight to twenty pages. The main sponsor of the newspaper was the Canadian Indian Centre (now the Native Canadian Centre) of Toronto, and the paper was initially produced by the centre's youth group. Since the Canadian Indian Centre was already publishing a mimeographed newsletter called *Beaver Tales*, this was incorporated into the *Toronto Native Times*. Co-sponsors of the *TNT* during its early years included the Nishnawbe Institute (formerly the Institute for Indian Studies at Toronto's Rochdale College) and the United Church.

Throughout its lifespan, the *TNT* was always linked to a native association. Since its most significant sponsor was the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, the *TNT* must be viewed as one of the centre's many community services, several of which were given priority over the newspaper. Other services at the centre included job counseling, daycare, treatment for alcoholism and drug abuse, social activities for the elderly, an adult literacy program, and athletics for youngsters. Although each editor regarded the *TNT* as more than simply the voice of the Native Canadian Centre, there were never enough funds or staff to gather and publicize events outside of Toronto. The best indication of underfunding was that before 1977, the *TNT* rarely employed more than one person, and this lone staff member was generally paid on a part-time basis. In 1980, a professional journalist named Ken Armstrong suggested that an ideal number of staff for the *TNT* would include five employees: "a full-time editor, a full-time senior writer, a part-time junior writer..., a part-time office manager who is proficient in bookkeeping, and a full-time advertising and circulation manager" (Armstrong 1980).

Typically, the *Toronto Native Times* resembled small-town weekly newspapers throughout North America. Although its articles covered a diverse range of topics from women's fashion to prison reform, the editors rarely discussed their vision for the paper. One notable exception was the native editor, Beth Perrott, who headed *TNT* from 1973 to 1976. Perrott chose to emphasize community formation as her main objective:

> The policy of the Toronto Native Times is to serve all native people living in Toronto or coming to Toronto and in this way be a cohesive force. The oft-repeated complaint is that we do not socialize enough among ourselves. Socialization means more than the annual dances that are held and more than congregating at the S.D. [the Silver Dollar Bar] important as these activities are in themselves....(Perrott 1973).

One of the few other presentations of the newspaper's goals was written by another editor named Anne Fitterer in 1980. In contrast to Perrott, Fitterer (who is not a native person) defined the *TNT*'s first objective as promoting "an awareness and understanding between the native and non-native communities." Other important goals stated by Fitterer included giving "the newcomer [to Toronto] the information necessary to acclimatize to a new environment," and the "pro-

motion of higher health standards and better nutrition." Fitterer promised that the paper would feature native artists, writers, and photographers who were looking for a suitable place to publish their work (Toronto Native Times 1980:3-4). In general, Fitterer placed exceptional stress on the *TNT* as an educational vehicle, a view which differentiated its content from that of the average small-town weekly that Alexis de Tocqueville so severely criticized in the 1830s (de Tocqueville 1964). Regarding the political direction of the paper, Fitterer wrote:

> This newspaper will speak out fearlessly on controversial issues affecting native people. It will be the policy of this publication to do everything within the power of research and in the face of controversy to give a fair appraisal of issues. This newspaper is not a radical instrument designed to incite controversy, rather it is a sounding board for native expression (Toronto Native Times 1980:4).

A careful examination of back issues of the *TNT* does not give the impression that there is a clear relationship between an editor's ethnicity and the *TNT*'s content. At most, the paper may have taken a marginally "integrationist" stance whenever an editor was not a native person. If the native editors had been better funded, perhaps the relationship between the content of the paper and the ethnicity of editors might have been more noticeable. Native editors coincided with the less prosperous periods of the paper's history, and were thus more frequently obliged to reprint articles from other sources, including from such mainstream presses as the *Toronto Star*. This circumstance makes it more difficult to detect individualized editorial positions. Since the *TNT* never had an editorial board, content was solely the responsibility of the editor. Sometimes, non-native employees or volunteers presented topics simplistically because they were just discovering the "invisible minority." Although this was not the case for employees of native ancestry, their greater financial handicaps while working on the paper seem to have resulted in articles with surprisingly similar content. Other newspapers may have differed in this respect from the *TNT*, but it is likely that funding rather than the ethnicity of editors had the greatest impact on the paper's content. Nevertheless, in terms of representing the paper at a community level, native editors undoubtedly had a clear advantage.

In an authoritative review of native journalism titled *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1928-1978*, James and Sharon Murphy point out that American Indian publications are frequently dependent upon non-Indian editors (1981:75; see also the article by Sharon Murphy in this issue titled "Native Print Journalism in the United States: Dreams and Realities"). This was an impediment during the *TNT*'s last year, when the paper became exceptionally dependent upon non-native staff members and volunteers, and the positions of both editor and reporter were held by non-natives. The result was tension typified by the belief of one past editor, a member of the native communications association formed in 1981 to direct the paper, that it would be better for the *Toronto Native Times* to fold than to have this degree of non-native influence. Although it is not wise to justify the paper's dependence on non-native employees, it should be mentioned that a paper which is run as a "one-person show," even if that person is of native ancestry, cannot adequately reflect community diversity.

Despite limited funding, published letters to the editor show that the *TNT* was widely read outside of Toronto. Throughout the paper's erratic history, its subscribers varied greatly in number over the years. During the *TNT*'s final year in 1981, its number of paid subscribers climbed to 500, probably the maximum it had ever had, and certainly an exceptional figure considering its resources. However, the paper's paid circulation for 1981 did not compare favorably with several other well-known contemporary native publications, including 2,500 paid subscribers for the *Wawatay News* of Sioux Lookout, Ontario; 1,600 for the *New Nation* of Thompson, Manitoba, 3,700 for the *Kainai News* of Standoff, Alberta, and 1,200 for the *Native Ensign* of Edmonton, Alberta.[2] In an effort to increase its circulation, three thousand copies of the *TNT* were printed and widely distributed in Toronto each month in 1981. Although this campaign to rebuild *TNT* subscriptions was rather successful, the paper had less than two years to recover between its first bankruptcy in 1978-1979, and its last in 1981. According to a submission from the *TNT* to the Native Community Branch of the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation in July 1980, the paper was being mailed to thirty Ontario reserves, thirteen provincial friendship centres, fifty media representatives, and a number of local politicians (Toronto Native Times 1980:2).

In summary, the history of the *TNT* was marked by a continual changeover of staff, which in turn caused the paper to be highly variable in quality. For most of its lifespan, the *TNT* was run by amateur journalists with limited opportunities to improve their skills. As an information bulletin for the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, the *TNT* was overfunded. However as a community newspaper, it was underfunded. In addition, it was never clear which of these two roles the *TNT* was supposed to be performing. According to Talcott Parsons, an orientation toward the attainment of specific goals is one of the defining characteristics of any formal organization (1969:33). Thus, the *TNT*'s lack of goal definition was a significant issue.

EDITORS AND VOLUNTEERS AT THE *TNT*

Combined with low salaries, the exceptionally demanding and sometimes thankless tasks required of employees of native newspapers inevitably results in a high rate of staff turnover. For the *TNT*, this can be illustrated by examining the relatively brief careers of the paper's eight editors (a few early issues credit no one with direction of the paper). In estimating the average length of time editors remained with the *TNT*, there is no alternative but to assume that the date printed on the newspaper's cover is the actual date when an issue appeared. Although this was sometimes unlikely, there are no other accessible records. This slightly inaccurate procedure indicates that most editors were employed for about thirteen months, and that the longest time any editor remained with the paper was exactly three years. The impact of this instability was naturally heightened by the fact that the paper's staff was so small. In reality, the rate of staff turnover for the *TNT* was somewhat higher than the present rate for native publications. By contrast with the *TNT*, a recent survey of native periodicals by Enn Raudsepp (1984) found that out of a sample of eighteen editors, only five had worked for their last employer for less than one year.

Four of the *TNT*'s eight editors were males; however, male editors tended to work for shorter periods of time than females. Salaries at the *Toronto Native Times* typified the low income generally offered female employees throughout Canada, and the *TNT*'s salaries were far below those for similar jobs elsewhere in Toronto. In 1981, the editor of the *TNT* received $12,000.00 annually, while the reporter received $9,000.00. The Department of Indian and Northern Affairs offered far more desirable working conditions for persons with the experience and educational background to work as journalists. As a marginal and underfunded newspaper, the *TNT* naturally tended to draw employees who were not committed to journalism as a career. Of all the native editors, only one is currently pursuing a career in journalism five years after she left the paper.

The founding editor of the *TNT*, Jim Dumont, was at the time a theology student at the University of Toronto. Dumont edited the *TNT* from the fall of 1970 until the summer of 1971. Following his editorship, there was a period when the paper appeared irregularly and several people apparently assumed brief editorial responsibilities. The second major editor, Art Sinclair, was also a student at the University of Toronto and edited the paper from the winter of 1972 until March 1973. Then, between April 1973 and April 1976, the paper was characterized by continuity and stability due to the permanence of its third editor, Beth Perrott. Lorne Keeper, a Métis from Manitoba, was the fourth editor and had previously been employed by *The Native Perspective*, a magazine published by the National Association of Friendship Centres in Ottawa. Keeper edited the *TNT* from May to November 1976. The fifth editor, Lorraine Peltier, was originally from the Cape Croker Reserve in the Bruce Peninsula of Ontario and had worked for insurance companies for several years. Peltier edited the *TNT* from December 1976 to April 1977. Angie Grossmann, the sixth editor, was a British immigrant who was both the first non-native and the first editor of the *TNT* with professional training in journalism. Grossmann headed the newspaper from June 1977 to August 1978, and then left to head *Ontario Indian*, a publication of the Union of Ontario Indians. She was followed by Juanita Rennie, a non-status Ojibway, who headed the *TNT* for two months from September until October 1978, at which time the paper was forced to close due to bankruptcy. With the help of other people, Rennie managed to re-establish the *TNT* a year later. She remained with the paper until May 1980, when she resigned in order to enroll in a professional journalism course. The final editor, Anne Fitterer, served from June 1980 to June 1981 and was the second non-native with professional training to serve as editor of the *TNT*. This editorship was Fitterer's first position upon graduation in journalism from Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto.

The *Toronto Native Times* was, of course, much more than simply the distillation of its editors' policies. As is the case with any community newspaper, the *TNT* was a collective creation, and its content was strongly influenced by the enthusiasm and interest of the native volunteers whom various editors were able to gather. Perhaps this small group of volunteers, more than the editors, gave a sense of continuity to the paper. For example, numerous articles were provided without charge by Basil Johnston, author of *Ojibway Heritage* and *Moose Meat*

and Wild Rice, as well as by Big White Owl (Jasper Hill), a Delaware Indian who was originally from Moraviantown, and who generously sent copies of his unpublished articles to many magazines and newspapers. The popular singer and songwriter, Paul Ritchie, was also an early contributor.

Two writers deserve mention for the consistency with which they helped the *TNT* during the last five years of its existence. At that time, native writers such as John McLeod and George Kenny were just beginning to establish careers, and probably would have benefited from the exposure offered by a small newspaper. McLeod wrote subtly humorous, partly autobiographical short stories, and was an outstanding cartoonist whose work should be known to a larger audience. He found humor in such topics as misunderstandings due to cultural differences, the self-assurance of youth, the bureaucratic mentality, and the ways in which native people can subvert non-native institutions when these institutions work to their disadvantage (Riggins 1982). George Kenny explored the more tragic aspects of contemporary native life, both on the reserve and in cities. Although sometimes somber, his work still had an element of optimism (Midnight Sun 1982). On many occasions, staff members at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto provided articles for the *TNT*, especially on sports activities and alcoholism. These same staff members also furnished some of the best humor.

THE FINANCIAL IMPASSE

Due to two grants which were exceptions rather than the rule, the *TNT*'s history was marked by two brief periods of relative prosperity. Not surprisingly, the paper achieved its most polished look during those periods. The first grant was received in 1978 from the Federal Labour Intensive Program, and provided salaries for five staff members which, as pointed out earlier, were approximately the number of staff that the paper needed to be efficient. With this grant, the *TNT* expanded to 20 pages, the longest it had ever been. In May 1980, the *TNT* received another grant of $25,000.00 from the Native Community Branch of the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation. This subsequent grant made it possible to hire three full-time employees.

The 1980 grant was sufficient to keep the *TNT* functioning for approximately one year at monthly operating costs of about $3,500.00. The aim of this grant was to assist the *TNT* to become "self-reliant"; hence no long-term aid was ever promised. By May 1981, the grant was exhausted. Although the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto continued to provide free office space and telephone services for the *TNT*, new funds had to be obtained beginning with that month. The Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services and the Native Inmate Liaison Program then sponsored the production costs of a final issue of the *TNT* on the penal system. Ironically, the in-depth coverage of this last issue corresponded best with what the final editor had hoped to accomplish. As is typical of other native publications, the end of the *TNT* was marked by a special issue which was the product of a one-time financial grant with no future. Although it was proposed that a native communications association which would be independent of the Native Canadian

Centre of Toronto could direct the paper, this committee proved to be ineffective, in part due to some of its members' apparent lack of commitment. A second reason the committee was ineffective was that one of the native people who was thought to be most capable of assuming managerial control of the *TNT* discredited himself in the eyes of other committee members by publicly campaigning for the abandonment of the reserve system during an unsuccessful bid for the Ontario Parliament in the spring election of 1981.

Because their circulations are too small, and their readers are financially poor and scattered over an area which is too wide to attract profit-minded advertisers, all native periodicals face the same economic plight regarding insufficient advertising. The *TNT* was no exception to this rule. Unlike a typical small-town weekly, the *TNT* never made a profit. During its last year of operation, only about ten to fifteen percent of its income came from advertising. From the very beginning, the paper could not have existed without government support, both in the form of direct and indirect grants. The latter consisted of advertisements placed by government agencies.

Roger Obonsawin, the Director who managed the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto during the longest period of the *TNT*'s existence, stated during an interview that he personally accorded the *TNT* a "fairly high priority" among all the activities which the centre provided (Obonsawin 1984). Nevertheless, Obonsawin found it easier to raise money for programs he considered to be less significant, and referred to the two grants awarded to the *TNT* as "make work projects." One negative result of these grants was that readers' expectations were briefly raised, only to be later frustrated by the lack of stable funding for the paper. This raising and lowering of reader expectations was in some ways more detrimental than simply maintaining the paper on a modest scale.

Because the Native Community Branch of the Ontario Provincial Ministry of Culture and Recreation required that grant applicants specify future sources of income, the financial situation of the *TNT* was investigated in 1980 on behalf of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto by two people with extensive experience with small-circulation newspapers, Norman Browne and Ken Armstrong. Following this investigation, Norman Browne, the former managing editor of a Toronto newspaper called *Ward 7*, concluded that:

> Requiring the paper to be self-sustaining through advertising revenue alone is to limit its potential sources of income and doom it completely....Very, very few community-owned and/or community-controlled, non-profit newspapers subsist on the revenue they get from advertising. They accept the reality that advertising revenue will only provide a percentage of their monetary needs and they actively seek money (and/or its equivalent in free labour) from any and every source....
>
> TNT will never become self-sustaining through the sale of advertising. There is room for improvement in advertising sales but too much emphasis in this field can become self-defeating in terms of time and labour involved (Browne 1980:1,5).

Ken Armstrong, the former publisher of the *Mississauga News*, also produced a similar report. He was more optimistic than Browne, claiming that the *TNT* could become an economically viable enterprise. However, even Armstrong thought that it would take several years to achieve this goal (Armstrong 1980). In all probability, the *TNT* never had a professionally-qualified staff member in charge of advertising. And, because the paper's equipment was too old-fashioned, it was also impossible to raise money by selling typesetting services.

An important barrier to raising money through advertising for Native publications is that their readers are rarely surveyed, something which advertisers require in order to know if a paper reaches potential buyers. Such surveys must be properly conducted; simply inserting a questionnaire in a copy of a paper is not enough. In February 1981, a survey of reader preferences conducted by the *TNT* in this manner netted only about a dozen responses.

Following Norman Browne's advice, the *TNT* made serious efforts to find volunteers. The results of this search were mixed, and most volunteers recruited in this manner were non-natives. Although this showed the degree of concern which many younger non-natives felt about native issues, few of the volunteers had more than a superficial familiarity with native people. At the more important level of providing editorial content, volunteers were of little help, although they could easily assist in assembling the paper. The most motivated volunteers were likely to be attached to a person of native ancestry.

A LIMITED MENACE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT

Typically, the *TNT* avoided printing articles which were critical of the operation of its sponsor, the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto. When one of the most successful directors of the centre resigned in 1981, the occasion was marked by the publication of personal profiles of both the director and his replacement in the *TNT*. Each article was exceptionally laudatory, and carefully avoided in-depth discussions of potential conflicts over how the centre might allocate its budget of five hundred thousand dollars. Rather than presenting detailed and sophisticated coverage of contentious issues, controversial possibilities were glossed over by a reporter who wrote the following remarks about the new director:

> [He] is definitely a grass roots man who feels more comfortable close to the people than to Ottawa bureaucrats although he knows how to play their game. [He] is fond of "building up ideas and selling them" but believes it is too early to discuss publicly his plans and aspirations for the Centre...Ontario Natives will certainly benefit from [the new director's] whole-hearted commitment to the community cause and will welcome the appointment of a man who has a strong record of personal stability and steady management (Riggins 1981c).

With respect to the former director, the *TNT*'s editor commented, "looking back...it is obvious that the right decisions were made" (Fitterer 1981).

Although extreme flattery such as this was unusual for the *TNT*, it is obvious that occasional flattery did occur, and that criticism of employees of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto was consistently avoided. On the occasions

when the *TNT* provided public relations for either the centre or for specific individuals, the paper lost credibility within the native community. Whenever the TNT could not fearlessly discuss problems which were vital to the centre, it failed its own sponsor.

A couple of years after the *TNT* folded, there was strife at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto over which segment of the population should be the major recipient of the centre's activities. Some people felt that the centre's major responsibility lay with the more prosperous and permanent native residents of Toronto, while others felt that more transient and less established native people should be favored. Although the seeds of this conflict were planted long before the conflict erupted in 1984, it is revealing that the *TNT* never seriously dealt with the controversy. Even *Now*, the Toronto entertainment guide, produced a more explicit presentation of the controversy than ever appeared in the *TNT* (Crombie 1984).

THE ROLE OF SELF-CENSORSHIP

It must be emphasized that during the last year of the *TNT*'s existence, there was no occasion when employees of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto attempted to manipulate the newspaper in order to create favorable coverage for themselves. Due to excessive self-censorship on the part of both the editor and the reporter for the *TNT*, this tactic was unnecessary. However, the editor was under pressure to devote more coverage to centre activities than she felt they deserved.

Pressures on the *TNT* staff for self-censorship were especially apparent in an article by Riggins on the teaching of native languages in Ontario schools (1981a). The pessimism which Riggins personally felt about the likelihood of the survival of native languages in Ontario was deleted from the final version of this article, as were some of the interviewee's more severe criticisms of current language instruction. On another occasion, after attending a lecture by a visiting "spiritual" leader who impressed him as being a charlatan modeled after the popular image of a guru, Riggins chose to let the lecture pass unnoticed in the *TNT* rather than to write what he actually felt.

As a reporter, Riggins arrived at the *TNT* knowing practically nothing about Canadian Indians. He was then required to write articles on every conceivable topic from Indian education and hunting to changes in the Canadian constitution. At the same time, he was always expected to take a position strongly in favor of native control. The irony of this situation, which was by no means atypical given the structure of the native media, was that the only realistic adaptation to these expectations was to appeal to an idealistic notion of community. Thus, Riggins found himself presenting native people as generally constituting a unified community or implying that under normal circumstances, such unity characterized native social and political views. This outlook reflected both naïveté and a conscious decision to bolster native pride by writing only about the positive, even where such optimism was occasionally exaggerated to a point approaching fiction.

To compensate for the negative manner in which the mainstream press dealt with native topics (Singer 1983), Riggins chose to provide consistently supportive coverage of every native endeavor regardless of his own feelings on the matter. Thus, the social problems of native people were never portrayed as in any way resulting from generalized difficulties of human communication, or from the reluctance of a large and diversified group of individuals to cooperate. On the other hand, there was complete freedom to question both provincial and national levels of government. For readers of the *TNT*, the implication of this one-sided perception may have been that all significant native problems were the fault of non-natives.

To a certain extent, journalistic fears of criticism and censorship can be overcome by carefully choosing the topics to be covered. For example, since art is rarely controversial, reporting on native achievements in the arts is one of the most effective tactics for avoiding conflict. Although native achievements in the arts have been impressive over the last decade, it is possible that one of the reasons that the native media has provided extensive coverage of art is the need for journalists to avoid antagonizing their supervisors.

In the long run, an exaggeratedly positive tone regarding the situation of native people is self-defeating. In the first place, this viewpoint confuses priorities and inhibits readers from forming consistent political views. Everything, including right or left wing solutions to native problems, the revival of traditional practices, and the embracing of modernization seems equally plausible and equally desirable. Although constant positivism may encourage native self-determination, political eclecticism of this type will contribute little to the future direction of policies once native people gain further possibilities for self-determination.

Norman Browne, the former managing editor of the Toronto newspaper *Ward 7*, believed that the decision to continue publishing the *Toronto Native Times* should have been based solely on the question of whether or not the newspaper could provide a service which was unobtainable anywhere else (Browne 1980:1). Although flawed, the *Toronto Native Times* clearly fulfilled that function to the extent that nothing has ever replaced it.

It is no exaggeration to state that the *Toronto Native Times* was organized to fail, and that its failure was not purely accidental. Due to an unstable and poorly conceived structure, the *TNT* was simply unable to operate as a proper advocate for native causes. As a limited menace to the establishment, the *Toronto Native Times* was also unable to rise above its limited success.

CONCLUSIONS

In an article surveying native periodicals, the anthropologist John Price listed all native magazines and newspapers in Canada in the early 1970s (Price 1972). A comparison of Price's list with one compiled by the Canadian Secretary of State of all native Canadian periodicals being published as of January 1, 1984 (see Notes, below) reveals that the number of these publications declined sharply from thirty-seven in 1972 to twenty-seven in January 1984. Raudsepp (1984:12) suggests that

the current number of native Canadian periodicals may be in the range of thirty-six, but that seven of these are "peripheral publications (academic journals, friendship center newsletters, etc.)." This overall decline in the number of native Canadian periodicals has been caused by changes in governmental policy rather than by a loss of readers. Significantly, only one publication, *The Native Voice* published by the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, is found on both Price's list and that of the Canadian Secretary of State. Between 1972 and January 1984, all other publications on Price's list disappeared. Typically, most of these had existed for considerably less than twelve years.

During the early 1970s, all Toronto-based native periodicals were affiliated with organizations such as the Union of Ontario Indians, the Indian-Eskimo Association, and the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto. By 1982, no publication represented Toronto's native community. Similarly, in both 1972 and 1984, no publication represented Montreal's native community. Between the early 1970s and 1984, the number of native publications in the province of Ontario declined markedly from eleven to three. At the same time, the number of native publications in the Yukon and Northwest Territories doubled from four in 1972 to eight in 1984.

At present, support for native periodicals among the native population as a whole is low, both in terms of an interested readership and of paid subscribers. To some extent, this reflects the historical insensitivity of educational institutions toward native peoples. Paradoxically, rather than increasing interest in print media, modernization has sometimes reinforced a cultural preference for oral forms of communication. Thus, native print media journalists in some parts of Canada are becoming increasingly pessimistic about their future while television and radio gain ever-increasing audiences at their expense (Raudsepp 1983).

In the future, better funding for native publications is unlikely to come directly from native citizens. Furthermore, although native associations could represent an alternative source of revenue, most native leaders have thus far seemed uninterested in raising money for periodicals. In reality, lobbying for the support of native periodicals places native leaders in the position of aiding publications which, if amply financed, could pose a considerable threat to their own political activities. Thus, it is unrealistic to expect this degree of altruism from anyone. For this reason, even though native leaders have not explicitly blocked the development of a viable native press, they have failed to see this as a priority. Although most native leaders probably share the perspectives of their communities on this matter, their disinterest, especially among politicians, is partially self-serving.

A third potential source of funding for native periodicals might be national and local levels of government. However, motivation among government officials to help restructure the native press is generally low. The reason for this is that government officials are in the same position as native politicians, since both groups see the printed media as a potential menace. Thus, native periodicals are caught in a vicious circle vis-à-vis funding which seems almost impossible to break.

Although underappreciated, the social benefits of a healthy native press are considerable. First, native periodicals keep people informed and create publicity

which generates community involvement in a cross-section of activities. According to the previously-quoted former director of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, social activities among native people in Toronto have continuously declined since the closure of the *TNT*. This is to be expected because a flourishing mass media is probably necessary for ethnic survival. In a study of ethnic persistence and change, the sociologist Raymond Breton considered the existence of an ethnic press to be one of the most essential factors for involvement in ethnic communities (1964).

As a second point, media dialogue between native organizational leaders and their native publics is a fundamental step in policy-making. Whenever the debates of native leaders are stifled and these leaders are not publicly obliged to justify their decisions, the possibilities for mistakes in judgment are accentuated. Because the mainstream, non-native controlled media is only superficially concerned with, and usually unable to discuss issues affecting native people, the native media is the only viable forum for political dialogue on these issues.

Thirdly, a 1976 survey by Ponting and Gibbins demonstrated that although the Canadian public is generally sympathetic to many native causes, the average Canadian is uninformed about native people. Ponting and Gibbins concluded that: "On balance the Canadian public is not hostile to many and perhaps most Indian interests, and public opinion can potentially be exploited by Indian organizations in order to bring public pressure to bear upon the government" (1980:93). Thus, since the native press in Canada has always been read by people of non-native ancestry, it will remain an important factor in correcting non-native stereotypes and misinformation, and is an essential vehicle for presenting native causes.

A final contribution of the native media is indirect and takes the form of benefits derived from the community activities of ex-journalists. Although most people who are presently working as native journalists will eventually establish careers in other fields, what they have learned will always remain with them. Through personal involvement in journalism, native people often gain social and intellectual skills which they might not have acquired otherwise, and which in many instances are of direct benefit to native associations and communities.

The failure of the *Toronto Native Times* demonstrates that even in the largest Canadian cities, the contributions of a healthy native press to the social life of the local native community are not sufficiently appreciated. This further emphasizes Robert Rupert's point that we are approaching a time when native people in urban areas will become less well-informed about both their heritage and contemporary native problems than their rural counterparts who have remained in a better situation to use the services of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (1982 General Recommendations: VI; see also the article by Rupert in this issue titled "Native Broadcast Journalism in Canada").

NOTES

Acknowledgements. I wish to thank the following editors of the *Toronto Native Times* for their comments, either in 1981 or in 1984: Jim Dumont, Lorne Keeper, Lorraine Peltier, Juanita Rennie, and Anne Fitterer. Additional interviews were conducted with Roger Obonsawin, Past Director of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, and with Norm Opperman of the Native Community Branch of the Government of Ontario.

[1]Issues of the *Toronto Native Times* published from 1970 to 1978 are available on microfilm from Micromedia Limited, 158 Pearl St., Toronto, Ontario M5H 1L3.

[2]These statistics were taken from a 1982 report by Robert Rupert titled "Native Communications in Canada. Report to the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Communications." Ottawa, Ontario: Secretary of State, Native Citizens Directorate. The specific page numbers are: Report on Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society, Sioux Lookout, Ontario, p. 8; Report on Native Communications Inc., Thompson, Manitoba, p. 3; Report on Indian News Media, Standoff, Alberta, p. 7; Report on Alberta Native Communications Society, p. 15.

Canadian Native Publications as of January 1, 1984. Compiled by the Canadian Secretary of State, Native Citizens Branch. Ottawa, Ontario: Unpublished manuscript in the possession of Stephen Riggins (although this list was compiled by Gordon Big Canoe, he is not credited anywhere in the document):

Agenutemagen, 35 Dedham Street, Fredericton, New Brunswick E3A 2V2.
Akana/Inuvialuit Magazine, Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement Communications, Post Office Box 2000, Inuvik, Northwest Territories X0E 0T0.
AMMSA, 10123--107 Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta T5H 0V4.
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Native Broadcasting in Canada

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Cet article étudie les tentatives récentes pour créer des postes de radio-diffusion et de télé-diffusion autochtones au Canada. Les émissions de "trail" et la radio communautaire fournissent le modèle initial. Le Programme d'accès aux émissions pour les autochtones du nord (NNBAP—Northern Native Broadcast Access Program) subventionné par le Secrétariat d'Etat, favorise des améliorations. Durant les dernières années, les annonceurs autochtones ont fait preuve d'initiative et ont réussi à relever le défi que présente la discussion des problèmes autochtones pour un auditoire autochtone habitué à la programmation commerciale, axée sur le divertissement, en provenance des Etats-Unis et des régions méridionales du Canada.

This article examines recent efforts to create native radio and television stations in Canada. In the beginning, trail and community radio provided the ini tial model for native Canadian broadcasting. Eventually, the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program, sponsored by the Native Citizens Directorate of the Secretary of State, led to further developments. In the last few years, native Canadian broadcasters have created many innovations and have successfully confronted the challenge of presenting serious discussions of native issues to a native audience which was previously accustomed to commercial, light-entertainment programing from southern Canada and the United States.

INTRODUCTION

In the late 1960s, an Alberta entrepreneur named Eugene Steinhauer launched what eventually became Canada's first native communications society. Until then, native Canadian journalism had largely taken the form of printed publications.

Steinhauer's creation became known as the Alberta Native Communications Society (ANCS). By the 1970s, the ANCS was the highest profile native communications organization in Canada. In 1970, when its provincial funding base was widened and it received federal funding, the ANCS quickly expanded into print. Throughout most of its history and despite much-publicized and highly-financed forays into radio and television, the enduring and uninterrupted communications vehicle of the ANCS remained its newspaper, *The Native Voice*. Even during its heyday, when the ANCS experimented with the distribution of television by satellite and with production for several public and private broadcasting outlets in Alberta, the content of its programs was more heavily oriented toward culture and entertainment than toward news and public affairs. In the early 1980s, internal politics and insufficient administration led to an untimely end for the ANCS.

To date, most native communications societies in Canada have eventually been funded by the federal Secretary of State, and most have had a print rather

than a broadcast orientation. One of the factors contributing to this print orientation is financial. In any type of radio broadcasting, quality news and public affairs programing is extremely expensive to produce, particularly when time must be rented from licensed broadcasters. A single half-hour of quality news and information programing for radio usually requires an average of five hours of taped recordings during production. For this reason, few private radio stations in Canada produce quality news programing, despite the legislated mandate of the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to call broadcasters into account for their services. The cost of quality news and public affairs programing for television is even more expensive. As a general rule, television production is about eight times more expensive than radio, a fact which makes the cost of television prohibitive for most native communications organizations.

By contrast, print journalism is far cheaper than radio and television. In fact, newspaper publishing is an exception to the rule that most technological advances in North America have *not* been more economical than older technologies. The reason for this is that the photographic process used in modern offset printing has eliminated manual typesetting and page composition, both of which were formerly the most labor-intensive and costly processes in printing. Thus, current native print journalism has been made possible by a new, less-expensive printing technology which makes newspapers relatively cheap to produce. As a result, several native publications with shoestring budgets due to minimal government funding have managed to offer timely and informative publications with news, feature articles, and especially photographs. Characteristically, many of these publications have relied on black-and-white presentations of public opinion on political issues.

Examples of current native Canadian publications are *The Native Press*, serving the Dené and Métis in the Western Arctic, and *Wawatay News*, serving the Ojibwa and Cree in northwestern Ontario. Due to an emphasis on training and staff upgrading, these publications have come of age in approximately the last five years despite constant staff turnovers and the need to train existing staffs. The *Yukon Indian News*, published in Whitehorse, Northwest Territories (N.W.T.) by the YeSaTo Native Communications Society, and the *Micmac News*, published in Sydney (Memebertou), Nova Scotia by the Nova Scotia Native Communications Society, have also shown marked improvement in journalistic understanding and quality. The now discontinued *Ontario Indian*, which was published in Toronto, was generally of high quality when it had a secure financial base. It's successor, *Sweetgrass*, had national ambitions.

THE QUALITY OF NATIVE BROADCASTING

Little of the journalistic quality of native publications has been evident in the radio and television produced by native Canadians. One exception to this has been the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), which has produced quality programing of its own and has also provided a showcase for quality television programing produced by another Inuit organization, the Taqramuit Nipingat, Incor-

porated of Salluit, Québec (see also the article in this volume by Debbie Brisebois titled "The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation"). IBC programing is distributed throughout the North via the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's satellite channel which is uplinked from the IBC facility in Frobisher Bay, N.W.T. Neither the IBC nor the Taqramuit Nipingat, Incorporated has consistently produced quality television news and public affairs programing with a strong graphic effect. To date, most of the news and public affairs programing produced by these two organizations has been of a "radio-on-TV" variety, incorporating either studio interviews and scripted news read by an announcer, or lengthy, relatively unedited interviews carried out on location and accompanied by a limited amount of graphic film footage. Among television journalists, this is scornfully called "talking heads"—i.e., television without the pictures that *really* tell "the story."

The Indian News Media, an organization which publishes the *Kanai News* in Standoff, Alberta on the Blood Indian Reserve, has often broadcast interesting news and public affairs programs on Blackfoot Radio. Some of these programs have been aired in southern Alberta by private broadcasters. For the most part, particularly in the North, radio news and public affairs programing has been largely delegated to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. An exception to this rule is the Wawatay Native Communications Society in Sioux Lookout, Ontario, whose native language radio network is distributed by satellite through an arrangement with TV Ontario.

For a considerable length of time, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) has made serious attempts to broadcast native language information programs in the North. In the Eastern Arctic, beginning with Frobisher Bay, N.W.T., and gradually expanding into other broadcast centers, CBC radio programing has consistently presented over fifty percent of its content in Inuktitut (the Inuit language). More recently in the Western Arctic, virtually all CBC afternoon programing originating from Yellowknife and Inuvik, N.W.T. has been produced by a native crew and has been broadcast in the five local Déné languages (Chipewyan, Dogrib, Loucheux, and North and South Slavey). In the Yukon, where the use of native languages is no longer strong, the CBC station in Whitehorse carries native-oriented programing in English during early evening, prime-time hours.

With these few exceptions, radio news directed at native audiences is currently limited. The main educational strength of radio as a medium is its immediacy and actuality. However, limited funding and once-a-week news broadcasts make it impossible for native broadcasters to present up-to-the-minute news on radio. Thus, native broadcasters are usually obliged to create magazine-format weekly shows which blend music, cultural affairs, interviews, and public affairs items. This news is generally "single-source," and lacks the depth of analysis to which listeners are normally entitled whenever news items are dated.

TRAIL AND COMMUNITY RADIO

There is another exception to the current, rather mediocre quality of native radio news and public affairs broadcasting. In small, remote communities in

Canada's North, native broadcasters have developed their own brand of grass-roots radio. To date, this very successful radio broadcasting has taken two forms: (a) trail radio; and (b) community radio.

The term "trail radio" refers to a two-way communications system which provides a lifeline to hunters and trappers in the bush, often in severe weather. For a relatively low cost or even at no cost to someone without funds, native people who are engaged in traditional economic pursuits can carry a lightweight, battery-operated, two-way radio transmitter-receiver in their gear. Trail radio contact with home bases keeps trappers and hunters abreast of family and community developments, and can also save lives. Without first-hand experience, it is difficult to appreciate how important and reassuring it can be for a family in Weagamow Lake, Ontario or in Rae Lakes, N.W.T. to know that relatives are safe in hunt camps and on traplines many miles away. It can be equally consoling for people who are out on the land to know that births have occurred without complications or that relatives who are sick or who have been injured in accidents have been successfully "medivacked" (medically evacuated to hospitals by airplane). Organizations such as the Wawatay Native Communications Society in Sioux Lookout, Ontario originally began with trail radio.

"Community radio" is a direct result of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's extended service policy where CBC radio programs are provided to all Canadian communities with a population of 500 or more residents. This policy is now more than a decade old. For the CBC to be able to install a small transmitter, a community is required only to guarantee an adequately-serviced building. The local community or radio society then supplies volunteers trained in the operation and day-to-day maintenance of the station, and it is up to the community to decide which CBC radio programs will be aired. By simply throwing a switch, local broadcasters can communicate directly with an entire community.

In terms of basic communications, community radio has had spectacular results and has become the pulse of many northern communities. Whether in Norway House, Manitoba, or Povungnituk, Québec, community radio has audience ratings and listener loyalties which would be the envy of public and private stations in any North American city. *Everybody* listens. As an example, imagine the following situation. It is a severe December afternoon in "P.O.V." (Povungnituk) in 1984. The wind blows off of the ice which covers Hudson Bay with a vengeance, and visibility is zero. It is even too cold for young "hot rodders" to "bomb around" on snowmobiles. What keeps this from being a completely depressing day is community radio. It is "phone-in" time on CKPV-FM, the local all-Inuktitut radio station, and the 800 residents of Povungnituk are incessantly phoning. They are playing a traditional game where one person phones in an animal imitation, and the first caller to identify the imitation wins. This game is followed by another where people wait to see who will be the first to call in and sing a chosen traditional song--in Inuktitut, of course. The callers are young and old, men and women. While playing such games, older people relax and children learn the subtleties of Inuktitut humor and culture. People are "having a ball," and every household in the community is full of laughter as the players forget the wind and cold. In the com-

munity's Co-Op Hotel (seven rooms and a community kitchen), an Inuktitut cleaning woman goes about her chores and chuckles aloud as her neighbors enjoy participating in community radio games. Her "ghetto blaster" (portable radio) is always on. It's the same all over P.O.V.

Community radio is much more than fun. Among other things, it links people in northern settlements in an extension of the same intimate, "face-to-face" manner as when they lived in family groups out on the land. Traditional patterns of communication are reinforced, native languages are preserved, and a genuine sense of community is encouraged. In many of Canada's remote northern settlements, one cannot be a functional member of the community without participation in this form of radio. Communication, transportation, and medical needs are all met through community radio. In Cross Lake, Manitoba, residents keep the sound on their television sets turned down low while watching the popular afternoon soap opera, "The Edge of Night." This allows them to keep an ear on the radio. To do otherwise would be too risky, because as everyone knows, the next message might be for *you*.

THE NORTHERN NATIVE BROADCAST ACCESS PROGRAM

With trail and community radio firmly entrenched in the northern Canadian lifestyle, radio (and to a lesser extent television) now seem ready for the next development in northern broadcasting. Dynamic innovations in northern communications are about to occur, and at the urging of native lobbyists, the federal government has taken a major initiative in northern broadcasting. This initiative is called the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP), and is supported by the Native Citizens Directorate of the Canadian Secretary of State. The Secretary of State is now committed to start-up funding of approximately forty million dollars for the expansion of northern broadcasting, a figure which eclipses the entire 1983-1984 fiscal budget for the federal Native Communications Program. According to an official government press release, the objective of this broadcasting program is "to provide an opportunity for native communications societies in the northern portions of seven provinces and in the two territories to produce regional radio and television programming which will protect and enhance native languages and cultures in the area" (Canada. Department of Communications 1983b).

Inspiration for the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program is often credited to an in-depth study commissioned by the Minister of Communications, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, and the Secretary of State. This extremely informative study was presented to the federal cabinet in February, 1983 and was declassified some eighteen months later. Its primary author, Charles Feaver, is a satellite communications expert with a special interest in the Canadian North (Canada. Department of Communications 1983a).

In defining the area which the NNBAP should serve, an imaginary line was drawn across Canada from west to east somewhat south of the 60th parallel. This line was devised in the late 1970s during research conducted under the direction

of Dr. Louis-Edmond Lemelin of Laval University. It crosses the middle of British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, dips down to the lower quarters of Manitoba, and moves gradually upward across Ontario, Québec, and Labrador. The area above this line constitutes seventy percent of Canada's land mass and is defined as the "North." Current estimates for the native population of this area indicate approximately 210,000 Indian, Métis, and Inuit with a combined birthrate which is considerably higher than the Canadian national average. It is these people whom the NNBAP is intended to serve.

Unfortunately, the NNBAP can offer little direct assistance to the tens of thousands of native Canadians who have moved from their reserves and isolated northern communities to urban settings in the South. For this reason, native migrants to the city will probably be less well-informed in the future about native issues than their northern counterparts who have remained in relative "isolation." There are currently no native Canadian communications societies in any major city west of Winnipeg, Manitoba. In the Maritimes, particularly in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, nervous native political leaders have so far blocked the formation of federally-funded, "independent" native communications societies. This has resulted in obvious biases in the only available native news other than limited coverage provided by the mass media. At present, native newsletters and newspapers are published by political organizations which generally do not encourage critical coverage of their own affairs (see also the article in this volume by Stephen Riggins titled "The Organizational Structure of the *Toronto Native Times* [1968-1981]).

The formation of the NNBAP was a direct response to the common concern of many native leaders that unrestricted invasion of northern airwaves by non-native radio and television will continue to have devastating effects on native cultures, traditions, and lifestyles. These native leaders fear that southern radio and television programing has the potential to eradicate an already threatened way of life. The origins of this concern are a matter of record. Beginning in the 1960s, the Canadian government, supported by the religious establishment, decreed that northern native people would abandon their lifestyles. Native people in the Canadian North were encouraged to settle permanently in communities where their children could attend school and where better medical services could also be provided. In the native villages which resulted from this policy of sedentarization, formal education followed exclusively European linguistic and social patterns. Since children were required to attend school, parents were no longer free to take them out on the land. However, settled families still required food, clothing, shelter, and other basic essentials which previously had been obtained from nature. The Canadian government then attempted to supply these essentials through a northern extension of the welfare system which has since robbed the recipients of their independence, self-sufficiency, and ultimately, their human dignity.

Having undergone the far-reaching economic and cultural changes associated with sedentarization, many native Canadians now have extensive time on their hands. As a result, they may watch more television than other Canadians. Except in the Eastern Arctic, where some Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Taqramuit

Nipingat programs are shown, network television and radio do not contribute to the identity and cultural uniqueness of native people. Especially in the case of young people, television offers no explicit incentive to perpetuate traditional practices. Instead, young people see media role models shooting "craps," not caribou, driving three-wheel and other recreational vehicles instead of dog teams, and eating "Big Macs" instead of bannock.

REACTIONS TO NATIVE BROADCASTING IN THE NORTH

In Canada, southern radio and television programing has never been designed for the benefit of northern audiences. Neither was this programing initially brought to the North for the benefit of native people. Rather, mass media communications were introduced to the North in the mid-1960s for the purpose of reducing the isolation and turnover of non-native workers. Little or no consideration was given to the effect of these mass media communications on the indigenous people of the North. Through "permanent" staffing programs in the North, government agencies and private industries were trying to provide television and other amenities which would keep their employees relatively content in their northern assignments for as long as possible.

The initial impact of television on northern native people was negligible. Originally, provision of television coverage for the Canadian North was part of the rationale for federal Telestat Canada legislation in 1969. At that time, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's "Frontier Coverage Package" was a videotape delivery system linked to low-power transmitters and intended to serve major resource towns and administrative centers rather than communities with predominantly native populations. Two years after the launching of the Anik A-1 satellite in 1975, the CBC was delivering its signal by satellite to native communities as part of its Accelerated Coverage Service program for northern communities with populations of over 500 residents. However, since native audiences in the North received virtually the same non-native programs as southern audiences, this extended service had no effect on programing.

The first effective protest regarding this type of programing came from the Inuit of northern Québec, who quite logically wondered why programs reflecting their own lifestyle and culture were not part of this new television "service." Native leaders representing people in remote communities have always believed that overexposure to southern-style programing causes native people to lose their cultures. Examples of this attitude are shown by the following comments made between 1978 and 1982 during the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission's hearings on northern broadcasting:

> We all know that children are very quick to learn from what they see. I know that when I was a child, I used to see my father hunting, and then I would do the same thing that he did when he was hunting, and make it into a game...I think if they had more programs on the Inuit, live on TV, then it would help the children to learn more of their way of life. If there were programs on TV,

> like showing people how to sew or how to hunt, or to make more hunting equipment by hand, then it would be more informative to whoever was watching, especially the children (Henry Evaluardjuk, Frobisher Bay, N.W.T. 1978).

> The developments of the last ten years have had a significant effect on our community and languages. These communication services have come to our region, but not as the result of a well-developed and co-ordinated plan which fits the needs of the people. It is, rather, that the systems bear the mark of the designers (Cathy Chisel, *Wawatay*, Thunder Bay, Ontario 1982).

The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation is licensed to distribute predominately Inuit cultural programing via the satellite channel of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Through the CBC satellite channel, Inuit broadcasters working for the IBC have been active in producing and distributing television programs, and they have also distributed many programs produced by the Taqramuit Nipingat. However, most northern native communications organizations which are associated with the NNBAP concentrate on radio because it is so much cheaper to produce than television. Through radio, native organizations feel that they can give their audiences more value. In their initial funding proposals to the Canadian Secretary of State, most native communications organizations indicated that they fully intend to expand into television once radio broadcasting has been raised to reasonable standards. However, since there are many difficulties associated with network radio which is broadcast over long distances and in several languages, this may take longer than expected.

Native broadcasters in the Canadian North hope to establish effective radio and television programing which is produced by native people and is relevant to their needs. This complex goal is a major challenge because it involves training broadcasters in the required technical, artistic, journalistic, and administrative skills in an extremely short period of time. It is both unrealistic and unfair to expect native broadcasters to become competent professionals in a fraction of the time that their non-native counterparts spend in training. The average Canadian broadcaster spends nine years in elementary school, four or five years in high school, and at least three or four years in post-secondary training. Beyond this, there are several years of on-the-job experience which are required for the assumption of major professional responsibilities. Quite unfairly, native broadcasters are generally expected to assume full professional responsibilities regardless of their levels of schooling, and after only a short period of on-the-job training.

With this in mind, it is realistic to expect that the initial efforts of native broadcasters will be of a "beginner" caliber. Technical and professional difficulties are inevitable. Radio, television, and print journalism are extremely time-consuming professions which are full of deadlines and packed with many other tensions and pressures. Since television is by far the most time-consuming, costly, and technically-complex of these three media, it is also likely to be the most difficult to manage during the early stages of native broadcasting.

The initial stages of native broadcasting will inevitably face the extremely difficult task of attracting television audiences who are both accustomed and loyal to southern television produced by top professionals in an extremely competitive

field. It is well-known that even "serious" Canadian programing by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has difficulty attracting audiences. Younger native Canadians who have grown up under the influence of English-language education, rock 'n' roll and country and western music, and such popular television programs as soap operas, may be particularly difficult to win over to native television. Despite this challenge, native broadcasters will need to resist the temptation to attract young audiences by offering too much programing geared to mass audiences and the North American youth culture.

If native broadcasters simply emulate non-native broadcasting, then the NNBAP may be an expensive failure since its purpose is to advance and preserve native languages and cultures. If this were not its objective, then northern broadcasting could be left to the existing broadcast industry. Native broadcasters facing the many challenges of their profession will need to pursue their own serious objectives while realizing that people cannot be "force fed" educational material through the mass media. Whether native or otherwise, radio and television audiences make their own decisions about what they like. For this reason, effective native broadcasters will need to gauge audience preferences and make native broadcasting as appealing as non-native broadcasting. This balancing act must attract native audiences while providing enough serious, native cultural content to justify the expense and effort of native broadcasting. Community radio may provide the initial model.

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An Interview With Free-Lance Broadcaster Kim Kopola

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L'interview qui suit donne un aperçu d'un des plus anciens programmes télévisés du Canada sur les affaires amérindiennes. Son titre, "Between Two Worlds," insiste sur un point particulier du mode de vie des amérindiens dans le contexte canadien: d'une part, leur culture traditionnelle et, de l'autre, l'adaptation à la société possédant une technologie avancée. C'est là un avantage appréciable. A mesure que l'interview se déroule, on constate que les stéréotypes s'estompent et que les amérindiens du Canada représentent un groupe à la fois diversifié, éloquent et dynamique, engagé activement dans toutes les formes de l'activité du pays.

The following interview describes one of the oldest native affairs television programs in Canada. The program's title, "Between Two Worlds," conveys the viewpoint that native life in Canada presently combines aspects of traditional cultures and a larger, technologically-advanced society. This is portrayed as advantageous. As the interview proceeds, it breaks down stereotypes and demonstrates that native Canadians are a diversified, articulate, and dynamic group of people who are actively participating in all areas of Canadian life.

"Between Two Worlds" is a weekly, half-hour television program of personal interviews and other material devoted to native Canadians. It is produced by station CFRN in Edmonton, Alberta, an affiliate of Canadian Television (CTV), as part of CFRN's commitment to public service programing. This television show can be seen at 8:30 a.m. on Sundays in both Edmonton and northern portions of Alberta. Since it has been on the air for over five years, "Between Two Worlds" is now one of the oldest native affairs programs on Canadian television. If the show's budget, as described by its host, Kim Kopola, seems limited, it should be remembered that CFRN is not specifically required to make commitments to native people in Alberta. Other activities, such as filming commercials, are much more profitable than public service programing.

Kim Kopola, the host and producer of "Between Two Worlds," is one of the few Métis free-lance broadcasters in Canada. Now in her late 20s, Kopola is also a part-time history student and Program Coordinator of the Native Educational Service at the University of Alberta in Edmonton. Although she was experienced in radio and print journalism and had previously worked for native organizations in Edmonton, Kopola had no experience in television production when she began hosting "Between Two Worlds" in 1982. Both the basic format of the program and its title were established by her predecessor. Kopola's own contribution was to make the program more contemporary. She believes that her guests tend to be younger than those chosen by the previous host, and that as the title of the pro-

gram suggests, her guests are more likely to be successful in both native and non-native environments. Symbolic of the changes that Kopola has introduced are alterations in the set used as a backdrop for interviews. The original set was designed to suggest that the interviews were being conducted in the kitchen of a log cabin. Kopola substituted a backdrop of pictures blending images of the city and countryside.

The following interview was conducted by Carl Urion in June 1984. Urion, who is a Métis from Montana, is an Associate Professor in the Department of Educational Foundations and Director of the Office of Native Affairs at the University of Alberta in Edmonton.

Kim Kopola: When I first began working on the program, "Between Two Worlds," it was a half-hour interview with usually only one guest. Someone pointed the camera at me, pointed their finger at me, and I started the interview. In twenty-eight minutes, I closed the interview. Now that I'm more familiar and more comfortable with cameras and the whole procedure of a television show, I've tried to alter the format a bit.

In the beginning when I first started, I found interviewing difficult. It was easy for someone to stump me or put me on the spot. I'd be all tongue-tied and embarrassed because the show is supposed to be live, or at least to imitate a live show. We can't say, "Cut! Take that out. She looks embarrassed. Start over again." We have to keep going.

For the first year and a half that I did the program, I was really nervous about it. Since I wasn't happy with the quality of the program or with my own abilities as an interviewer, I didn't flaunt the fact that I did the program. I was very closed-lipped about the whole thing.

But every once in a while someone would come up to me and say, "Aren't you the girl who does that television show?" A lot of older people at the Friendship Centre would come up to me and say, "I feel like I know you—I get up with you every Sunday morning." It's very flattering. Mostly older people do that.

Now that I'm more familiar and more comfortable with cameras and the whole procedure of a television show, I've tried to alter the format a bit. Each show now usually has two interviews, which means that I spend approximately ten to fifteen minutes with each guest. Now that I'm more comfortable with interviewing, I feel I can extract the best out of a person within ten to fifteen minutes, depending on the subject.

The program must be done in the studio, and it's all pretaped. Because each show is presented twice in one season, there are limitations on the subjects I can deal with. These shows must not be too time-oriented, or they will quickly become dated. If we interview a native politician, or for that matter any politician, we must be careful that we don't televise the program too close to an election. Also, by the time a show is rebroadcast, that person may no longer be a politician. These are the kinds of things that limit the subjects I can deal with.

Not too long ago, a mother said to me, "I saw your program by accident one Sunday morning when the cartoons were over. My kids were flicking the televi-

sion dial around when I saw you, and I said, 'Stop. Turn back to that station.' The kids turned to me and said, 'Oh Mom, all they do is talk, talk, talk!'"

After that, I thought to myself that I'd better change the format of the program so it's not all just "talk, talk, talk." I've tried to create variety. There have been contemporary country singers on the show and the Cree senior citizens' choir from St. Albert for a Christmas special. The senior citizens were very popular because a lot of people who watch the show when it is aired at 8:30 a.m. on Sunday mornings are, of course, older people.

Carl Urion: The thing I find remarkable is that most of the people who have commented to me about the show are non-natives.

Kim Kopola: I've been surprised by that too. My audience is quite varied and isn't all native. The non-native audience includes professional people. We usually find out about different parts of the audience after doing a show that attracts people with special interests in a particular area. Teachers and people whose work is somehow related to native people are interested in the show.

I did one program on the provincial museum where Trudie Nicks, a curator at the museum, came in and talked about birchbark baskets. She talked about where to gather the materials and all the intricacies of making a basket. We showed the entire process of gathering the materials, drying them, and getting them ready. Everything was shown step by step. Teachers wrote and said, "Can I get a videotape? My students don't realize how much work goes into something like this, and I want to show them."

Carl Urion: That pattern fits my impression of how non-natives generally learn to appreciate native things and native issues. Native issues are usually very complex, but other people's exposure to these issues is almost always in simple terms through political pronouncements from government and native politicians. There isn't much opportunity for non-natives to hear native people who are specialists in an area, or even just ordinary native people, talk about something that's important to them.

Kim Kopola: One program which stirred up a lot of comment was about Section 12.1b of the Indian Act, the membership question. People came up to me and said that they had seen the show and wanted to talk about it, and I also received mail. I tried to show both sides of the coin. Every non-native I talked to about the membership issue said, "Well, I can't understand how anyone could deny native women their rights. I mean, those native men are so chauvinistic. They don't have to worry about membership, but if it was happening to them, then they *would* worry about it." Native people have difficulty deciding the issue because there are two sides. That's why we have a problem. If the membership question was cut and dried, it wouldn't be an issue.

Carl Urion: That's a good example of the complexity of native issues. When somebody sees only a four paragraph notice in a newspaper with pronouncements by the Minister of Indian Affairs, a couple of Indian chiefs, and a couple of leading women, that doesn't explain the complexity of an issue like the membership issue.

Kim Kopola: The greatest applause I got was from people who said, "I didn't

know there were two sides to the membership question. Now, at least I know there are." That was rewarding because it showed we gave enough air time to both sides. That, I hope, is what the show's all about. It isn't just waving banners and saying "Indians are great people."

I use the name "Between Two Worlds" to state that we are in between the advanced, technological world and the semi-advanced world; that we are in between being highly-educated and being undereducated. We fall in between two cultures, the non-native and the native. We're somewhere in that "never never land" between everything. I don't think this is a disadvantage. Instead, I like to show how it is an advantage; how being in the middle gives us the opportunity to go both places and know the best of both sides. My programing stresses this point because there are a lot of non-native viewers.

I try to explain things that don't appear to need explanation to native people. But that's not fair to say either, because even native people are not clear about all of the issues. They've made that abundantly clear to me. Its embarrassing to say that you don't know what a treaty is when you're a treaty Indian, but a lot of people don't. But then, how many Canadians really know what a constitution is?

Carl Urion: Sure. Why should it be incumbent on anybody to know all the laws that affect them? It isn't possible to be completely aware of all the issues that our political leaders set up for us.

Kim Kopola: I find political leaders difficult to interview. It's not my place to criticize them too much, and I don't like to give them a half-hour format for campaigning. I prefer to show viewers that native politicians are human beings with strengths and weaknesses. Viewers are given an opportunity to see why native politicians might feel and act the way they do. I like programs where you get to know the person behind the politician, and I hope I've done this when I've interviewed politicians.

Carl Urion: Can you tell me what you mean by "politicians?" Does that mean presidents of associations?

Kim Kopola: Yes, it does.

Carl Urion: Provincial associations, I would think. Do you ever interview national politicians?

Kim Kopola: I've interviewed Harold Cardinal on the program. And of course Sam Sinclair, and Elmer Goskeeper when he was President of the Métis Association of Alberta. I've also interviewed Milt Pahl, the Alberta Minister responsible for Native Affairs. There have been a variety of politicians—not just native politicians, but non-native politicians as well.

Carl Urion: Can you give me an example of some of the other issues you've covered besides those already mentioned? You've discussed the constitutional issue, and I know you've discussed educational issues.

Kim Kopola: Yes, I've tried to concentrate on education because it's of interest to me as a university student. I think education is of value, and I try to look at it in different perspectives. There was one program about the Native Affairs Office at the University of Alberta, one program on native university students, and one on the Sacred Circle, which is a native program in the Edmonton public schools.

I try to do things that are fun, too, and not just heavy-duty, serious stuff all the time. One program that I thought was just delightful was an interview with Gilbert Anderson about Métis fiddling. I loved that program, and the reason that I personally loved it is because Gilbert and I are such good friends. I've seen Gilbert interviewed before where he's been stiff as cardboard, but because we know each other and have done so many things together to promote native music, he was very comfortable, very animated, and so completely at ease that it became, I thought, a really good show.

There have been other shows with budding native artists in the areas of fine arts and music. I've interviewed Kathy Sewells, who is a young Métis singer. My intention is to show that there are native people doing a multitude of things and pursuing dreams and career ambitions while doing the necessary work. These people are not just saying that they want to be something without being willing to put in the technical and academic work that's necessary to achieve their goals. I've been fortunate to have people on my program who are so dynamic and so delightful that viewers come to like them as they see them on the show. People have said this in letters, and in comments on the street.

Carl Urion: How does your show complement other native media such as the native newspapers?

Kim Kopola: Because I'm a freelancer who works independently, that makes a big difference in my program. But I think, too, that live interviews mean that I can't really manipulate the program. To a certain extent I can manipulate the kinds of questions that I ask, but I can't manipulate much beyond that. If somebody says something that I don't like, I can't snip it out of the program and refuse to deal with it. It's happened, you know, that things were said on the program that I didn't like.

Carl Urion: There are 14,000 native people in Edmonton. Would you say that you are documenting our diversity and our times?

Kim Kopola: I think so, but not because I did this intentionally. It's damned difficult, let me tell you, to come up with fifty new ideas a year. There are thirteen programs in a series, so two series make a total of twenty-six programs. Since we try to have two guests on every program, that means over fifty people or fifty interests. A lot of little things get covered, but a lot of topics get left out because I can't deal with them in the depth that I'd like.

Whatever I do must be really clear and can't suffer from the effects of time differences. A program broadcast this week must be just as fresh six months from now as if it happened this week. Really timely topics are left to current media such as newspapers which can come out every day.

I like to think that if you took the best of my programs, you'd have an idea of the diversity of native people in and around Edmonton, and that you'd see a caliber of people that you wouldn't expect to see. I'm always amazed at how articulate people are, the multitudes of areas they're involved in, their educational levels, and their professionalism. This is really quite surprising, even to me, and even though I've worked with native organizations for a long time.

Carl Urion: You wouldn't think we'd be surprised, would you?

Kim Kopola: No. And that, I think, is what is so surprising.

Carl Urion: Yes. And really gratifying.

Kim Kopola: Yes. When I first came to Alberta and started working with native organizations, I worked for one that was related to unemployment. I don't know how many times non-native people said, "My goodness, you're such an inspiration. You're so bright. You're so articulate. Such a young native girl!" As if they expected me to speak poorly and look funny.

It's gratifying to know that there are so many people about whom I can say, "You are an excellent example of a native academic, or a well-qualified native person." This reconfirms my belief that native people are moving into all kinds of areas. If someone gave me the challenge of finding native people in twenty areas where they least expected to find them, I could probably meet that challenge and find those native people.

Carl Urion: That's an indirect answer to my question about how your show complements other kinds of media. Except for obviously human interest stories, pictures of children, and so on, newspapers are crisis-oriented, problem-oriented, and policy-issue-oriented. You show people a considerably more positive point of view in a format that allows a personal viewpoint. That's a very important distinction between other native media and your program. You allow people to see us, to hear us, and to get to know that we're human beings.

Kim Kopola: I had no idea that the program would get as much attention as it has. You have to remember that it is broadcast at 8:30 a.m. on Sunday mornings. Though I make apologies for that, I don't really need to apologize because I have an audience. I know I have an audience because people come up and talk to me, and I get letters from viewers, so they're there. People seem pleased with the program, and so far no one has thrown any bricks. We have no trouble getting guests for the show. People are quite delighted to be on it.

Carl Urion: Because we know about it.

Kim Kopola: Yes. Guests also know I'm not going to bite their head off, put them in a corner, or ask embarrassing questions. If they've watched the show before, they know they'll be treated with dignity. But this is also a program for native people, and guests are really happy about that because there are so few programs for us.

Carl Urion: How does your program compare in general terms with the other network's native-oriented program?

Kim Kopola: There is a difference. The only other program in Alberta that I'm familiar with is the ITV (Independent Television Network) program, "Our Native Heritage." In the two years that I've hosted my program, the ITV program has gone through transitions. It started with Tantoo Martin, who was familiar to people because she's an actress. People were familiar with her face. There have also been other hosts for that program. The difference is that ITV spends a little more time in production and can shoot on location. For example, when they do a program on Louis Riel, they film riverboats and capture the right atmosphere because they're willing to do more production work outside the studio.

But I'll tell you what I think the real difference is—and maybe Tantoo and

the other hosts will pin my ears back if they hear me say this—but I think that as a "host-producer," I have more control over my program. I don't have to live up to anybody's ideology of what "Indian-ness" or "native-ness" is all about, and I have flexibility. It's me deciding those things, and if what I portray isn't "Indian," then that's my fault. It's not the fault of some non-native producer who suggested what he thought would be a good subject, or what would be a good way of asking a question, or saying "we'll edit this," or "we'll edit that." Other programs may do a lot of editing.

Personally speaking, I sometimes find it easier to watch "Our Native Heritage" because it's more glamorous. I like to see the green grass, the blue sky, and all the things that we can't have in a studio. I like to listen to guests being interviewed without any "uns," "ers," and "ahs." My program has got it all, you know; it's got both the good and the bad.

Carl Urion: Well, it's conversational.

Kim Kopola: Yes, with the little talking heads (shots of people talking without other visual effects).

Carl Urion: Can you use still photographs?

Kim Kopola: Yes, I can. I create a lot of versatility in the program by using slides, stills, and anything else that is visually attractive. I've used creativity by going down to the museum and begging to borrow things that you and I never get to see because they're locked away in back rooms. I've also spent time at the archives getting old photographs of what native settlements and reserves used to look like. Dancers have come on my show dressed in their outfits.

Carl Urion: Who pays for your program? Is it a public service?

Kim Kopola: Yes, it is. It's considered part of the requirements for the station's license from the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission. CFRN is providing community television programing in a minority area. My show has practically no budget, and I'm paid an honorarium through the station. That's the only money devoted to the show; all the other expenses are absorbed. They just use the news staff to come in and film the actual show. There is no production money available for my show.

Carl Urion: You're doing a lot with very little.

Kim Kopola: Yes.

Carl Urion: Is there anything else you would like to say about "Between Two Worlds"?

Kim Kopola: Just that we have very limited resources and I had little training in broadcasting when I began, as did the person who hosted the show before me. We had so little knowledge that we didn't know what we could demand from the station. Since we didn't know what was reasonable and feasible to ask for, the show has been a real learning experience. We try hard to do the best that we can with our limited resources. I don't think we're doing such a bad job. People who watch the program are gaining a little knowledge, and are coming to realize that native people are not just moosehide and feathers.

Goûts et préférences actuels des téléspectateurs inuits en Terre de Baffin, au Keewatin dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest

Gail Valaskakis
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Cet article décrit les résultats d'une enquête, effectuée en 1984, portant sur les préférences et les habitudes des téléspectateurs inuits de l'Arctique du Centre et de l'Est. Les auteurs examinent les habitudes des Inuit comme téléspectateurs en fonction de l'âge, du sexe, de la langue et de l'éducation de cette population. Ils arrivent à la conclusion que les émissions les plus populaires sont les informations et les documentaires à la fois en anglais et en inuktitut; viennent ensuite les comédies et les feuilletons. Ils commentent les résultats de cette enquête dans le cadre des initiatives de l'IBC (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation) qui diffuse des programmes en inuktitut dans le Nord du Canada.

This paper describes an audience survey conducted early in 1984 of television viewing tastes and habits among the Inuit of the Eastern and Central Arctic. The authors examine television viewing habits in relation to specific characteristics of the Inuit population such as age, sex, language, and education. It was found that news and public affairs programing in both English and Inuktitut were the most popular, and that there was also considerable interest in situation comedies and soap operas. The results of this survey are discussed in the context of efforts by the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation to provide Inuktitut-language television for the Canadian North.

INTRODUCTION

Aujourd'hui le Nord du Canada reçoit une étonnante variété de programmes télévisés. Tandis qu'une partie de ces programmes est diffusée directement par les services du Nord de Radio Canada, la disponibilité d'antennes paraboliques, à un prix raisonable (en gros, le coût d'une bonne chaîne stéréo), donne littéralement accès aux usagers au ciel entier. Il suffit en effet que les téléspectateurs connaissent la position relative du satellite qui transmet l'émission qu'ils veulent recevoir. Comme la position d'un satellite géo-stationnaire ne change jamais, il est relativement facile de diriger l'antenne dans la direction souhaitée.

Avant 1972, le Nord canadien ne captait aucune émission télévisée. Depuis cette date, l'accroissement de l'information disponible dans cette région a créé une situation absolument unique au Canada.

L'histoire de l'Arctique canadien et de ses habitants a toujours été marquée par le changement. Contrairement à ce qu'on pourrait croire, la géographie de l'Arctique n'a pas totalement privé les Inuit de tout contact avec le monde extérieur. Mais c'est celui-ci qui est venu vers eux. L'expérience du changement n'est donc

pas pour les Inuit un phénomène entièrement nouveau; ce qui l'est, c'est la rapidité du changement dont ils font, en ce moment, l'expérience.

Inkeles et Smith (1974) ont défini la "modernité" comme étant déterminée par deux facteurs principaux: (a) la quantité d'éducation formelle et (b) le degré d'exposition aux moyens de communication de masse. Certes, on peut ne pas être d'accord avec cette définition, mais il n'en reste pas moins vrai qu'ils ont réuni des preuves impressionantes de l'impact que l'accélération du changement produit sur les sociétés traditionnelles qui étaient restées relativement stables depuis longtemps.

Jusqu'à il y a trente ans, les Inuit de l'Arctique canadien vivaient des ressources naturelles de leur environnement. Mais le gibier s'est raréfié, des maladies se sont répandues et le gouvernement fédéral s'est de plus en plus intéressé aux caractéristiques politiques et économiques du Nord, à cause notamment de sa situation stratégique entre les Etats-Unis et l'Union Soviétique (Paine 1977). Il devint alors impératif de sédentariser les Inuit de manière à pouvoir leur assurer éducation, soins médicaux et assistance sociale, alors que cela n'avait jamais été la politique initiale des marchands, des missionnaires et des fonctionnaires fédéraux. La scolarisation obligatoire fut introduite en 1956 (Paine 1977). Les conséquences sociales de cette politique au cours des vingt années suivantes ont été décrites en termes très négatifs (Brody 1975) et même "pathologiques" (Berger 1977).

TÉLÉVISION ET CHANGEMENT SOCIAL

Au début des années 70, un nouveau facteur de changement culturel est intervenu: la télévision par satellite. Auparavant, le "Sud" était quelque chose dont les Inuit avaient entendu parler à l'école, qu'ils avaient vu dans des livres ou dans de rares films, ou dont ils avaient peut-être fait l'expérience, généralement désagréable, à l'occasion de visites, le plus souvent dans des hôpitaux. En 1974, toutefois, le "Sud" a envahi le Nord et est venu s'installer chez les gens, à l'intérieur même de leur foyer. Une étude (Watson 1977) a décrit les conséquences de cette invasion, montrant des villages aux rues désertes tandis que les postes de télévision fonctionnaient toute la journée, souvent même avec le son au point mort (Coldevin 1977). En même temps, des habitants du Nord ont commencé à noter de nouvelles formes de comportement imitatif chez les jeunes: les filles portant des jeans étroits, les garçons modelant leur comportement sur celui des héros de comédie tels que "The Fonz" de la série "Happy Days" (Valaskakis 1983), ou encore, dans un genre plus inquiétant, l'apparition de la violence dans les matchs de hockey locaux, phénomène qui date de l'arrivée de la télévision.

Entre 1974 et 1984, la télévision par satellite est devenue disponible pour les communautés arctiques. Durant cette période, le village inuit de Igloolik a refusé plusieurs fois de permettre l'installation de l'équipement nécessaire à la réception des programmes télévisés. Toutefois la communauté a organisé périodiquement des referendums sur ce problème et le nombre des voix en faveur de l'installation a régulièrement progressé. En 1983, la majorité requise de 60% a été

atteinte et, au mois d'octobre de cette année-là, la communauté a reçu les programmes de la CBC.

En 1984, "l'environnement" télévisé du Nord se trouvait déjà saturé. Une recherche en cours a catalogué, à cette date, 150 programmes diffusés par satellite dans la seule communauté de Frobisher Bay (Wilson n.d.). De nombreuses communautés de l'Arctique disposent de plus d'un poste de la CBC. Les communautés du Nord du Québec reçoivent des programmes de Radio Canada, tandis que celles qui sont situées plus au centre de l'Arctique reçoivent des émissions à la fois des satellites de l'Est et de l'Ouest dans les régions où les trajectoires de ces satellites se recoupent (Wilson n.d.).

Au fur et à mesure que la télévision se répandait dans le Nord, les organisations inuit devenaient de plus en plus inquiètes en constatant que leur culture et leurs problèmes étaient virtuellement absents des programmes de la CBC qui desservaient leur région. En 1973, l'année qui vit le lancement du premier satellite canadien de communication, Frobisher Bay, dans l'Arctique de l'Est, devint la première région à bénéficier de la télévision, grâce à un programme ("Frontier Package") consistant à livrer des vidéo-cassettes par un système émetteur à basse tension. Toutefois ce service ne comportait aucun programme en langue inuit (inuktitut). Jusqu'à la fondation de l'IBC (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation) en 1981, le réseau de télévision du Nord n'offrait que soixante minutes de programmes en inuktitut par semaine.

EXPANSION DU RÉSEAU TÉLÉVISÉ

Des recherches systématiques faites en 1974 (Coldevin 1977) et en 1980 (Wilson 1981) ont fait état de la véritable détresse éprouvée par les Inuit devant les menaces que le réseau télévisé représentait pour leur culture. En 1978, deux organisations inuit ont entrepris une expérience de trois ans grâce aux programmes en inuktitut. Dans le Nord du Québec, l'organisation inuit, Tagramiut Nipingat Incorporated, a créé un réseau interactif de radio et de télévision incluant six communautés et s'est mise à produire des programmes locaux dans un centre de production établi dans la communauté de Salluit (Hill et Valaskakis 1979). Dans la même période, l'ITC (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada) utilisait le satellite Anik-B pour former un réseau de six communautés réparties dans trois régions de l'Arctique (Arctique du Centre, Keewatin, et Terre de Baffin). Ce réseau comprenait un système vidéo unidirectionnel et un système audio à double voie. Pendant une période de huit mois, entre 1980 et 1981, le projet Inukshuk, prédécesseur de l'IBC (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation) a diffusé 16,5 heures hebdomadaires de programmes en inuktitut (Valaskakis, Robbins et Wilson 1981).

Une fois ces projets achevés, en 1981, l'IBC fut formée pour fournir des programmes en inuktitut aux communautés inuit de tout le Nord canadien. La licence de l'IBC prévoit la diffusion de programmes en inuktitut grâce à la part qui est accordée sur l'émetteur de la CBC, Anik-B et dans l'ensemble des programmations du Nord.

En janvier 1982, l'IBC à commencé à transmettre des programmes à un poste de relais à Frobisher Bay permettant de réaliser des émissions locales en direct. Cela a rendu possible la production d'environ cinq heures hebdomadaires à l'intention des communautés des Territoires du Nord-Ouest, du Nord du Québec, et du Labrador, qui sont en grande majorité Inuit. Les programmes viennent des centres de production de Salluit, Baker Lake, et Frobisher Bay, ainsi que de certaines communautés de moindre importance disposant des facilités nécessaires.

PROCÉDURES DE L'ENQUÊTE

Jusqu'à présent, la CBC a organisé deux enquêtes sur les auditoires dans l'Arctique du Centre et de l'Est (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 1980, 1982). La première de ces enquêtes a porté sur les régions de Keewatin et de Terre de Baffin, spécifiquement sur les communautés de Rankin Inlet, Baker Lake et Eskimo Point; la seconde sur Cape Dorset et Pond Inlet respectivement au sud et au nord de la Terre de Baffin. Bien que ces enquêtes aient été faites d'une manière méthodologiquement rigoureuse, les questions posées étaient, pour la plupart, limitées aux programmes de la CBC. Une seule section de l'un des deux rapports d'enquête concerne le système Inukshuk. Il convient aussi de noter que la dimension des échantillonages était limitée à trois communautés dans la première enquête et à deux dans la seconde. En particulier, aucun des résidents de Frobisher Bay, c'est-à-dire dans la partie la plus peuplée de l'Arctique de l'Est, ne fut interrogé.

Vers le milieu de 1984, l'IBC dut faire une enquête pour fournir des informations concernant l'importance et la nature de son auditoire ainsi que la pertinence de ses programmes. Le but de cette enquête était de fournir des informations sur les goûts et les habitudes des téléspectateurs inuits afin de permettre à l'IBC de continuer à améliorer ses programmes. Les auteurs de cet article furent chargés de faire cette enquête et les préparatifs commencèrent en décembre 1983, avec une liste de onze communautés sélectionnées parmi les plus représentatives du Keewatin et de l'Arctique de l'Est. Le choix fut influencé par le nombre des résidents, la facilité d'accès, la date plus ou moins récente de l'introduction du réseau de télévision, et l'existence d'enquêtes antérieures portant sur ces communautés. C'est en fonction de ces critères que les communautés suivantes furent sélectionnées:

TABLEAU UN: COMMUNAUTÉS ÉTUDIÉES

(1) Frobisher Bay	(5) Resolute Bay	(9) Eskimo Point
(2) Cape Dorset	(6) Grise Fiord	(10) Baker Lake
(3) Pond Inlet	(7) Hall Beach	(11) Lake Harbour
(4) Arctic Bay	(8) Igloolik	

Comme la date limite pour la fin de l'enquête avait été fixée à la mi-mars, cela excluait que le principal enquêteur (Wilson) puisse visiter chacune des onze

communautés. Il fut donc décidé de sacrifier la profondeur de l'enquête et de donner la priorité à son étendue. D'anciens employés et bénévoles de l'IBC et de son prédécesseur, le projet Inukshuk (voir Valaskakis, Robbins et Wilson 1981) furent chargés de l'enquête dans certaines des onze communautés. Après consultation avec l'IBC, la CBC et le Secrétariat d'Etat Canadien, le questionnaire fut établi, traduit et vérifié. Il fut ensuite imprimé en version bilingue (anglais et inuktitut syllabique) et livré aux enquêteurs par avion.

Ce questionnaire avait été conçu pour obtenir des informations intéressant les deux institutions qui avait commandité l'enquête, l'IBC et le Secrétariat d'Etat. Les quatre-vingt-quinze questions qu'il comportait étaient destinées à recueillir des informations au sujet de la démographie, des habitudes générales des téléspectateurs et de leurs préférences concernant les programmes de l'IBC aussi bien que de la CBC. La dernière section du questionnaire cherchait à obtenir des répondants des idées pour les programmes futurs. Les interviews furent faites de porte en porte et les enquêteurs devaient demander à tous ceux qu'ils trouvaient, et qui le voulaient bien, de remplir le questionnaire, avec leur aide si nécessaire. Les enquêteurs principaux et les assistants avaient été informés, par les responsables d'IBC à Ottawa et à Frobisher Bay, des problèmes et des questions qui seraient sans doute soulevés au cours de l'enquête. Durant l'enquête, les répondants n'eurent pas beaucoup de difficultés à remplir le questionnaire.

L'enquête commença à Frobisher Bay à la mi-janvier 1984 et l'analyse des données fut commencée à la mi-mars. Au total, 1,378 questionnaires utilisables furent reçus de dix des onze communautés. Malheureusement ceux de Pond Inlet furent apparemment victimes des aléas des services postaux du Nord et n'arrivèrent jamais à Montréal. Un questionnaire au moins fut rempli pour chaque foyer dans toutes les communautés. Pour toutes ces communautés, le pourcentage des questionnaires remplis ne représente pas moins de 20% de la population. L'analyse des données fut terminée au début d'avril 1984 et le rapport final de l'enquête fut présenté à l'IBC à la mi-avril.

Une caractéristique étonnante de cette enquête, comparée aux précédentes, fut, selon l'avis des enquêteurs, la chaleur et l'esprit de coopération avec lesquels ils furent reçus dans toutes les communautés. La grande majorité des questionnaires furent rendus dûment remplis et plusieurs furent même annotés par les répondants à la fois en anglais et en inuktitut.

RÉSULTATS

Pour simplifier la masse des données recueillies, les réponses à toutes les questions furent classées selon l'âge et le sexe des répondants. A la demande de l'IBC, les téléspectateurs furent en outre répartis en cinq catégories d'âge représentant des caractéristiques intéressant l'IBC. L'unité d'analyse fut le répondant individuel et le groupement par communauté d'origine ne fut pas pris en considération.

Age et Sexe. La population inuit de l'Arctique de l'Est et du Centre est relative-

ment jeune. L'âge des répondants de l'enquête allait de 10 à 85 ans; l'âge median était 26. Cinq pour cent des répondants avaient 61 ans ou plus, et 7,5% en avaient 13 ou moins. Soixante-quinze répondants, soit 5,4% du total, n'indiquèrent pas leur âge.

La population de l'enquête tendait à être également répartie relativement au sexe. Sur les 1,351 répondants qui notèrent leur sexe (1,5%, soit 21 personnes, ne le firent pas), il y avait 46,4% d'hommes et 52% de femmes. La répartition en cinq catégories d'âge a également révélée une distribution à peu près égale des sexes dans chaque catégorie. De plus, cette proportion se maintenait si l'on regroupait les correspondants par communauté.

Langue. En réponse à la question "Parlez-vous inuktitut?", 97,4% des répondants ont donné une réponse positive. (Seize personnes seulement ne répondirent pas à la question, soit 1,2%). La prédominance de la langue inuit dans les communautés étudiées s'est révélée extrêmement forte, avec un pourcentage un peu plus élevé pour les répondants de 61 ans et plus; toutefois, les différences enregistrées entre les catégories d'âge, quel que soit le sexe, sont apparues trop faibles pour être significatives.

C'est en ce qui concerne l'anglais qu'une corrélation notable avec l'âge des répondants s'est dégagée. Les plus jeunes Inuit, en général, parlent anglais plus couramment que les plus vieux, la compétence décroissant avec l'âge. Pour les répondants de 10 à 15 ans, 92,8% ont déclaré savoir parler anglais. Ce chiffre passe à 96,2% pour la catégorie de 16 à 25 ans, puis décline d'une manière significative au delà: 14,1% pour la catégorie de 46 à 60 ans; 8,2% seulement pour ceux de plus de 61 ans.

Inuit syllabique. Quatre-vingt-quatre pour cent de tous les répondants ont déclaré savoir lire l'écriture syllabique inuit. Dans toutes les catégories d'âge, 76,2% au moins font de même. La capacité de lire l'écriture syllabique croît avec l'âge, mais la proportion la plus élévée se situe parmi ceux qui ont entre 46 et 60 ans (96,2%); pour ceux de 16 à 25 ans, on relève une tendance à moins de facilité (76,2%) dans ce domaine par rapport aux autres catégories d'âge, y compris les plus jeunes puisque 80,6% des 10 à 15 ans ont déclaré savoir lire l'écriture syllabique inuit.

Ces résultats reflètent l'évolution de l'enseignement dans le Nord; l'inclusion de l'écriture syllabique inuit dans les programmes scolaires est en effet un phénomène relativement récent. Comme cette inclusion date d'une dizaine d'années, il est normal que le groupe maintenant âgé de 10 à 15 ans fasse état d'une compétence dans ce domaine. Si ce n'est pas le cas de ceux entre 16 et 25 ans, c'est que l'anglais était nettement privilégié durant leur scolarisation. Quant aux autres, c'est-à-dire ceux qui ont 26 ans et plus, c'est l'enseignement systématique et persistant des missionnaires qui leur a permis de maîtriser la lecture de l'écriture syllabique.

Education. Un total de 72,4% des répondants déclarèrent être allés à l'école. Il n'est pas surprenant toutefois qu'il existe une corrélation inverse entre les

réponses positives et l'âge des répondants. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, la plupart des jeunes ont passé au moins un an à l'école; parmi le groupe des plus jeunes tout le monde y est allé. La probabilité de scolarisation décroît avec l'âge. En revanche, on ne note aucune différence entre les sexes.

Emploi. Selon le rapport présenté par Fraser (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation 1980, 1982) le chômage est élevé dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest. Pour toutes les catégories d'âge de cette enquête, moins de la moitié des répondants avaient un emploi; toutefois le groupe de 16 à 60 ans, pour les hommes comme pour les femmes, tendait à avoir un plus grand nombre d'emplois. Les activités économiques traditionnelles étaient très populaires. Il y avait davantage de chasseurs et de trappeurs que de salariés parmi les personnes âgées de 16 à 25 ans. Quant aux individus de 25 à 60 ans, presque la moitié d'entre eux étaient chasseurs ou trappeurs. Même dans le groupe le plus âgé (61 ans et plus) 26,2% des répondants se livraient à des activités traditionnelles.

Un nombre comparable d'hommes et de femmes travaillait (36% des hommes et 32% des femmes) mais six fois plus d'hommes que de femmes s'adonnaient à ces activités (64% des hommes et 11% des femmes). Cette différence significative reflète les habitudes culturelles des Inuits.

Utilisation et compréhension de l'inuktitut et de l'anglais

Les trois quarts environ de tous les répondants de cette enquête estimèrent que l'inuktitut (parlé et écrit) utilisé dans les programmes de l'IBC était correct. Le pourcentage de ceux qui approuvaient le langage de ces programmes croissait avec l'âge. Il est significatif que plus d'Inuit comprenaient la télévision en inuktitut (54,6%) qu'en anglais (37,7%). La compréhension des programmes dans chaque langue s'est révélée directement reliée à l'âge des répondants.

La meilleure compréhension des programmes en anglais (59,4%) est le fait des personnes agées de 16 à 25 ans. Par contre 62% de ceux ayant entre 45 et 60 ans, et 78,7% de ceux ayant plus de 61 ans ne comprennent pas l'anglais. Seulement 30% des enfants âgés de 10 à 15 ans comprennent parfaitement l'inuktitut. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, la meilleure compréhension de l'inuktitut s'observe chez les plus de 61 ans. Cinquante pour cent de toutes les catégories d'âge estimèrent que la qualité des traductions en inuktitut était "bonne".

Presque la moitié de tous les répondants de l'enquête (44%) déclarèrent avoir appris de nouveaux mots en regardant les programmes de l'IBC, les plus jeunes (10 à 45 ans) en apprenant davantage que les plus vieux. Plus de la moitié des enfants de 10 à 15 ans (54,4%) indiquèrent qu'ils avaient appris des mots nouveaux grâce à ces programmes.

Plus d'un tiers de tous les répondants (37%) dirent avoir appris de nouvelles techniques en regardant ces programmes. Comme le plus haut pourcentage de ceux ayant répondu par l'affirmative à cette question provenait de la catégorie des 10 à 15 ans, cela met en évidence la nature éducative des programmes de l'IBC.

Il est à noter que plus d'hommes que de femmes déclarèrent avoir appris aussi des nouvelles techniques.

Temps passé à regarder la télévision. Une majorité de répondants (85% ou plus), incluant à la fois hommes et femmes dans toutes les catégories d'âge, déclarèrent regarder la télévision (IBC) au moins une heure par semaine. Presque le trois quarts des jeunes (de 10 à 25 ans) le font d'une à trois heures par semaine; mais les vieux ont tendance à passer plus de temps à regarder la télévision que les jeunes. Toutes les catégories d'âge exprimèrent le désir de recevoir davantage de programmes d'IBC. Ceux qui étaient le plus en faveur d'une augmentation du nombre des programmes comprenaient à la fois les plus jeunes (71,6%) et les plus vieux (72,1%), démontrant ainsi une communauté de vue aux deux extrémités de l'éventail des générations. Ces deux groupes étaient très attachés à cette idée, mais avec une légère préférence pour des programmes supplémentaires plutôt que pour des programmes plus longs.

La diffusion quotidienne consistant en neuf périodes de deux heures chacune, de six heures du matin à minuit, cinq périodes représentent la meilleure position de la journée, celle pendant laquelle le plus grand nombre de spectateurs regarde les programmes. Les pourcentages de ceux qui déclarèrent regarder la télévision "quelquefois" et "toujours" pendant ces heures là sont les suivants:

TABLEAU DEUX: LES POURCENTAGES DES SPECTATEURS LORS D'ÉCOUTE MAXIMUM A LA TÉLÉVISION

12 h à 14 h	48,7%	18 h à 20 h	54,7%	22 h à 24 h	67,8%
16 h à 18 h	45,4%	20 h à 22 h	53,9%		

Toutes les catégories d'âge indiquèrent qu'elles regardaient la télévision davantage pendant ces périodes, les plus jeunes téléspectateurs ayant encore plus tendance à la regarder entre midi et quatorze heures, c'est-à-dire durant la diffusion des séries de l'après-midi (feuilletons) et des programmes populaires "Coming Attractions", "Three's Company" et "Happy Days". Davantage de femmes que d'hommes déclarèrent regarder la télévision entre midi et quatorze heures alors que c'est l'inverse entre dix-huit heures et minuit. Assez peu de téléspectateurs de plus de soixante et un ans regardent la télévision entre vingt-deux heures du soir et minuit, bien que ce soit le moment de la journée où sont diffusés les programmes de l'IBC que le plus grand nombre de téléspectateurs regardent.

Préférences pour les programmes futurs. Sept types de programmes furent désignés comme étant particulièrement populaires pour les futures programmations de l'IBC. Les pourcentages des répondants en faveur de ces programmes sont le suivant:

TABLEAU TROIS: LES POURCENTAGES DES RÉPONDANTS EN FAVEUR DES PROGRAMMES FUTURS

Arts et métiers traditionnels	86,9%	La nature	83,5%
La chasse	85,5%	La langue inuktitut	81,7%
Les communautés du Nord	85,2%	Les nouvelles du Nord	80,9%
La musique inuktitut	84,4%		

Toutes les catégories d'âge indiquèrent une préférence marquée pour les programmes concernant la langue inuktitut, les communautés du Nord, la musique inuit et la chasse. Les programmes les plus populaires parmi les personnes de 46 à 60 ans se révélèrent être ceux de l'IBC. Il en est de même, quoique à un moindre degré, pour les personnes âgées de plus de 61 ans. Quatre-vingt pour cent de tous les enfants de 10 à 15 ans demandèrent plus de programmes sportifs, alors que 84,55% des téléspectateurs de 26 à 45 ans, et 87% de ceux de 46 à 60 ans exprimaient leur intérêt pour davantage de programmes destinés aux enfants.

On note une préférence des hommes pour davantage de programmes sportifs (77,5%) et de programmes sur la chasse (91,2%). Les femmes, de leur côté, privilégièrent les programmes de l'IBC sur la santé et la médecine (80,9%), les problèmes domestiques (78,8%), et les programmes pour enfants. Plus de la moitié des répondants de chaque catégorie d'âge (68% en tout) exprimèrent leur intérêt pour des programmes religieux, ainsi que pour des programmes "ligne ouverte". Ce fut le cas en particulier des personnes les plus âgées. Dans leurs commentaires écrits, les téléspectateurs de tous âges protestèrent contre les répétitions de programmes et soulignèrent leur intérêt pour le théâtre inuit et pour les programmes "southern style".

Préférence concernant les programmes et la CBC. La moitié ou plus de tous les répondants indiquèrent qu'ils regardaient "quelques fois" ou "la plupart des semaines" dix des onze programmes diffusés à leur intention par le service de la télévision du Nord de la CBC. Le fait que "Sesame Street" apparaisse être le programme le moins regardé (44,1% seulement de tous les répondants), provient sans doute de l'exclusion des moins de 10 ans de cette enquête.

Les sept programmes suivants étaient particulièrement suivis:

TABLEAU QUATRE: LES POURCENTAGES DES SPECTATEURS POUR LES PROGRAMMES PRÉFÉRÉS

Nunatsiaqmiut	72,8%	(36,0% regulièrement)
The National (les nouvelles)	71,1%	(39,8%)
Taqravut	71,0%	(31,6%)
Focus North	65,0%	(26,4%)
All My Children	63,2%	(41,6%)
Dallas	63,8%	(32,7%)
Happy Days	60,2%	(25,9%)

L'enquête montra que la majorité des programmes de la CBC étaient regardés régulièrement avec le plus d'intérêt par les téléspectateurs les plus âgés, et que l'émission la plus populaire auprès des enfants était "Happy Days" (41,7% en général et 32,2% quelquefois), suivie par "Dallas" (32,2% en général et 35,6% quelquefois), les dessins animés du samedi matin (25,6% et 44,4%), et "All My Children" (23,9% et 36,1%). "All My Children" est l'émission qu'ils *préfèrent* (61,1%), suivie par "Happy Days" (56,1%), "Dallas" (53,9%), et les dessins animés du samedi matin (52,2%). On peut donc en conclure que les préférences des enfants sont influencées par les préférences familiales. Les téléspectateurs de plus de 61 ans déclarèrent regarder "Nunatsiasqmiut" (50,8% regulièrement), "Taqravut" (49,2%) et "Tommy Hunter" (spectacle de musique "country" et "western") (34,4%). Presqu' un quart des téléspectateurs les plus âgés indiquèrent qu'ils regardaient régulièrement "Happy Days", "Focus North" et "All My Children"; ceux-ci exprimèrent aussi leur appréciation pour les programmes en inuktitut "Nunatsiaqmiut" (54,1%), "Taqravut" (49,2%) et "The Tommy Hunter Show" (44,3%). Environ un quart aiment aussi "beaucoup" "Happy Days", "All My Children" et "Focus North". A l'exception de "Happy Days", on peut noter que ces programmes étaient aussi regardés fréquemment et appréciés par les téléspectateurs âgés de 46 à 60 ans. "The National" (les informations du soir de la CBC), de même que "Focus North" se révélèrent particulièrement populaires parmi les personnes âgées de 26 à 60 ans, avec toutefois une majorité d'hommes, tandis que pour "All My Children" et "Dallas", également très populaires dans toutes les catégories d'âge, c'est une majorité de femmes.

DISCUSSION

Les résultats de l'enquête montrent que les Inuit doivent être comptés parmi les téléspectateurs les plus enthousiastes du Canada. Les émissions commencent à 7 heures du matin (à 6 heures pendant la fin de semaine) et continuent jusqu'à 1 heure du matin. Pour comprendre le contexte dans lequel l'IBC fonctionne et donc l'objet de cette enquête, il faut se rappeler que l'IBC n'émet qu'une heure au maximum par jour. Si l'on considère le contexte culturel et le contenu que l'IBC est chargée de représenter, sa part du temps d'émission par rapport au total est très significative. Elle est en fait de 4% environ. De plus, l'heure de programme de l'IBC qui est théoriquement prévue quotidiennement n'est pas toujours réalisable à cause des problèmes énormes que rencontre l'IBC pour produire tous ces programmes. L'IBC répète donc souvent les programmes quand les difficultés de transport empêchent les nouveaux programmes, en provenance d'autres communautés, d'atteindre Frobisher Bay au moment prévu pour la diffusion.

Etant donné ce que représente l'IBC pour la majorité de la population de l'Arctique de l'Est, qui est Inuit, il est évident que le financement et le personnel sont insuffisants. Il y a à cela des raisons purement logistiques, mais il y a aussi des raisons politiques. Les résultats de l'enquête de 1984 montrent que le type de programme produit par l'IBC répond à un profond désir et à un incontestable besoin, et qu'il convient de continuer à les développer et à les améliorer.

En février 1983, Francis Fox, qui était alors Ministre des Communications du Canada, annonça la création du NNBAP (Northern Native Broadcast Access Program). Ce programme doté de 40 millions de dollars était destiné à procurer aux populations autochtones du Nord les installations nécessaires pour créer un réseau de communication de masse, ainsi que les ressources permettant de former un personnel local compétent.

De nos jours, les innovations s'étendent aux communautés Inuit grâce aux moyens de communication de masse. Les média sont les successeurs des commerçants, des missionnaires, des instituteurs et du gouvernement. Rogers (1983) décrit ce processus de modernisation comme une séquence d'adoption des innovations: (1) conscientisation de l'innovation, (2) persuasion, ou développement d'une attitude positive envers l'innovation, (3) décision à adopter, (4) confirmation du choix. Cette théorie postule que celui qui adopte une innovation agit ainsi parce qu'il considère que cette acceptation augmentera l'aptitude de l'usager à atteindre un but important. Selon Rogers, ceux qui adoptent des innovations éprouvent normalement un sentiment de risque et d'incertitude envers la décision. Ce risque peut être réduit par la communication interpersonnelle. Les contacts personnels, ainsi, jouent-ils un rôle important durant le stage de la persuasion, mais un rôle moins significatif durant le stage initial de la conscientisation. La conscientisation est, maintenant, généralement associée au contact avec les moyens de communication de masse.

Historiquement, l'une des innovations les plus puissantes et qui a eu le plus d'influence dans le Nord fut l'introduction de l'éducation formelle. Selon la terminologie des premiers travaux de Rogers (1969), l'éducation formelle serait un "agent de changement". Il semble qu'il y ait maintenant dans le Nord un consensus pour considérer que l'introduction de l'éducation ainsi que d'autres changements ont eu des effets nettement négatifs. Toujours selon la terminologie de Rogers, ces changements semblent avoir augmenté l'incertitude et être responsables de l'incapacité de la population à prendre des décisions importantes; il s'agit là d'un état particulier qui a été désigné par le terme de "dépendance" (Mayes 1978). Une caractéristique de ces "agents de changements" ou "innovations" qui ont été historiquement importants et qui ne se limitent pas à l'introduction de l'éducation, est qu'ils sont d'origine extérieure. Quand la télévision est arrivée dans le Nord, elle a causé dans la population autochtone une intense anxiété concernant les effets qu'elle aurait sur les langues et les cultures locales. On craignait que ces innovations venues de l'éxtérieur ne détruisent les cultures autochtones. Rosemarie Kuptana, présidente de l'IBC, citée dans l'article de Debbie Brisebois publié dans ce numéro, a prétendu que la télévision était l'équivalent culturel de la bombe à neutrons. Cependant, quand les innovations sont utilisées par un groupe pour ses propres buts elles peuvent réduire l'incertitude culturelle personnelle et sociale. Elles peuvent ainsi promouvoir la restauration des attributs culturels qui avaient été perturbés. L'action de l'IBC devrait avoir aussi pour effet d'aider les gens à s'adapter à la rapidité du changement culturel contemporain.

Etant donné la longue et malheureuse histoire, fort bien documentée, des

relations entre les blancs et les autochtones dans le Nord du Canada, cela peut apporter des améliorations importantes au moins dans certains aspects de la vie des autochtones.

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Inuktitut—English Bilingualism in the Northwest Territories of Canada

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Cet article situe les statuts linguistiques, légaux et historiques de la langue Inuit dans le contexte de la politique bilingue du Canada dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest. Ici, l'analyse théorique démontre comment le bilinguisme peut encourager un groupe minoritaire à maintenir son caractère culturel distinct par un usage approprié de l'anglais. On présente un aperçu du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme dans le domaine des média et de l'éducation. Les informations présentées ici peuvent servir utilement à l'établissement d'un programme bilingue et biculturel en faveur des Inuits.

This paper places the linguistic, legal, and historical status of the Inuit language within the context of Canada's bilingualism policy in the Northwest Territories. A theoretical approach is presented which shows how bilingualism can encourage a minority group to maintain cultural distinctiveness while communicating with the dominant culture through the effective use of English. Bilingualism and biculturalism in the media and in education are outlined, and data are presented in order to derive a minimal blueprint for implementing an effective bilingual-bicultural program for the Inuit.

INTRODUCTION

Minority languages spoken by populations in the peripheral areas of modern nation states are under severe pressure, and fears that these languages may soon diminish beyond the point of no return are very real. The case of Inuit language and culture in the Canadian North is no exception. The wider political economy of Canada has placed the Inuit in a position of dependency (Brody 1975; Rea 1976; Prattis 1980b, 1983; Valaskakis 1982). This defines a perpetual situation of unequal power relations. One reflection of the dominant character of external political and economic linkages at the local community level is in the erosion of mother tongue usage, and very often in the passive acceptance of anglophone mass culture.

This is the context within which we propose to delineate the minimal conditions for the cultural survival of Inuit communities in the Canadian North. The empirical focus for this essay is the Eastern and Central Arctic. This area is isolated as a primary concern because of the constitutional changes presently being negotiated between native groups and the federal government of Canada. The Penner Report (1983) underlined federal cabinet approval for native self government and the settlement of outstanding land claims as part of the ongoing constitutional

rearrangements which are taking place within Canada. In the Eastern and Central Arctic, there are negotiations to establish Nunavut, a regional territory for the area. One of the priorities of this negotiation has been the adoption of Inuktitut as an official language. Thus, the language issue is immediate, urgent, and pressing. Although we allude to events and situations elsewhere in the Canadian North, our attention and proposals are directed specifically to the Eastern and Central Arctic regions because this is where Nunavut will take shape. Out of a total population of 25,390 Inuit in Canada (Statistics Canada 1981), an estimated 16,000 reside within the proposed boundaries of Nunavut.

The major focus of this paper is bilingualism as a means of maintaining Inuit cultural identity. Bilingualism will be placed not simply within the educational context of school curricula, but also within broader community programs of biculturalism. Our argument is that the participation of adults in community and cultural education is as necessary as a bilingual school curriculum in order to reduce the extreme intergenerational cultural gap that has developed in northern communities. A broader bicultural program which encompassed bilingual education would create an articulation between the cultural identities of the Inuit and the structure of the dominant non-native society. It should be emphasized that the term cultural identity does not refer to a fanciful return to a traditional and idealized Inuit way of life. Rather, we are referring to an awareness and pride in cultural roots which become part of the Inuit's interaction with the dominant society.

We will begin with a discussion of bilingualism policy in the Northwest Territories (N.W.T.). This will be followed by a theoretical discussion of the linguistic literature justifying minority language bilingualism. The evolution and current status of educational policy in the Canadian North will then be examined. Finally, an examination of survey data will be used as a basis for forming recommendations for policy and the construction of a minimal "blueprint" for bilingualism in the Canadian North.

BILINGUALISM POLICY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES (N.W.T.)

The rapid erosion of the Inuit language, Inuktitut, in recent years is sometimes thought to be due to its incompatibility with concepts and expressions of everyday life in a technologically advanced society. The capacity of Inuktitut as a language of public affairs is frequently questioned, often without foundation.

Brody maintains that:

> If the use of the Eskimo language is declining in the face of new developments in the north, it is because of policies and institutions which undermine, directly and indirectly, the status of the native language. It is not the inevitable result of anything intrinsic to either the native language or its relations with other languages (1977:589).

Osgood has pointed out that the major causes of language loss, particularly in the Western Arctic, were educational practices in the 1920s and 1930s, federal

government policies of settlement and assimilation since the 1950s, and industrial development since the 1960s (Osgood 1983:ix).

The total spectrum of language diversity in the Northwest Territories is beyond the scope of this essay. Instead, we wish to focus exclusively on English-Inuktitut bilingualism. A number of distinct bilingual patterns emerge from the results of a study by Meldrum and Helman (1975). The first pattern is that young Inuit aged 14-24 are less likely than older Inuit to be monoglot Inuktitut speakers. The greatest age differences in native language unilingualism are found among the Inuit of the Arctic Coast, Baffin Island, and the district of Keewatin. In these regions, the majority of Inuit aged 14-24 are bilingual in English and a dialect of Inuktitut, while those over the age of 45 are overwhelmingly unilingual in Inuktitut (Barrados and van Dine 1977:3). Osgood describes a somewhat different pattern of language loss in the Western Arctic:

> Elders in the community are bilingual in English and Inuvialuktun [an Inuit dialect spoken in the Western Arctic] with a bias in use toward Inuvialuktun. Middle aged persons are bilingual with a bias toward using English. Persons in their teens, twenties and thirties have a passive, or comprehending, knowledge of the language but rarely speak it. Children of this latter group acquire little or no knowledge of the language. Unless this pattern is modified, the language could disappear altogether when these children become the adult Inuvialiut of tomorrow (1983:ix).

Federal responsibility for the Northwest Territories did not include any consistent commitment to bilingualism; on the contrary, government policy was initially oriented toward assimilating the Inuit into administered settlements, and thence into the national culture. It was not until the Government of the Northwest Territories (G.N.W.T.) assumed responsibility for education that a stated commitment to mother-tongue literacy in schools was made. In 1971, the publication of *A Handbook for Curriculum Development* by the Department of Education of the Government of the Northwest Territories outlined a program that intended to establish native language fluency and literacy as a priority. An English-language program and a support program for the native language were scheduled to follow, and the result should have been full bilingualism for these students (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:4). However, the intent of this document was never realized or implemented, with the result that to this day, very little real progress has been made in native language literacy in schools (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:10). A "bits-and-pieces" approach has by and large replaced any consistent policy. There seems to be a lack of awareness of what a bilingual program means in terms of preparing minority culture bearers to enter the wider national community, while at the same time supporting the local community. The result is a generation of students ill equipped to fit into either of these two interdependent worlds.

A sensitive but highly important factor that is often overlooked is the voluntary adherence and commitment to the language by Inuit culture bearers in local communities. Writing about Gaelic-language loss in the west of Ireland, Fennell (1981) observed that without a collective will at the grass roots level to prevent

language loss, further linguistic erosion is inevitable. Fennell was referring to the very limited success of the Irish state's involvement in a massive intervention program to preserve Gaelic. He concluded by stating:

> A shrinking language minority cannot be saved by the action of well wishers who do not belong to the minority in question. In particular, its shrinking cannot be halted by the action, however benevolent and intelligent, of a modern centralized state...*A shrinking linguistic minority can be saved from extinction only by itself; and on condition that it acquires the will to save itself, and is not prevented from taking appropriate measures but assisted in doing so* (emphasis added; 1981:39).

Fortunately for the Inuit of the Central and Eastern Arctic, events may have taken them outside the boundaries of Fennell's language loss prognosis. The Inuit Cultural Institute (1978) has reported a high level of local consciousness about language use and an overwhelming desire for educational curricula reflecting Inuit philosophy and culture. When taken together, these various considerations support our emphasis on the wider context of culture and community which requires that formal bilingual education be part of an ongoing program of bicultural education. A necessary prerequisite for successful bilingualism is vigorous biculturalism and broadly-based community educational programs involving the participation of adults as well as children.

While it may be argued that available resources are insufficient for the implementation of a full-scale program of bilingualism and biculturalism, an effective policy could at least pinpoint priorities. For instance, the lack of written material in Inuktitut by Inuit authors sits uneasily alongside vast expenditures on radio and television programing for this northern population.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

Minority Language Bilingualism

The inevitability of social change is a fact that Inuit communities in the Canadian North realize. To date, the major result of social change has been the extensive use of English in education, government, industry, and mass communications. However, this expansion should not obscure the distinct advantages that minority groups can derive from effective bilingualism. A classic statement of these advantages is to be found in the United Nations Educational, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) document, *The Use of Vernacular Language in Education*:

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (1953:7).

A major contribution of bilingualism studies by Lambert (1969, 1977) has been to repudiate the strongly-held notion that bilingual children suffered educational and cognitive defects in comparison with monolingual children. On the contrary, the results of Lambert's earlier research (1969) suggested that bilinguals had a more diversified structure of intelligence and greater flexibility in thought. Follow-up studies in other settings (Torrance and Gowan 1970; Balkan 1970; Ben-Zeev 1972) and longitudinal studies by Scott (1973) support the argument that, compared with monolingual controls, bilingual children show definite advantages on measures of cognitive flexibility, creativity, and divergent thought patterns.

Once again, contrary to popular expectations, further studies by Lambert and his colleagues (Dubé and Herbert 1975a, 1975b; Lambert, Giles, and Picard 1975; Lambert, Giles, and Albert 1974) demonstrate that the English language facility of bilingual school children who have been educated in a language other than English is superior to that of comparable monolingual English speakers. Lambert (1977) points to the competitive advantages enjoyed by the bilingual child, and his studies demonstrate that an effective bilingual program can change the low standing that minority ethnolinguistic groups typically have on scholastic achievement measures. These studies demonstrate that effective English usage is not discriminated against in a bilingual minority culture. In fact, the use of English is enhanced. It is very doubtful that any Inuit community wants its children to be unable to speak English since it is a recognized fact that effective English is required in today's modern world. The point we are making in light of Lambert's studies is that in a bilingual educational situation, English usage is maintained not in spite of local language usage, but because of it. In this fashion, bilingualism equips children to deal on more balanced terms with the requirements of English usage while preventing alienation from their own linguistic and cultural communities.

We believe that lack of a bilingual education places severe pressure on a native language bearer who enters an English medium school equipped only with mother tongue literacy. The alienation and stress that accompany such a disjunction in linguistic usage is accentuated by the inequality and disadvantages faced by the child in the wider society. It is in the elementary grades that the seeds of trauma are sown, and the wider societal situations of inequality and discrimination for native people produce a cumulative effect. As a result, serious mental and social disturbances are to be expected when elementary children become teenagers and young adults.

Our argument in this paper about the advantages of bilingualism is not antithetical to social change, nor is it concerned with preserving distinctive cultures at all costs. Instead, the argument is part of a "blueprint" for the adaptation and evolution of small-scale communities which permits ongoing, constructive modification from within the community rather than an erosion of community solidarity due to destructive changes which are externally imposed.

Our concern is to establish and implement the minimum preconditions for an effective bilingualism policy. Once bilingualism is effective, other voluntary actions can take place that result in self-sustaining communities rather than in total dependency and all that this implies.

Concepts and Theory

Implicit in our discussion so far have been concepts of cultural boundary maintenance, legitimacy, structural and voluntary feedback, and various models of bilingualism. The theoretical corpus of the paper draws upon Lambert's bilingualism studies, previous work on ethnicity and language loyalty (Prattis 1980a, 1981), Barth's concern with ethnic boundaries and their maintenance (1969), and Fishman's sociolinguistic work on models of bilingualism (1976). Prattis developed a model of ethnic identity maintenance (1980a, 1981) which examined the significance of minority language use and attempted to stipulate the conditions that are minimally necessary for adherence to a minority language. A comprehensive survey by O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976) sought to establish which of several variables correlated most strongly with in-group interaction and ethnic identification. This analysis revealed that ethnic language retention had a correlation coefficient of 0.64 with respect to in-group interaction, and 0.53 with respect to identification. The other variables had significantly lower coefficients. This led Reitz to conclude that:

> Language retention is the cultural characteristic that best reflects current and continued ethnic cohesion; it is perhaps the most distinctively ethnic activity (1980:17).

These different studies lead to the notion of ethnic boundary maintenance (Barth 1969) in terms of attaching great significance to those mechanisms and institutions that define the minority population as distinct from the dominant culture. From Prattis (1981), Reitz (1980), and O'Bryan, Reitz, and Kuplowska (1976), it can be concluded that language use is the most significant variable. The argument with respect to cultural identity is then straightforward. When experience, institutions, and activities in the native language reinforce ideas and categories of difference, cultural identity can be retained and reinforced and can also operate as a galvanizer for community solidarity. A corollary to this also follows: if experience falsifies the distinctive cultural categories or demonstrates the lack of relevance of the categories for interaction and day-to-day life, then cultural identity will not persist. In other words the school, home, community, and media must provide constant feedback and support for the use of Inuktitut in order to reinforce a sense of relevance for Inuit identity. Although there are other considerations such as isolation, recruitment to linguistic pools, etc. (Prattis 1981), in this paper we prefer to concentrate on factors which are related to language use.

This narrows down the consideration of factors to two major sets of issues:

1. Institutional support for the minority language: (a) the legal definitions that accompany government initiatives with respect to language use; and (b) the structural definitions that derive from voluntary associations, community education programs, and business and administrative bodies using the language (Prattis 1981:24).
2. Legitimizing minority language use—the place of Inuktitut in the media and broadcasting.

This then leads to Fishman's 1976 classification of bilingualism in terms of predicting what type of bilingualism will evolve from the existing mix of contributing factors: transitional, monoliterate, partial, or full bilingualism.

Legislation would guarantee three basic rights for the Inuit: (1) the ability to communicate with federal, provincial, and territorial governments and with the public sector in their own language; (2) the ability to have court cases tried in Inuktitut; and (3) the opportunity to be educated in their own language. While these rights do not yet exist constitutionally, federal, territorial, and provincial governments recognize a special duty to preserve native languages (Tschanz 1980:18). Although the first two rights are essential, in terms of feedback from everyday experience they would have only a marginal effect on local community life. This implies that resources and attention should perhaps be primarily focused on the right to be educated in Inuktitut. The other major emphases which must be a priority for resources and attention are radio, television, and print media due to their overwhelming effect on household and community life. Thus, we are electing to concentrate on two priorities: (a) media use of Inuktitut; and (b) the educational use of Inuktitut in schools and in community education programs.

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN EDUCATION

Historical Background

Inuit education can be subdivided into four major stages: (1) early schooling carried out by missionaries in local communities; (2) the development of residential school systems; (3) the federal government take-over of education; and (4) the decentralization of responsibility to provincial and/or territorial governments.

Until the late 1950s, the early instruction of the Inuit in most parts of the Arctic was completely under the control of missionaries and carried with it a general policy of cultural replacement. Educational and cultural policies were implemented in a piecemeal fashion, and the quality of school programs depended on a missionary's abilities and attitudes. While some missionaries such as the Moravians in Labrador taught in Inuktitut (Jeddore 1979), their primary motivation was rapid conversion of the Inuit to Christianity. Since Arctic missions also promoted the idea that the Inuit wanted to be educated entirely in English (Tschanz 1980:5), they were influential in establishing a residential school system. The prevailing ideology was that the social context of native communities impeded the "formal" education of children, and they would be better able to learn (i.e., would become more acculturated) if they were removed from their community environments (Tschanz 1980:7).

Residential schools contributed heavily to the loss of Inuktitut. Young children were extracted from Gemeinschaft-type communities characterized by kinship or kin-like relationships and mechanical solidarity and inserted into Gesellschaft-type communities where interpersonal relationships were specialized and differentiated along a hierarchical structure. This experience confused and alienated Inuit children in terms of status and role expectations with respect

to both their home and school environments. The strict disciplinarian attitude of many missionaries and teachers only made things more intolerable for the students. Inuit children were often subjected to corporal punishment for speaking their mother tongue in any context and for any reason on the school grounds (Tschanz 1980:9). Thus, when the federal government finally assumed responsibility for Inuit education, English had already become the language of learning (Osgood 1983:x).

Because the residential school system was characterized by poor results and exceptionally high drop-out rates, the federal government was prompted to re-examined the whole native educational system. The Indian Act of 1951 paved the way for the integration of native students into provincial and territorial school systems (Tschanz 1980:14). Although these were more localized, they nevertheless had further detrimental effects on Inuit language since their curricula were designed for southern, non-native, middle-class students (Tschanz 1980:14). These programs were characterized by very few provisions for native studies, a total lack of textbooks relevant to life in the North, and little, if any, attempt to link curricula with parents' desires regarding the education of their children (Tschanz 1980:14-15).

Until the early 1970s, federal initiatives in education were still very much a part of general assimilation and language replacement policies which had remained virtually unaltered since contact. Today, federal and provincial authorities are demonstrating an interest in the survival of Inuit culture and language (de Vries and Vallee 1975:49). This is partly a response to the political realities of native land claims and self-government, but is also a genuine effort to strengthen and maintain the cultural and linguistic integrity of the Inuit.

Within the last decade, it has been possible to identify two main trends in government policy regarding bilingualism. First, language replacement policy has evolved into a "synthesis" approach to bilingualism as a means of preparing minority group members to enter the global community while the cultures and languages of these groups are simultaneously being supported, maintained, and possibly revitalized within the context of bicultural or multicultural communities. In the Arctic, most of the actual bilingual programs initiated so far have amounted to little more than Inuktitut-as-a-second language programs or the use of Inuktitut only as far as grade three (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:15). Second, a tendency towards decentralization is occurring at the administrative level; i.e., local curriculum committees have been set up to advise more centralized authorities on the language and cultural contents of school programs (de Vries and Vallee 1975:54). This localized, territorial development is part of a more general transfer of responsibilities from federal authorities to Inuit organizations or to the territorial government. Land claim settlements are an integral part of the transfer process.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the Classroom

The majority of teachers in northern schools are non-native, unilingual speakers of English. These teachers comprise a significant portion of the transient

population in the North. In the Keewatin and Baffin regions of Canada, over 75 percent of all teachers have had less than five years teaching experience, and over 50 percent have had less than two years experience (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:20). For many, this is their first teaching experience, and the majority have both limited teaching experience in the North and a limited knowledge of the North and its people. While the number of Inuit teachers has increased over the years, they still constitute only a small proportion of the teaching force (de Vries and Vallee 1975:54), although the Eastern Arctic Teacher Education Program has now rectified this situation in the elementary grades. However, non-native teachers are now typically staying longer than before, and appear to be making efforts to sensitize themselves to the characteristics of northern life. Most importantly, more attention and training is now being devoted to native classroom assistants (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:22).

In a number of Arctic schools, the input of native classroom assistants has produced educational programs that include the full use of Inuktitut up to grade three, supplementary Inuktitut programs through the elementary grades, and limited courses in Inuktitut up to the high school level (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:22). Due to wide variation in the quality of both materials and teaching staff, these bilingual/bicultural programs have varied drastically from one community to another. It is also correct to say that such programs do not necessarily reflect the linguistic and cultural desires of particular communities.

In short, the formulation and implementation of bilingual/bicultural policies is still very much subject to piecemeal approaches. Generally speaking, the majority of programs which have been established to date are similar to what Kjolseth (1972) has termed "the assimilation model." A radical departure from this rather depressing picture has been provided by the Kativik School Board in Arctic Québec. This school board was established after 1976 as part of the James Bay Agreement, and produced its first bilingual graduate teachers in 1978. The Kativik School Board uses a model of community and professional involvement that corresponds to recommendations which appear later in this paper.

THE NORTHERN SCHOOL SURVEY

In 1981, the general situation with respect northern schools was highlighted by a survey of student expectations on the survival prospects of Inuit language and culture. This survey, known as the Northern School Survey, was conducted by the Inuit publication *Igalaaq* (see Igalaaq 1981). Although there were a number of problems with the process of data collection, evidence gathered by the survey pointed to an increasing and overwhelming dominance of English in a situation of asymmetric bilingualism, especially when compared to the findings of a study by Meldrum and Helman published in 1975. Findings of the survey also pointed to the unintended effects of the *absence* of a clear, systematic policy on bilingualism and biculturalism.

The Northern School Survey was designed to assess the attitudes and ex-

pectations of students toward education, jobs, language, and culture while documenting their relative use of Inuktitut and English in different domains. No measure of respondent proficiency in either language was used. A total of 440 Inuit schoolchildren in northern Québec, Labrador, and the Northwest Territories, most of whom were from 12 to 15 years of age, provided response data for the survey. While there is not space in this article to discuss regional variations, the Northern School Survey demonstrated that despite the great diversity in Inuit students' attitudes, a number of trends are consistent. Most Inuit students do not expect to be educated beyond high school; yet despite assimilation and the increasing use of English, all geographic regions which were surveyed had a majority of students who thought that Inuit culture and Inuktitut are important and should be learned. This finding may represent a parental and community influence that bodes well for the introduction of a more effective bilingual/bicultural educational system.

THE NORTEXT SURVEY

A more up-to-date and methodologically reliable survey was conducted by Nortext Information Design, Limited (1983) during its evaluation of the magazine *Inuktitut,* which is produced by the Inuit Culture and Linguistics Sections of the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in Ottawa. *Inuktitut* has been produced erratically but continuously since 1959, and is currently the only national magazine which publishes cultural material in Inuktitut, the Inuit language. The magazine also has French and English translations for distribution to different populations. Its Inuktitut-English version, which is sent to northern communities, was found to be well-accepted and well-read by Inuit households.

The Nortext Survey consisted of telephone interviews of randomly-selected households. Ninety-five percent of all respondents indicated an overwhelming desire for more material published in Inuktitut. Results of the survey indicated that *Inuktitut* "is read primarily in the North in Inuktitut (59.7%), and then in English (40.3%). Of those who read in Inuktitut, 73.2% read exclusively in Inuktitut. Of those who read in English, approximately half also read in Inuktitut (48.1%E—51.9%I)" (Nortext 1983:101).

These results are encouraging because they draw on a different sector of the Inuit population (e.g., adults) than the Northern School Survey of schoolchildren in 1981. One can conclude from both the Nortext Survey and the Northern School Survey that there is a perceived need by every sector of the Inuit population for the Inuktitut language to be maintained and continually used in schools and in publications, and for the language to be a defining characteristic of Inuit community life.

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE MEDIA

Because the mass media penetrate homes to an extent that the educational system does not, the place of Inuktitut in the media is just as important as its place

in the educational system. At the flick of a switch or the perusal of a book or newspaper, the outside world enters a household's four walls. Thus, the use of Inuktitut and an emphasis on cultural themes in radio, television, and print is a necessary adjunct to any bilingual program in education, and in fact contains the key to successful biculturalism. Television and radio programs, books, and periodicals in Inuktitut would in themselves form a permanent and perpetually growing linguistic-cultural source of feedback that could strengthen Inuit identity. However, the present situation does not provide cause for confidence.

Until the late 1960s, the Inuit had little other than the New Testament and some government brochures as reading materials in Inuktitut (Hill 1983:10). In the last decade, a proliferation of agencies has been created to promote a wider linguistic-cultural development (Roberts 1983:3). However, no single agency has overall responsibility for setting up a comprehensive plan of action to protect the Inuit language, design programs, or regulate programing and funding in television, publishing, or community language projects (Roberts 1983:3). The small market for Inuktitut material makes funding very scarce, and publishing costs must be covered by governments, school boards, and universities (Hill 1983:17). Even under these conditions, economic survival is not guaranteed:

> Over 86 periodicals have been published in Inuktitut since 1970. Unfortunately, most had short lives (Harper 1983:70).

Until recently, northern broadcasting mostly involved the transmission northwards of programs designed for southern audiences. Although the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) established a northern radio service in 1955, Inuktitut was not used in this service until 1960. By 1972, less than 20 percent of the CBC's shortwave service was in the Inuktitut (Valaskakis 1982:22). A similar pattern emerged with northern television. The Anik Satellite System permits the CBC to broadcast 112 hours of television per week on its northern service, but the content of this television programing is very rarely about the North, and less than one hour a week is in Inuktitut (Valaskakis 1982:20).

In considering radio and television in the North, we have drawn upon position papers published by a government-funded body called the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) titled "Position on Northern Broadcasting" (1982a), and "Proposal for Inuit Children's Educational Television" (1982b), as well as on a federal cabinet document which contains the government's response to the IBC (Canada. Department of Communications 1983). These papers provide considerable information on the present status and needs of Inuit broadcasting. The IBC's position is:

> No single feature of southern culture was as profound in its effects on the Inuit way of life as television. It destroyed old habits and social behaviors; it imported new values and attitudes. It became an alternative way of life, particularly for the young (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1982a:i).

In recent years, the North has seen a proliferation of television signals. In 1975, the CBC initiated an Accelerated Coverage Plan to provide radio and television coverage for all communities with a population of 500 or more residents which were not already receiving services in the appropriate official language. In 1981,

the Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) granted a network license to Canadian Satellite Communications, Inc. (CANCOM) which now offers four television stations from southern cities, seven radio stations from across Canada, and a channel capacity for two native language radio signals. Supplementary services include seven pay-television channels, two educational services, and even programing packaged in France. In 1983, a total of 18 services were available by satellite (Canada. Department of Communications 1983:19). As far back as 1979, while in the process of renewing CBC network licenses, the CRTC stated:

> The technologically-oriented projects establishing a domestic communications satellite and funding the Accelerated Coverage Plan have acted together to create an intolerable situation in the North (Canada. Department of Communications 1983:21).

Furthermore, the CRTC recommended the creation of local and regional programing.

The IBC's position is that there is an urgent need for regulating all aspects of northern broadcasting, and it recommends the establishment of a new body for that purpose. The IBC also advocates increased Inuktitut programing which will be designed and produced by Inuit and broadcast up to 25 hours per week on television and 50 hours per week on radio. These quantities are in line with the "resource requirements" set out by Alcock and O'Brien (1980:24-27) in their study of bilingualism in European communities.

The emphasis on broadcasting native programs during peak viewing periods is particularly relevant to the IBC's situation. The IBC typically signs on after midnight and has roughly five hours of broadcasting time per week at its disposal. This clearly falls short of the minimum recommendations of Alcock and O'Brien (1980). There is, however, a movement toward change.

Important and radical experiments in the interactive use of satellite signals by Inuit communities have proven that the Inuit can operate a broadcasting system to serve their own, self-defined needs. The Hermes and Inukshuk projects demonstrated the feasibility of far-reaching native content, production, and control in northern broadcasting. During these projects, sophisticated satellite technology provided an opportunity for the media to become a positive factor in the development of both the Inuktitut language and Inuit community cohesion, and to serve informational, educational, and entertainment needs (Canada. Department of Communications 1983:45). This, in turn, demonstrated the feasibility of locally-produced educational programs in Inuktitut for adults and children and for community-level discussions of public and local issues. For instance, during the Inukshuk experiment (September 1980-May 1981), sixteen and a half hours of television were broadcast each week during prime afternoon and evening viewing times. This provided the Inuit with the opportunity and momentum to use the latest media technology to serve their own self-defined interests in a highly effective manner.

A major spinoff of these satellite experiments was the establishment of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation in the summer of 1981, with a mandate to broad-

cast in Inuktitut. The main priorities of the IBC are: (1) live programing; (2) relevant news and current affairs programs so that Inuktitut is not restricted to folk and traditional culture, but is also used to discuss contemporary issues; (3) programing to document traditional Inuit culture; (4) presentation of the first three in a reliable fashion on schedule, and without fear of cancelation; and (5) the development of children's programing.

The development of children's programing is crucial to any long-term policy designed to bolster cultural identity. The IBC estimates that it reaches approximately 20,000 Inuit, 50 percent of whom are of school age or younger (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1982b), and who watch an average of four to five hours of television per day. At present, children's programing which is being beamed into the North has a content directed at non-native, urban audiences. Thus, educational television is completely removed from the cultural context of Inuit children and is distorting their culturally-based perceptions of Inuit reality while undermining their distinctive cultural values.

In order to generate an alternative that promotes a positive cultural identity by using role models that Inuit children can relate to, the IBC needs a programing facility which is capable of producing educational programing on a continual basis. The July 1982 report of the IBC (1982b) supports proposals by the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly to establish centers for learning and teaching (Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly 1982) because of the crucial role such centers could play in administration and production. In order to produce relevant programs, programing officials and personnel could periodically consult education specialists and parents and children in local communities. The powerful role of television as an educational complement to schooling cannot be ignored. In addition, television as an entertainment medium can reinforce the idea that learning both traditional and modern aspects of Inuit culture can be fun, particularly where sophisticated, interactive technology continues to be used.

Fortunately, the CRTC encourages native participation in programing. Equally as important, the federal cabinet in Ottawa has recognized the cost efficiency of the IBC (Canada. Department of Communications 1983:31), has approved long-term funding for IBC television production, and in principle advocates the support of policies that reflect regional participation and definition of interests.

Besides cultural benefits, the IBC also provides distinct economic advantages. Since its creation in 1981, the IBC has provided 86 full-time and 40 part-time jobs, 90 percent of which are filled by Inuit. As an employer developing new skills which find their way into other job sectors, and as a source of public education, an expanded role for the IBC is crucial for the survival of Inuit culture.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Decentralization

To date, government programs have by and large promoted language replacement within the wider context of socio-cultural assimilation. The first step toward

altering this approach is to decentralize the structure of decision-making. This implies taking some power away from bureaucracies dominated by non-natives and transferring it to native representatives of local communities who better understand their own linguistic and cultural desires. While local and regional education boards are already encouraging community involvement, these local representatives have no real power to affect decisions on curricula:

> A common feature of successful bilingual education programs is the participation of the local community in the development, implementation and evaluation of programs presented....
>
> Active decision making and control of the program must be exercised, if the program is to receive the full support of the community....(Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:78).

Community involvement in education should be carried out on the basis of an "ongoing concern." Although education departments at the provincial or territorial levels could continue to formulate programs, they should do so with input from local communities. Such programs could both: (1) reflect the linguistic and cultural needs of their communities; and (2) remain efficient through the professional guidance of education officials.

These and other considerations were part of a critical assessment by the Special Committee on Education of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly in its report, "Learning, Tradition, and Change in the Northwest Territories" (1982). This report called for a massive overhaul of the educational structure in the Northwest Territories in order to establish new means of communication with parents about the educational system, new methods for the recruitment and orientation of teachers, and in-service training for school staffs.

The report of the Special Committee on Education of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly also called for the creation of major centers for learning and teaching, for an Arctic college, and for divisional boards of education which would provide a decentralized structure that would be more receptive to the needs of local communities. Two centers for learning and teaching, one in the Western Arctic for the Déne, and one in the Eastern Arctic for the Inuit, would be responsible for the creative and innovative aspects of educational programs and for coordinating the proposed Arctic college with divisional boards of education. One very important feature, the production of regional literature, should be added to the functions of the two centers. As production agencies for regional literature, these centers would be indispensible in the promotion of biculturalism and bilingualism (see below).

This new structure for education in the Canadian North would permit input for curricula, teacher training, and future policy formulation from: (a) local communities; (b) teachers; (c) specialists; (d) political and cultural sources (native groups); and (e) education officials (divisional boards and centers for learning and teaching).

In the area of biculturalism and adult education, the Special Committee on Education of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly recognized three fundamental needs. First, there is the necessity of integrating economic and industrial

developments with local manpower requirements. This would require the participation of the private sector in providing training and experience for local Inuit in return for the opportunity to operate in the North. Second, there should be the provision of adult education and retraining in local northern communities rather than in southern cities. Finally, there is a need to facilitate consultation and control over adult educational programs so that local communities will feel a responsibility for their own education. Adult education schemes could in general be an extension of the proposed Arctic college. Both this proposed college and the two regional teaching and learning centers could provide facilities for training bilingual teachers.

B. Teacher Training

At present, the most critical educational need in the Arctic is for more Inuit teachers. A bilingual program can only be as successful as the teachers' capacity to convey relevant cultural and linguistic information to students. Many Inuit teachers could be recruited from the existing pool of classroom assistants (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:80). The advantage of bilingual native teachers is that they are the only teachers who can offer Inuit cultural insights and perspectives on the teaching of Inuktitut and Inuit culture (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:82). In addition, they provide appropriate role models that come from the Inuit context and create a positive learning atmosphere for Inuit students at the same time as their bilingualism meets the needs of the non-native children of transient southerners. It is important to stipulate that Inuit teacher training programs should receive input from local communities. At present, there is very little input of this nature (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:84).

In 1970, the Committee for Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) was founded in Inuvik to represent the native people of the Northwest Territories. In 1973, COPE became a regional organization representing the Western Arctic Inuit. An encouraging development for Arctic education has been the ten-week training course for Inuvialuktun language instructors which was conducted by COPE in the fall of 1983. By 1984, graduates of this course had assumed teaching positions in schools in their home communities. Given other elements of support,

> ...dictionaries, grammars, teaching curricula, teaching materials, teacher training, adequate funding, community involvement and support...they may arrest the decline of a language and even, if deployed in an effective combination lead to its revitalization (Osgood 1983:xii).

All this is possible with an adequate support structure and the political will and grass roots commitment to make it happen (Fennell 1981).

C. Regional Resource Centers

A handful of regional resource centers are already in existence (e.g., in the Baffin region, at Eskimo Point, N.W.T., and at Nain, Labrador). Although one of the functions of these resource centers is to produce relevant classroom material, to date the results have been disappointing. As the Northern School Survey con-

firmed, it is imperative that more reading material in Inuktitut be made available. The main problems are cost and co-operation. However, costs of establishing more centers at the regional level could be significantly reduced if the duplication of expensive capital equipment were kept to a minimum. These centers could also be coordinated with one another, and each could provide a specialized service and share it with all others as the need arises (Government of the Northwest Territories 1981:102). However, some Inuit groups are reluctant to accept materials printed in a dialect other than their own:

> There is no dialect of Canadian Inuktitut which is considered to be the official standard...few show any willingness to compromise in adopting the dialect of other areas (Harper 1983:74-75).

These internal problems will have to be worked out by the Inuit themselves (Inuit Cultural Institute 1978). However, the demographic situation of the Inuit may be too tenuous to justify policies that resource centers must take all local dialects into account.

The importance of a regional resource center for the production of literature is highlighted by the situation elsewhere in Australia and Northwest Scotland where bilingual programs have been implemented. O'Grady and Hale (1974) have described the bilingualism program implemented in Australia's Northern Territory as "one of the most exciting events in the world." In 1973, the influential Watts Committee in Australia stipulated that the major initial need was to create rich reading environments in the schools. The Watts Committee further stated that such environments could be created in local communities if bilingual materials were available in the following order of priority:

1. Traditional stories told by parents to young children.
2. Stories of high interest to young children which are created by native adults and older school children.
3. Graded reading books in schools.
4. Stories and books of high reading interest to all age groups in the community.

It is no accident that the success of the bilingualism policy implemented in the Western Isles of Scotland coincides with the creation of a literacy production center that produced literature in all four of the above categories (Comhairle nan Eilean 1976).

CONCLUSION

The questions of: (a) understanding the social matrices of the communities concerned; and (b) the presence of community education programs are just as vital as the question of what type of bilingual program should take place in schools. Most Inuktitut language teachers advocate wider bicultural development involving adults as well as the younger school-age population (Hill 1983:17).

It is a mistake to maintain that bilingual education in schools is *the* most critical variable in assessing the effectiveness of a bilingualism policy. It is equally important that different kinds of commitments to Inuktitut are made in the media, business, and public domains. This means that the legal status of the Inuit

language, as well as the implementation and enforcement of this status, are crucial issues in legitimizing the use of the Inuit language.

From our discussion of theory and data, we will now present a "blueprint" of the minimum requirements for an effective bilingualism/biculturalism policy for an Inuit population to secure sufficient responses from everyday experience to retain their identity. In addition, remarks in the introduction of this paper concerning the use of Inuktitut as one of the official languages of the regional government of Nunavut in the Western and Central Arctic are crucial. Our blueprint reflects these dual issues of ethnic identity and constitutional change. It is a realistic compendium of the minimum conditions for effective bilingualism because some of these conditions are being thought about while others are being implemented. However, the most important consideration is that *lack* of such a set of implemented conditions carries with it an intolerable burden of social cost, breakdown, and societal disintegration. Thus, we propose the following minimum conditions for effective bilingualism:

1. Official recognition of Inuktitut.
2. Use of Inuktitut in administrative, bureaucratic, and legal structures.
3. Agreement and support of the local community for the introduction of bilingual education that is part of a wider community education program.
4. Support and financing for Inuktitut medium instruction at all levels in the educational system.
5. Major centers for teacher training, curriculum design, and the production of Inuit literature.
6. Reading schemes at all levels in Inuktitut.
7. Teachers fluent in English and Inuktitut.
8. Support for measures to use Inuktitut in community education and cultural programs in order to increase its social standing.
9. Support for Inuktitut in the mass media, including radio and television programs in Inuktitut for schools, for children at home, and during general broadcasting.

Even with measures, services, and personnel diverted by the government to the establishment and implementation of bilingualism, a situation of full bilingualism may be difficult to attain. There is conflict on this point between the scholars cited in this essay. Fishman's model of partial bilingualism (1976) appears to be at odds with the results of Lambert's research (1977). Fishman maintains that an education program which is partially bilingual would lead to a feeling of inadequacy regarding mother tongue usage because the majority language would still be needed for discourse in the technological and economic spheres. However, the results of Lambert's studies clearly demonstrate that partial bilingual programs in schools produce the opposite effect. While full bilingualism is an ideal goal, research data support the position that a partial bilingualism program contains many advantages for the bilingual child and adult, particularly if such a program is also combined with community education and media use of the minority language. While Fishman may be right in referring to partial bilingualism in schools, this is only one part of the context. The role of bilingualism in the maintenance of cultural identity is a systemic issue which must be considered at every level of the social system rather than simply being confined to an examination of school curricula.

Our emphasis throughout this paper has been on bilingual education as part of a wider program of biculturalism that involves the media and adult and community education in order to ensure feedback and legitimacy regarding adherence to Inuit identity and language. The many advantages of bilingualism and biculturalism are evident. Nevertheless, the implementation of an effective bilingual/bicultural program is problematic, requiring political will and generosity by all levels of government from village councils to the federal cabinet. On the other hand, the social, cultural, and material costs of not having bilingualism and biculturalism in Arctic communities are already apparent (Inuit Cultural Institute 1978), and demand a rapid and drastic reappraisal of the educational, media, and community services provided for Canada's Inuit population. MacDonald (1981:25) has pointed out that Inuktitut is at a crossroads in Canada. The proposed implementation of Inuktitut as an official language of the regional government of Nunavut in the Western and Central Arctic will maintain and develop the language as an active and vigorous definition of Inuit cultural and community life. However, Fennell's views on language loss (1981) must be taken very seriously. Not only must the existing situation be reappraised, but the Inuit and their representatives must have the political will and grass roots commitment to their language and culture to argue convincingly for adequate levels of support from higher levels of government.

NOTES

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The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation

Debbie Brisebois
Inuit Broadcasting Corporation

Cet article résume le développement de l'Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) depuis sa création en 1981. Cette société diffuse cinq heures et demie de programme télévisé par semaine dans la langue Inuktitut pour une population de 20,000 Inuit établis dans les communautés éloignées du Labrador, des Territoires du nord-ouest et du Québec septentrional. L'auteur examine les tentatives qui ont précédées la création de cette société, les problèmes de financement, de diffusion et de formation des employés et évalue les résultats d'un sondage récent auprès de ses auditeurs.

This paper provides an overview of the development of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) since its founding in 1981. At present, the IBC provides five and one half hours of television programing each week in the Inuktitut language to over 20,000 Inuit living in remote communities in Labrador, the Northwest Territories, and northern Québec. After surveying media efforts which preceded the network's founding, this paper discusses the IBC's difficulties with funding and distribution. It also reports on a recent audience survey.

INTRODUCTION

> We might liken the onslaught of southern television and the absence of native television to the neutron bomb. This is the bomb that kills the people but leaves the buildings standing. Neutron bomb television is the kind of television that destroys the soul of a people but leaves the shell of a people walking around. This is television in which the traditions, the skills, the culture, the language, count for nothing. The pressure, especially on our children, to join the invading culture and language and leave behind a language and culture that count for nothing is explosively powerful (Rosemarie Kuptana, President of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, during her statement to the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission Public Hearing on Pay-TV Tiering and Universal Service, Hull, Québec December 1, 1982).

When Rosemarie Kuptana made the above statement to the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) in 1982, she was echoing long-standing fears which the Inuit have expressed for many years. The impact of southern television on the North has been a matter of concern to the Inuit since the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) first introduced its Accelerated Coverage Plan in July, 1975. At that time, the CBC's Accelerated Coverage Plan began providing CBC television programing for all communities in Canada with a population of over 500. Although the Accelerated Coverage Plan provided funds for hardware, it did not allocate funds for programing, and Inuit leaders and residents of the Canadian North soon became afraid that the unrestricted importation of programs depicting southern attitudes, values, and behavior would lead to a loss of Inuit language and culture, and to the disruption of community life.

As a result, the hamlet of Igloolik, located to the west of Baffin Island, adopted a simple protective measure: for years the community voted to prevent the reception of all television. Despite such efforts, it was clear that television could not be kept out of the North. The question then became how this new medium could best be used by the Inuit to protect their language and culture.

This important question was soon addressed by the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), the national organization which represents the 25,000 Inuit of the Northwest Territories (N.W.T.), northern Québec, and Labrador. In 1975, the ITC launched a communications program to ensure that the Inuit would maintain a measure of control over the nature and quantity of television being broadcast in the North. Working through the existing legislative and regulatory structures, the ITC conducted research, intervened before the CRTC, lobbied the federal government, and established several pilot communications projects. These communications projects ranged from extending the intercommunity, high-frequency radio system in Keewatin to improving postal service in the N.W.T.

THE INUKSHUK PROJECT

In May, 1975, the Canadian federal Department of Communications offered the ITC access to the Anik B satellite as part of a one-year experiment in satellite communications. The ITC's Anik B project was christened "Inukshuk," after the anthropomorphic stone cairns which traditional Inuit built on the land as beacons for travellers. Project goals were ambitious, and the Inukshuk Project was no less than an attempt to establish the first northern television network. At that time, the CBC's only television facility in the Northwest Territories was a studio in Yellowknife. It was planned that the Inukshuk Project would transmit live programs from Frobisher Bay, with interactive audio from five other production centers in Cambridge Bay, Baker Lake, Eskimo Point, Igloolik, and Pond Inlet (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada 1979a).

The initial phase of this project lasted two years. While project co-ordinators installed technical facilities in local production centers, Inuit trainees in Pond Inlet, Baker Lake, Frobisher Bay, Cambridge Bay, Igloolik, and Eskimo Point studied the fundamentals of film and video production. At the same time, members of the Inukshuk crew installed playback equipment in communities which had barely begun to receive television.

Within months, Inuit trainees were producing videotapes in their own language which documented their culture, their communities, and their own view of the North. These videotapes were circulated among the Arctic communities participating in the project and were locally screened. Although the logistics of northern transportation made the distribution and scheduling of these programs extremely difficult, community reaction to the work of the young Inuit videomakers was overwhelmingly positive.

On September 29, 1980, the Inukshuk project began broadcasting via the Anik B satellite and the Frobisher Bay uplink. Audio and video signals were transmitted from Frobisher Bay to the five community production units in Cambridge Bay, Baker Lake, Eskimo Point, Igloolik, and Pond Inlet. Audio signals from

these communities were also fed back to Frobisher Bay and then rebroadcast via the uplink. This interactive capacity led to some of the Inukshuk project's most innovative and important programing. For example, interactive programs to discuss game management were held among hunters and trappers' associations, and officials of the Government of the Northwest Territories met with local education committees via the Inukshuk system. Inukshuk was also used to link six N.W.T. communities with four communities in northern Québec in order to discuss aboriginal rights during the process of reforming the Canadian constitution. Throughout its eighteen months of satellite access, the Inukshuk system was frequently used as a pan-northern town hall or forum where special interest groups such as hunters, firefighters, and trappers, among others, were able to talk to people with similar concerns in other communities. Inukshuk programing also included community profiles, cultural documentaries, news, music, public service programs, and instruction in traditional crafts and skills. Programs were broadcast completely in Inuktitut, and were completely Inuit in content and perspective.

The Inukshuk project proved that technical and production difficulties surrounding the operation of a television network in the North could be overcome. More importantly, the Inukshuk project demonstrated that television could help preserve Inuit language and culture. Appiah Awa, a viewer from Pond Inlet, expressed it this way:

> We try to teach our kids our own culture, but we only put a minimal amount of time into it...say a day every two weeks. Whereas, if we had more Inuktitut programing, since they watch T.V. all the time, they'd learn without even thinking about it, as they do in the white world (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada 1979b).

FORMATION OF THE INUIT BROADCASTING CORPORATION

In December, 1980, the Inuit Tapirisat submitted an application to the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission proposing the creation of a permanent Inuit broadcasting system (Inuit Tapirisat of Canada 1980). This application was supported by several Canadian and international organizations, including the CBC, the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, ATAI: Arctic Creative Development Foundation (the word "atai" is an Inuktitut expression meaning approximately "let's get moving"), the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, UNESCO, and others. By July, 1980, the CRTC had already received a statement from its own Therrien Committee on the Extension of Services to Northern and Remote Communities recommending that "consideration be given to provide financial and other support, on the largest feasible scale, to the creation of an Inuit broadcasting system to operate a network of services available in all Inuit communities" (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission 1980).

In April, 1981, the CRTC granted a network television license to the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada. Two months later, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation was formed as a new organization which was to be completely independent of the In-

uit Tapirisat. The federal government then granted two-year interim funding to the IBC (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1981). As a short-term solution to the problem of distribution, the CBC subsequently offered the IBC access to its late-night timeslots on the Northern Service. At midnight on January 11, 1982, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation made northern broadcasting history by airing its first program, a ninety-minute special introducing the new network (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1982c). This opening program introduced the staff at IBC production centers and then focused on comments from Inuit throughout the Arctic about the concept of an Inuit broadcasting system.

Within weeks of its inaugural program, the IBC took its first step toward the network broadcasting of current affairs. At the time, the Northwest Territories was preparing to vote on the creation of a new territory in the Eastern Arctic which was tentatively called "Nunavut." Many people had expressed concern that issues surrounding the possible division of the Northwest Territories were not clearly understood. IBC staff members from every location contributed material to a series of documentaries explaining the plebiscite. Just days before the vote, the IBC broadcast a debate between Inuit leaders and other N.W.T. political figures. The IBC also covered the plebiscite returns live from Frobisher Bay. Dennis Patterson, Minister of Education for the N.W.T., credited the IBC for a high voter turnout in the eastern Arctic (Patterson 1982). This series of IBC documentaries proved to both viewers and members of the IBC staff that the IBC network has an important role to play in providing information which the Inuit need in order to make decisions about their lives and the lives of their children.

Although the sophistication and technical quality of IBC programing continued to improve after its first on-air season, the IBC was faced with two limitations which have always plagued Native broadcasters in Canada: funding and distribution. When the federal government announced interim funding for the IBC, it praised IBC work and expressed a wish to see this successful work continue. However, it did not grant an increase in funding which would have enabled the IBC to develop its long-term goals. Realistically speaking, facilities and equipment which had been suitable for a one-year experiment were woefully inadequate for a permanent broadcasting operation.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT VERSUS ADEQUATE FUNDING AND CBC CONTROL

At the beginning of the Inukshuk project, the hamlet of Cambridge Bay on Victoria Island in the District of Franklin, N.W.T. donated a one-room plywood building to be used as a production center. For more than a year, two producers scripted, shot, and edited their programs in this modest production center before the building was closed as a fire hazard. In the community of Frobisher Bay on Baffin Island, N.W.T., training, production, and network management were all carried out in vacant classrooms borrowed from the local Adult Education Society. In Baker Lake in the District of Keewatin, N.W.T., the Inukshuk studio was built

by volunteers. The co-operation and generosity extended to the IBC in these production centers illustrated the importance of IBC programing to northern residents. However, the IBC network was being forced to rely on the goodwill of communities rather than on the security of adequate funding.

The IBC soon discovered the limitations of distributing its programs through the CBC. In reality, the CBC's "Northern Service" programing is a potpourri of American situation comedies, CBC network programing, regional news from Newfoundland, and in a few timeslots, Inuktitut and English videotapes produced by the CBC in Yellowknife and Ottawa. Throughout the CBC network, CBC programing takes precedence over any other scheduled programs. Although both the Northern Service and the CBC network have remained supportive, IBC programing is still a very low priority. In the delivery system of the CBC, network political announcements, golf tournaments, or baseball games can result in the cancelation of IBC broadcasts, often on very little notice. Because peak viewing hours have been traditionally reserved for CBC network programing, IBC programs are usually aired after 11:00 pm. As IBC President Rosemarie Kuptana told the CRTC Public Hearing on Pay-TV Tiering and Universal Service in Hull, Québec on December 1, 1982: "Nature made our land the 'Land of the Midnight Sun'; it took the CBC to make us the 'Land of Midnight Television'" (Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission 1982).

In 1982, the federal government called for submissions on northern and native communications. The IBC responded with a document titled "Position on Northern Broadcasting" which asked the government to recognize native and northern communications as a permanent and essential element of the Canadian broadcasting system. This document also described the IBC's immediate and long term goals, and presented options for the more efficient production, distribution, and regulation of northern broadcasting (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1982b).

THE NORTHERN NATIVE BROADCAST ACCESS PROGRAM (NNBAP)

In August, 1982, IBC concerns about the distribution of northern broadcasting were underlined in a press release quoting IBC President Josepi Padlayat (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1982a). Since public funds were used to develop the Canadian telecommunications industry, Canadians had been promised a rich harvest of social benefits, especially in the North where the transmission of electronic signals by satellite is the only efficient means of communication. Just days after the submission of the IBC position paper, "Position on Northern Broadcasting," Padlayat refused to attend the launching of the Anik D satellite at Cape Canaveral, Florida, and had suggested that instead of the mass importation of programs from southern Canada, a single transponder on the Anik D satellite which could be shared by the IBC and the CBC Northern Service would far better serve the needs of the Inuit. Both the IBC and other native journalists continued to lobby the federal government for a definitive policy statement on native broadcasting. On March 10, 1983, the federal government responded with the Northern Native

Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP), a four-year, 40.3 million dollar program administered by the Native Citizens Program of the Secretary of State. The NNBAP Program was governed by five principles:

1. Northern residents should be offered access to an increasing range of programing choices through the exploration of technological opportunities.
2. Northern native people should have the opportunity of active participation in the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission's determination of the character, quantity, and priority of programing to be broadcast in predominantly native communities.
3. In order to maintain and develop their cultures and languages, northern native people should have fair access to broadcasting distribution systems in the North.
4. Wherever native people form a significant proportion of the population of a service area, programing which is both relevant to native concerns and includes content originated by native people should be produced for distribution by northern broadcasting services.
5. Government agencies engaged in establishing broadcasting policies which affect native culture should consult regularly with northern native representatives.

During the announcement of the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program, the IBC was singled out for special praise. John Munro, who was then Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, said, "The Inuit have already demonstrated how broadcasting can be used to foster native languages and cultures. They produce programing reflective of Inuit values...as popular with its audiences as anything imported from the south" (Canada. Department of Communications 1983). But once again, despite strong praise, increased funding granted to the IBC was only enough to cover existing operations. There were no provisions for new studio space, staff increases, the upgrading of production equipment, or training. Following the announcement of the formation of the NNBAP, IBC President Josepi Padlayat said, "I am proud that IBC is being touted as a model native broadcaster, but I am also disappointed that we will not be allowed to grow as we had hoped" (Brisebois 1983:5).

Despite Padlayat's disappointment, the IBC's new season began three weeks after the announcement of the NNBAP, and was marked by growth in two areas. The first area of growth was an increase in the amount of on-air time to a potential of six hours of programing per week in a nightly timeslot beginning at 10:05 p.m. The second area of growth was a large-scale training program to upgrade the skills of the IBC's existing employees and to teach thirteen new trainees the fundamentals of television production.

TRAINING PROGRAMS OF THE INUIT BROADCASTING CORPORATION

Following the Inukshuk project, the IBC has routinely conducted its own in-house training. Since there are no standardized television training programs in northern Canada, and no unemployed producers to draw upon, the IBC has

designed a comprehensive curriculum for in-house training which is taught completely in the North and has since become the model for many native communications groups. This curriculum combines technical instruction, basic journalism, and language and cultural workshops with practical, hands-on experience in production (Inuit Broadcasting Corporation 1984). Funded by the Industrial Training Branch of Canada Employment and Immigration, the retention rate of the IBC training program is high. After two years, sixty percent of in-house trained personnel still work full-time for the IBC, while a further twenty percent of these personnel are contract and part-time employees.

THE THIRD INUIT CIRCUMPOLAR CONFERENCE

During its second season, the IBC continued to expand its coverage of news and current affairs. IBC crews travelled to Ottawa to cover the First Ministers' Conference on Aboriginal Rights and also visited communities across the Arctic from Inuvik to Sanikiluaq during the production of a documentary on the Nunavut Constitutional Forum tour. However, the IBC's greatest challenge came in July, 1983, when it was invited to act as host communicator for the third Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) in Frobisher Bay.

The ICC is an international organization composed of Inuit from Canada, Alaska, and Greenland which has been granted the status of a non-government organization by the United Nations (Inuit Circumpolar Conference 1983). During the 1983 Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the host communicator co-ordinated all media coverage of the event and provided over a hundred visiting journalists with everything from pencils to video editing and uplink facilities. In addition to accommodating members of the press from Canada, Alaska, and Greenland during the third Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the IBC met its commitment to its own audience. Thus, for six weeks before the conference, the IBC produced programs explaining the history, structure, and mandate of the ICC, interviewed Canadian representatives, and discussed the issues facing delegates.

During the week-long, third Inuit Circumpolar Conference, the IBC produced an extraordinary sixty-seven hours of coverage. Fifty of these hours were broadcast live to Frobisher Bay, while seventeen consisted of commentary, analysis, and interviews broadcast to the network. With the help of both the Taqramiut Nipingat of Salluit, Québec and the CBC, the IBC provided the third Inuit Circumpolar Conference with wider exposure than any previous ICC had received. As the third Inuit Circumpolar Conference concluded without a hitch, the IBC's exhausted crews received considerable attention and praise for their work.

THE INUIT BROADCASTING CORPORATION AUDIENCE SURVEY

Since its establishment, the IBC has consistently produced quality documentaries, entertainment, and current affairs programs. This was substantiated through an audience survey by an independent research team from Concordia University

which took place from January to March, 1983 (Valaskakis and Wilson 1984; see also the article titled "Goûts et préférences actuels des téléspectateurs inuits en Terre de Baffin au Keewatin dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest" by Valaskakis and Wilson in this issue). This survey was funded by the Canadian Secretary of State under an agreement that the IBC would also contribute funding. The survey was designed to measure the extent to which IBC programs were reaching their intended Inuit audience, to describe the nature and size of this audience, and to document Inuit program preferences. Ten of the twenty-five Inuit communities receiving IBC programing were successfully surveyed. The selection of these ten communities reflected a balance of geographical spread, demographic differences, prior audience research, and potential for follow-up research. During the survey, teams of Inuit fieldworkers, or non-Inuit researchers accompanied by interpreters, conducted door-to-door interviews.

The results of this survey confirmed the extent of audience support for IBC programing. In the ten communities surveyed, eighty-five percent of Inuit residents of all ages watched a minimum of one to three hours of the IBC's five hours of programing each week. The most popular viewing hours corresponded to the IBC timeslot of 10:00 p.m. to 12:00 midnight. The television viewing patterns which were documented among members of this northern audience also suggested that the IBC was attracting new viewers. Respondents to the survey stated that they enjoyed programs which involved action, traditional pursuits, and Inuit personalities. Young viewers expressed a strong interest in programs about traditional skills. Over two-thirds of all respondents said that they would like to see more IBC programing during prime-time viewing hours.

The IBC audience survey also asked respondents to specify exactly what type of programing should be emphasized and increased. Answers to this question included suggestions for programs about Inuit knowledge of the environment, practical information, Inuit music and language, home management, health, news, and children's programs. Clearly, the results of this survey documented a strong mandate for the IBC from its audience.

During the annual meeting of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation in December, 1983, members agreed that the IBC should consolidate its current efforts until such time as funds are available for expansion. Given its present resources, the IBC is unable to open any new production centers. For the time being, the IBC will continue to provide quality Inuktitut programing and to lobby for the advanced communications system which the Inuit deserve.

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If It's Not Shamanic, Is It Sham? An Examination of Media Responses to Woodland School Art

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Cet article étudie les réactions des média d'information face à la peinture de "l'école Woodland" et face à son fondateur Norval Morrisseau. Les auteurs évaluent les réactions des média, des musées, des galeries d'art y compris leurs difficultés à classer cet art considéré tantôt comme matériau ethnographique et tantôt comme échantillon d'art moderne. Elles distinguent deux thèmes dominants dans l'interprétation de l'art de "l'école Woodland" par les média, le thème de la survivance et celui de la renaissance. Pour finir, elles critiquent la manière dont ces interprétations déforment les intentions et les buts des artistes.

This paper examines media responses to both "Woodland School" painting and that of its founder, Norval Morrisseau. Reactions of the media, museums and galleries, and their confusing classifications of Woodland School art as both ethnographic material and modern art are assessed. Two dominant themes in media treatment of Woodland School art, the survivalistic and the revivalistic, are identified. Finally, the ways these responses misrepresent the intended meanings and goals of the artists are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the responses of the journalistic media to the contemporary art of Canadian Indians. This art is produced by native people who have been colonized and now comprise dependent part-societies in a nation state where they lack control over their collective lives. Thus the contemporary art of Canadian Indians is an example of what has been called Fourth World art (Graburn 1976). As such, it is directed toward two distinct audiences—internally to native communities and externally to non-Indian viewers. Images are projected which have meanings for both artists and viewers. Often, however, the "messages" intended by the artists are not understood by viewers who interpret the imagery in terms of their own cultural biases. Economic factors further complicate this situation. Although these native artists hope to earn a living through their work, most Canadian Indians cannot afford to purchase art at gallery prices. Thus, members of the non-Indian public constitute the major market for this art, and their aesthetic preferences influence what Indian artists produce.

In considering journalistic coverage of contemporary Indian-produced art, we must recognize the link between the media and the activities of mainstream art institutions. Both the timing and amount of media coverage of native art are largely determined by shows which are organized by public and commercial galleries and museums, since most press articles appear as reviews of exhibitions. Thus, media responses reflect the collection and exhibition policies of these Euro-

Canadian dominated institutions. In this paper, we will examine the perceptions of contemporary Indian art which are put forward in the media and reflected in the activities of museums and galleries. We will also explore the implications of these perceptions for the goals of Indian artists, and, more generally, for the goals of Indian people in Canada.

The examination of these issues in relation to the many different stylistic and conceptual currents which are being explored by contemporary Indian artists is a task far beyond the scope of a single paper. Rather, our discussion will focus on the "Woodland School" of contemporary Indian art. In particular, we will consider responses over the past two decades to the work of Norval Morrisseau, the man who is generally regarded as the founder of the Woodland School (see Figure 1). Morrisseau is an Ojibwa Indian from northern Ontario who rose to sudden fame in the Euro-Canadian art world after an extremely successful first show at the Pollock Gallery in Toronto in 1962. His commercial success, combined with the freshness of his forms, proved a powerful inspiration to other Indian artists such as Daphne Odjig, Carl Ray, and Jackson Beardy, and it stimulated many younger Cree, Odawa, and Ojibwa Indians to begin painting. These other artists have borrowed and elaborated many of Morrisseau's seminal artistic ideas and comprise with him what can accurately be regarded as an artistic school.

The media's response to Woodland School art has, at best, been one of enthusiastic misunderstanding (cf. Stedman 1982). The works of Morrisseau and other members of this school have commonly been treated by the media/gallery/museum complex as surviving remnants of a dying culture which Indians are attempting to revive through their artistic activities. We will argue that these "survivalistic" and "revivalistic" views misrepresent both the aesthetic qualities and the intended meanings of Woodland School art. Such distortions work against the stated goal of many Canadian Indians to maintain distinctive cultural forms within the context of a multi-cultural Canadian society. We will argue that these two dominant views of the art of Morrisseau and the Woodland School are identifiable in articles about their art which have appeared in Canadian newspapers and news magazines since 1962. Our primary sources of these articles were the artists' files maintained by the library of the National Gallery of Art in Ottawa, where over seventy articles were examined. In approximately half of the articles, themes of "survivalism" and/or "revivalism" were explicit. In many others, these themes appeared to be implicit.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE WOODLAND SCHOOL

In order to assess media responses to Woodland School art, it is important to understand the relationship of the school to both traditional Ojibwa art and contemporary Western art. We will begin, therefore, with a brief examination of the emergence of this school which, as noted above, was largely the result of the work of Norval Morrisseau.

A key issue in evaluating Morrisseau's contribution to contemporary Indian art is the degree to which his painting resembles traditional Ojibwa art. Morrisseau has stated that in his youth he was deeply interested in the engraved birchbark

scrolls which served a mnemonic function in the shamanistic activity of the traditional Ojibwa Midewiwin Society. "All my painting and drawing," he has written, "is really a continuation of the shaman's scrolls" (Sinclair and Pollock 1979:45). Such scrolls were incised with pictographic designs depicting zoomorphic and anthropomorphic spirits, diagrammatic representations of Midewiwin lodges, schematic maps, and other motifs. The practice of Midewiwin rituals appears to have declined sharply after World War II; however there is no reason to doubt Morrisseau's account of his exposure to its beliefs and artifacts during the 1930s and 1940s when he was growing up. Although it is wise to be somewhat skeptical about the recollections of artists regarding their own work, there is considerable documentation in the work of Hallowell (1960), Landes (1968), Dewdney (1975), and others of continued Midé activity in northern Ontario during the 1930s and 1940s which included the use of birchbark scrolls.

An early drawing of 1959 entitled "Legendary Scrolls Motifs" provides evidence of both Morrisseau's direct knowledge of traditional graphic art and the personal reinterpretation which he had already begun. This point is an important one because it makes of Morrisseau himself a direct link between an indigenous Ojibwa art and the acculturated art form which he and his followers were to build on it. Unlike Morrisseau, many other Woodland School painters were educated in missionary-run boarding schools with the result that they lacked Morrisseau's more direct experience of traditional art.

Even Morrisseau's earliest work, however, shows numerous signs of divergence from traditional prototypes. The drawing referred to above is neither a copy nor a version of an original scroll, but rather a recombination of motifs which occur on a number of different ritual scroll types. Morrisseau elaborated and personalized the traditional forms, developing the simple schematic outlines into fuller pictorial images. As his painting developed, he continued to invent new motifs which often provide a visual form for traditional and sometimes personal ideas which had not previously been expressed graphically. The best known of these invented motifs, the divided circle, is related to such shamanistic articles as rattles and drums rather than to traditional two-dimensional sources. Furthermore, Morrisseau's characteristic use of pools of vibrant color divided by heavy black outlines is an innovative approach to painting which is not found in earlier Ojibwa art.

As Morrisseau's art developed through the 1960s, a far more fundamental break with traditional art became evident. Images and motifs such as the Thunderbird, which are found in traditional Ojibwa art as isolated symbolic images, were incorporated by Morrisseau into fully-described narrative compositions. In indigenous Ojibwa art visual motifs constituted a code which referred to a cosmology that was universally understood within the culture. There, images could operate as symbols because the related oral tradition was known to the audience. As symbols, furthermore, depictions of various spirits could be highly schematic in style without losing their communicative value. In 1960, however, Morrisseau was addressing a very different audience. The oral tradition was by then unfamiliar to most Ojibwa people and it was virtually unknown to the general Euro-Canadian

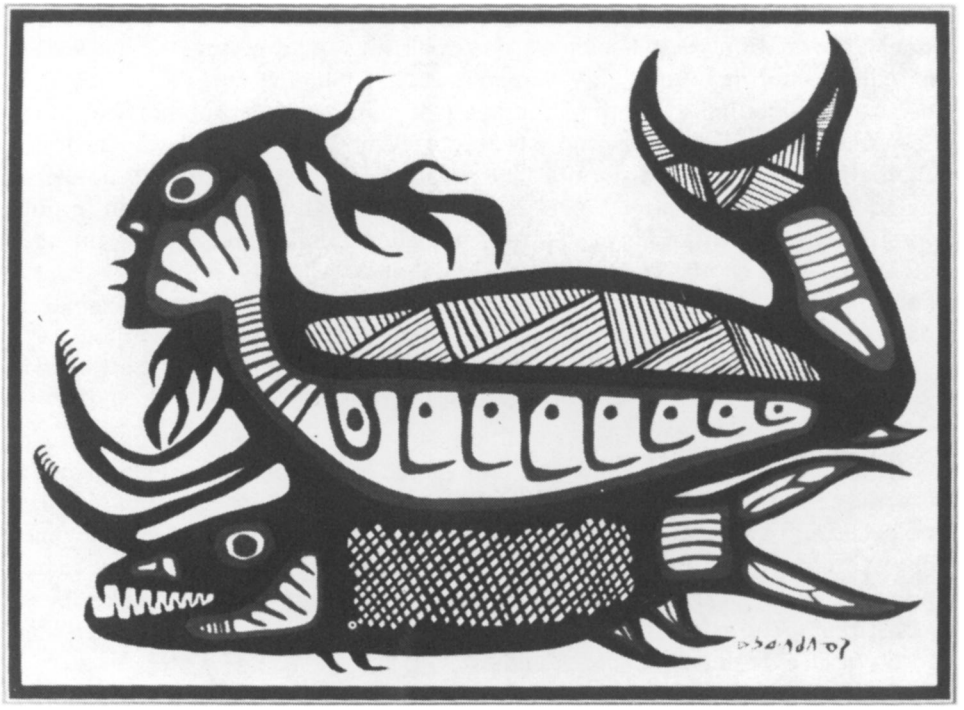

Figure 1. Norval Morrisseau: *The Mermaid and the Fish Spirit*, 1976. Oil on paper, 53.5 x 74 centimeters. Ottawa, Ontario: Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Indian Art Centre.

public which constituted the potential market for native art. Morrisseau's purpose, many times stated, was didactic. He wanted to record knowledge which was in danger of being forgotten and, in the process, "bring back the pride of the Ojibwa which was once great" (Sinclair and Pollock 1979:45). A more fully representational and narrative painting style was obviously adapted to this purpose.

As Morrisseau's work matured his thematic range expanded. Whereas his early work depicted primarily totemic and legendary beings and shamanistic experiences, social and political themes occur in the paintings of the 1970s. A painting of this period entitled "The Gift" shows European intruders giving not only Christianity to Indians, but also smallpox. Such themes depart radically from the traditional iconography of aboriginal Ojibwa art, but they are important aspects of the modern Western secular tradition. Equally modernist has been Morrisseau's recent exploration of his own psychological states through the genre of self-portraiture. Morrisseau often paints himself in the moment of visionary experience, so that the work is anecdotal rather than iconic. In contrast to earlier Ojibwa artists who would have recorded the actual vision or located symbolically in graphic designs the nexus of cosmic forces where such visions could be achieved, Morrisseau recounts specific incidents. The artist steps outside the frame to tell a story; he brings visionary experience into pictorial perspective.

Thus, both stylistic and thematic developments in Morrisseau's work present a great contrast with aboriginal Ojibwa art. Where traditional Ojibwa images are schematic, Morrisseau's painting is richly descriptive; where prehistoric motifs communicate as symbols, Morrisseau's art communicates through narrative. Contemporary artwork is, furthermore, public, consisting of easel paintings and prints made for sale on the open market. In contrast, aboriginal art was intentionally enigmatic and private, often hidden on rock surfaces or enclosed within medicine bundles. These contrasts, together with the stylistic synthesis we have discussed, should make it clear that Norval Morrisseau is not a "primitive" artist. He is *not* naïve with regard to the mainstream of modern art, having had access during his formative years in the late 1950s both to a small library of art books and to advice from a number of white mentors (Sinclair and Pollock 1979; Doherty 1982). After his 1962 show in Toronto, his exposure to mainstream art became even more direct as he came to know the art galleries and museums of the metropolis. Nor is Morrisseau a tribal artist living in a small-scale society and creating within a strictly defined set of artistic conventions. To regard him in either light is to do him a fundamental injustice, for both the "naïve" and the "tribal" labels obscure his real achievement—the creation of a new and viable synthesis out of styles and images from two artistic and cultural worlds.

RESPONSES TO WOODLAND ART

The Survivalistic Perspective

The commercial success of the work of Norval Morrisseau and his followers has been accompanied by a confused and confusing critical reception. As we have suggested, Woodland School painting ought properly to be considered in the context of contemporary Canadian painting. However, a more common response has been to view this art as the last flowering or remnant of a tribal tradition, and to portray the artists as surviving primitives. For example, Norval Morrisseau has often been referred to as a "shaman" as though he lived in a pristine tribal society, and his works have been commonly referred to as "primitive art." Rarely have Woodland School artists been presented as living in the twentieth century. Instead, they have been romanticized at the same time that the demise of their Indian culture has been proclaimed (cf. Price 1978).

Press coverage of Norval Morrisseau over the past two decades illustrates this perspective, which we call *survivalistic*. Note the following examples: Morrisseau's work is referred to as "an expression of what is still an almost totally primitive people,"[1] "un art primitif authentique,"[2] "primitive painting at once both crude and decorative, obvious and inexplicable,"[3] "a form of art from the past,"[4] "the symbolic paintings of a primitive culture,"[5] "d'un peintre primitif un peu special,"[6] art which reveals a "primordial Asiatic root,"[7] the works not of an "artist in the white sense of the word" but the "visionary images of shaman or seer,"[8] and "the last great outpouring of a dying culture."[9] Morrisseau is said to have the "keen eye of an Indian hunter," and it is considered fitting that earth colors should predominate in his work.[10] Without exception, the "noble" rather than the "savage" view of the primitive has been put forward by the media. Thus,

a review of one of Morrisseau's shows in the Montréal *Gazette* on December 3, 1966 stated that "It is a late gift and an unexpected privilege to be thus permitted to share in a fading culture's last secrets." This review continued by commenting on Morrisseau's painting of an Ojibwa shaking tent ritual as a "valuable ethnological document."

The survivalistic theme found in media coverage of Woodland School art typifies the way mainstream art historians and critics have generally viewed contemporary Indian art. Native works are identified as "serious fine art" or "high art" only if they fit the straight-line development from the narrative and representational canons of earlier European art to the abstract and subjective modes of modern Western art. Woodland School painting does not fit easily into this scheme. Particularly in its earlier phase, Woodland School painting often illustrated stories. It also employed stylized representational forms which are popularly associated with ideas of the "primitive." Thus, the progressivist bias in modern art history and criticism has usually excluded Woodland School art from the category of mainstream contemporary Canadian painting. As a result the assumption is frequently made that Woodland School painting is "traditional" and "tribal" and belongs *outside* of the history of Western art.

When Woodland School art is seen as a tribal form, it is said to belong properly to the curators of ethnography as it finds its place in the history of art at the end of the line of development of a strictly-defined tradition. The easel paintings and prints produced by Indians are categorized as anthropological artifacts. However, certain curators have recognized the acculturated nature of Woodland School painting, and they have occasionally included examples in the collections of fine art galleries. As a result of this ambiguity, no publicly-funded institution in Canada has a truly systematic and representative collection of Woodland School art. The collection of the Department of Indian Affairs, now one of the most valuable, has grown erratically from its beginnings as office decoration and the by-product of economic incentive programs. Major public collections of Indian art in Canada are subject to confusing and overlapping mandates from government agencies. The largest collections of Woodland art are currently housed in ethnographic institutions, most notably the National Museum of Man in Ottawa and the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, where the paintings have been collected together with nineteenth-century drums, moccasins, and birchbark containers. Major public art galleries in Canada have largely steered clear of contemporary Woodland School painting. An important exception to this rule is the McMichael Canadian Collection in Toronto, where native art is included within the context of twentieth-century Canadian art. A second exception is the Centre for Indian Art recently established under the National Museums Corporation as part of the National Exhibition Centre in Thunder Bay, Ontario. The centre has a mandate to form a systematic collection of contemporary Indian art on the basis of its aesthetic merit and to mount serious exhibitions in a modern gallery space.

Both the Art Gallery of Ontario and the National Gallery of Canada have apparently experienced discomfort when challenged regarding their failure to collect or exhibit contemporary Indian art. This was made clear in an article by art

critic John Bentley Mays which appeared in the Toronto *Globe and Mail* on March 10, 1984 (p. 17), and was headlined "One Artistic Risk Deserves Another." Mays' article covered the opening of a show at the Art Gallery of Ontario titled "Norval Morrisseau and the Emergence of the Image Makers" which constituted the first significant exhibition of Woodland School painting to be organized by a major museum of fine arts in Canada. The Chief Curator of the gallery was quoted as saying that the exhibition was the result of outside pressures, particularly from the provincial government, and that he was unhappy about the exhibition and considered it inappropriate for an institution specializing in mainstream Western art.

Contradictory views over which cultural institutions should collect and exhibit Woodland School art have compounded the widespread misunderstanding of contemporary Indian art and culture. As some Indian artists have claimed, when their paintings are collected by Canadian ethnological museums primarily as ethnographic objects, the notion that they are products of some remnant Indian culture is perpetuated, and the stereotype of Indians as surviving primitives is reinforced. Such a "museum view" freezes Indians in "history," and the opportunity to challenge this stereotype by placing Indian art with other expressions of contemporary Canadian culture is lost.

The Revivalistic Perspective

The view of Woodland painting as the art of surviving primitives is related to a second perspective which has frequently appeared in media coverage. This perspective, which we call *revivalistic*, not only presents Woodland art as a survival from the past but asserts that it is in danger of being lost and must be retrieved and revived. The underlying logic of this perspective appears to be that although Indian culture is dying, it can be preserved and given renewed vigor by the production of traditional arts and crafts. Terms such as "revival," "renewal," "recording," "revitalization," and "renaissance" commonly occur in references to Woodland School art. Over the past two decades, there have been many instances of this in the press. For example, Morrisseau's paintings are frequently said to record Indian folklore (*London Free Press*, London, Ontario, September 29, 1962), or to "set down the tribal myths of the Ojibway Indians" (*Fort William Times Journal*, Fort William, Ontario (later renamed Thunder Bay, Ontario), September 5, 1962). An article titled "Artist Paints Ojibway Ideals for Posterity" in the *Sault Ste. Marie Star*, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario on July 21, 1971, stated that "...destiny for the artist is 'to promote Indian culture through Indian art'." This article also quoted Morrisseau as saying that "his art will be a 'cornerstone' upon which to rebuild his culture." On May 29, 1974, an article titled "Morrisseau's Art Work on Exhibit in Toronto" in the *Chronicle Journal* of Thunder Bay, Ontario, noted that "Morrisseau and a group of younger artists who paint in his style explain visually and give renewed dignity to the legendary lore of the people." A cover story in *Maclean's* magazine by Christopher Hume titled "The New Age of Indian Art" noted that Morrisseau's art was "nothing less than a renaissance...," and that although his "old tribal ways were almost obsolete" when he was growing

up, he had helped a "new generation of Indians to reach back to their almost forgotten heritage" (Hume 1979).

As is the case with all stereotypical views, the problem with the revivalistic perspective on contemporary Indian art is not that it is totally false, but that it distorts the nature of this art (cf. Price 1978:217-218). It is true that many Indian artists link their artistic activities to goals of cultural preservation, but this does not mean that they are advocating a return to some nearly-forgotten way of life. The stated goals of many Indian artists can be better understood with reference to the concept of revitalization as developed by anthropologists such as Anthony F. C. Wallace (1956, 1961). Over the past few decades, many Indian people have begun to reassess their position in Canadian society. As a result, some have rejected assimilation into the dominant Euro-Canadian lifestyle, and have sought instead to preserve their own cultural identity. Indians have challenged negative and contradictory stereotypes of themselves which both they and members of the dominant white society have historically held. In their attempts to redefine Indianness in more positive and unambivalent terms, they have looked to their own traditional cultural values and patterns of behavior. This mining of tradition, however, has been highly selective and innovative.

Euro-Canadians have misunderstood these revitalization efforts on the part of Indians. They have assumed that only two alternatives are available to contemporary native people—either they must conform to an earlier way of life, or they must assimilate into the dominant Euro-Canadian lifestyle. Many Euro-Canadians have equated "traditional" culture with "Indian" culture. This limited view of Indian cultural options draws support from a misunderstanding of Indian history (see Patterson 1962, and Berger 1981). The only change through time for Indian cultures that many non-Indians can envision is progress toward a Euro-Canadian lifestyle. This viewpoint has important implications for the perception of contemporary Indian-produced art because it maintains that if Indian art is not recognizably "tribal," it cannot be considered authentic, and is instead the art of an assimilated person who has lost his or her sense of Indian identity. This premise was put forward by one of the few unenthusiastic articles we encountered, a review by Art Perry of a 1980 exhibition of the work of Morrisseau in Vancouver which appeared in the *Vancouver Province* on May 1, 1980. Perry's review was headlined "It's Sham Rather Than Shamanism" and noted that people on the west coast "have been blessed with first-hand access to the best native art in Canada," which was specified as that housed in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. Perry was referring, of course, to traditional rather than contemporary art, and he went on to say that "Current coastal native art too often lacks the soul and vision of its great masters of the past" because "times have changed; the audience and the initial raison d'être have long disappeared," and the spiritual significance of this art is no longer relevant to contemporary native peoples. He then focused on the Morrisseau show: "Yet nowhere is this problem of compromise more prevalent than in the work of...Morrisseau...Morrisseau and a group of other Woodlands native artists show the unfortunate demise of a once-

sincere art form. They've changed their original dies [sic] and natural materials for acrylic paints but they still attempt an old story...."

This viewpoint implies that unless Indian-produced art has the same form and *function* as it had in its prehistoric setting, it is not authentic but constitutes a "compromise." There is no recognition that Indians are producing a modern art form which draws on both traditional and Western aesthetic sources and can address current issues. There is no allowance for the existence of distinct but changed cultural forms on the part of non-assimilated Indians. As Strickland writes, "It is hard for whites to imagine Indians who identify themselves with native cultural and tribal values as energy entrepreneurs, as doctors, as lawyers, as business executives, as computer programmers, and as government officials..." (1982:xii-xiii). To this we might add the occupation of "artist." The implication of such a simplistic and limiting view of culture change for Indian-produced art is clear: if it doesn't look as "primitive" as "traditional" Indian art should, it cannot be considered a part of contemporary Indian culture.

Rather than striving for either assimilation or a return to the past, many modern Indian leaders have sought to define lifestyles that are distinctly Indian, but which at the same time constitute adaptions to the modern world. Woodland School artists have been in the vanguard of these revitalization efforts. A number of younger artists such as Blake Debassige, Leland Bell, Roy Thomas, John LaFord, Mel Mahdabee, James Simon, and Michael Robinson (to name only a few whom we have had the opportunity to meet and talk with), have expanded the scope of Morrisseau's art forms. Through their images, these artists have addressed the relevance of traditional Indian beliefs to life in the modern age. Rather than perpetuating an unchanging past, the imagery of a great deal of Woodland art symbolizes continuity with the past and also attempts to project a message to both non-Indians and Indians that Indian culture is distinct and valuable in the modern world. As Graburn has written of such Fourth World art forms, "...they carry the message: 'We exist; we are different; we can do something we are proud of; we have something that is uniquely ours'" (1976:26).

An example of such a revitalization intent is a gigantic mural by Daphne Odjig titled "Indian in Transition" which is executed in a style that combines Woodland School motifs and stylizations of the human figure with the compositional complexity of modern Western painting (see Figure 2). Commissioned by the Candian National Museum of Man, this mural is now on display at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa. The Indian artist and art historian Robert Houle calls Odjig's mural "the first commissioned work to make a direct statement regarding the Canadian Indian by a Native artist in this country" (1978:46). This mural is divided into four panels and depicts Odjig's version of history from an Indian point of view. The first panel shows Indians in an idealized pre-contact setting and then gives way to a second panel which shows the degeneration and demoralization of Indian society which accompanied European colonialism. The last two panels depict a resurgence of native pride and a better future for Indian people. One of Odjig's stated reasons for undertaking this project was to balance the history books and create a more positive image to which native people could relate. In a Cana-

Figure 2. Daphne Odjig: *The Indian in Transition*, 1978. Acrylic on canvas, 2.4 x 8.2 meters. Ottawa, Ontario: National Museums of Canada Photographic Negative Number 79-3072.

dian Broadcasting Corporation television documentary aired in 1982, Odjig commented on her own experiences as an Indian growing up on the Wikwemikong Reserve on Manitoulin Island in northern Ontario, and how her experiences have affected her artistic goals:

> In my childhood we had no Indian heroes. If you read...your history books, you learned about the Indian savages. So what was there to be proud of? And...you knew that that couldn't have been true because you'd look at your own parents and your own background and think, gee, we...really aren't that bad. And it couldn't all be one-sided, you know. We must have had our heroes. We must have had our people that we could have looked up [to] but the history books told us...that this wasn't so. We were heathens...I would like to leave something for the native people to be proud of...[so] the children can say she is a native person, and that would be an inspiration to the young people coming up today (transcript of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation *Spectrum* series television program "Spirit Speaking Through" 1982).

Odjig's "Indian in Transition" is far more than her personal version of history; it also projects a model for a new Indian social order. This model involves a strong rejection of assimilation into Euro-Canadian society and provides instead a model of a contemporary Indian society with its own sense of pride and distinctiveness. The makers of "Spirit Speaking Through" allowed Odjig to give a detailed explanation of her intentions for her work and for the future of Indian peoples in Canada. Unfortunately, the media rarely present such revitalization intentions, especially presentations which are this clear. For example, a review of "Spirit Speaking Through" by Jeremy Ferguson titled "Our Indian Group of Seven" dealt summarily with Odjig's intent by referring to her mural as "upbeat on the Indian destiny" (The Star Week Magazine of the Toronto Star January 2, 1982:6).

There is a further aspect to the revitalization goals of some Woodland art. A point rarely made by the media is that this art addresses Indians as well as other Canadians. Thus, while expensive Woodland-style paintings are marketed to galleries and museums as fine art, Indian-run institutions make use of the Woodland School style to address native viewers. For example, on Manitoulin Island the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation produces inexpensive posters executed in the Woodland-style. The posters convey revitalization messages in the an-

thropological sense (for a further discussion of revitalization and art production on Manitoulin Island, see Blundell and Phillips 1982, and Vanderburg 1982.) The Ojibwe Cultural Foundation posters constitute blueprints for the future in that they visually and verbally project models for a more satisfying Indian culture (cf. Wallace 1956, 1961). For example, a poster with imagery by Blake Debassige and the printed motto "The Voice of the Land is in Our Language" links the painted image to a programmatic attempt to sustain distinct Indian cultures within Canadian society (see Figure 3). This poster emphasizes the importance of Indian language in the preservation of distinct cultural identities.

Figure 3. Poster produced by the Ojibwe Cultural Foundation, West Bay, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, with imagery by Blake Debassige.

The above examples show that the meaning of the imagery of Woodland art goes far beyond a salvage of surviving knowledge and customs. As the Indian artist and social critic Marty Dunn reminds us: "The anthropological fact that these [artistic] symbols spring from ancient cultures is secondary to the fact that modern Native artists use these symbols as an expression of today's living Native cultures" (1981:1). For Woodland School artists, the actual extent of continuity with past artistic and cultural traditions is not the most significant consideration. What is important and what is coming to sustain many of them is the sense of cultural continuity that they now feel with their Indian cultural heritage together with a renewed sense of *communitas* which was formerly eroded by centuries of oppression and domination (cf. Weber 1946). Let us recall that Wallace noted that

just such a sense of continuity, whatever its empirical basis, is a defining characteristic of revitalization movements (1961:159-163). Today, Woodland School artists are asserting continuity with the past by using a distinctive art style, whose motifs have meaning for contemporary Indianness.

CONCLUSIONS

We have argued in this paper that the failure of media commentators to understand and accurately report the intentions of contemporary Woodland School painters results in both a misinterpretation of the artistic imagery of Woodland artists and a mistaken classification of their art. As stated earlier, contemporary Woodland School painting is linked only loosely to traditional Ojibwa art. The artist Norval Morrisseau achieved an eclectic resolution between mainstream twentieth-century painting and his Ojibwa inheritance which younger artists have continued to develop. George Rouault and Picasso are as much present in this contemporary art as is the graphic figure style of the Midewiwin scrolls, yet the two artistic traditions coexist harmoniously. Indeed, in modern Woodland School painting the wheel has turned full circle, since modernism itself was heavily influenced by the extreme stylizations of "primitive" art.

According to this analysis, it would be more logical to include contemporary Woodland School painting in collections of contemporary art than in ethnographic museums. Yet, as we have seen, the major public collections of this work belong to repositories of ethnological material or to institutions outside the art establishment. Media responses are conditioned by the context within which this art is exhibited, and coverage thus tends to focus on iconographic links to the past rather than the artistic expressions of the present. Exhibitions of this work almost never receive serious critical discussion comparable to that given to the work of contemporary non-Indian painters. The aesthetic qualities of Woodland School art, including its handling of space, color, form, and line, are rarely analyzed. The assumptions underlying much media treatment of this art are that the artists are naïve, untutored, and concerned only with simplistic narrative or crude symbolism. Even in discussions of imagery, the new is lost in the celebration of the old. Media coverage often focuses on romanticized biographies of Woodland School artists rather than on the content of their work. Indeed, the term "legend painting," which is so often applied to Woodland School art, implies a naïve repetition of stories out of an oral tradition rather than the original and creative efforts which many Woodland artists are now making to discover the relevance of old beliefs to modern life. For example, although the Ojibwa artist Blake Debassige uses some of the conventions of Woodland School figure painting in a work titled "Patience," this painting does not deal with a mythical hunter of the past. Instead, it deals with the virtues of his own father-in-law which Debassige believes to be vital in modern life. Similarly, in Jackson Beardy's well-known painting "Rebirth," the regenerative processes of nature are expressed through the images of birds in order to comment on universals of life rather than on any specific Indian legend.

The factors that influence media coverage of contemporary Indian art are complex and paradoxical. It must be recognized that artists themselves contribute

to media responses to their art. Morrisseau's own poetic and metaphorical statements in which he proclaims himself a shaman have been quoted at length in press coverage of his work. Such declarations are often taken too literally and rendered absurd by a lack of the same degree of critical understanding that would be accorded to any Euro-Canadian artist making similar remarks. It is also the case that along with many Euro-Canadian viewers, there are Indians who do not "read" Woodland art works as syncretistic and revitalistic models of distinct and valued Indian identity. These Indian viewers are people whose own life histories have included exposure in reserve settings to the dominating and discriminatory ideologies of Euro-Canadian institutions such as schools and Christian churches. Furthermore, the Euro-Canadian aesthetic preference for "primitive-looking" art, together with the common view that contemporary Indians are a remnant tribal culture, often block an understanding of the revitalization message of the art.

Paradoxically, the use of a Woodland School style may have the unintended effect of perpetuating the very conditions which many Indians are seeking to change through their artistic statements. Some Indian artists regard their cultural stance as more compatible with such mainstream modernist styles as expressionism, surrealism, and pop-art which are more readable by the non-Indian public. The use of such styles, they argue, permits artists to challenge more directly Euro-Canadian misconceptions about Indians. But even though modernist artistic statements may attack stereotypic views of Indians, they may not be as commercially viable as those executed in the more "primitive-looking" Woodland School style. Nor are more modernist styles of art as readily accepted by the institutions which presently curate and exhibit Indian-produced art because, as we have argued above, the ethnological viewpoint of these institutions requires Indian art to have the "appearance" of "tradition." At present, Indian artists are often caught in a double bind: if they paint in an "Indian-looking" style, they may reinforce the view that they are surviving primitives; if they paint in more recognizably modernist styles, they may be excluded from the only institutions which are presently willing to exhibit art produced by Canadian Indians.

Exceptions to the discouraging pattern of critical response to Woodland School painting are beginning to emerge. Toronto's *Globe and Mail* art critic John Bentley Mays provided some serious critical comments on Morrisseau's painting in a review of an exhibition at the Pollock Gallery in 1981 (in a July 9th article entitled "Morrisseau's Art Explores Magic Forests of the Mind"). Though justifiably assessing Morrisseau's technique as relatively unskilled and "rarely adventurous," Mays admired Morrisseau's "beautifully rhyming colours and shapes" and his "richly symbolic allegorical art." The 1984 landmark show at the Art Gallery of Ontario also stimulated an article in *Maclean's* magazine by Gillian MacKay titled "Salute to a Vibrant Revolutionary" (March 5, 1984:62-63). MacKay's article was far more sensitive than a cover story on Morrisseau which had appeared in *Maclean's* five years earlier (Hume 1979). In her article, MacKay remarked that Morrisseau was a "radical...innovator" and discussed his stylistic development in historical perspective. If this trend in critical response to Woodland School painting continues, future media coverage may provide more accurate reflections of

the genuine concerns of Woodland School and other Indian artists, and thus challenge rather than perpetuate distorted stereotypes of Indians and their cultural productions.

In conclusion, we must ask whose interests are served by the view of Indians as surviving primitives valiantly reviving a nearly lost culture through their artistic activities. Does this misconception shield Euro-Canadians from "flesh and blood" Indians and prevent their knowing about the lives of poverty and dependency which are led by so many native Canadians? Clearly, Indian people are very different from the images reflected in and reinforced by the media/museum/gallery complex. Clearly, distorted views of Indians and their contemporary cultural forms obscure the many serious social and economic problems which native people, including native artists, are now facing. And what about the interests of these individual Indian artists who, like other Canadians, must earn a living in order to purchase goods and services? Some critics accuse Woodland artists of "selling out" and "playing Indian" in order to cash in on non-Indian demands for the "primitive" (cf. Stedman 1982:244). Furthermore, when media critics suggest that Indians can "keep their culture going through their art," are they not advocating a narrow view of "culture" which isolates it from economic and social life? (see, for example, the article on Woodland School artist Rocky Fiddler by Mark Frutkin titled "Young Indian Creates Art While Preserving Culture" in the *Ottawa Citizen,* April 30, 1981.) Usher has written that according to such a view, culture "is not seen as rooted in a particular economic and social system," and that the "only relation this type of culture has to economics is its contribution to 'the economy' (or the GNP), by generating handicraft sales and tourism" (1982:4). In a similar vein, Berger has argued that Euro-Canadians too often view Indian culture as consisting only of "crafts and carvings, dances and drinking...[so that] it is at best a colourful reminder of the past" (1981:4). Will such members of the public remain confused and continue to link their support of Indian-produced art to the perpetuation of such a narrowly conceptualized notion of "Indian culture?" If so, they may merely facilitate the retention of an "Indian" ethnic identity rather than the articulation of contemporary Indian cultural forms with distinctive social and economic dimensions as well as artistic ones within a multi-cultural Canada (see Usher 1982). These are difficult questions which extend the discussion of contemporary Indian art into the arena of political debate; surely they are worthy of further consideration.

NOTES

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[1] Comment by Elizabeth Kilbourne, author of a *Toronto Daily Star* column called "The Art and Artists." Quoted in an article titled "Morrisseau Paintings Receive High Praise" in the *Fort William Times Journal*, Fort William (later renamed Thunder Bay), Ontario, September 5, 1962. This article reports on Morrisseau's first Pollock Gallery show in Toronto, and views his work as "decorative" rather than "true" art.

[2] In a review of a private gallery show titled "Exposition Morrisseau chez Agnès Lafort" in *Le Devoir*, Montréal, Quebéc, April 23, 1963.

[3] In an untitled review of a showing at Hart House Gallery in Toronto in the *Toronto Telegram*, Toronto, Ontario, January 30, 1965.

[4] In a review titled "Indian Paintings at D.H.S. Friday" which quotes a Toronto Art Gallery curator in the *Dryden Observer*, Dryden, Ontario, December 9, 1965.

[5] In an article titled "Ojibway Artist Goes on Display at Gallery" in the *North Bay Nugget*, North Bay, Ontario, January 6, 1971.

[6] In an article titled "L'Exposition Morrisseau au Musée du Québec" in *Le Soleil*, June, 1966.

[7] In a news story titled "Norval Morrisseau, Indian Painter Visiting Area" in the *Kenora Miner and News*, Kenora, Ontario, April 12, 1972.

[8] In an article by Wayne Edmonstone in the *Toronto Daily Star*, Toronto, Ontario, November 3, 1972.

[9] In a *Maclean's* magazine cover story by Christopher Hume (see References Cited).

[10] In an article by Ann Daniel titled "Norval Morrisseau: Myth and Reality" in *The Challenge*, Montréal, Québec, December 11, 1966.

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La liste de publications qui suit, sur l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale, ou sur des sujets connexes, nous est parvenue depuis que nous avons complété la dernière liste. La liste présente est donc un accusé de réception des items reçus. Ce qui n'est pas une promesse qu'ils feront ou non l'objet de recensions. Nous ne faisons pas de changement et ne retournons pas les publications.

The following publications on cultural and social anthropology and closely related subjects have been received since the previous list was closed. This list serves to acknowledge receipt of such items, but neither promises nor precludes subsequent publication of reviews. No exchanges are conducted, nor can any item be returned.

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Wright, Guy David. *Sons and Seals: A Voyage to the Ice.* St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1984. ix + 129 pp. $9.95 (paper).

Errata

A number of errors in an article by David Blanchard titled "...To the Other Side of the Sky: Catholicism at Kahnawake, 1667-1700," 1982 24(1):77-102, have been brought to our attention by A. Brian Deer, Librarian and Researcher at the Kanien'Kehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center in Kahnawake, Québec. These errors are listed below, with page numbers in parentheses referring to the pages of Blanchard's article on which the errors occur. For purposes of brevity, the following reference is cited as JR:

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed.
1896-1901The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. 73 Volumes. Cleveland, Ohio: Burrows Brothers.

Errors in the Bibliography of the Article: Charlevoix 1744 refers to the year that book was published in French in Paris, whereas the first English translation was published in 1761 in London; Hewitt 1903 should be cited as 21:127-339 and not 32:127-339; Hodge 1910 should be cited as a two volume work published in 1907-1910; Kenton 1927 should be Kenton, ed. 1927; Lafitau 1974 should be cited as a two-volume work published in 1974 and 1977; LaPotherie 1722 should be cited as either "L'histoire des peuples alliez de la Nouvelle France," which was published as part of the *Histoire de l'Amerique septentrionale* in Paris in 1722, or as the English translation of this work, "History of the Savage People Who Are Allies of France," which appeared in a publication titled *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes, as Described by Nicolas Perrot, French Commandant in the Northwest; Bacqueville de la Potherie, French Royal Commissioner to Canada; Morrell Marston, American Army Officer; and Thomas Forsyth, United States Agent at Fort Armstrong,* edited by Emma H. Blair and published in two volumes by Arthur H. Clark in Cleveland, Ohio in 1911-1912; Smith 1978 should be completely cited as originally published in 1799; Tooker 1924 should be cited as Tooker 1964; Withrow 1886 should be completely cited as 3(Section II):45-53; and pagination is not provided for either Fenton and Tooker 1978, Healy 1958, or Hewitt 1895.

References Cited in the Text of the Article Which Do Not Appear in the Bibliography: Burtin 1884, 1891 (p. 78), Charlevoix 1961 (p. 80), Cholenec 1680 (p. 96), Hewitt 1910 (p. 84), Shea 1855 (p. 91), Tooker 1962 (p. 85), Tooker 1964 (p. 80), Wallace 1969 (p. 82), and Waugh 1919 (p. 84).

Errors in Citations in the Text of the Article: JR 61:239-242 should be JR 61:239-241 (p. 91); JR 63:101-245 should be JR 63:141-245 (p. 77); Kenton (2):80-81 should be Kenton, ed. 1927(2):80 (p. 81).

References to Passages and Quotations Which Are Not Found Where Cited: JR 7:163 (p. 85), JR 61:159 (p. 88), JR 63:128 (p. 90), and JR 63:219 (p. 95).

References to Subject Matter Which is Not Found Where Cited: JR 8:123, no mention of dream-consciousness and fire (p. 83); JR 33:225, no mention of dreams (p. 82); JR 60:181, no mention of dreams or military campaigns (p. 83); Hewitt 1903:142, no mention of fasting (p. 84); and Shimony 1961:215-216, no mention of rituals of fasting and seclusion in these pages, as the article by Shimony ends on p. 211 (p. 84).

Inaccurately Transcribed Passages and Quotations:

Hewitt 1928:560 (p. 79) should be cited as Hewitt 1928:559 and should read as follows: "So then I leave (establish) the Four Ceremonies, or Ritual Matters, which shall continue before you. I have patterned it after the Ceremony as it is being carried on in the place where the Earth, which you call the Sky, is. And it is actually so, that the pleasure with which those on the upper side of the sky rejoice is most important. So then I patterned therefrom because I desired that the ceremonies that will be going on here on earth, on the under side of the sky, shall be the same as those...."

Kenton 1927 (I):503-504 (p. 81) should be cited as Kenton, ed. 1927(I):503-504, and should indicate that the last sentence is part of a new paragraph and follows a break in the quotation.
Hewitt 1928:560 (pp. 82-83) is missing ellipses and puctuation.

The following errors in an article by René R. Gadacz titled "The Language of Ethnohistory," 1982 24(2):147-165, have been brought to our attention by the author:

In line 1 of the opening quotation from Max Weber, "or" should be "of"; in line 2 of the same quotation, "contructs" should be "constructs"; and in line 7 of the quotation, p. 92-3 should be pp. 92-93.

Other errors include:

Page 148, line 7: "définitions" should be "definitions."
Page 152, line 16: "from" should be "form."
Page 153, line 16: (Stehr 1982:49, should read (Stehr 1982:49).
Page 154, line 36: "it" should be "is."
Page 155, line 10: the second "or" should be "of."
Page 158, line 5: "or" should be "of."
Page 161, line 9: "*Vestehen*" should be "*Verstehen*"; line 30: "on" should be "an."
Page 163, line 34: "Paebody" should be "Peabody"; line 35: (Volume 47), Number 1) should read (Volume 47, Number 1).

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