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**Indigenous television in the Canadian north: Evolution,
operation, and impact on cultural preservation**

Neuheimer, William Joel, M.A.

University of Alaska Fairbanks, 1994

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**INDIGENOUS TELEVISION IN THE CANADIAN NORTH:
EVOLUTION, OPERATION, AND IMPACT ON
CULTURAL PRESERVATION**

**A
THESIS**

**Presented to the Faculty
of the University of Alaska Fairbanks**

**in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of**

MASTER OF ARTS

**By
William Joel Neuheimer, B.A.**

Fairbanks, Alaska

May 1994

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INDIGENOUS TELEVISION IN THE CANADIAN NORTH:
EVOLUTION, OPERATION, AND IMPACT ON
CULTURAL PRESERVATION

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ABSTRACT

Indigenous television broadcasting in the Canadian North has evolved as a successful response to help mitigate the cultural domination imposed over the aboriginal people in the Canadian North via television which originates in the Canadian South and other dominant television producers such as the United States. I have concluded, based on my research and the results from a survey of indigenous people in the Canadian North, that the evolution of indigenous television in the Canadian North has enabled the indigenous people of the Canadian North to achieve greater cultural stability within the increased political empowerment and self-determination that their television programming has been able to afford them. A brief discussion of the evolution of indigenous television in Australia compares the evolution of a similar system in another context and emphasizes the success of the Canadian experience.

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INTRODUCTION

Indigenous television* broadcasting in the Canadian North has evolved as a successful response to help counteract the cultural domination imposed over the aboriginal people in the Canadian North, via television which originates in the Canadian South.

The first section of this thesis looks at the research literature concerning the influence of television from dominant nations on developing areas around the world. The literature review begins with a global consideration of the experience and its application to the indigenous people in the Canadian North. The first section also describes three models that offer insight into the effects of television from dominant nations in developing areas around the world and briefly considers some research efforts featuring the uses and gratifications approach to better understand how viewers in developing areas around the world, including the aboriginal people in the Canadian North, employ the television they watch.

The second portion of this thesis shows some attitudes of the Canadian federal government which have helped create the current

*Indigenous, aboriginal, or Native television in this thesis is to be understood within the parameters of the same definition given for a Native program in the 1990 Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications' (CRTC) Native Broadcasting Policy document. The definition reads: "A program in any language directed specifically towards a distinct native audience, or program about any aspect of the life, interests or culture of Canada's native people" (CRTC 1990, 8).

state of indigenous television broadcasting in the Canadian North. It also provides a historical analysis of how indigenous television began in the Canadian North to what it currently offers its viewers.

The third section of this thesis compares indigenous television opportunities and services in Australia to the situation in Canada. It helps define how the creation of indigenous television has helped to mitigate the cultural influence of television from dominant nations in developing areas around the world.

The fourth section of this thesis summarizes the results from a field study done on current levels of satisfaction among aboriginal viewers concerning aboriginal television in their area. The summary offers several indicators of how indigenous television appears to have established a successful medium for the unique cultural interests of the indigenous people of the Canadian North. A copy of the survey is in the appendix.

This thesis concludes with several observations on how indigenous television in the Canadian North has helped to mitigate the effects of television from dominant cultural communities. Indigenous television serves the unique cultural interests of the indigenous people of the Canadian North so they can achieve greater cultural stability in coping with the effects of television from other dominant communities.

RESEARCH LITERATURE ON THE EFFECTS OF TELEVISION ON DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL PRESERVATION

A New World Information Order has grown out of the demands of developing nations for a more equitable system of sharing information via the respective systems of communications technologies. The power of all media technologies to affect people's lives should only increase in the future. As Head, Sterling and Schofield note, "Much of what exists today will survive the 1990's, with dramatic changes more likely after the turn of the century . . . Central to our evolutionary rather than radical view is the huge investment in existing technology that serves to reinforce the status quo" (Head, Sterling and Schofield 1994, 566). This section of the thesis considers research literature from several perspectives appropriate to the exploration of how indigenous television in the Canadian North has evolved as a response to the cultural domination of television from outside groups.

The notion of a New World Information Order is a key concept in understanding the significance of the development of indigenous television broadcasting to serve the aboriginal people of the Canadian North. The issues confronting those in developing nations are the same ones facing the indigenous people of the Canadian North.

As developing nations have acquired the technological and social elements that are part of being a modern society, certain pressures have evolved as a result of those changes. Television is one of the greatest pressures of modern society that has held developing areas at its mercy.

The traditional dependence of developing nations on dominant economic powers, such as Canada and the U.S., is also applicable to television. Television programming is expensive to produce. Developing areas faced with the costs of producing their own programming usually find it cheaper to purchase those programs

made somewhere else (e.g., the Canadian South or the U.S.). The cultural dependence of these areas on other television programming has hindered the development of the type of local television that might have the potential to better serve the unique interests of viewers in a developing area. The Canadian North is one developing area that shares some of the same difficulties with the introduction of television experienced by developing nations.

The creation of a New World Information Order has become an important priority for the developing nations which seek to overcome the cultural domination of other nations and strengthen their own personal cultural identities. The New World Information Order permits greater freedom for developing areas to grow apart from the influences of the developed nations of the world. With their own television productions developing areas should have a greater opportunity to be able to preserve their own respectively unique cultural identities. From the beginning, the New World Information Order has been seen as "part of the process of intellectual decolonialization and as a means of strengthening information infrastructures throughout the world" (United Nations Association of the United States 1982, 130). It became evident in the early 1980s that there was an imbalance in information in the world. The developing world was depending on "four major Western-based news agencies (United Press International, The Associated Press, Reuters and Agence France-Presse) ... for 85 percent of the news that" crossed international borders (United Nations Association of the United States 1982, 130).

The movement to establish a New World Information Order can largely be traced to the undertakings of the International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems, known as the MacBride Commission after its President Sean MacBride. The commission was a United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) project to evaluate the effects of communications technologies such as television within the developing nations of the world.

The MacBride Commission, which ended in 1978, suggested that developing nations in the world should strengthen their respective television broadcasting capacities. The commission judged developing areas to be too susceptible to the influences of the more developed nations of the world. Programs produced in developed areas and broadcast into developing areas tend to transfer cultural biases from the developed nations to those developing nations.

The MacBride Commission emphasized a need for basic human rights for everyone. The commission suggested that those rights should be extended to include equal opportunities in communications. The notion of a New World Information Order that came from the MacBride Commission aims to create greater independence and self-reliance concerning television production within developing areas. It offers these communities a chance to maintain their unique cultural qualities. The results from the MacBride Commission and the notion of a New World Information Order have become important factors in suggesting how television should be produced and broadcast in the developing nations of the world today. They have already been put in practice in the Canadian North and other areas such as Australia. Their implementation within the Canadian North has brought about a greater sense of self-determination and increased social and political development for the indigenous people who live there (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, Valaskakis 1992, and Stenbaek 1992). In fact, the Canadian Commission for UNESCO has its own report (edited by Cowan and Jurgens, 1986) entitled Native Broadcasting In The North Of Canada: A New And Potent Force, which supports the same type of suggestions made by the MacBride Commission. The Canadian report postulates that given the technological means to do so, the indigenous people of the Canadian North can produce their own programming to help preserve their culture and combat the effects of television from dominant television nations.

As previously mentioned, aside from a literature review of the cultural domination of television in developing areas around the

world and the Canadian North, this portion of the thesis employs three different models to better understand the effects of television on development and cultural preservation; and finally, it appraises some methods and test models developed to study the effects of television on its audiences in general, featuring the uses and gratifications approach.

The Global Perspective

The research literature concerning the effects of television on development and cultural preservation in developing nations around the world, suggests basically three themes: the notion of cultural synthesis or synchronization; the notion of overburdening financial and logistical costs in producing area-specific programming to help overcome the effects of programming from dominant nations; and cases where television in developing areas of the world has been employed to serve only the elite rather than the public in general (White 1984, Hamelink 1986, Ang 1990, Pendakur 1991, Lent 1991). All three themes are relevant in analyzing the effects of television on the indigenous people in the Canadian North (Mayes 1972, Watson 1977, Valaskakis 1976, 1979, 1982, 1983, 1987, 1992, Graburn 1982, Valaskakis et al. 1984, Valaskakis and Wilson 1985, Stenbaek 1992).

The theme of cultural synthesis or cultural synchronization suggests that television from dominant nations imposes the values of a dominant society onto developing areas where it is being broadcast, recreating the cultural values of the developing community (White 1984, Hamelink 1986, Ang 1990). Pressure to offer extensive programming once television has been introduced into a developing area ultimately results in cultural compromise. As Robert White notes, "It is hard to provide attractive, worthwhile programs with local talent and low budgets, so the hours are filled out with inexpensive programs imported from the United States or other countries" (White 1984, 287).

Cees Hamelink defines the notion of cultural synthesis between a dominant area's type of television and a developing area's type of television as a process of cultural synchronization where "choices made in one cultural system are adopted by another cultural system" (Hamelink 1986, 223). As a developing area adopts the cultural choices from a developed area, the developing area's culture can become synchronized, as watches can be, with that of the developed area's culture. The ramifications of cultural synchronization can be devastating to developing areas. As Hamelink notes, "If cultural autonomy is defined as a society's capacity to decide on the allocation of its own resources for adequate coping with its environment, then cultural synchronization is a massive threat to that autonomy" (Hamelink 1986, 225).

Another researcher to confirm the theory of cultural synthesis or cultural synchronization is Ien Ang who suggests that communications technologies, such as television, imported from dominant nations into developing areas, can contribute to a larger global trend where the interests of transnational investors can be imposed on the less well-developed areas. The implications of the trend could be harmful to any efforts on behalf of developing parts of the world to establish any completely independent development initiatives or to preserve their unique cultural interests. As Ang notes, "This process is accompanied by an increased pressure towards the creation of transnational markets and transnational distribution systems (made possible by new communication technologies such as satellite and cable), transgressing established boundaries and subverting existing territories -- a process which, of course, has profound political and cultural consequences (Robins 1989; Morley and Robbins, 1990)" (Ang 1990, 250).

The indigenous people of the Canadian North have already begun to battle against cultural synthesis or cultural synchronization. Their response has been to create their own programming which has enabled them to address their own specific issues of development

and cultural preservation (Valaskakis 1983, 1992, Madden 1992, Stenbaek 1992)

The notion of overburdening financial and logistical costs in producing area-specific programming, to help overcome the effects of programming from dominant nations suggests that developing areas have to overcome certain financial and organizational difficulties before being able to combat the effects of programming from dominant nations with area-specific programming of their own design. The greatest financial obstacle seems to be in securing or somehow generating the funding and technical support necessary to produce those types of programs (White 1984, and Hamelink 1986). The cost of producing television in developing areas is prohibitive to many areas that need area-specific services most. To pay the costs of television in developing areas, programming is ultimately offered to those who can afford to purchase its sponsors' products. As Hamelink notes, the programming is "often oriented towards a sophisticated level of consumption rather than towards a solution to the pressing basic social problems" (Hamelink 1986, 237). When television in developing areas is offered to only those who can afford to pay for it, many basic development and cultural preservation type issues are left unattended. As White suggests, the costs of supporting television in developing areas around the world have made it "an elite medium directed toward the urban middle class, and mass communication systems are oriented to the interests and tastes of that privileged group" (White 1984, 287). Canadian North indigenous people have been able to overcome those conditions to a certain extent by convincing the Canadian federal government to support (financially) their initiatives in developing their own television system (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission 1990).

The greatest logistical obstacle to producing television relevant to a minority area's development and cultural preservation interests seems to be production personnel trained according to Western television traditions due to their tendency to employ

Western techniques while perhaps neglecting considerations that might be crucial to their particular area's television productions (White 1984, Hamelink 1986). As White notes, there is "a tendency to recruit personnel with an urban, Western background who are less familiar with their own indigenous - often rural based - national culture" (White 1984, 287). Hamelink's research also confirms the difficulty encountered concerning Western influences when hiring television personnel in developing areas. As Hamelink suggests, "the professional staff, which must maintain the hardware and produce the programming, receives a Western-oriented training and usually embraces Western professional norms" (Hamelink 1986, 237). If developing areas can only employ personnel with Western television training, then it would seem that their chances of producing television to serve their specific needs will be significantly reduced. Research concerning the effects of the aforementioned issues would seem to encourage the training of television personnel in developing areas with as little or no Western influence as possible.

The use of television to serve only the elite of developing areas rather than the public in general is the third common theme in the research literature. The constraints of limited resources to produce television in many developing nations have often caused a lack of service interests of entire populations and have left many potentially important issues unattended to. The type of neglected issues are, as White suggests, "issues characteristic of a country in the process of social change, the development of cultural and political literacy, and the promotion of national integration" (White 1984, 287). Television that is under the control of government in developing areas can be harmful when it includes only the limited initiatives of the area's elite. In some cases, government control has failed to "give television a public orientation by making it partially or entirely a government function" (White 1984, 287). As White notes, "Limited government budgets, and pressure from international and national advertising and private interests in regard to

programming, . . . orients television toward audiences with purchasing power and toward bland irrelevant content" (White 1984, 287).

The phenomenon of television serving only the elite in developing areas has been specifically observed in India and Malaysia (Pendakur 1991, Lent 1991). Manjunath Pendakur and John Lent's research suggests that while television has been well developed internally in India and Malaysia respectively, it still does not manage to serve the cultural interests of the entire population in each country as well as it could.

In India, the problem appears to be more a matter of internal exploitation, rather than any overwhelming kind of external source of exploitation. Despite the development of several types of television programs within India to be broadcast there, (including soap operas, serials, game shows, sports, news, and feature films), its television ultimately favors the interests of government and the country's elite. As Pendakur suggests, "communications policy is made to enhance the power of one group over another, or to enhance one group's accumulation of wealth over that of others" (Pendakur 1991, 236). He also observes, "The dedication of Indian television for the purpose of redefining audience/citizen roles should be seen as a process reflecting how the Indian state has historically pursued capital accumulation and power by the few while justifying it in the rhetoric of serving the poor" (Pendakur 1991, 258).

The situation in Malaysia is much the same as it is in India where the Malaysian government planned on developing advanced communications systems to entice transnational corporations to come and conduct business in their country. Unfortunately for the common people of Malaysia, when those transnationals set up operations in their country, the benefits of those new communications technologies went to the transnationals and not to the common people. As Lent notes, "The Malaysian people as a whole have a stake in public and private information and communications policies and practices, but only a small segment of Malaysians and

their transnational partners have access to the room at the top" (Lent 1991, 166). Government decisions in Malaysia concerning the development and use of television have failed in several ways, resulting in a bias in favor of the country's elite and the transnational corporations that conduct business within its borders. As Lent notes, the Malaysian government's decisions have permitted the "control of information to benefit the privileged, the absorption of Westernizing influences, and the struggle among a few competing elites for control, rather than a concerted effort to help elevate the struggling masses" (Lent 1991, 196).

The Indigenous People Of The Canadian North's Perspective

The effects of television from dominant cultural communities in the Canadian South and the U.S. on the indigenous people of the Canadian North have been similar to the effects of television from dominant nations on the inhabitants of developing nations around the world. However, Canadian North aboriginal people have developed their own television production capabilities, enabling them to try to counteract the effects of outside media.

The research literature concerning the effects of television on the aboriginal inhabitants of the Canadian North has been sparingly documented from the time when any research on the issue began in the early 1970s. The leading researcher on the effects of television on the aboriginal people of the Canadian North is Concordia University Professor Gail Valaskakis (Valaskakis 1976, 1979, 1982, 1983, 1992, Valaskakis et al. 1984, Valaskakis and Wilson 1985). Valaskakis's research is essential to this thesis to indicate that the specific interests of the indigenous people of the Canadian North could be better served via their own system of television.

In 1992, Valaskakis published a consummate report on the history of aboriginal television broadcasting in the Canadian North in Seeing Ourselves: Media Power And Policy In Canada, including a look at the issues and events that led up to its creation and the

issues and events that have followed. Valaskakis's account suggests that indigenous television in the Canadian North was created to try and counteract the effects of television from dominant markets such as the Canadian South and the U.S. The issues within Valaskakis's research are the same as they are for those considering the effects of television in developing nations around the world. The main issue in both cases is that the effects of television from dominant sources such as the U.S. have limited the ability of developing nations around the world, including the aboriginal people who inhabit the Canadian North, to develop their own issues of development and cultural preservation. Television from a dominant source can overshadow the establishment of development and cultural preservation type issues in a developing area.

The efforts of the Native peoples of the Canadian North have led to the development of their own television production opportunities. Valaskakis's research suggests that their efforts have been quite successful in establishing their own interests. As Valaskakis notes, "This [success] is evident in the far North, where Inuit and other aboriginal nations have used media in attempting to combat, even reverse, the cultural impact of compelling new communications technologies" (Valaskakis 1992, 202).

Prior to the creation of such television, the television being broadcast into the Canadian North from the Canadian South and the U.S. was having a negative effect on its indigenous viewers. Television from the outside was not consistent with their interests. In 1977, in one study by G.O. Coldevin and in another by Grantzberg, Steinbring, and Hamer, researchers discovered the incompatibility between television from dominant cultural communities such as the U.S. and the special interests of the aboriginal people of the Canadian North. As Valaskakis notes, "both studies documented Native cultural dislocation resulting from the prevalence of southern television viewing" (Valaskakis 1992, 212). The opposing interests between the aboriginal people of the Canadian North and television from the Canadian South continued to be noted in studies

by S. O'Connell (1977), A. Caron (1977), T.C. Wilson (1981), G. Grantzberg (1982), G.O. Coldevin and T.C. Wilson (1985).

Within the last decade, the emphasis of television studies has shifted from the effects of television from dominant areas outside the Canadian North on the aboriginal inhabitants of the area to the effects of television produced with the interests of the indigenous people of the Canadian North in mind (Valaskakis 1992, Madden 1992, Stenbaek 1992, Cowan and Jurgens 1986, Valaskakis and Wilson 1985). The consensus is that the effects of television from outside the Canadian North broadcast to the indigenous people in the Canadian North offer conflicting cultural interests to Native viewers. The nature of those conflicting interests became one of the major reasons why the indigenous people of the Canadian North have been able to build television services of their own.

The issues concerning the effects of television from dominant communities when it is broadcast into developing communities are the same on a global level as they are on a regional level in the Canadian North. The case of the aboriginal people in the Canadian North and their concerns over the effects of television from dominant communities such as the U.S. is the same as the case of people concerned about the effects of television from the U.S. in a place like India. However, in the case of the indigenous people in the Canadian North, the inhabitants who live there have been able to establish television services to serve their own unique issues of development and cultural preservation as distinct from the dominant interests of television from elsewhere. In India, television has been developed to serve only the elite and transnational market interests there.

Why are there differences in the type of progress television has been allowed to have in places like the Canadian North as opposed to developing nations such as India or Malaysia? To try to find an answer to the preceding question and others concerning how television has affected development and cultural preservation as

issues around the world, let us now turn our attention to three different models of study.

Three Models On The Effects Of Television In Developing Communities

There are at least three models that can offer theories on how television can affect developing area's concerns over issues of development and cultural preservation. They offer an effective means to study how the effects of television from dominant communities have prompted the evolution of indigenous television in the Canadian North.

Two of the most influential communications research theorists, Daniel Lerner and Marshall McLuhan, have helped put forth the first two models. These are models of integration and homogenization. The third model will be referred to as the splintering of the mass market.

The Integration Model

The integration model is based on the results of research into developments in the Middle East during the 1950s that were discussed in Daniel Lerner's book The Passing Of Traditional Society. A sociologist who is still considered a leader in the modernization school, Lerner researched and published this work to chronicle what he described as the transformation of the Middle East from traditional to modern society.

According to Lerner, the main thrust behind the Middle East's fifties transformation was the integration of modern communications technologies, such as television, into the entire society. The experience of the Middle East group during the fifties is similar to the experience of the indigenous people of the Canadian North over the last 25 years. The effects were to help bring each community into the world of modern communications technologies

and away from their traditions or, as Lerner suggests, from traditional to modern societies.

Lerner's definitions of traditional society and modern society are also key concepts. Those definitions should be considered effective means to describe the communities of the aboriginal people of the Canadian North prior to (i.e., traditional) and after (modern) the arrival of television to their society. According to Lerner, the difference between traditional society and modern society is whether or not citizens are participants within their entire community. Those who participate only in their immediate group's activities (i.e., their family) should be considered part of a traditional society, while those who participate in their entire community, including everyone outside their immediate group (i.e., the entire nation which they inhabit, such as Canada or the U.S.), are considered part of a modern society. As Lerner notes, "Traditional society is non participant - it deploys people by kinship into communities isolated from each other and from a center; without an urban-rural division of labor, it develops few needs requiring economic interdependence; lacking the bonds of interdependence, people's horizons are limited by locale and their decisions involve only other known people in known situations" (Lerner 1962, 50). Lerner defines modern society as "participant in that it functions by consensus - individuals making personal decisions on public issues must concur often enough with other individuals they do not know to make possible a stable common governance" (Lerner 1962, 50).

Just as the Middle Eastern communities in Lerner's research were integrated into the rest of the respective nations where they lived, so too were the indigenous people of the Canadian North integrated into the rest of Canadian society via the introduction of television to their area in the seventies. After television had come to the aboriginal people of the Canadian North, they became integrated into a system that brings information and messages concerning the operations of the entire nation they inhabit as well as the rest of the world. As Lerner suggests, according to his

definition of a modern society, if the indigenous people of the Canadian North wanted to be included in the decision process concerning the effects of the television they were receiving, then they would have to get involved with others from around the nation and around the world who were the ones responsible for deciding on what is broadcast on television and what is not. Part of the results of the indigenous people of the Canadian North's involvement with those outside their immediate community has been the development of indigenous television as a response to the specific interests of their community within the effects of television from the rest of Canada and the rest of the world.

The integration model and Daniel Lerner's conclusions suggest that modern communications technologies, such as television, can teach people to participate in decisions that can affect their entire nation by offering them numerous alternative examples and options concerning certain choices that affect them all. The effects of television within the spirit of the integration model have created a specific means for the indigenous people of the Canadian North to be linked into the issues and decisions that affect the rest of their nation and the world. For the aboriginal people of the Canadian North, the integration model should also be seen as an important part of the reasons why they have developed television systems of their own. The messages that television has brought them from outside their own community have encouraged them to develop television services to serve their own personal needs. Their television systems have allowed them to establish their own personal interests within their community, and for anyone else who is interested within the rest of the nation and the world.

The Homogenization Model

The homogenization model suggests that the medium of television has linked together communities around the world into one huge community. When television that has been produced in the

United States is broadcast into another community somewhere else in the world, its messages remain the same. The homogenization model should be seen as a result of the proliferation of television from dominant communities into developing areas with incredible speed via the reality of simultaneous television transmissions. As television from dominant areas is broadcast into developing areas its content has a tendency to push the same issues in both areas. Once similar issues have been established via television from a dominant nation at home and in developing areas, a link is established between both and thus renders them homogeneous concerning their interests, at least on television. Marshall McLuhan's research on communications technologies supports the homogenization model and also suggests that the medium of television can create a link between communities.

One of Marshall McLuhan's most popular contributions to the realm of communications research is his notion of the world as a global village. McLuhan suggests that as new communications technologies have developed, those mechanisms have made it possible to link the whole world together instantaneously so that all people can share in the same information. McLuhan believes that people throughout the world are so well connected via new communications technologies such as television, that everyone, wherever he or she is, can now be considered to be part of the same group, community, or (as McLuhan would have us believe) village (McLuhan 1964). "What it means, literally, is that, transmitted at the speed of light, all events on this planet are simultaneous" (Sanderson and Macdonald 1989, 23), McLuhan notes.

McLuhan's concept of the global village suggests that people in developing areas, including the indigenous people of the Canadian North, have had the interests of the dominant areas of the world imposed onto them whenever they view television originally produced in those already developed areas. As McLuhan notes, "The acoustic or simultaneous space in which we now live is like a sphere

whose center is everywhere and whose margins are nowhere" (Sanderson and Macdonald 1989, 24).

The homogenization model and McLuhan's notion of the global village are important aspects of this thesis's consideration of aboriginal television in the Canadian North. McLuhan's research suggests that television is another example of how our race has created technological extensions of ourselves to better serve our interests. The technology of television has modified our way of life the same type of way the steam engine did. Television and the steam engine have both increased our ability to achieve certain goals in our everyday lives. Television, like the steam engine, has also imposed the interests of its dominant producers over less well developed or completely undeveloped producers. However, as McLuhan tried to teach, television has imposed the interests of the developed areas over the developing areas of the world on a much higher level than the steam engine ever did. Television, as a tool of sensory perception (as opposed to the physical perception of the steam engine), has created an opportunity wherein our minds can be linked to information instantaneously. Therefore, television should be seen as an important resource for each individual community, including the indigenous people of the Canadian North, to develop. If individual communities can develop their own television services, then they should be able to establish their own special interests and avoid becoming exclusively part of the global television village that can be dominated by television producers from other communities with special interests apart from those of the developing areas around the world.

McLuhan's research, which helped to establish the homogenization model, should encourage those in developing areas to establish television services that will serve their own special interests, thereby avoiding suffering the domination of the interests from dominant television producers elsewhere around the world.

The Splintering Of The Mass Market Model

The splintering of the mass market model suggests that television producers are beginning to target specific special interest group audiences. As television producers increasingly begin to create programs that appeal to specific interest groups, the notion of television programs being created to appeal to audiences on a universal level has begun to decline.

Television producers' efforts to target specific special interest groups are a response to the steady emergence of these groups in recent history. In the private sector, the establishment of television services to serve specific special interest groups is mainly a response to gain better marketing or advertising opportunities to these groups. In the public sector, the creation of television to serve specific interest groups is mainly a result of these groups' ability to organize and build these services for themselves.

The future of television broadcasting appears to be focused on the development of services that cater to special interest groups. There are already channels in the United States devoted to all-news (i.e. the Cable News Network), all-sports (i.e. ESPN and Sportschannel America), and all-music video (i.e. Music Television and VH-1) formats. The indigenous people of the Canadian North managed to establish their own network known as Television Northern Canada (TVNC) in January of 1992.

For the indigenous people of the Canadian North and others like them who share in the traditions of being an oral and visual society, television produced with their interests in mind can be an effective means of communication. The medium of television has proven quite agreeable with their oral and visual traditions of history (Stenbaek 1992, Meadows 1992, and Michaels 1986). As Marianne Stenbaek notes, "Because of these cultural traits, Inuit have become excellent camera-persons and television producers who are very skilled in the use of television technologies" (Stenbaek 1992, 94).

The research that has been undertaken as part of this thesis would suggest that the social and political interests of the indigenous people of the Canadian North, and other developing areas around the world, are better served by specialized networks of their own. Laura Milner, Associate Professor of Marketing, at the University of Alaska Fairbanks' School of Management, identifies the aforementioned trends in television as part of the larger global marketing trend known as the splintering of the mass market.

Milner suggests that the splintering of the mass market can be explained in large part due to the growing visibility of special interest groups, including minority groups, within our whole society and that it is an important marketing issue in general (Milner 1993). Her theory could be the best way to describe what is occurring at this time in the Canadian North concerning the development of indigenous television.

Research literature concerning the splintering of the mass market theory shows television producers are increasingly beginning to target special interest groups. Two researchers who support the notion are Alecia Swasy (1992) and Aimee Stern (1990). The conclusions from their research are similar to those conclusions from research to support the creation of television services for the indigenous people of the Canadian North. Current U. S. minority marketing trends are focusing more on blacks and hispanics, as Swasy suggests, "minority marketing in the next decade probably will be expanded to other groups, such as the growing Asian population" (Swasy 1992, 20).

The splintering of the mass market should enable the aboriginal people of the Canadian North and others in developing areas around the world to have their individual interests better served by the creation of specific television programming to fill those needs. As Stern suggests, "The key piece of advice for marketing strategists for the 1990's: think narrow" (Stern 1990, 19). Stern believes that 1980s were years of segmentation that will become even more pronounced during the 1990s which, she believes,

will become known as a decade of super-segmentation, or micromarketing (Stern 1990, 19). As Stern notes, "Using advanced consumer research and information technology, and taking advantage of the hundreds of new television channels and other advertising media, marketers will learn to target consumers with a precision that until recently was inconceivable" (Stern 1990, 19).

The integration model and the homogenization model both offer useful evidence to analyze the evolution of indigenous television, but the splintering of the mass market model is perhaps the best way to summarize current and future trends concerning its evolution in the Canadian North. This model acknowledges a need to develop separate television programming and services to advance the concerns of special interest groups. According to this theory, any success enjoyed by the indigenous television producers of the Canadian North should encourage similar initiatives in other developing areas around the world.

Methods And Test Models

The main purpose of this thesis is to explore how the indigenous people of the Canadian North have created and continued to develop their own unique television programming in an attempt to establish their own agenda for development and cultural preservation. In an effort to better understand current levels of viewer satisfaction in the Canadian North, a summary of a survey of aboriginal students at Yukon College in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory conducted as part of this thesis can be found in part four of this thesis entitled, Field Research From Whitehorse.

The method of evaluation that was employed in the field work was the uses and gratification approach, intended to establish how audiences utilize communications technologies. This method also allows audiences to suggest how a medium (such as television) might better serve their particular interests as consumers. As communications researchers Werner Severin and James Tankard

note, this approach, "attempts to determine what functions mass communication is serving for audience members" (Severin and Tankard 1992, 269). The uses and gratifications approach was chosen as the guiding principle for the Yukon College survey because of its potential for determining what programs viewers choose to watch; to what degree they enjoy the programs they watch; what kind of effects those programs can have; and why they choose the particular programs they watch.

The uses and gratifications approach was originally proposed by Elihu Katz in 1959 to investigate the relationship between the media and the people it serves (Severin and Tankard 1992, 269). Katz suggested that the emphasis of communications research be changed from trying to evaluate how the media affects people, to how people affect the media (Severin and Tankard 1992, 270). In the case of indigenous television in the Canadian North, Katz's approach is due to the nature of how indigenous television continues to develop.

Katz cited several earlier studies to support his claim. One of them, produced in 1944 by Herzog, found radio soap operas fulfilled different purposes for different consumers, including emotional release from their own problems; escape; and even solutions to their problems (Severin and Tankard 1992, 270). Another study Katz cited was Riley's research that showed "Children well integrated into groups of peers use adventure stories in the media for group games while children not well integrated use the same communications for fantasizing and daydreaming" (Severin and Tankard 1992, 270). The conclusions from both of the studies indicate that the uses and gratifications approach suggests a relationship between the media and why certain members of an audience might choose it for different reasons.

In more recent years, the uses and gratifications approach has been expanded to include several means of classifying audiences' reasoning for choosing to employ particular types of media. In 1973, Katz, Gurevitch, and Haas established five different ways to distinguish among audiences' means of reasoning for choosing

particular versions of communications mediums. The five categories are:

1. Cognitive needs (acquiring information, knowledge, and understanding)
2. Affective needs (emotional, pleasurable, or aesthetic experience)
3. Personal integrative needs (strengthening credibility, confidence, stability, and status)
4. Social integrative needs (strengthening contacts with family, friends etc.)
5. Tension release needs (escape and diversion)
(Severin and Tankard, 1992, 273).

The first four categories listed above were all identified during the survey to explain why respondents chose to watch indigenous television programs and felt that those programs were important to them as an audience. The fifth category was also mentioned by respondents; however that was more in reference to non-indigenous television type programs.

The uses and gratifications approach provides connections between the reasons why audiences chose certain programs and the programs they chose, but, the uses and gratifications approach still lacks any specific information concerning how that relationship is formed. Several researchers, including Palmgreen, Werner, and Rayburn in 1981, and Palmgreen and Rayburn in 1982, have tried to explain the reasons that form the relationship between gratifications sought and gratifications received. As these researchers have found, "Very little has been done to explore the antecedents of gratifications sought" (Severin and Tankard 1992, 275).

The uses and gratifications researchers who have tried to establish specific evidence on choice, including Denis McQuail, suggested that this theory is trying to accomplish too much. As McQuail notes, the uses and gratifications approach is divided between trying to "study culture (its origin, production, meaning, and use), people in audiences (their identity, attributes, and reasons for being there), individual behavior (kind, frequency, causes, consequences, and interconnections), and society (and the working of media within it)" (Severin and Tankard, 1992, 275).

McQuail has also suggested that this approach focus exclusively on culture. It should be a "cultural-empirical approach" that would be more concerned with decision-making processes and provide "meaningful encounter with cultural products," suggested McQuail (Severin and Tankard, 1992, 275). The results from the survey seem to indicate that McQuail could be correct in suggesting that the uses and gratifications approach focus exclusively on cultural considerations, because cultural issues were at the center of the subject-matter discussed within the survey and its results.

While the uses and gratifications approach might be lacking in certain respects, it still seems to indicate a relationship between the audience and the programs it chooses. Therefore, this approach should still be considered a useful means to begin to study the evolution of indigenous television as a means to greater cultural stability.

INDIGENOUS TELEVISION BROADCASTING IN THE CANADIAN NORTH

The indigenous people of Northern Canada have created their own television programming as an alternative to television from a dominant society.

This section is devoted to a historical analysis of the evolution of indigenous television in the Canadian North which has developed primarily due to the movement of indigenous people to build their own television services and gain financial support to establish those services from the Canadian federal government. This portion of the essay includes consideration of Canadian political attitudes concerning the evolution of indigenous television and a summary of the evolution of indigenous television in the Canadian North in general.

Canadian Political Attitudes Concerning The Evolution Of Indigenous Television

The Canadian North is divided into the Yukon and the Northwest Territories which have their own territorial governments and the northern reaches of several Canadian provinces, which have their own provincial governments (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec); yet many of the issues in those areas are still ultimately under the control of Canada's federal government in Ottawa.

The Canadian federal system allows for a central government to retain control over the decision-making power on several issues, including communications policy, while delegating the authority to regional issues such as education. As Merritt and Brown note concerning the Canadian federal government system, it "divides the right and the power to rule among a number of bodies -- on the one hand, a national or central government that controls matters of

concern to the country as a whole, and on the other, the provincial (and territorial) or (as in the U.S.A.) state governments that control matters considered to be more properly the concern of the regional communities into which the country is divided" (Merritt and Brown 1986, 16-17).

Two of the most influential Canadian federal administrative agents that have encouraged the development of indigenous television by way of political decrees are the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) and The Native Citizens Directorate.

The CRTC is the Canadian federal government agency which regulates the use of radio, television, and other telecommunications issues in Canada according to the objectives established by the Canadian Parliament. It has made several policy decisions that have played a major role in the development and maintenance of indigenous television broadcasting in the Canadian North, including the decision to award the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation a license in 1982, and the issuance of the Northern Broadcasting Policy in 1990.

Since 1979, when the CRTC established the Committee on Extension of Services to Northern and Remote Communities which included representatives from the provinces, native communications societies and the Commission under the chairmanship of CRTC Vice-chair Real Therrien, the federal government's communications regulation agency has provided a means for those concerned to make their views on the effects of television on indigenous people in the Canadian north heard. In 1982, some recommendations from the CRTC's Committee on Extension of Services to Northern and Remote Communities were cited as part of the reason for the Canadian government's Department Of Communications' decision to create the influential Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP) (CRTC 1985, 6). The NNBAP, "established on 1 April 1983 with federal funding of nearly \$40 million over four years to assist northern native communications societies. . .," (CRTC 1985, 7) has

continued to be a major source of funding for northern indigenous communications societies.

The CRTC's 1990 Native Broadcasting Policy outlined a number of policies that contribute to the development of indigenous radio and television broadcasting in the Canadian North and throughout Canada. It set up a "regulatory framework for aboriginal broadcasting," covering performance standards and the resolution of conflicts with private broadcasters (CRTC 1990, 10-19). This policy also endorsed the NNBP, noting, "It is clear that the NNBP funding program has become a significant factor in facilitating the provision of valuable broadcasting services to aboriginal audiences . . . These services have taken on a role akin to other publicly-mandated services, such as the CBC, in that they deliver a much-needed first level of service, often in aboriginal languages and unavailable from the private sector" (CRTC 1990, 3).

Over the years, the CRTC's policy initiatives have been of tremendous support to the development of indigenous television in the Canadian North. As respected Canadian television researcher Gail Valaskakis suggests, "The new policy provides a definition of and expanded recognition for aboriginal broadcasting . . . (it) represents a landmark in the development of northern communications and reflects Canada's long standing interest in issues of culture and in communications technologies" (Valaskakis 1992, 202).

The Native Citizens Directorate, a branch of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, is another Canadian federal government office that has been of particular importance to the development of aboriginal television in the Canadian North. One of the agency's greatest responsibilities is to administer the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBP).

The NNBP is an ongoing policy which began in April of 1983 to help contribute to the production of television programs that are concerned with issues related to the development and cultural preservation of the indigenous people of the Canadian North. As the Native Citizens Directorate Director Roy Jacobs notes, it is designed

"to contribute to the protection and enhancement of Native languages and cultures in the North, and to facilitate northern Native participation in activities and developments related to the North" (Jacobs 1993, 2). The policy includes several principles to protect aboriginal television programming interests such as the rights of Northern Canadian Natives to the technology and broadcasting facilities necessary to broadcast and produce programs in their interest, and their right to be included in policy decisions that affect television broadcasting in their communities.

The Native Citizens Directorate administers the NNBAP's funds to provide operational and production costs for aboriginal radio and television broadcasting throughout the Canadian North. These Native groups include: the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation; Inuvialuit Communications Society; Native Communications Incorporated; Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon; The Okalakatiget Communications Society; Taqramiut Nipingat Incorporated; and Wawatay Native Communications Society. (Jacobs 1993, 5-16).

Also encouraging the development of aboriginal television in the Canadian North is the government's view that Canada is a cultural mosaic. This is one of the most fundamental of the Canadian federal government's doctrines which emphasizes cultural diversity within the country. This emphasis on multiculturalism has also been reflected within the nation's communications policies. As Madden notes, "Canadians are particularly sensitive to concerns about retaining cultural identity, and Canada's media policy has reflected that" (Madden 1992, 135).

The notion of Canada as a cultural mosaic became popular under the leadership of former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau (Fleras 1991, 347). Over the years, the policy of multiculturalism has become entrenched in Canadian policy. In 1985, it became law as part of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Fleras 1991, 348). Three years later it was even further

established within federal legislation known as the Multicultural Act. As Fleras notes, "Provisions of the Act sought to promote cultural identity and sharing, prevent discriminatory and racist behavior, and enhance the full and equal participation of racial minorities within Canadian Society" (Fleras 1991, 348). Those provisions were then adopted into the regular operations and policy decisions of all federal government offices. One of the offices where those provisions have been clearly evident is the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (e.g. the CRTC's 1990 Northern Broadcasting Policy).

Under the image of the country being a cultural mosaic, individuals are encouraged to highlight their particular ethnic origin ahead of identifying themselves as Canadians. While this may not always be the case, it seems to occur quite frequently. One of the best examples of this is when French Canadians in Quebec are asked to identify themselves according to origin, they are much more likely to identify themselves as French Canadians or as Quebecois, instead of as Canadians. Canada's cultural mosaic mentality was also apparent in the indigenous people that were surveyed as part of the research that went into this thesis. Twenty-seven of the thirty respondents to this survey identified themselves as members of the First Nation as opposed to Metis, Yukoner, or Canadian. In a country where regional and cultural identities are highlighted within the broader context of an entire nation, the development of indigenous television in the Canadian North has been able to grow and prosper.

To better understand the development of aboriginal television in the Canadian North, one should consider the events that prompted its development and the events that have followed.

The Evolution Of Indigenous Television In The Canadian North: Non-Indigenous Services

Prior to the arrival of television, the indigenous people of the Canadian North had to make a number of significant adaptations to

culture exported to them from dominant communities. Some of those exports included Western-type education and commerce. In the 1950s and 60s there was large scale development of federally sponsored schools and Native cooperatives. The schools were to educate indigenous adolescents and the cooperatives were to serve both producers (sculptors, fishermen, and trappers, etc.) and consumers (general stores, oil companies etc.) (Graburn 1982, 9). However, perhaps the most influential cultural assault has been the presence of television. As leading Canadian researcher Nelson Graburn notes, "in the final analysis, television in the Arctic not only reinforces the use of English as a first language, but also it has become an instrument for slow assimilation hence for cultural ethnocide" (Graburn 1982, 7).

Television first came to the Canadian North in 1967 via the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) Frontier Coverage Package. This programming was intended to provide limited television services to northerners prior to more substantial services that would eventually follow. It was a "temporary, pre-satellite television package service, designed by the CBC in response to business and administrative pressures for a Northern television service" (Valaskakis 1983, 63). Frontier Package programming "consisted of four hours of pre-recorded programming circulated through to the North on VTR (Videotape recorder) on a one to four week delay basis for playback over local television transmitters" (Valaskakis 1983, 63). As Valaskakis notes, "the service began in 1967 and was functional until live satellite broadcasts were made available to the North in 1972" (Valaskakis 1983, 63).

While contact with Caucasians had earlier threatened indigenous cultural integrity to a certain degree, television proved a huge threat to this integrity. Originally, the programs that were being offered included only the southern (predominantly out of Hollywood) based culture. Television from the South was transmitting contradictory cultural messages (e.g., buying meat in supermarkets as opposed to harvesting it from the land) to

indigenous viewers, uprooting their traditional means of socialization. It was also a distraction to aboriginal people going out on the land. Native children began to learn English more easily (the programs that were broadcast originally were in English only); creating a generation gap wherein community elders were unilingual in their Native tongue, while their children were unilingual in English. The southern-based television began to produce cultural strife between traditional ways and those of the southern-based culture assailing indigenous viewers. As Mary Williams Walsh notes, "men stopped going hunting, and women stopped going out to visit their friends . . . People began to want products flogged on the airwaves" (Walsh 1992, B5).

The threat of strife prompted researchers to study the effects of the situation. One researcher was Concordia University Professor Gail Valaskakis. Her research, from as early as 1976, shows that television from dominant communities such as the Canadian south, brought many dangerously inaccurate perceptions of reality in the south to aboriginal viewers in the Canadian North. As Valaskakis notes, "commercial television is a source of serious assaults on Northern Canadian Native identity and culture" (Pearson 1992, 26). Valaskakis's conclusions are similar to those of other communications researchers in other developing areas around the world.

One of Valaskakis's greatest contributions was her 1976 paper entitled, Media And Acculturation Patterns: Implications For Northern Native Communities which summarized her trip to Lake Harbor, North West Territories, to study the effects that television was having on the acculturation patterns of the Native population there. Valaskakis defines acculturation as "degrees in shift from Inuit to Euro-Canadian cultural values and behavior patterns" (Valaskakis 1976, 15). The results of her field work in Lake Harbor offered contradictory findings that confirmed the opposing findings of two previous studies concerning the same issue.

The first study Valaskakis's work confirmed was Granzberg's 1968 study entitled, Adoption of Television by Native Communities in the Canadian North, that showed a "super-masculine adaptation in the behavior of children and young adults" (Valaskakis 1976, 9). The second was Brody's 1975 study entitled, The People's Land, which found that the real Inuk, defined as "the perceived traditional male role of the hunter who demonstrates skill and control on the land, remains a critically-functional image to young adults" (Valaskakis 1976, 9).

Valaskakis's findings read like a hybrid of Granzberg's and Brody's work. She found evidence to support both Granzberg's and Brody's conclusions, despite their contradictory nature. As Valaskakis notes, "Young men frequently announce 'a hunting trip' or 'trip on the land' or an intention to be a 'real Inuk today,' and then leave the settlement in jeans, black leather jacket and boots, carrying a strapped rifle, and driving a Honda" (Valaskakis 1976, 9).

The results from Valaskakis's research indicate that television images of clothing styles from the south have triggered a metamorphosis of what the more contemporary images of the indigenous inhabitants of the Canadian North have become. The images that television brought to northern Native communities flooded these communities with the misinformed concepts of dominant culture from the southern regions. The ramifications of this were both numerous and varied. Three of the most important areas of this television-based cultural revolution were the northern Natives' radically altered perceptions of time, social lifestyles, and their lack of capacity for maintaining their respective Native languages. In short, their entire cultural independence hung in the balance of their efforts to adjust to the effects that television has had on their lives.

Another leading Canadian researcher who has studied the impact of television on northern Natives use of time, social life and language preservation was Nelson Graburn. Graburn suggested that, while the Inuit had had watches and the ability to keep time with

them for a number of years, only recently had time become really important to them. And while there were stores with regular store hours, and churches with regular hours for church services, it was not until the arrival of television that the notion of time and program scheduling had regulated daily and weekly movements of Canada's Northern Natives. For many of these Natives, everything began to hinge on when their favorite programs were on. This had such a profound affect on their lives that, "they may plan their hunting trips to fit between TV shows" (Graburn 1982, 11). As Graburn noted, it was not uncommon to hear young men say, "I'll go seal hunting out at the island but I'll be back in time for the 'Waltons' on Thursday" (Graburn 1982, 11).

Canada's northern Natives' social lives also suffered due to the arrival of television. Those without televisions tended to congregate in the homes of those who had them. Despite the opportunity for socializing, once whatever they were watching came on, it usually meant silence. While these same conditions could exist in any home where people are gathered to watch television, as Graburn noted, the rooms where the viewing might occur, "are large enough in many houses for conversations to be carried on at the back of the room by those who do not want to concentrate on the show, but a lot of 'shushing' and commands to keep quiet are heard when those watching the tube are disturbed" (Graburn 1982, 11). The only exception might be the simultaneous translation of English programs by the younger viewers to the older viewers with much less experience in English comprehension. The most important issue from Graburn's research was that any opportunity for sociability between those with sets and those without sets was lost over the years as everyone has been able to afford to purchase at least some type of TV. The prevalence of the aforementioned conditions should be seen as another factor that reduced the opportunities for the indigenous people of the Canadian North to meet with each other and celebrate their unique cultural identities and issues of development.

Not only had television made Native viewers less social while the programs they are watching are on, but these programs also became more important than many other regular community affairs. As Graburn noted, "TV outdraws many other community events such as movies, church, school, town meetings, and even dances unless they are the 'modern' type which young people enjoy" (Graburn 1982, 12).

Television has had similar effects on people everywhere in our world. However, the effects of television on the indigenous people in the Canadian North, and in other developing areas around the world, was especially hazardous when programs from dominant communities threatened issues unique to aboriginal cultural development and preservation. The nature of the television that was originally broadcast into Canada's indigenous communities threatened to completely replace their language and culture with those imported via the medium from the south. The first television programs broadcast into their villages were in English only, and had nothing in content that came remotely close to their cultural traditions.

It has been a struggle ever since for indigenous people to attempt to build television programs of their own, but if they had allowed themselves to continue to watch TV exclusively from the south, then they would have been metaphorically enslaving themselves to southern cultural patterns. Even with television of their own design, the struggle to resist southern cultural ideas has been difficult. Programs from the outside world still invade their lives on other channels.

The difference in Northern Natives languages and the programs in English originally offered on television created a large generation gap between younger and older viewers. While the younger generation has been known to translate a great deal of the English programming to the older generation who are much poorer at English comprehension, the older peoples' interest in these programs has not been the same as that of the younger generation. This gap has

widened as the younger group becomes more in tune with the dominant culture of the South and the older group maintains their community's more traditional culture. As the director of operations at Northern Native Broadcasting Yukon, Brenda Chambers notes, "It's sad to see a young native person fully comprehend a conversation studded with futuristic lingo between two engineers on "Star Trek," yet unable to communicate with his grandfather sitting on the couch beside him" (Chambers 1993, 7).

In the early 1980s the state of television programming in indigenous languages had improved, but offerings were small compared to what was offered in English. As Graburn notes, only a small portion of the daily programming sent to the North (circa 1982) was directly relevant to the people living there. "Less than 5% was in Inuktitut (the predominant Native language of the Canadian North), and only 10% or so was particularly tailored to the North, in news, weather and other programs with discernible northern content or interest" (Graburn 1982, 12). "Most of the rest of the programming consists of standard CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) fare - national news, Canadian entertainment and sports, discussions and specials, the remainder of the programs are typically made in the U.S.A. - movies, soap operas, family dramas, comedies, cartoons, and Westerns" (Graburn 1982, 12). During the period when Graburn completed his research in 1982, the most popular shows were programs from outside the Canadian North and not the aboriginally produced programs. Graburn found that aboriginal viewers most popular to least popular programs were the "U.S. shows, the sports and Canadian shows, then the shows with Northern interest, and lastly, programs in Inuktitut, with some significant exceptions" (Graburn 1982, 12). Those results show that despite efforts to offer programs with Northern themes and even programs broadcast in Native languages, the southern-based programs along with their southern cultural overtones are still the most popular programs. As Graburn concludes, "the late movies, situation comedy, family drama, and police/detective series plus

some sports are the most often noted as daily or weekly events which must take precedence over nearly all other social and economic activities - or at least be watched during other activities, such as eating, drinking, visiting etc." (Graburn 1982, 12).

Aside from the effects of the television programming itself, there are also numerous persuasive and seductive advertisements which are being broadcast into the homes of the aboriginal people in the Canadian North. These advertisements, targeted especially to young people, have captured a great deal of their attention. The results on aboriginal viewers in the Canadian North have been similar to the way they can affect viewers in other developing areas around the world. It can be extremely frustrating on these people as they see products advertised on their televisions that are popular items in the south, (e.g., Barbie or the Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles) that they might not necessarily be able to afford or that might not be that easily accessible for them to purchase. And even if they can purchase these goods, they might still be frustrated in not being able to go and purchase them in the type of locations where those same products are available in the south (i.e., a shopping mall). The nearest shopping facilities in the North, comparable to those available in the South, might be thousands of miles away.

One of the biggest issues of television being broadcast to the indigenous people in the Canadian North is what language it should be broadcast in. As Graburn notes, "Even in the typical Inuit household where family conversation - at least that including adults - is still carried on in Inuktitut, the set is the perfect teaching machine for pre-adapting infants to the use of English and for reinforcing the English that children all learn in school" (Graburn 1982, 13-14). The impact that television has had on language has been staggering. "It is remarkable to see infants and pre-schoolers who hardly speak Inuktitut yet or who are wholly addressed in Inuktitut by their parents, picking up English, with its familiar media phrases and accents, and bandying them about as well as any

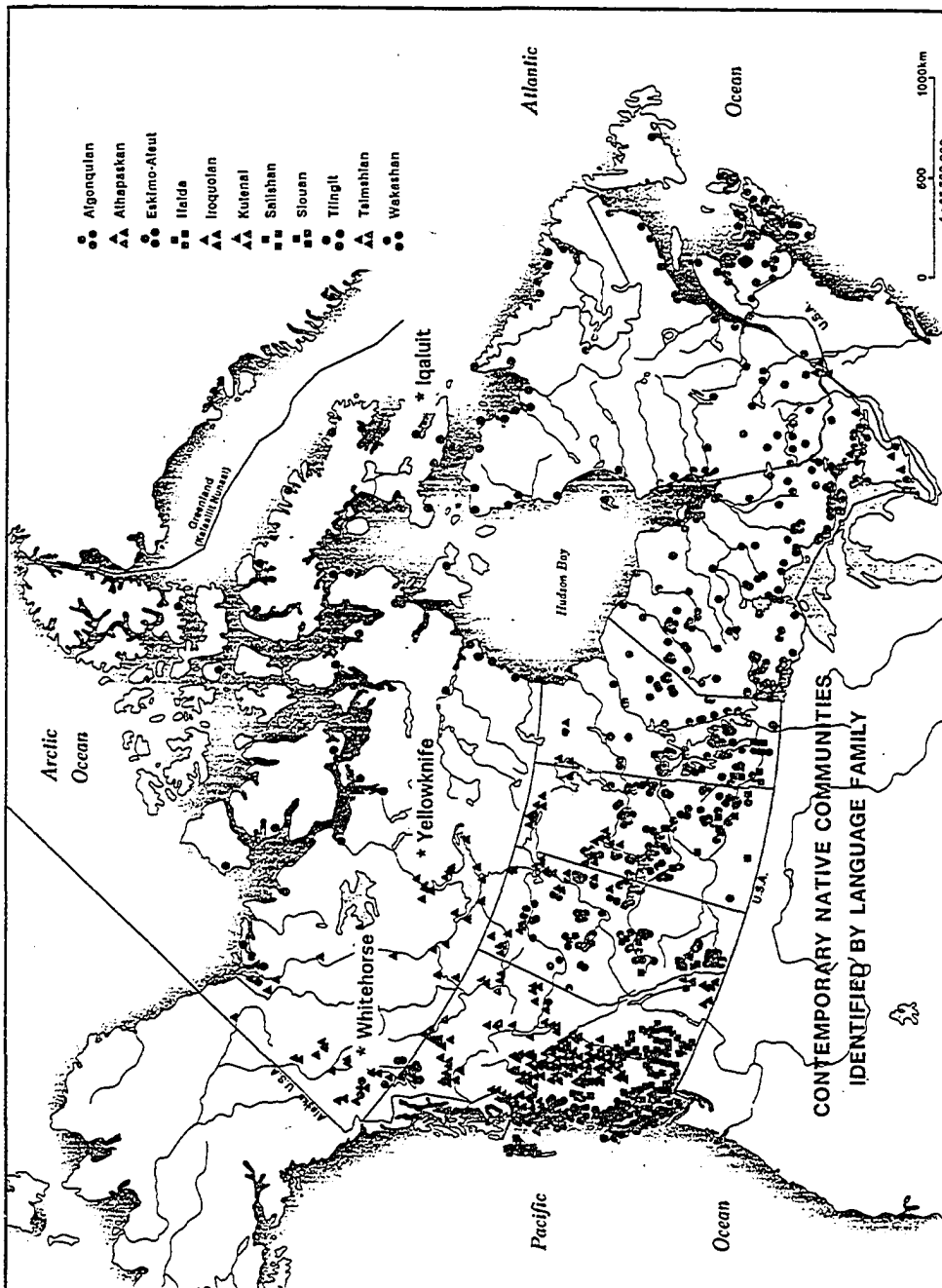
teenager in Peoria" (Graburn 1982, 13-14). In short, "they are developing English as a first language" (Graburn 1982, 13-14).

The impact of television on the indigenous people of the Canadian North has been quite clear. Many Inuit adolescents are bilingual, if not monolingual English speakers. This suggests that present and future generations of the indigenous people of the Canadian North will speak only English. Eventually, it seems that their Native languages might be completely lost. As Walsh notes, "The children also picked up English more easily than the adults, and a generation gap opened as youngsters lost the knack of casual, fluent conversation with their non-English speaking elders" (Walsh 1992, B5). (See Figure 1 on page 38).

How are Northern Natives coping with their future? Graburn's research suggests that even if the CBC's Northern Service were to "inject far more hours of Inuit-language programming . . . it is doubtful that it would make too much difference in many households and settlements that have TV" (Graburn 1982, 14). As Graburn notes, "amongst the children the few Inuit-language programs are among the least popular testifies to the power of schooling and the TV image" (Graburn 1982, 14).

If Native languages are to survive, then one would think that the aforementioned situation would have to be reversed. For television programs to be able to help teach Native children to speak Native languages, those programs must be made attractive enough for children to want to watch them. The situation may already be changing, as research suggests that television broadcast in Native languages has recently begun to appeal to Native children. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) has developed a northern-style "Sesame Street" known as "Takuginai" (meaning Look Here) which has produced encouraging results (Walsh 1992, B5). As Mary Williams Walsh reported in her article, "Canadian Natives Take Another Look At Television," recent surveys show that with programs like "Takuginai" on the air, 95 percent of Inuit watch one to three hours of IBC programming per week" (Walsh 1992, B5).

Figure 1: Map of Canadian Aboriginal Communities According To Language Family



Source: Marsh, James H., ed. 1985. The Canadian Encyclopedia: Volume II. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers. p.1218.

While indigenous program viewing time is still very little compared to whatever number of hours of television Inuit watch in total, the Walsh research shows that at least when those programs are on, close to everyone is watching.

Arguments For The Development Of Indigenous Television

Research on the effects of television on indigenous people in the Canadian North would seem to indicate that if they are interested in preserving their Native culture, then they will have to continue to improve the current state of programming that is available for them. If outside television is permitted to continue its unattended assault on their lives and their culture, it would seem that it will continue to erode indigenous traditions. As Chambers notes, "We are bombarded by non-native programming via the airwaves and cable and satellite feeds . . . Our culture is becoming insignificant in this sea of pollution" (Chambers 1993, 7).

As Graburn notes, based on his research on the effects that television has had on the indigenous people of the Canadian North, "I see the present and future of television as it is presently broadcast as a late and powerful stage of ethnocide or as Krauss has put it 'a cultural nerve gas - insidious, painless, and fatal'" (Graburn 1982, 16). Michael Krauss, a University of Alaska researcher and author of Alaska Native Languages: Past, Present, and Future, has done work concerning the effects of television on Alaska Natives producing some useful suggestions. One of the greatest hopes for solving this potentially grave situation, seems to lie in Krauss's idea "that the Inuit will be able to take control of these penetrating forms of communication" (Graburn 1982, 16). Krauss's work is an important perspective concerning how indigenous television has evolved in the Canadian North. His research supports the findings of Canadian researchers such as Valaskakis and Graburn.

Due to similar conditions, Krauss's theories on the effects of television on indigenous people are just as easily applicable to the

situation in northern Canada as they are in Alaska. Krauss's suggestions for a counter assault on the impact of television on indigenous people begins with production of their own programming on a local and regional basis. The key aspect of those then (circa 1980) proposed productions is that they be produced exclusively in Native languages. If northern Natives could produce their own programs on a local and a regional basis, with content in their own language, then it was believed that they should be that much more interested in viewing those programs. As former IBC president Rosemarie Kuptana notes, Native television was intended "to strengthen the social, cultural, and linguistic fabric of Inuit life" (Valaskakis 1992, 209).

Aboriginal television produced by aboriginal people and intended for aboriginal audiences offers many advantages to securing the goals specific to aboriginal development and cultural preservation. As former president of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) Canadian Inuit Mary Simon notes, "I think that it is important to note that we are now taking more control over communication and therefore our programming is beginning to have more cultural content" (Stenbaek 1992, 108). Aside from the forum it would provide to highlight aboriginal people's interests, it would also offer them an opportunity to become directly involved in establishing, developing, and preserving those interests. As Krauss suggests, it could be a system where "local reporters or TV cameramen could tape local subjects and events to broadcast directly, or send tapes to broadcast centers, and the centers could also produce a variety of programs" (Krauss 1980, 84).

While entirely Native-based programming was judged to be hard pressed to topple programs like "Picket Fences" or "Murphy Brown" in television ratings races, prior to any substantial efforts to produce it in the Canadian North, it was still considered an important initiative based on the perceived benefits it would create. As Chambers notes, that type of thinking continues today, "Native broadcasters realistically do not expect to compete head-to-head

with mainstream programs or broadcasters . . . But our own programs can at least provide an alternative - a native view of current affairs and a glimmer of self-identity" (Chambers 1993, 7).

As Krauss suggests, the more programming that includes indigenous people's interests, the better the chances would be that northern Native cultures could preserve their traditional cultural ways. To carry that argument even further, without any effort to preserve their traditional ways, it would be that much easier for television and its Southern-based initiatives and influences to replace their unique cultures. However, if indigenous television productions were encouraged to flourish, at least there might be some opportunity for their unique cultural interests to prevail and be preserved.

Developing aboriginal television programs could produce a number of cultural benefits for aboriginal people. As Krauss suggests, "I can only list here a few things which I might offhand imagine: radio and television broadcasts reporting a potlatch, or featuring a storyteller, a dance, a basketball game, beaching or even hunting a whale, a new baby, local community news, school news, weather reports, bush radio messages, talk shows, personalities, Native affairs and politics" (Krauss 1980, 85-86). As he notes, "None of these are too expensive or beyond the ability of community people to learn quickly to produce" (Krauss 1980, 85-86). The cost of setting up a local broadcasting center with the help of outside sources could also be seen as an attainable reality. "A Native organization with a good proposal writer should stand an excellent chance in competing for grant money from funding agencies for innovative systems and programming of this type, for and by the Native language community," he notes. (Krauss 1980, 86).

Within the research efforts of Krauss, Valaskakis, and Graburn, the effects of television from dominant communities in developing areas around the world, including the Canadian North, has become a prominent issue in our world. Based on the research reported in this portion of the thesis, one should be able to see how television from

dominant cultures challenges survival of minority cultures. If northern Natives are going to be able to preserve their culture, then based on the theoretical perspectives of leading researchers, the chance to develop their own television programs could prove to be a vital advantage.

The Realization Of Indigenous Television

After researchers like Krauss, Valaskakis, and Graburn had published reports that helped raise concern about the cultural survival of the indigenous people in the Canadian North, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) conducted its own investigation into the situation. The Therrien report was a product of the CRTC's 1980 decision to launch a nine-member committee investigation into the extension of services to northern and remote communities. The committee, headed by Real Therrien, was especially significant in that it included an Inuk (singular for Inuit), John Amagoalik. Its mandate was to provide "a public forum, in which the television broadcasting options of various interest groups could be examined and debated, before any structural changes to the broadcasting system in Canada's remote and northern regions were made" (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, 22).

The Therrien Committee decided to act on the concerns of Native representatives and recommended that the government of Canada try to preserve the use of Native languages and develop Native culture through the use of television. These recommendations cleared the way for creating one of Canada's original indigenous television broadcasting companies, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), which began broadcasting in 1982.

The Therrien Committee's suggestions were highlighted in a later report from the Canadian Commission for UNESCO. Their 1986 report entitled Native Broadcasting in the North Of Canada, became instrumental in the eventual development of indigenous television broadcasting in the Canadian North.

There were some alarming warnings included in Native Broadcasting in the North Of Canada. As ethnologist Michael Foster notes, "only three of the Native languages spoken in Canada have an excellent chance of survival; thirteen are moderately endangered and eight are near extinction" (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, 18). One of the reasons given in the report for these conditions was that "Native leaders point to the proliferation of English mass media, especially television, as a major factor in the declining use of ancestral languages" (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, 18).

However, the report did have positive comments concerning the future for the indigenous inhabitants of the Canadian North. "Despite discouraging statistics, Native people in many regions are determined to reverse the trend towards acculturation to the majority" (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, 18). As the report goes on to note, "Across Canada there is cultural and linguistic rejuvenation along with increasing institutional support" (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, 18).

The Canadian Commission for UNESCO's report also highlighted the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation's success in organizing indigenous television experiments (i.e. the Inukshuk Project) in co-operation with the Canadian federal government; and their later success in securing government funds to make their indigenous television aspirations a reality. The IBC shares its indigenous broadcasting success with other similarly well organized groups across the Canadian North. There is another aboriginal television group in Whitehorse known as Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon (NNBY). The indigenous people who work at NNBY have succeeded in being able to secure the financial backing of the Canadian government to produce their programs. Their success is shared by indigenous groups throughout the Canadian North. As Chambers notes, "More than a dozen communities are currently producing native radio and/or television in Canada, and others are working to that end . . . The programs have improved technically, and have become

increasingly sophisticated during the course of the evolution of the industry" (Chambers 1993, 7).

Prior to the creation of groups like the IBC and NNBY, there were other Native groups trying to establish the television broadcasting interests of their people in the Canadian North. One of those groups was the National Indian Brotherhood of Canada. The Brotherhood published its own report, Radio and Television Service For Indian, Eskimo, and Metis Communities, including recommendations on television for Natives in the late 1970s.

Speaking from a self-described position of underdeveloped living conditions and circumstances, the Brotherhood suggested that, "A closer co-operation between CBC, CTV, (Canada's national networks) NFB (Canada's National Film Board), and Native organizations and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs should be established on a permanent basis to develop television broadcasts to assist Native peoples in a continuing program of community development" (National Indian Brotherhood 197?, 4). Without the efforts of groups like the National Indian Brotherhood, the IBC and NNBY, indigenous television broadcasting in the Canadian North would not be as well established as it is today. These groups have succeed in organizing their interests and adapting them to be broadcast on television while securing the financial means necessary to produce those programs from the Canadian federal government.

The Canadian Federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs provided the IBC with 3.9 million dollars to be the original source of indigenous television programming in parts of Northern Quebec and the Northwest Territories (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, 23). The IBC was the first group that would help allow the indigenous people of the Canadian North to control their own cultural evolution via the medium of television. Its original self-described goals were optimistic and ambitious. As their founders noted at the time of its inception, "Our dream is to develop an Inuit communications system that will enhance the strength and dignity of our people" (Cowan and

Jurgens 1986, 36). Their plan was to use television to preserve their own unique past and make it available to insure its continuation in the future, "We can imagine, . . . our children learning about their culture and history through audio-visual material prepared by Inuit educators and fed via satellite to Inuit homes and schools" (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, 36). Their ambitions to protect language were equally as lofty, "We can see Inuit children exploring their own environment and the environment beyond, through educational and entertainment programming broadcast in Inuktitut" (Cowan and Jurgens 1986, 36).

Over the years, the IBC producers have developed numerous programs covering a variety of diverse topics concerning the issues of development and cultural preservation. As communications researcher Marianne Stenbaek notes, they "cover a wide range of subjects: there are programs on traditional culture (e.g., how to make skin clothing), news programs, original Inuit plays dramatizing real life crises (e.g., a hunter getting lost, or an alcoholic committing a crime), documentaries and current affairs programs with an Inuit perspective" (Stenbaek 1992, 97 & 120-121). IBC's audience is full of enthusiastic viewers. As Walsh notes, "people in the Arctic swear by the network, saying that if it weren't for its Inuktitut programming, their 4,000 year-old language would be doomed" (Walsh 1992, B5).

Two specific examples of IBC programming that offer viewers timely considerations of issues relevant to current indigenous lifestyles are Ikajurti: The Helper and A Summer in the Life of Louisa. Ikajurti: The Helper tells the story of recent efforts in the Canadian Arctic to allow aboriginal mothers to reclaim the old tradition of using midwives to give birth, rather than having to travel long distances away from home to give birth in hospitals in Edmonton, or Montreal (Clark 1992a). A Summer in the Life of Louisa is the story of an Inuit wife's struggle to cope with the alcohol induced destructive behavior of her husband (Clark 1992b). Both programs should be seen as good examples of how successful

Northern Natives can be at producing television programs that serve their own personal interests and employ the subject matter of uniquely northern indigenous people's lives.

Another set of IBC programs that have successfully captured vital issues unique to the indigenous people of the Canadian North are IBC's "Qagik" and the land series. "Qagik" is a news show that covers issues of concern to its indigenous viewers and employs specific Native techniques to present those stories. "Qagik's" Native journalism techniques include the Inuit values of personal autonomy, cooperation, consensus building, and non-combative behavior (Madden 1992, 140). The land series focuses on Inuit lifestyles providing a link between the Inuit people and the earth they inhabit, focusing on their respect for the environment. Titles include "Clyde River Hunting Trip" and "Spring Fishing and Camping" (Madden 1992, 143). The content of "Qagik" and the land series should be seen as capable of supporting indigenous people's interests concerning development and cultural preservation. As Madden notes, "Qagik and the land series demonstrate that the IBC possesses the potential to create a culturally sensitive television broadcasting service that can help Inuit preserve their culture by helping promote cultural and political reflexivity" (Madden 1992, 146).

Indigenous Television's Increasing Potential

Today, indigenous television programs are available from a variety of sources. Current aboriginal television program sources include CBC North, the recently formed (1992) Television Northern Canada (TVNC), and a number of regional indigenous television broadcasters that are spread throughout the Canadian North.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Canada's public broadcaster, operates a northern specific television service known as CBC North. This service offers several programs that focus on issues that are specific to the indigenous people of the Canadian North. "Focus North," which began in 1981, was its first indigenous

television program which continues to include the latest aboriginal issues. Some of the other CBC North television programs that serve the indigenous people of the Canadian North are: "Denend'eh;" "Aqsarniit;" and "Maamuitau" which offer similar content to that of "Focus North" on a regional basis according to where they are produced (e.g., Iqaluit, or Yellowknife N.W.T.). "Aqsarniit" is broadcast in Inuktitut.

Television Northern Canada (TVNC) began broadcasting aboriginal television programs throughout the Canadian North in 1992. Due to its ability to serve indigenous television interests across the entire Canadian North, TVNC should be seen as important for both indigenous television broadcasters and their viewers. Its creation is the culmination of a long battle for all those who strived to create a means to showcase and further develop innovative indigenous television for the last decade and a half. As TVNC chairman Pat Lyall notes, "TVNC will allow all of us to speak with each other in our own ways . . . For if our children are to have a future and understand the world around them, they must know the stories and languages of their people" (Television Northern Canada 1992, 2).

TVNC broadcasts a wide variety of programming: children's shows, accredited and community interest educational broadcasts, aboriginal cultural and public affairs, regional CBC Northern Service programming, northern legislative and political coverage, live and special event programs from across the North, and the activities of indigenous people from around the globe (Television Northern Canada 1992, 2). As TVNC officials note, "traditional skills, arctic sports, the land and environment, land claims, aboriginal self-government, constitutional development, social issues including health, housing, abuse, treatment and community healing . . . these are just some of the topics TVNC programmers take on everyday of the week" (Television Northern Canada 1992, 2). Aside from aboriginal people's social, political, and cultural concerns, the new network is

particularly concerned with serving its viewers in their Native languages.

The board of Television Northern Canada is composed of nine members and six associate members. Included are: the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation; the Inuvialuit Communications Society; Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon; the OkalaKatiget Society; Taqramiut Nipingat Inc.; Native Communications Society of the Western NWT (Northwest Territories); the Government of the Northwest Territories (Territorial Government); Yukon College (with campuses in Whitehorse and thirteen other Yukon communities); and the National Aboriginal Communications Society (Television Northern Canada 1992, 7). Television Northern Canada's associate members are: CBC Northern Service; the Kaitivik School Board (from the Arctic in Quebec); Labrador Community College (serving rural Labrador); Northern Native Broadcasting, Terrace (in Northern British Columbia); Telesat Canada (Canadian satellite communications); and the Wawatay Native Communications Society (Television Northern Canada 1992, 7).

TVNC broadcasts live and pre-recorded programming from regional satellite transmission facilities in Iqaluit, Northwest Territories (NWT); Yellowknife, NWT; and Whitehorse, Yukon Territory (See Figure 1 on page 38). There are satellite receivers and re-broadcasting facilities in each of the northern communities the network serves. (Television Northern Canada 1991, 1).

The service is funded by the Canadian federal Department of Communications (DOC) which pays for the cost of TVNC's general network operations and satellite transmitters in Iqaluit, Yellowknife, and Whitehorse; as well as for receiving and re-broadcasting equipment in each of the 94 communities that the network serves. The costs of programming are paid by TVNC's members and associate members. As previously mentioned in this portion of the thesis, costs for individual members are largely, if not entirely paid for through the Northern Native Broadcast Access Program of the Secretary of State of Canada, while Yukon College

and the Government of the Northwest Territories, are funding their own programming requirements (Television Northern Canada 1991, 1).

As of April 27th, 1993, the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada's Native Citizens Directorate was working with seven different regional television broadcasters in the Canadian North. Those groups include: the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation; Inuvialuit Communications Society; Native Communications Incorporated; Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon; The OkalaKatiget Communications Society; Taqramiut Nipingat Incorporated; and Wawatay Native Communications Society. These groups offer varying degrees of indigenous television programming each week that generally include the same basic areas of coverage: the issues that are important to the aboriginal people living in their broadcast area. Television Northern Canada broadcasts the programs of all the preceding groups except Native Communications Incorporated (Department of the Secretary of State of Canada 1993).

The leading (hours per week) regional aboriginal television production group is the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC). It produces five and a half hours of indigenous television per week that serves an estimated 30,000 Inuit in 48 communities (Department of the Secretary of State of Canada 1993, 5). The next leading producer of indigenous television programming hours per week is Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon (NNBY). NNBY produces two and a half hours of aboriginal television programming each week, including a weekly hour long Native social and cultural affairs program (Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon 1993, 1). Their audience includes approximately 6,000 aboriginal people in 17 Yukon communities (Department of the Secretary of State of Canada 1993, 12). The next most productive regional indigenous television producers of indigenous television programming hours per week are: the Inuvialuit Communications Society (formerly the Committee for Original People's Entitlement), Taqramiut Nipingat Incorporated (TNI), and the Wawatay Native Communications Society. They all

produce two hours of indigenous television a week serving six communities or 3,500 people, fourteen communities or 6,200 Inuit, and 20,000 people respectively. Native Communications Incorporated is the next leader in indigenous television productions producing one and a half hours of programming each week. Their audience includes approximately 37,300 Natives. The OkalaKatiget Communications Society is the least productive indigenous television producer producing only one half hour of programming time each week.

The current state of indigenous television in the Canadian North is encouraging. With the recent addition of Television Northern Canada, the indigenous television broadcasters have their own network, and indigenous viewers who are concerned about the issues that affect their lives can also turn to their own network that features programs tailored to their specific cultural interests. As Chambers notes, "Broadcasting has become a vital instrument in the drive by native people to preserve and rejuvenate their culture and languages" (Chambers 1993, 7). Any conclusive evidence to suggest that indigenous television has improved the quality of its indigenous viewers lives is as of yet unavailable. However, aboriginal viewers can turn to it for at least some relief from the effects of television from the dominant areas of the world. As IBC regional manager Aimo Nookiguak notes, "We have taken advantage of modern technology in delivering the information that needs to be known by the general public, and by the general public I specifically mean the Inuit people that we serve" (Stenbaek 1992, 108).

The increase of indigenous television resources in the Canadian North today would not have been possible without the financial and political support of the Canadian federal government offices during much of the last decade and a half along with the organizational efforts of the indigenous people of the Canadian North. One of the greatest challenges in the future for indigenous television producers will be to somehow maintain or replace declining government financial support. As Chambers notes, "A further 10-per-cent reduction in funding (as indicated by the

Minister of Finance) will jeopardize all we have worked for . . . In the end, it may mean our efforts have merely amounted to a temporary stay-of-execution" (Chambers 1993, 7).

INDIGENOUS TELEVISION BROADCASTING IN AUSTRALIA

The history of indigenous television broadcasting in Australia shares several similar conditions to the history of indigenous television broadcasting in the Canadian North.

This part of the thesis will outline these similarities. The main areas of interest here include: the structure of political decision-making in each nation and the composition of their main governing bodies; and similar histories concerning the evolution of indigenous television broadcasting within their borders.

A Comparative Analysis Of Government In Australia And Canada

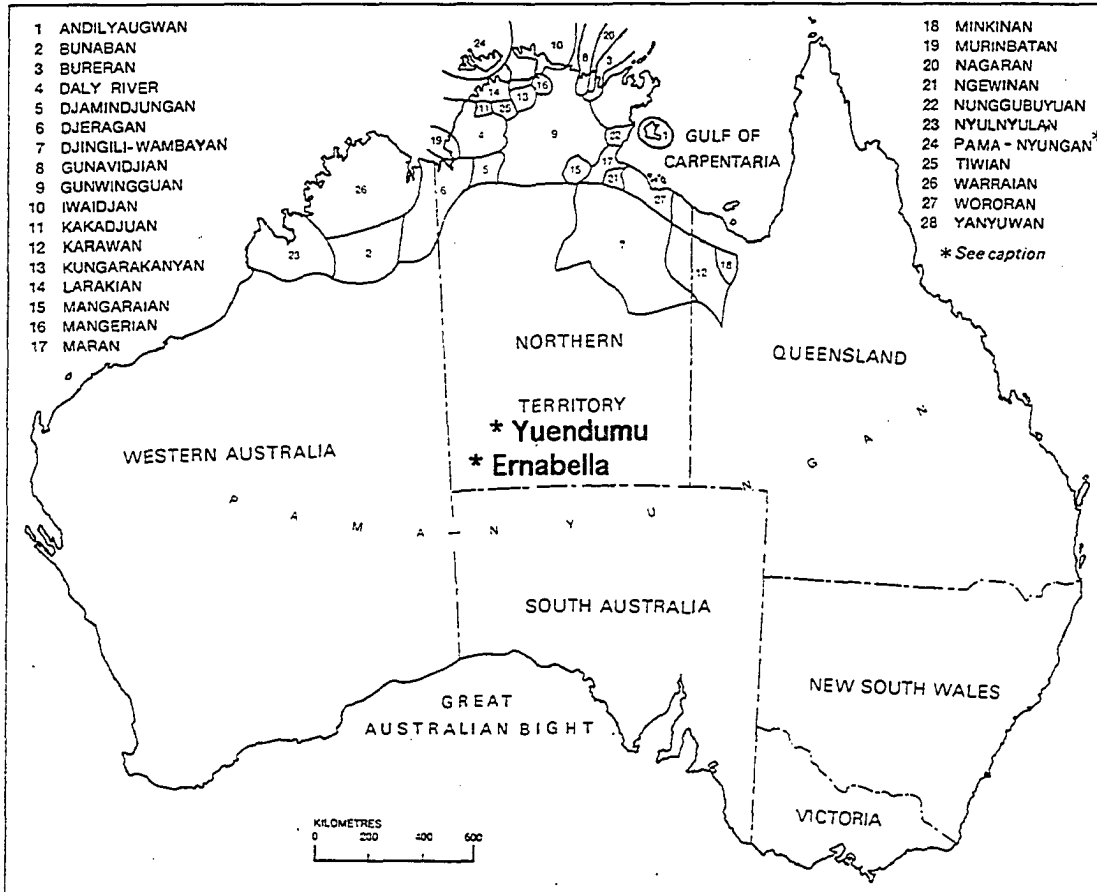
Australia and Canada share the same model of national government. They both employ a parliamentary system of federal government. The powers to govern in both nations are divided between a central national government and smaller regional governments. Canada is divided into provinces and territories which send elected representatives to serve in the federal, or central government. Australia, is divided into several regions that are known as states and territories which elect national representatives to a federal government. In both countries, the responsibility for administering to the concerns and interests of indigenous peoples ultimately lies within the federal government's sphere of operations.

The political characteristics of both federal governments are also similar in that they share the same concept of political decision making and governing their respective citizens. As McBeath notes, both countries include: "democratic principles in an environment of liberal values emphasizing individual freedom" (McBeath 1992, 157). Such political ideals, in both countries, have fostered an environment which has been, and should continue to be,

conducive to establishing programs to develop and improve opportunities for indigenous television broadcasters. The evolution of indigenous television in both nations has been greatly enhanced by financial assistance and general policy initiatives by the federal government. One of the greatest similarities between the indigenous populations of Australia and Canada is that their governments have administered both groups in a paternalistic manner. Both governments have enacted greater powers over Natives than they have over non-Natives. As McBeath notes, the Australian government has treated the indigenous people "similar to that of children and subjected them to the kinds of controls imposed on the criminal and the insane" (McBeath 1992, 165). The Australian federal government's main resource for administering to the needs of indigenous peoples is the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission (ATSIC), formally known as the Department of Aboriginal Affairs (Meadows 1992, 82). The Canadian federal government has a similar administrative office known as the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

Australia's Native population of 250,000 is equal to half of Canada's Native population. However, in both countries, aboriginal people account for nearly the same percentage of their nation's total population -- two percent in Canada and 1.5 percent in Australia (McBeath 1992, 162-165). The biggest concentration of indigenous people in Canada is in the country's northern regions, especially the Northwest and Yukon Territories. In Australia, the majority of aboriginal people reside in the east near the Queensland area and in the country's Northern Territory (McBeath 1992, 162-165) (See Figure 2 on page 54). One of the common patterns in residence of the aboriginal peoples in both these countries is that they are in areas isolated from the larger urban or industrialized centers. The remote qualities of these lands usually means that they are underrepresented and considered less of a priority to be included directly in government planning and the consideration of the political mainstream. As McBeath notes of the situation in Canada,

Figure 2: Map of Australian Aboriginal Communities According to Language Family



AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES

Showing 28 of the families into which Australian Aboriginal languages can be classified. Note that no. 24 (Pama-Nyungan), extending over most of the continent, is shown without numbering on the map. Adapted from *Languages of Australia and Tasmania* (1971), by S. A. Wurm

Source: Pratt, Bruce W., ed. 1989. The Australian Encyclopaedia: Volume I. Sydney: The Grolier Society of Australia. p. 23

"The process of consultation used in developing government programs for Natives relied less on representation to advisory commissions than fact-finding missions to Native areas" (McBeath 1992, 163). One of the best examples of how the indigenous peoples and their lands generally lack political importance in Australia is the outcome from inquiries concerning the possible effects of the country's first telecommunications satellite AUSSAT which was launched into service in 1985. Researchers saw the possible effects of AUSSAT as potentially harmful to the Aborigines. As Molnar notes, "The delivery of the mainstream media via satellite to remote areas for the first time raised questions about the potential harm these programmes might have on Aboriginal lifestyles and the already diminishing Aboriginal languages" (Molnar 1991, 3).

The government issued a study entitled, Out Of The Silent Land, that failed to ask the indigenous people in remote areas the appropriate questions to determine what the possible effects on them might be. As Australian indigenous television researcher Michael Meadows notes, "there was criticism that the government had already determined its policy before the task force completed its report, and accusations -- perhaps more serious -- that the investigation failed to look closely at the needs of most remote Aboriginal communities, rather than those of urban and less-isolated communities" (Meadows 1992, 84).

Apart from the limited general intervention of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs in Canada and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission (ATSIC) in Australia, the responsibility to develop organizations to help counteract the negative effects of acculturation such as television, has had to come from the indigenous people themselves.

In the Canadian North one of the leading aboriginal television broadcasting groups is the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC), while in Australia, the leading Native television broadcaster is Imparja Television, a consortium of aboriginal peoples. Its members include: the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association

(CAAMA); and the Pitjantjatjara, Central, and Northern Aboriginal land councils (Meadows 1992, 93). Imparja in Australia and groups like the IBC in the Canadian North, have been instrumental in addressing television programming concerns of indigenous people in both countries. As Meadows notes, "Aboriginal people were left with two options when the Australian government moved to extend television broadcasting to the nation's center: either to ignore the fact that aboriginal people had once more been left out of the debate or to apply for a Remote Commercial Television License to ensure that Aborigines would get an adequate and comprehensive service" (Meadows 1992, 93).

Indigenous Television In Australia

The Australian government's specific policy and financial efforts to support the development of indigenous television in remote areas is a program known as the Broadcasting for Remote Aboriginal Communities Scheme (BRACS). It is administered by the ATSIC and is currently in operation in eighty-two of Australia's remote indigenous communities. The eligibility requirements for the program stipulate that a minimum of eighty percent of the community must be Aborigines and that there must be at least two hundred people within that community.

BRACS provides its community recipients with some entry level television and radio broadcasting equipment in order to enable them to get involved in broadcasting for themselves on a local level. That equipment includes a radio and television broadcasting studio with reception and transmission capabilities where programs can be received from elsewhere, or locally produced and recorded, and later broadcast to the surrounding area. This type of a facility is an important resource for the aboriginal people because it allows them to produce their own programs without having to depend on any other Australian broadcasters. While the program has had some success, ultimately it has been restricted due to limited funding, a lack of

overall foresight when supplying the necessary equipment to participant societies, and a lack of consultation with the indigenous communities where it has been made available concerning their needs before the program ever came to their individual community.

BRACS broadcast equipment is limited to only the essentials and does not include supplemental instruments such as air-conditioning systems to protect the broadcasting equipment from the extreme heat of Australia. As Molnar notes, "The BRACS equipment is extremely minimal, and constrained by the funding available per unit (\$45,000.00 to build and install)" (Molnar 1991, 10). While BRACS has offered an additional \$16,000.00 annually to pay for wages, repairs and equipment costs to each of its participant communities, there are still some expenditures which have to be met by the local communities themselves. As Molnar writes, "other costs do not seem to have been taken into account" (Molnar 1991, 10).

Another area of concern is the lack of consultation with Aborigines before the program was introduced. Despite an interest on behalf of Aborigines in learning more about the power of the media even before the Aussat satellite was introduced in 1985, there was still no national media training for the indigenous people of Australia in 1991. This has put the responsibility on the remote communities themselves to provide for television training. As Molnar notes, "Training has, therefore, been very ad hoc, and has depended on the communities access to funding and expertise" (Molnar 1991, 10).

Results from the BRACS program have been mixed. "ATSIC estimates that just under a half of the BRACS communities are producing radio and/or video on a daily or weekly basis" (Molnar 1991, 10). In general, radio production has been more successful than television due to its less demanding requirements of audio only service versus the audio and video components of television. Other communities are still not producing any type of broadcasting at all

due to a lack of overall broadcasting expertise. Molnar attributes it to "deficiencies in consultation and training" (Molnar 1991, 10).

The potential for the BRACS program could be significantly improved if the Australian government would pledge to contribute more financial support. Without increased funding a number of Australia's Aboriginal communities will not have an opportunity to develop television programs to serve their unique cultural interests. Some suggest that indigenous broadcasting in Australia become a separate entity like the nation's other government funded networks. That could mean yearly allowances in the millions comparable to the approximately \$450 million that the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) receives or the approximately \$56 million that the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) receives (Meadows 1992, 91).

Australia's Aborigines have had some success having their television interests represented on the country's major networks. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), Australia's national radio and television broadcaster, is modeled after the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and has exactly the same role in Australia as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) has in Canada. The ABC has had a long history of development of indigenous television just as the CBC has had in the Canadian North. That involvement began in the 1970s when ABC supported the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association's (CAAMA) initiatives to have Aborigines' images and voices seen and heard within the national media.

ABC's commitment to aboriginal concerns has led it to train and employ a number of indigenous people. As Meadows notes, "The corporation has undertaken to train and employ 116 Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders in all areas of its operation over a 3-year period" (Meadows 1992, 90). That number represents approximately one percent of ABC's staff. Despite a small overall percentage of indigenous employees, ABC has recently begun its own weekly indigenous program known as "Blackout." The show's content seems

to indicate that it should be a positive influence in stimulating and preserving indigenous culture. As Meadows writes, "The series included documentaries, studio audience discussions, Aboriginal music and dance, interviews, and news" (Meadows 1992, 90).

ABC appears to be committed to furthering indigenous peoples' concerns into its overall mission. "The ABC recognizes that a special need exists for the Aboriginal people to develop their own cultural identity in order to redress the special disadvantages they have suffered . . . Accordingly, the ABC will encourage community awareness of the Aboriginal people's aspirations in its programs, and it affirms its commitment to providing television and radio programs made by Aboriginal people themselves" (Meadows 1992, 90).

Another large television broadcaster in Australia that has taken up aboriginal television concerns is the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) which was created in 1978 by the Australian government to broadcast programs for immigrant minorities and eventually developed aboriginal programming as one of its priorities. Along with the ABC, SBS acknowledges a special commitment to televising issues that are of concern to the aboriginal people of Australia and has its own group of indigenous employees responsible for producing Australia's first prime-time Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander program in 1989, known as "First In Line" (Meadows 1992, 91). SBS has tried to help develop issues that are of social and political interest to indigenous viewers, including material on political self-determination. As Meadows notes, "As of 1990 it is the only mainstream broadcasting organization in Australia that publicly acknowledges the validity of Aboriginal claims for land rights" (Meadows 1992, 91).

Indigenous Peoples' Efforts To Establish An Independent Network

In addition to Australia's mainstream television broadcasters the aboriginal people themselves have tried to develop television broadcasting interests. The main organizing force behind aboriginal broadcasting in Australia is the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association (CAAMA) which independently owns and operates *Imparaja Television*, the nation's only aboriginal television network. As previously discussed in this section, *Imparaja Television* is a consortium made up of the CAAMA and the Pitjantjara, Central, and Northern Aboriginal land councils (CAAMA was the group responsible for bringing the other indigenous groups involved into the project). It began broadcasting on the 15th of January, 1988 (Meadows 1992, 94).

Despite its aboriginal programming priorities, *Imparaja Television* actually offers mainly programs in English which have been developed in a Western-type tradition, without any indigenous specific content. As Meadows notes, "98% of its output is standard commercial fare" (Meadows 1992, 94). The indigenous-specific content is limited to advertising in aboriginal languages and one aboriginally-produced program. This program, based on a magazine-type format, is known as "*Nganampa-Anewernekenke*" (Ours) (Meadows 1992, 94). Another show, based on a current affairs type format and known as "*Urrpeye*" (Messenger) was cut in 1990 due to budget constraints. There were a number of English programs being subtitled in aboriginal languages, but that practice has been discontinued as well due to cost considerations.

Imparaja Television has had a difficult time trying to secure the funding necessary to produce indigenous programs. As Meadows notes, "Another difficulty facing *Imparaja* is the lack of sponsorship for locally produced programs . . . Largely because of commercial constraints, *Imparaja* has been broadcasting a selection of mainstream English-language programs from Australia's three

commercial networks" (Meadows 1992, 94). The future of indigenous television broadcasters in Australia, such as Imparja Television, is an uncertain one at best. One of the few options to maintain the Imparja Television service or any others like it in the future would seem to be an even greater financial commitment from the Australian federal government. Otherwise, aboriginal television broadcasting will have to survive on a local level if it is to survive at all.

Two of the greatest Australian aboriginal television pioneers on the local level were the aboriginal leaders of the communities of Ernabella and Yuendumu (See Figure 2 on page 54). They were determined to develop television programs of their own design during the mid-1980s before having to endure the effects of European and other Western-type programming. Their emphasis was on aboriginal activities and culture and they were able to build their own low-powered community television station and broadcast the issues and events that were specific to their own particular interests. Coverage included: sporting events, traditional ceremonies, traditional manufacture (seed damper, boomerangs, paintings), education and school (old people telling stories, children's dancing), adult education (driver education, gardening, health), community meetings, weddings, baptisms, travel tapes, oral histories and stories, and public relations tapes for Europeans (Molnar 1991, 9).

Research Summary Of The Evolution Of Indigenous Television Broadcasting In Australia

One could easily argue that the evolution of indigenous television broadcasting in Australia is a mirror image to the experience in Canada. The conclusions from research concerning the effects of television from dominant communities on indigenous people in Australia have been the same in the Canadian North and other developing areas around the world. It indicates that television

from dominant areas broadcast to the indigenous people of Australia can impose the cultural values of a dominant society over the traditional values of the indigenous people (Michaels 1986, Molnar 1991, and Meadows 1992).

In 1987, at the International Television Studies Conference in London, Australian television researcher Eric Michaels presented the findings of three years of research on the Warlpiri Aborigines of the Yuendumu Community. He found negative results for the people of the Yuendumu Community when influenced by the cultural domination of television from dominant societies, and observed that, "By the summer of 1985, the glow of the cathode ray tube had replaced the glow of the camp fire in many, many remote Aboriginal settlements" (Michaels 1986, 18). The results of the arrival of television and its negative effects were as alarming as the experience had been for the indigenous people of the Canadian North. As Michaels notes, "People were predicting culturecide and claimed that Aborigines appeared helpless to resist this new invasion" (Michaels 1986, 18).

One of the greatest difficulties Aborigines had initially with television was discerning what was, and what was not reality. They were "unfamiliar with the conventions, genres and epistemology of Western narrative fiction . . . They were unable to evaluate the truth value of Hollywood cinema, to distinguish, for example, documentary from romance" (Michaels 1986, 20).

Despite the negative effects television had on the Warlpiri, Michaels believes that if aboriginal people are given an opportunity to create television of their own, then television can become a positive influence on their lives. As Michaels notes, "The camera in fact traces tracks and locations where ancestors, spirits or historical characters traveled . . . The apparently empty shot is quite full of life and history to the Aboriginal eye" (Michaels 1986, 22).

Researchers investigating the effects of television from dominant nations broadcast into the aboriginal communities of Australia worried about its potential to replace traditional values. Television is seen as a major threat to the unique qualities

(including languages) that distinguish Aborigines from non-Natives in Australia. Australian television researcher Helen Molnar feels that with the arrival of television, protection of language and culture in Australia's indigenous communities should be a priority. As Molnar notes, "They need protection because TV will be going into those communities 24 hours a day in a foreign language - English" (Molnar 1991, 4).

Molnar's research suggests that without television programming intended for indigenous audiences, the future of their communities as distinct cultural entities will be in doubt. Such claims are an important source of support for the continuing development of indigenous television broadcasting in Australia and places like the Canadian North. In one study (Michaels 1986), it was observed that when programs from outside (i.e. Western based) a community were being broadcast into an indigenous community, then the younger people sat in front and would interpret its content to their elders, but if a program was being broadcast in Native languages then it was the elders who would be in a position of interpretation. Researchers like Michael Meadows believe indigenous programming should be an important priority based on its ability to ensure the influence of community elders, and the traditional ways of the past that they could help teach the younger less experienced generations. As Meadows notes concerning another Australian television researcher's work, "Michaels believed that the foreign videos undermined the authority of the elders, whereas indigenous ones reinforced it" (Meadows 1992, 87).

Meadows is also concerned about the effects of television from dominant communities to replace the unique cultural characteristics of Australia's Aborigines. He claims that prior to any European contact, there were 200 Aboriginal languages spoken in Australia. Today as many as 50 of those languages are extinct and 100 more are in danger of extinction because they currently have very small speech communities (Meadows 1992, 83). Apparently, only 50 of those original 200 dialects are expected to survive for

any period of time. Meadows believes that if the Aborigines' traditional languages could be incorporated into television programs it could help to reinforce their use and counteract the influence of English language programming. As Meadows notes, "Among those still in a relatively healthy state, several are used for communication in both print and broadcast media" (Meadows 1992, 83).

Michaels, Molnar and Meadows all support the development of television programming to serve the Aborigines' cultural interests for future generations. At the heart of those concerns are the issues of language and cultural preservation. Based on this research it seems that the main basis of support of indigenous television in Australia and the Canadian North, is as a defense from the technological diffusion of programming from different cultures.

Whether these initiatives are to be realized in either case remains to be seen. The financial future of indigenous television broadcasting in both nations is yet to be fully solidified. In Canada, funding for the federal government's Northern Native Broadcast Access Program has been steadily reduced from a high of \$13 million a year between 1986 and 1989 to \$11 million between 1990 and 1992, and to just under \$10 million this year (Blackburn 1993, 3). Initially the Australian government spent nearly \$4 million to set up television broadcasting facilities for indigenous people in remote communities and continues to pay an estimated \$1.5 million every year in support (Molnar, 1991, 10). However, the Australian government has yet to devote as much money to aboriginal broadcasting as it does to two other nationally subsidized networks (i.e., \$450 million for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and \$56 million for the Special Broadcasting Service) (Meadows 1992, 91). As Meadows notes, "Aboriginal broadcasting in Australia is at a stage that is exciting because of its potentially unique expression but at the same time frustrating because of its uncertain future" (Meadows 1992, 82).

Summary

Considering the effects which have been discussed concerning the impact of television from dominant nations on the indigenous people of Australia and the Canadian North, the motivation for the development of indigenous television broadcasting in Australia has been very similar to how the situation has evolved within the Canadian North. Aboriginal people in both areas have sought to build television broadcasting opportunities and facilities to serve their own interests on television. While those initiatives have largely been left to individual communities or regional groups, they are all united in their efforts to secure a future for their respective communities' or regions' interests on television, as opposed to the themes on television from the dominant areas of the world that are broadcast into their areas. Some Aborigines would agree with some claims that came from their counterparts surveyed in Whitehorse who were disturbed by portrayals of aboriginal people as drunks and/or trouble-makers on television from dominant cultural sources. As Australian television researcher Michael Meadows notes, "Aboriginal activist, Sammy Watson Jr., described the Australian media's stereo-typed images of Aborigines as either that of the 'drunken no-hoper' or the 'angry young militant' " (Meadows 1992, 83).

In both countries, it is hoped that with input from aboriginal people themselves, television can become an effective tool in securing their respective cultural futures. Their whole philosophy is well represented in the comments of a Northern Territory Milingimbi aboriginal counselor from Australia, "We are living in a new time . . . You people teach us and show us new things . . . We must know these things if we are to survive" (Meadows 1992, 99). The aboriginal people of Australia and the Canadian North will have to contend with the presence of television from dominant nations of the world for the rest of their lives. If they will have to live with that presence, then, as many of their elders and other leaders believe, they may as

well learn how to harness the power of television for their own individual interests. That would account for at least some, if not all, of the motivation behind their continuing efforts to develop indigenous television programming.

As Native Alaskan leader Howard Rock, who faced the same concerns as the indigenous people in Australia and the Canadian North, once said, "Many of our people are just emerging into a scheme of life that is quite foreign to them - that of necessity having to live, at least part of their lives, in the style of Western Civilization . . . so we better make up our mind to learn to live with [it] and to take advantages of the good things it offers while, I firmly hope, we retain some of our fine old traditions including our languages, dances and traditional celebrations" (Browne 1990, 119).

FIELD RESEARCH FROM WHITEHORSE

There are an impressive number of television services broadcast in the Canadian North today. Those include programming from stations both inside and outside the area. One of the main objectives of this thesis is to provide a current evaluation of what the indigenous inhabitants of the Canadian North are watching; how often they watch; why they watch what they watch; and finally, to try to determine if they feel indigenous television has had positive effects on their lives. It was decided that a survey that could be administered in person would be an effective way for the author to learn more about current trends. This portion of the thesis is based on the results of a survey administered to a group of aboriginal people who were living in Whitehorse northern Canada in late May of 1993. (See the appendix at the end of this thesis for the survey that was used.) The research was conducted in Whitehorse because it was the best way the author could find to reach a group of aboriginal Canadians that were willing to participate in this effort. Indigenous students at Yukon College were an agreeable group from whom to gain a better understanding of the entire population of indigenous people in the Canadian North. Whitehorse is one of the Canadian North's few larger communities (which also happens to be readily accessible from Fairbanks where the author was living and attending school at the time) where the indigenous people are more than likely to have seen television at least several times, if not as regular viewers. However, it should be kept in mind that the opinions of the thirty individuals that were surveyed are not necessarily the same as those of the rest of the aboriginal Canadians living in the Canadian North.

The researcher believes that respondents' impressions and responses serve as a barometer showing the current state of indigenous television broadcasting and television broadcasting in general, in the Canadian North. The data collected through this

survey also agree with similar research efforts concerning the same type of study (Brigham and Smith 1993, 1992, Morgan and White 1991, Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon 1991).

Objectives

The general objectives of the survey were to determine how television is currently being used by and perceived by a representative group of the indigenous people in the Canadian North. Its more specific objectives were to determine: how often indigenous people in the area watched television (including how often they watched certain types of television, e.g., news and current events); what they enjoyed watching (including how much they enjoyed watching specific types of television, (e.g., news and current events); what type of television they enjoy watching the most and the least; levels of personal satisfaction concerning the amount and content of the indigenous television programs that are currently offered; suggestions to improve the content of indigenous television; impressions of positive or negative effects of indigenous television; whether aboriginal television broadcasts in aboriginal languages have helped to preserve those languages; whether indigenous television has improved the social and political future of the indigenous peoples in the Canadian North; and finally, what the respondents' general level of television sophistication was (i.e., had they ever watched television while inhabiting an area elsewhere than the Canadian North).

Method

The method employed to gather information was a questionnaire. While direct methods may be obtrusive in nature, they allow the researcher to have personal contact with the population that they wish to study. The questionnaire was administered on an

individual basis in some cases and within small group settings in others. Closed-ended questions were used to retrieve the more straight-forward type information, such as how often respondents watch certain types of television programs. Open-ended questions were used to obtain information that required a larger degree of thought, such as, what are the good and bad features of indigenous television.*

The researcher felt that it would be crucial to a successful outcome that the research be conducted in person, on an individual basis, or in a small group setting. The individuals who participated in this research were from a society that has an oral tradition as opposed to that of print. As Madden notes, "Into the 1950's, and significantly today, Inuit culture is defined in large measure by its relative closeness to the oral tradition, Southern Canadian culture by its absorption of print, electronic, and postindustrial cultures" (Madden 1992, 133).

Utilized was a non-random judgmental sampling appropriate for exploratory research. A judgmental sample was used because of the experience that each respondent required to be able to adequately respond to the questionnaire. As social research scientist June Audrey True notes, "A judgmental sample consists of subjects selected by the researcher because of their expertise on the research question or their possession of some characteristic the researcher wants to include" (True 1989, 104). The sample was a

* The survey was constructed as an original research instrument based primarily on the ideas of the author, along with the editorial assistance of University of Alaska Fairbanks Professors: Judith Kleinfeld, Gerald McBeath, and Lael Morgan. After several revisions in Fairbanks, the survey was pre-tested in Whitehorse prior to its use.

group of 30 students from a University-level, Native-teachers education program at Yukon College in Whitehorse, Yukon Territory.

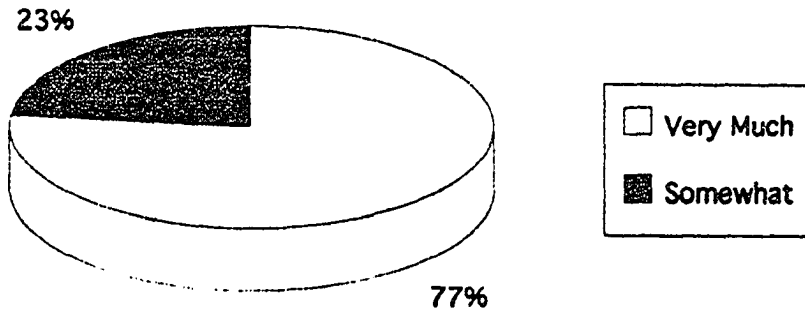
Findings

The sample was composed of 77 percent women and 23 percent men, all of whom were indigenous to the area surrounding Whitehorse. The 30 participants ranged in age from 21 to 39 years of age.

An overwhelming number of the respondents (93 percent) identified themselves as members of the First Nation people as opposed to any other larger group they could have traditionally identified themselves with (i.e., Indian or Inuit). An almost equally large number (83 percent) identified themselves as First Nation People before any other type of national or regional means of identification (i.e., as a Canadian or as a Yukoner). Many respondents indicated that they had left their community to attend High School (37 percent), College (50 percent), or University (23 percent). That response indicates that a good number of the survey's respondents had experiences living in areas throughout the Yukon/Canadian North.

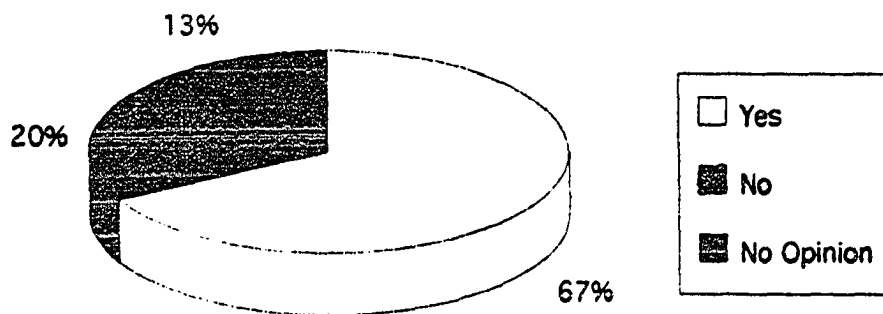
The major findings from the survey were that: respondents enjoyed watching indigenous programs *very much* (77 percent of the respondents to question eight), they were satisfied with the content of aboriginal programs in their area (67 percent of the respondents to question 15), they felt that aboriginal programs had helped improve the social and political future of their people (70 percent of the respondents to question 22), and that half of the respondents said that aboriginal television had not helped to preserve their respective aboriginal languages (40 percent said yes and 50 percent said no, 10 percent had no answer, to question 21) (See Figures 3 and 4 on page 71, and figures 5 and 6 on page 72).

Figure 3: Question 8



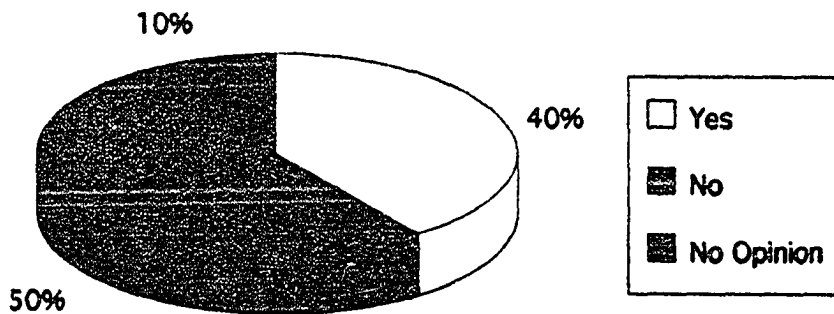
Question 8: How much do you enjoy aboriginal programs?

Figure 4: Question 15



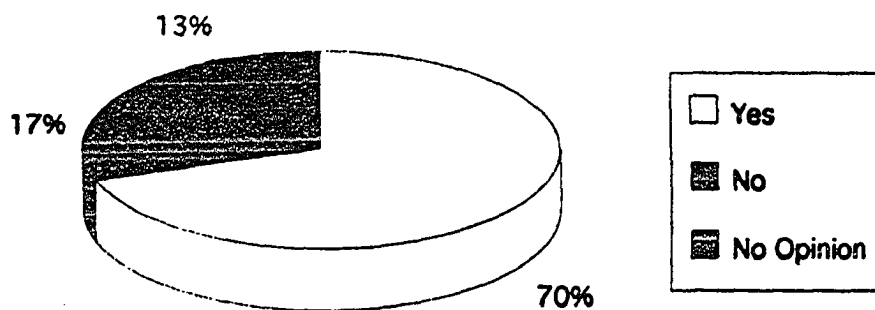
Question 15: Are you satisfied with the content of the aboriginal programs in your area?

Figure 5: Question 21



Question 21: Some people say that aboriginal television has helped preserve your aboriginal language. Do you agree with that?

Figure 6: Question 22



Question 22: Some people say that aboriginal television has helped improve the social and political future of your people. Do you agree with that?

The responses given to question 21 suggest that aboriginal television has not helped to preserve aboriginal languages. That is an important finding considering the theories of those such as Michael Krauss who suggested, prior to the current levels of indigenous television productions in aboriginal languages, that those programs could help preserve those languages.

Most who indicated they did not feel that aboriginal television had helped to preserve their aboriginal language could not account for any evidence that it had. The more specific reasons why respondents felt that aboriginal television had not preserved their aboriginal language were conditional. Some suggested that there were no programs at all in certain aboriginal languages which meant that those particular languages were not being preserved by television; others claimed television had not helped to preserve their language personally, but that perhaps programs in aboriginal languages had been able to help others preserve their respective aboriginal languages; and some claimed that television may have taught part of an aboriginal language, but not entirely, or not without the help of an interpreter. The other respondents said no that it had not helped preserve their aboriginal language due to the fact that many of the younger generations are unilingual English speakers and that therefore it was having no effect on them in terms of preserving any aboriginal languages.

Some respondents felt that aboriginal television helped to reinforce the use of aboriginal languages for those who already knew those languages. Other reasons given for preserving an aboriginal language included the assistance of others who already knew the language to be able to teach someone else and that the elders of the community had a significant role in encouraging others to maintain the language.

The concern over indigenous languages is interesting due to the prevalence of those who like to encourage indigenous television programming in aboriginal languages (e.g., Michael Krauss). If

viewers who are interested in watching aboriginal television programming cannot understand the indigenous languages it is being broadcast in, then should it still be broadcast? Some interesting suggestions were offered on the language barrier, including the creation of a language learning manual to use while watching the program to help teach the viewer that language or the use of subtitles to ensure that everyone watching the program can understand it. However, others wanted to eliminate that format entirely and broadcast all indigenous television programs in English. One of the respondents claimed that the majority of current indigenous generations are unilingual English speakers.

Why were respondents satisfied with the content of aboriginal television in their area? They felt that it highlighted the issues and perspectives which are specific to indigenous people and created a better awareness of indigenous issues among both Natives and non-Natives. Also, some programs linked the older, more traditional ways with current happenings in the indigenous community (e.g., legends from some of the elders as related to current events). Those who were not satisfied (20 percent) with the content of this programming claimed that it was not providing enough information concerning indigenous people, there were not enough local broadcasts produced, and that the content broadcast in indigenous languages was not always understood by viewers (including those who speak only English).

Those who felt that aboriginal television has not helped to improve the social and political future of their people (17 percent) gave one of two general reasons to account for their response; they could not think of any reasons why it had, or they claimed that it had not earned enough of a following outside indigenous communities to have made any difference in educating non-Natives as to what Natives interests are.

The survey began by trying to determine how often respondents were watching TV (question one) and what they watch when they

watch (questions two through five). Nearly half (47 percent) indicated that they watched television **everyday**; the same number of respondents (47 percent) claimed to watch news and current events television programming **only occasionally**. Only 20 percent said they watched news and current events programming **everyday**. Six out of ten survey participants watched aboriginal television programs **only occasionally**, and 37 percent claimed to watch aboriginal programs **several times a week**. One of the reasons accounting for why aboriginal programming was not viewed more often (only three percent said they watched aboriginal programming **everyday**) was that most aboriginal programs are based on a weekly format. Just over half (53 percent) of the respondents indicated viewing entertainment/movies type programming **only occasionally**. Only ten percent claimed to watch entertainment/movies **everyday**. The number of respondents who watch TV sporting events programming was largely split between those who watched it **only occasionally** (47 percent) and those who **never** watched it **at all** (40 percent). Of all the other types of programming considered, the most popular were: soap operas; "National Geographic" specials or other nature specific type of programming; game shows; and documentaries.

The next general area of inquiry was what the respective levels of enjoyment were for different types of television programming (questions seven through ten). News and current events programming was **somewhat** popular with six out of ten respondents. The **very much** response, concerning enjoyment levels of aboriginal programming was selected by a resounding 77 percent of the survey's respondents. While 23 percent selected **somewhat** as the way to indicate their level of enjoyment of aboriginal programs, no one chose **not much** or **not much at all** as options here. Just over half (53 percent) of the respondents felt that entertainment/movies were **somewhat** enjoyable; while 27 percent chose **very much** to describe their level of enjoyment concerning

entertainment/movies. The responses to levels of enjoyment concerning sporting events was almost equally divided between *somewhat*, (27 percent) *not much*, (33 percent) and *not much at all* (33 percent). Educational programs were also popular. Some of the individual programs that were noted as popular favorites (in response to question 11) were the "Star Trek" series; "National Geographic Specials;" soap operas; and aboriginal programs "Nedaa" and "Focus North." "Nedaa" and "Focus North" both include specific issues concerning indigenous people and are produced on a weekly basis.

Overall, the programs most popular with respondents (in response to question 12) were aboriginal television programs (e.g., "Nedaa"); entertainment programs such as soap operas and situation comedies (e.g., "Days of Our Lives," and "Home Improvement" respectively); and news and current events type programming. The aboriginal programs were said to be favorites based on their ability to promote greater cultural awareness and to celebrate indigenous specific issues, and keep people informed about the developments in the lives of First Nation People. One respondent said, "I enjoy seeing my family and the rest of the area families on TV." The reasons given to explain the popularity of soap operas and situational comedies was because they allowed the viewer a chance to escape from reality into a world where one could be concerned with only a television character's concerns rather than their own. Those who enjoyed news and current events programming cited their ability to keep them informed of the developments outside their community.

Respondents' least favorite television programs (in response to question 13) were older Western type movies; religious shows; and news and current events programming. News and current events appeared as both a favorite and a least favorite because those who did not appreciate its ability to keep them well informed felt that there is too much news and current events on television in general, and that news and current events is too depressing and too negative

to be able to have any appeal to them. Programming of a religious type of nature was identified as another least favorite type of program because it too was judged to be too widely available on television and many respondents believed it was too boring as well. Some of the respondents felt that older Western type movies, and news and current events type programs broadcast on mainstream television, were too biased against aboriginal peoples. They cited the tendency for both types of programs to portray indigenous people as either drunks and/or trouble makers, or as noble savages who love nature to a fault. More important than any indigenous television programming for indigenous television groups or networks, the First Nation People would like to have their culture more equitably integrated into mainstream Canadian television and society. That would include an end to the continuation of negative portrayals of their people on television including older Western type movies, or biased news and current events type programming.

Over half of the respondents (53 percent) were not satisfied with the current number of aboriginal television programs on television (in response to question 14). Some felt it was only a beginning; that in the future there would be even more indigenous television programs. Some were disappointed with a lack of variety in indigenous television programs, including programming in several different indigenous languages that would represent even more of their culture. Some hoped to see the format of current aboriginal television programs expanded to five days a week (or at least a few more times during the week). Some wanted to see more local television broadcasts, and some simply wanted to see more indigenous television programs on mainstream Canadian television broadcast stations such as the CBC.

Thirty-seven percent (of respondents to question 14) generally felt that there were a good number of indigenous television programs available to them, but still saw room for some improvements. Suggestions included: using even more indigenous

people as hosts, actors, and production personnel for those programs; employing programs already in place to continue the trends they have established to create an awareness of indigenous issues, including language and culture; and increasing the use of indigenous languages in these type of programs.

Another area of inquiry (question 16) concerned improvements to aboriginal television. Up to 40 percent of the respondents made suggestions concerning how current aboriginal television services could be expanded. Specific recommendations included adding details concerning specific traditions like tanning animal hides; exposure of more aboriginal artists including, painters, sculptors, singers/song writers and actors and actresses; exchange of programs from local areas with other regions of the Canadian North; production of a better variety of indigenous programs including dramas and situation comedies; involvement of more indigenous people with the production of programs (including production people such as camera operators and talent such as hosts and hostesses); provision of more local programming; and incorporation of more indigenous languages into programming.

Almost everyone (93 percent of the respondents to question 17) listed English as one of the languages they speak and 87 percent listed English as their first language (in response to question 18). The next most notable language spoken was French (23 percent), followed by Southern Tutchone (13 percent). Other languages spoken by the respondents to the survey were: Tlingit (10 percent), Kaska and Sauteaux (7 percent), Tahltan, Shushway, Gwitichin, Northern Tutchone, and Cree (3 percent). Other first languages spoken included: Kaska, Sauteaux, Cree, and Shushway, all at three percent.

The vast majority (77 percent) of respondents to this survey said they did not watch the programs that TVNC broadcasts in Inuktitut and only 20 percent said yes. Two general reasons were given for watching indigenous television programming in Inuktitut (an indigenous language of the Canadian North). The first reason was

in watching the visual images and learning more about other indigenous peoples' ways, even if they could not understand the language of the broadcast. The second reason was that part of the Inuktitut that the program was being broadcast in could be understood, or others that were present could translate part of the program, if not most of the program as it was being broadcast. The reasons given to account for not watching programs being broadcast in Inuktitut were only if it had English subtitles; no desire to make any effort to try and understand it; and "It is not my language I do not understand it."

In response to question 20 on what respondents felt were the best and the worst aspects of indigenous television broadcasting, the most positive response was "Its ability to highlight and create a better awareness of issues that were specific to the indigenous community." Other popular positive features of indigenous television included its ability to: help to inform and eliminate incorrect information within the aboriginal community; positively portray indigenous peoples and their culture; educate those outside the aboriginal communities as to what might be occurring inside aboriginal communities; include indigenous people in the production of its programs, including camera operators and featured personalities; and to unify many different aboriginal communities under common interests and goals.

Negative features concerned limitations of current programming. Specific examples included: a language barrier in some cases, either from English to certain indigenous languages, or from certain indigenous languages to English; a lack of interpreters in some of those cases; demands for more indigenous programming in English to make it more accessible to the younger generations who are unilingual English speakers; not enough indigenous television programs being broadcast on mainstream television (i.e., on the CBC); limited budgets to produce the shows that are being produced; the legacy of the negative portrayal of aboriginal people (e.g., as

drunks) in some cases; not enough local programming and in some cases programming from other far away regions that has very little, if any relevance locally; and an overall deficit of financial resources to buy more production equipment and to pay for more production time.

A question on regional views was included to determine how wide the respondents' experiences had been seeing television in an environment other than their own because if they had seen television in a location of other than the Canadian North, than their impressions might be that much more sophisticated. A large number (70 percent) of respondents indicated that they had seen television in an area outside the Yukon.

Those who had seen television in an environment outside the Yukon intimated that they noticed much less aboriginal television programming in outside environments and that the issues focused on at the local level were different from the issues specific to their own local areas. This led a few respondents to suggest that more aboriginal television should be added to mainstream television outlets so that they might offer a more universally appealing system of programming, and thus have a more equitable system of television broadcasting. Those who had not seen television in an area outside the Yukon/Canadian North indicated that the television programming they saw at home came mainly from Southern Canada or the United States. Those respondents were less aware of the fact that much less aboriginal television programming was offered in other areas.

Other findings from the survey show that indigenous people enjoy or dislike watching television in general for the same reasons as others. Respondents who indicated a preference for soap operas explained their choices as an opportunity to escape their daily concerns. Those who did not enjoy watching the news, said so because they claimed it was too discouraging and depressing. In responses to the questions specifically related to indigenous programming, many of the respondents had positive endorsements

for that type of programming, but were interested in seeing it become even more widespread and diversified and even more incorporated into the mainstream programming of Canadian television broadcasters, such as the CBC.

At the end of the survey, respondents were offered an opportunity to provide supplemental comments which they felt were important. Many comments reiterated ideas from responses to other questions. The most noteworthy shared a common theme in hopes for the continuing development of indigenous television. A specific suggestion included increasing the number of aboriginal people who are involved in aboriginal television programs both as production crew members (i.e. everything from camera operators to producers and directors) and as talent appearing in these programs (i.e. as the host or as an actor). Another suggestion was to create better communication among indigenous communities at the local level making it possible to share aboriginal television experiences, including solutions to common problems or suggestions for additional programming ideas. Another popular theme was an interest in seeing indigenous television programs that are produced in indigenous languages translated into English or including English subtitles.

However, the most popular response was the hope of being able to see more indigenous television programming interests (i.e., issues which are of interest to indigenous people) broadcast on mainstream Canadian television so they can then become part of mainstream Canadian culture.

A Comparison With Other Surveys Of Indigenous Media Of The Far North

The results from this survey are similar to another survey undertaken by Yaana Associates for Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon and the research of Jerry Brigham and Bruce Smith, and Lael

Morgan and Alissa White. Brigham and Smith's work includes reports entitled: KYUK in Bethel: Pioneering Native Broadcasting in Alaska (in press); Native Radio Broadcasting in North America: An Overview of Systems in the United States and Canada (1992); and Empowerment Through Indigenous Media (1993). Morgan and White's report was, How radio stations in the Alaskan bush serve their multicultural audience: Case studies of KYUK, KOTZ, KBRW (1991). All these projects suggest that media intended to serve indigenous audiences can help those audiences stay informed concerning the issues that are important to them. As Smith and Brigham note, "In recent years, . . . some Natives have begun to adopt broadcast technology to promote social change while helping to preserve what is valued from the past" (Brigham and Smith 1992, 186).

Survey respondents to the Yanna survey "showed a plurality of interests," including the younger Natives from Whitehorse who "chose *traditional skills* first, followed by *lifestyle* and *history* programming" (Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon 1991, 2). The results from Yanna's survey for Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon also reported similar findings to this thesis survey findings in response to respondents' views concerning "Nedaa," "Across all demographic groups, *quality, Native content, information* and *special documentaries* were the most popular features of 'Nedaa'" (Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon 1991, 2). Viewers surveyed in the Yanna survey also shared interests in aboriginal programming overall as did the respondents to the survey that was part of this thesis. "Approximately two thirds (65.1 percent) of respondents watch native television programming other than "Nedaa," including "Focus North" "Northland" and "Denendeh K'eh" (Northern Native Broadcasting, Yukon 1991, iii).

A large majority of respondents to the Yanna survey enjoyed aboriginal television's ability to highlight and focus on issues which are unique to aboriginal peoples. All of the respondents to the Yanna survey seemed content with the way aboriginal television has been

able to include coverage of uniquely indigenous issues. Those same respondents are proud of the way aboriginal television helps maintain and preserve a record of events that are part of the aboriginal tradition. Some respondents were proud of the way indigenous television can help to clarify issues and inform people within the community and even those outside their community (i.e. Caucasians). Several welcomed the opportunity to share local news with other indigenous communities in other parts of the Canadian North or anywhere around the world. These results suggest that the Yanna survey, along with the results from the other research efforts previously discussed in this section (Brigham and Smith 1993, 1992, Morgan and White 1991) and the survey undertaken as part of this thesis have confirmed each other's findings.

The Significance And Ramifications Of The Survey

The results from this thesis survey suggest that the First Nation People of Whitehorse are generally satisfied with the current services that indigenous television offers in their area. Survey respondents felt that improvements should focus on solving the concerns they have over problems they perceive within the indigenous television system. Two of their main areas of concern include the need for indigenous television programs to overcome racism against indigenous people on television in general and some confusion over whether or not to continue to broadcast indigenous television programs in indigenous languages.

Those concerns coincide with that of any developing nation's people seeking expression in a dominant culture that they have been subjected to. The frustration felt over the aforementioned issues by some of the aboriginal people who were participants in this survey is equal to the frustrations that might be felt by any cultural minority that wishes to be more equitably included in mainstream television and society. As Australian television researcher Michael

Meadows notes, "Lyle Munro compares the media's portrayal of Aborigines with the treatment given to blacks in the U.S. media 20 years ago (Noble 1980)" (Meadows 1992, 83).

In spite of those who believe that indigenous television should continue to be produced using indigenous languages, many of the respondents to this survey felt the future of aboriginal television programming in aboriginal languages should be contingent on certain factors like the development of lesson plans to be used while viewing the programs in order to help viewers learn that language more easily; others suggested that viewers watching programs in languages they were not fluent in be accompanied by someone who was (e.g., an elder). There were also those who claimed that indigenous television in indigenous languages should be discontinued altogether. They felt that those programs were not effective enough in preserving the languages they are broadcast in to be considered a priority in the future.

A number of the results from this survey suggest that the foremost reason for creating and sustaining aboriginal television broadcasting in the Canadian North is to offer a service that can overcome the negative cultural effects of Western television (i.e. from the Canadian South or the U.S.) and to allow indigenous peoples to select their own media and messages. Seen as positive is the host of positive images and portrayals of indigenous peoples that it has brought to indigenous television, which have helped overcome racism and bias in Western television. This was obviously important to many respondents. In addition a strong majority surveyed felt that the most important purpose of aboriginal television is to protect cultural traditions, rather than to preserve language.

Why has aboriginal television helped to improve the social and political future of the aboriginal people in the Canadian North while protecting their cultural traditions? It has entitled both Natives and non-Natives who are regular viewers to be more politically aware of the issues that are of particular interest to the indigenous peoples

of the Canadian North (e.g., land claims). This includes aspirations that the aboriginal community has within its community for the present and the future. Other reasons given for positive responses to the question were that aboriginal television has helped to show indigenous peoples in a positive light. Those positive images have translated into more positive opportunities for indigenous peoples outside television in the rest of the world that they live in.

Other responses given indicate that a challenge for the future is the equitable presentation of indigenous peoples' interests and concerns on mainstream television, which brings out an interesting point. Is indigenous television meant to compete directly with mainstream television, or should it try to work cooperatively with mainstream television to have more of its programs featured on mainstream airwaves? To maintain its current positive role as a means of recording, preserving and displaying indigenous issues and concerns, employing positive portrayals of aboriginal people, the results from this survey indicate that indigenous television should continue to develop the type of programming it produces best at this point -- programming featuring community news and traditions.

The cost of developing indigenous programs that compete directly with mainstream TV would be expensive and given declining financial support for indigenous television from the Canadian government, this would be difficult to achieve. Hopefully mainstream networks will be able to ease some of that pressure and incorporate more equitable representations of indigenous persons in their programming in the future.

The results from this survey and others like it indicate that current indigenous television programming in the Canadian North has mitigated, to some extent, the effects of intrusive Western television. Indigenous television in the Canadian North should then be seen as a successful example of television produced to serve the specific cultural interests of those in developing areas to overcome

the influences of those from the dominant cultural areas of the world.

Notwithstanding the potential of television to help overcome the cultural domination of indigenous peoples from external sources, it is not an all-encompassing solution. Cooperative efforts may help indigenous peoples counteract the cultural domination by external forces. Transnational organizations such as the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) assist Northern indigenous peoples in their quest for self-determination. The ICC has formal status as a non-governmental organization at the United Nations. As Osherenko and Young note, "Their spokespersons (have) access to many United Nations meetings and activities where they are becoming leaders of the Fourth World movement" (Osherenko and Young 1989, 104).

CONCLUSION

The research that is included in this thesis suggests that television from dominant cultural communities can impose the cultural qualities of those communities onto developing areas where that television is broadcast. As was discussed at the beginning of this thesis, the general effects of television from dominant cultural communities on developing areas around the world have been the same on the indigenous people in the Canadian North.

According to the integration model as defined by Daniel Lerner's work discussed in the first portion of this thesis, early television that was broadcast to the aboriginal people of the Canadian North integrated them into the rest of Canadian society and helped transform them from a traditional into a modern society (see page 15 for how traditional and modern societies have been defined). According to the research model of homogenization supported by the work of Marshall McLuhan, as television continued its integration of the indigenous people of the Canadian North into the rest of Canadian society, and the world, it began homogenizing their interests with the interests of those in the dominant cultural areas outside their world. But as the interests of dominant cultural groups began to supersede the unique interests of the indigenous people of the Canadian North, they sought to establish television services to serve their own unique cultural interests and issues of development and preservation. By establishing television services of their own, the indigenous people of the Canadian North have evolved into the features of a model outlined earlier in the first portion of this thesis as, the splintering of the mass market model.

Through the evolution of indigenous television in the Canadian North over nearly the last decade and a half, the indigenous people of the Canadian North have established a means to strengthen their

cultures and help them highlight their own unique issues of development and cultural preservation. The greater cultural stability they have achieved through the evolution of indigenous television suggests that their social and political interests might be better represented on television in the future. However, it would be unrealistic to expect that television produced with indigenous peoples' interests in mind could completely counteract the threat of cultural dominance from outside sources, including any efforts to protect their traditional languages. Indigenous television may have helped reduce the loss of some of their languages, but it can not entirely halt that type of trend. Hopefully, by uniting with other indigenous peoples around the world, in transnational organizations such as the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, their chances of being able to ultimately preserve their indigenous ways can be improved.

The evolution of indigenous television in the Canadian North has been largely due to the sympathetic nature of Canadian government and the strength of indigenous people's efforts in creating and building television services to serve their specific cultural interests. Interests that include issues that are as important to them as religion (e.g., ceremonial drums or ritual masks) or politics (e.g., fishing rights or private development on their lands) can be for other special interest or ethnic groups. The Canadian government has made many politically and financially supportive efforts to develop aboriginal television in the Canadian North. However, the evolution of indigenous television in the Canadian North would not have been possible without the efforts of the indigenous people of the Canadian North themselves to organize their own television production groups, including everything from the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation to the recent launching of Television Northern Canada Incorporated. The Canadian federal government's financial commitment to aboriginal television and the indigenous people of the Canadian North's ability to maintain their

respective television services is uncertain and would be a good topic for further study.

Results from the research concerning indigenous television services in Australia suggest that the Australian Aborigines have also had a chance to develop their own unique interests on television. The Australian government has provided financial and political support similar to the Canadian federal government to develop indigenous television. Similar conditions concerning the evolution of indigenous television in Australia and the Canadian North, would seem to suggest similar accomplishments in establishing indigenous television as a means of counteracting the influence of television from dominant nations. However, without input from Aborigines concerning their respective levels of satisfaction concerning indigenous television, it is difficult to make further conclusions concerning the similarities between the success of indigenous television in the two regions. The examples of indigenous television from Australia and the Canadian North do suggest that television can be developed locally to at least try to overcome the cultural influence of television from dominant communities. The keys to establishing television in developing parts of the world to counteract the cultural influences of television from dominant areas in the world seem to be government support and a willingness on behalf of the people in the developing area to organize their own television services.

Despite concerns over the future of aboriginal television in the Canadian North, the responses from the survey administered as part of this thesis were encouraging concerning aboriginal viewers' satisfaction with aboriginal television in their area. The most important issues for the future all seem to be what approach should be made in producing indigenous television in the Canadian North. Should their programs be produced in Native languages? Should their programs incorporate an increased number of aboriginal people and

their specific interests? And how can they have their television interests incorporated into Canada's major network's programming (i.e., the CBC). According to at least four of the five uses and gratifications categories established by Katz, Gurevitch, and Haas, in 1973 as previously discussed in the first portion of this thesis and the results discussed from researchers, indigenous television seems to have succeeded in strengthening the interests of indigenous people in the Canadian North. It has enabled them to satisfy several of their unique personal interests: cognitive needs to acquire information on television concerning their own people; affective needs to acquire emotional, pleasurable, or aesthetic information about their people on television; personal integrative needs, including information concerning the strengthening credibility, confidence and stability, and status of their people on television; and some of their social integrative needs, including strengthening contacts with their family and friends on television. According to other results from the survey, tension release needs, seemed to be satisfied more by other television programs on television apart from those of specifically indigenous content (i.e. soap operas).

Modern technological advances have made it possible to broadcast and receive television signals from anywhere in the world. As contemporary singer/songwriter Bono notes, "With satellite television you can go anywhere Miami, New Orleans, London, Belfast and Berlin" (Bono 1993, 6). The effects of television broadcasting and receiving today have improved the speed of the flow of information in our society now more than ever before. The effects of television today can also impose the cultural values of a dominant society onto any developing area of the world that those signals are broadcast to, but does not have any television of its own to promote the specific interests of its particular area. The research that has been undertaken as part of this thesis would suggest that the social and political interests of the indigenous people of the Canadian

North would be better served, and even enhanced, by specialized networks of their own, at least until they have become more equitably represented on mainstream Canadian television.

APPENDIX

Questions for Interviews with the Aboriginal Peoples of Whitehorse (Yukon Territory) on Their Satisfaction With Aboriginal Television Broadcasting in Their Area

Hello. My name is Joel Neuheimer from Montreal. I'm a Northern Studies student at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks.

I'm doing a survey to find out if the aboriginal people here in Whitehorse are satisfied with aboriginal television broadcasting in this area.

The first thing I'd like to ask you is how much television do you watch?

1. Do you watch television everyday, several times a week, or only occasionally. {IF THE PERSON SAYS NEVER, THEN THANK THE PERSON AND END THE INTERVIEW}

EVERYDAY.....1
SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK.....2
ONLY OCCASIONALLY.....3

Now, I'd like to ask you about what kind of television do you watch?

2. Do you watch news and current events everyday, several times a week, only occasionally, or never at all?

EVERYDAY.....1
SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK.....2
ONLY OCCASIONALLY.....3
NEVER AT ALL.....4

3. Do you watch aboriginal programs everyday, several times a week, only occasionally, or never at all?

EVERYDAY.....1
 SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK.....2
 ONLY OCCASIONALLY.....3
 NEVER AT ALL.....4

4. Do you watch entertainment/movies everyday, several times a week, only occasionally, or never at all?

EVERYDAY.....1
 SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK.....2
 ONLY OCCASIONALLY.....3
 NEVER AT ALL.....4

5. Do you watch sports everyday, several times a week, only occasionally, or never at all?

EVERYDAY.....1
 SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK.....2
 ONLY OCCASIONALLY.....3
 NEVER AT ALL.....4

6. Is there another type of program I haven't mentioned which you would like to add? How often do you watch that? Everyday, several times a week, or only occasionally?

WHAT EVER THAT MIGHT BE _____

EVERYDAY.....1
 SEVERAL TIMES A WEEK.....2
 ONLY OCCASIONALLY.....3

Now, I'd like to ask you about how much you enjoy watching these type of programs?

7. How much do you enjoy news and current events? Very much, some what, not much, or not much at all?

VERY MUCH.....1
 SOMEWHAT.....2
 NOT MUCH.....3
 NOT MUCH AT ALL.....4

8. How much do you enjoy aboriginal programs? Very much, some what, not much, or not much at all?

VERY MUCH.....1
 SOMEWHAT.....2
 NOT MUCH.....3
 NOT MUCH AT ALL.....4

9. How much do you enjoy entertainment/movies? Very much, some what, not much, or not much at all?

VERY MUCH.....1
 SOMEWHAT.....2
 NOT MUCH.....3
 NOT MUCH AT ALL.....4

10. How much do you enjoy sports? Very much, some what, not much, or not much at all?

VERY MUCH.....1
 SOMEWHAT.....2
 NOT MUCH.....3
 NOT MUCH AT ALL.....4

11. Is there another favorite type of program of yours that I haven't mentioned which you would like to add? How much do you like to watch that program? Very much, some what, not much, or not much at all?

WHAT EVER THAT MAY BE _____

VERY MUCH.....1
 SOMEWHAT.....2
 NOT MUCH.....3
 NOT MUCH AT ALL.....4

12. Which type of these programs (news and current events, aboriginal programs, entertainment/movies, sports, {or insert persons answer from 11}) do you like most? Why? Give some examples.

WHY_____

EXAMPLES_____

13. Which type of these programs (news and current events, aboriginal programs, entertainment/movies, sports, or something I haven't mentioned) do you like least? Why? Give some examples.

WHY_____

EXAMPLES_____

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions that will require a bit more detail.

14. Are you satisfied with the number of aboriginal television programs on in your area? Yes or no? Can you explain why?

YES.....1
NO.....2

WHY _____

15. Are you satisfied with the content (what these programs are about) of the aboriginal programs in your area. Yes or no? Can you explain why?

YES.....1
NO.....2

WHY _____

16. How would you improve aboriginal television?

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

17. What languages do you speak?

18. What is your first language?

19. TVNC broadcasts several television programs in Inuktitut. Do you watch those programs? Yes or no? And why or why not do you watch those programs?

YES.....1
NO.....2

WHY OR WHY NOT

20. Everything has good and bad features. With aboriginal television, what are the good features and what are the bad features.

GOOD _____

BAD _____

21. Some people say that aboriginal television has helped preserve your aboriginal language. Do you agree with that? Yes or no? Can you explain why you feel that way?

YES.....1
NO.....2

WHY_____

22. Some people say that aboriginal television has helped improve the social and political future of your people. Do you agree with that? Yes or no? Can you explain why you feel that way?

YES.....1
NO.....2

WHY_____

23. Have you ever seen television anywhere outside the Yukon? Yes or no? How was it the same? And how was it different?

YES.....1
NO.....2

SAME_____

DIFFERENT_____

24. Do you consider yourself First Nation, Metis, or something else?

FIRST NATION.....1
 METIS.....2
 OTHER_____3

25. How would you prioritize your membership with each of the following groups? Answer 1 through 4 where 1 is the highest rate of identification and 4 is the lowest rate of identification.

FIRST NATION_____
 METIS_____
 CANADIAN_____
 YUKONER_____

26. In what year were you born?

WRITE IN THE ANSWER_____

27. Are you male or female?

MALE.....1
 FEMALE.....2

28. Have you ever moved from your community to go to school? Yes or no, and what type of school did you leave to attend

HIGH SCHOOL.....1
 COLLEGE.....2
 UNIVERSITY.....3
 OTHER_____4

29. And finally, is there anything else you would like to add, that has not been mentioned as part of this survey?

Thank you very much for completing this survey and have a good day.

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