TELEVISION AND THE CANADIAN INDIAN:
IMPACT AND MEANING AMONG ALGONKIANS OF CENTRAL CANADA

Executive Summary

by Gary Granzberg

THE IMPACT AND MEANING OF TELEVISION IN ALGONKIAN COMMUNITIES

OF NORTHERN MANITOBA, CANADA: A SUMMARY

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Project Design

Our project[*] began in 1972 when we were made aware of the imminent
arrival of television into northern Manitoba Algonkian (Cree and Ojibwa)
communities which had never before been serviced by television. At that
time we launched a longitudinal study which centered upon a target
community destined to receive television within a year, and a control
community, which would not receive television until much later. As further
control, we included a Euro-Canadian community with twenty years' prior
exposure to television and an Algonkian community with five years' prior
exposure.

Anthropologically trained field workers were then sent into all three
Algonkian communities where they began to collect detailed participant
observations, sociological survey data, and psychological projective
material. Participant observation data collection continued into 1980.
Longitudinal psychological material was collected from the same children
over a period of six years (four test periods). It encompassed the pre-
and post-television periods. Sociological survey material was collected
from 7th, 8th and 9th graders. These grades were tested three different

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[*]John Hamer and Jack Steinbring were the original co-directors.
Jack Steinbring and Gary Granzberg are the current co-directors.

times over a period of six years which extended from the pre-television period to the post-television period. Additional material was collected through spot surveys, videotape experimentation and utilization of Hudson's Bay Company sales records.

Our goals, from the outset, were to identify both the impact and meaning of television among Algonkians. We stressed this dual goal because we were convinced by our training in culture theory and social learning theory and by the rapidly expanding data of cross-cultural communities, that the impact and meaning of television were intricately interwoven. Our basic theoretical assumption, which we applied consistently throughout our study, was that the impact of TV varies according to the varying meanings and uses of TV that are imparted by the varying cultural traditions with which it makes contact. Our plan was to document the impacts and meanings of TV among Algonkians and then to identify the particular traditions of Algonkian life to which those impacts and meanings may be traced.

Findings About the Impact of Television

Impact findings will be summarized within the areas of out-group identity and stress.

Out-group identity

The combined social, psychological, cultural and economic data provide strong overall evidence that television has produced an initial increase in out-group identity. The evidence further suggests, however, that this is a surface impact and has not yet reached to deeper-lying levels of values and motives.

Changes in out-group identity appear in increasing use of out-group in fantasy role play (Granzberg, 1980B), increased information about out-group (Granzberg, 1980B), increasing purchase of out-group's material products (N. Hanks, 1980), increasing use of out-group's language (Pereira, 1980B), and increasing educational aspirations (Pereira, 1980B).

No change appears in the thought processes provoked by various forms of open-ended questions (Granzberg, 1980B). There is evidence of a catalyzing effect upon certain behaviours, especially concrete versus abstract orientations. Television seems to strengthen whichever of these cognitive polarities is present (Granzberg, 1980B).

Stress

The data indicates that television has increased stress in Algonkian communities. This is reflected in increased aggression and fear responses by certain children to psychological tests (Granzberg, 1980B) and in observation of increased levels of aggression in daily life (Granzberg, 1980A; C. Hanks, 1980A & B; Steinbring, 1980). The source of stress is two-fold. It may come from increasing levels of aggression among less controlled individuals or from increased fears engendered by community-wide attempts to combat the evils of TV.

Findings About the Meaning of Television

Algonkians perceive television in some ways which are identical to Euro views, in some ways which are similar to Euro perceptions but more intense, and in some ways which are quite different from Euro perceptions.

Similarities

Television in Algonkian society, like in Euro society, has meaning as

a source of entertainment, news and information. It is valued, as well, as a baby-sitter and as a framework for conversation. And, like in Euro society, it is feared for its promotion of laziness, its reality distortions, its threat to traditions and its models of sex and aggression. Algonkian viewers watch television about as much as Euros (four hours per day on an average) and share a liking for soap operas, situation comedies and adventure shows.

Some intensified interests

Among Algonkians there is an intensification of interest in news and information, in adventures and in soaps. There is also an intensified concern about culture loss and about the promotion of sex and aggression. There is an overall intensified factionalization of opinion about television's positive versus negative qualities and an overall lower level of ability to discriminate fact, fiction and mere opinion.

Differences

Unlike Euros, Algonkians have a propensity to seek out symbolic and personally relevant messages from television about the future, about morality, about current events and about how to act in various situations. In addition, there is a tendency to apply sorcery analogies to television and to attribute to television special powers to misguide and mesmerize children and to hasten culture loss.

There is also a unique dislike for talk shows, for a certain puppet show called the Muppets (Pereira, 1980A; C. Hanks & Granzberg, 1980; Granzberg, 1980A) and for feminine napkin commercials and birth-pregnancy documentaries. There is a unique liking for the situation comedy called

Gilligan's Island and for Charlie Chaplin films, and there are unique

interpretations of funeral scenes, scenes of murder, scenes of private

and selfish property concerns and scenes of the city.

Interpretations of Findings

We shall interpret the impact and meaning of television among

Algonkians according to ten factors of Algonkian life. These are:

1. traditions of communication through dreaming, conjuring and
   storytelling

2. animistic tradition of image making and sorcery

3. television illiteracy

4. concrete-pragmatic orientations

5. negative expectations for Western man and his technology

6. community solidarity

7. social-communal interest

8. transformational adaptation strategy

9. stresses of reserve life

10. certain taboos

Explanation of increased out-group identity

1. <u>the role of traditions of communication through dreaming and conjuring</u>

When television entered Algonkian society and was seen to provide the

service of live, long-distance communication, there was a natural tendency

to generalize the uses and meanings associated with traditional live,

long-distance communication devices onto television. This tendency, a

well understood part of the core concept of diffusion that has long been

a bulwark of anthropology, was solidified by the fact that Algonkians chose

to use their Native word for shaking tent (in Cree, "Koosapachigan") as the word which refers to television and by the fact that they told stories and jokes which made the analogy between conjuring and television explicit.

As a result, from the very beginning, one direction toward which the Algonkian television experience was focused was that of utilizing television (just as dreams and shaking tents were utilized) for finding out about the future, for making contact with powerful helper figures, and for receiving personally meaningful messages.

Thus, analogies between television and traditions of communication through conjuring and dreaming reinforced the role of television as an educational device and especially as a source of information about the outside world. In addition, because conjuring and dreaming were serious business and did not include any artificial "made up" scenes, television was given perhaps undue credence as an informational device and efforts to develop a healthy skepticism towards it were hampered.

These traditions also give television added impact as a source of role models. This is clearest in the case of children who, traditionally, were coached to strive for powerful dreams and visions in which a Spirit Helper would give them power and direction in life. This was the vision quest. The metaphorical description of television as a dream or as a shaking tent (places where superhero figures traditionally appeared) adds to the child's tendency to be receptive to it as a source of hero figures after which behaviour may be modelled.

2.   the role of reserve life stresses

Adding to this traditionally-based tendency to search for superheroes who will be a guide in life is the deficit in self-esteem and confidence

which is produced by the acculturation pressures of reserve life.

Difficulties of taking up the old ways of subsistence, coupled with the lack of adequate wage labour on the reserve, has resulted in mass unemployment, alcohol dependence, a relative absence of firm and attractive sex role models, and an often tense inter-generation relationship.

In order to override the feelings of inadequacy generated by reserve life, there is a readiness within the Algonkian child to seek external non-reserve models to pattern his behaviour and to be especially receptive to power figures. Quite often it is Western Man who is seen as powerful and macho and who becomes an attractive role model. Movies and television were the main source for identifying with the macho Western Man model, but now with movies being shown less frequently due to the popularity of television, television models are paramount.

3. the role of television illiteracy

Identification and copying of television "stars" is further enhanced by television illiteracy. Children are not fully apprised of the artificial qualities in television. They are not sure how programs are made. Many believe that television "stars" truly live their television roles in real life. They, in fact, often do not differentiate "real life" from "TV roles". Their difficulties in differentiating between fact and fiction on television intensifies their enchantment with television "heroes".

4. the role of traditional image theory

Algonkian traditions of image-making and imitative magic further complicate the problem. Traditionally, images of objects were felt to house the spirit of the object portrayed. Shamen would make an image of an

object for purposes of imitative magic. Even the spoken or written name of an object was felt to hold its spiritual essence (hence the refusal to utter the name of a deceased person lest the ghost return). Photographs were feared by many Cree as soul-capturing devices. And mirrors were felt to reflect images of souls.

Thus, images of things were felt to have an innate connection with the literal reality. And to the extent that this idea persists today, and our fieldwork suggests that it is not totally lost, images on television are lent still further credence.

5. the role of storytelling traditions

Stories are an important educational device in non-Western society. Through the presentation of short, entertaining, easily-memorized plots in which characters and events are carefully engineered to stand as metaphors for higher order concepts of morality, principle and prediction, stories gently and effectively educate, growing in importance and relevance as the child's awareness and experience expands. When TV arrives in a Native community, it inevitably becomes one of the most important story-tellers and, as such, acquires the metaphorical, revelational meanings associated with the story. This fuels its use as an educational device and adds to the importance of television hero figures as models for life and as sources of important information about life.

6. the role of concrete-pragmatic orientations

The use of television for education and information is augmented by the practical idiom by which Algonkians deal with life. The tradition of embedding concepts in detail and of attending to consequence and example

produces a mind habituated to seeking and expecting consequential and personal meanings in stories. Such an approach is applied in television, and information of an educational, useful nature is sought even in instances where, often unbeknownst to the Algonkian viewer, stories are sheer fantasy and have no practical lessons to impart.

7. the role of transformational adaptive strategies

Further enhancing television as a role modelling and information medium is the Algonkian strategy of transformational adaptation. This strategy conditions the Algonkian viewer to seek role play data from television in order to employ an elaborate game of survival. This game consists of expedient transformations of identity to suit particular situations but without changes in underlying values and motives. Conflict between internal patterns and external surface behaviour are either perceived as secondary to the more important drive to exploit the external environment in order to satisfy one's material wants or are resolved by ingeniously flexible coding gymnastics by which new and strange behaviours are subsumed within traditionally valued activities.

In summary then, the increasing out-group identity produced by TV among Algonkians may be explained in part by the action of analogies between television and conjuring and dreaming which enhance television's meaning as a source of heroes, identity, truth, and revelations; by pressures of reserve life which create insecurity and inter-generation strain and which, thereby, create needs for hero figures and external role models; by television illiteracy and imitative magic themes which intensify the impact and credibility of television heroes; by concrete

pragmatic orientations and analogies between television and storytelling which predispose children to seek news, information and practical revelations from television; and by transformational adaptive strategies which create an inclination to use television for adaptation and for opportunistic role play behaviour.

Explaining the lack of modernization in deeper-lying thought processes and in the basic idiom for solving problems and facing life

A major explanation of this finding is found in the very adaptation strategy which accounts in part for great surface changes.

Algonkians are quite willing to adopt surface changes of behaviour and to take the role of the out-group as long as such behaviour is expedient for their material needs and as long as such roles may be absorbed within traditional frames of reference by metaphorical transformations which show their symbolic parallel to more traditional processes.

By coding wage labour as a "hunt"; pursuit of the holy ghost as a vision quest (with associated songs); identity changes as power; relocation as seasonal movement; television as conjuring, dreaming and storytelling; bingo as battles of gambling power; and the whole enterprise of adapting to pressures of acculturation as nothing more than a trickster's ability to manipulate the world to obtain his ends; the Algonkian is enabled to show surface out-group identity change while remaining covertly conservative in fundamental patterns of thought.

Resistance to the more fundamental patterns of behaviour on television, such as aggression, abstraction, achievement orientation, dominance and open display of emotion is also reinforced by suspicions about television

as an exploiter and disrupter of Algonkian life. These emotions are prevalent in certain conservative and/or traditional sectors of Algonkian culture which employ analogies between television and sorcery, backed up by traditional negative interpretations of Western man and his technology as aborters of natural laws and processes, to counteract the disruptive models on television

Explanation of stress impacts

Increased levels of aggression are observed in the test responses of high exposed subjects in the target community. This may be traced, in part, to the action of the above-listed factors of Algonkian culture which intensify the usage of television for role modelling. TV role models are more overtly aggressive than is typical of Algonkians. Decreasing aggression is observed in the test responses of low exposed subjects in the target community and is the overall mode for subjects in the control community (even after the arrival of television there). This may be attributed to the strength of the resistance to aggression modelling behaviour offered by conservative and traditional families in the target communities and in the control community. This resistance was implemented by reference to well-established negative expectations for Western man and his technology and by employment of sorcery analogies with television. The analogy between sorcery and television proved effective in the factionalized target community only where children had already established high emotional control abilities. It was more generally effective in the more solidary control community, however, due to the integration of opinion within a well-organized Pentecostal fervor.

The data indicates that two kinds of stress may be introduced by television. One type is developed through aggressive role modelling and the other through fears and suspicions. The level of social integration and of traditional conservative thought seems to determine the nature of the stress.

When integration is low and highly disparate positions are found (as in the target community), it seems that the conjuring, dreaming, story-telling, image replicating meanings of television have precedence. As a result role modelling in aggression increases while fears of victimiza-tion decrease through increasing familiarity and identification with Western man. But when integration is high and conservative thought predominates (as in the control community), the sorcery meaning of tele-vision has precedence. As a result, role modelling in aggression decreases while fears of victimization increase.

In either case, however, it would seem that increasing stress in human relationships is introduced and this is reflected in test responses from both communities in which imputations of negativity in human relationships increase after the arrival of TV.

Explanation of some likes and dislikes

Questionnaire data (Pereira, 1980A) and field observation (Granzberg, 1980A; Steinbring, 1980A) reveal that Algonkians like soap operas, situation comedies, adventure shows and news, and that they dislike talk shows, certain commercials and documentaries focused on the female, and the Muppets.

soap operas

Interest in soap operas may be traced to the great social-communal

interests of Algonkians. Their world is motivated, to a large extent, by social needs and by the necessity of extensive "wheeling and dealing" in order to maintain friends and build power. Because such activities are also the focus of soap operas, there is a great interest in them. Soap operas are also one of the few places where an Algonkian can view Euro life from the inside out and see that there are just as many problems in that life as in reserve life.

situation comedies

Storytelling legends which incorporate trickster themes form the basis of an interest in situation comedies. Just as trickster legends deal in transformation themes and in the use of identity change and disguise, so do situation comedies deal in mistaken identity themes. The Gilligan character of the Gilligan's Island show epitomizes transformational imagery and identity change. Perhaps the unparalleled popularity of Gilligan's Island is due, in part, to the direct way in which Gilligan is reminiscent of the trickster.

adventure shows

The popularity of adventure shows may be traced, in part, to the reserve setting's strain on the male role. There is an inner feeling of male inadequacy which may often be compensated for by expressions of "macho" masculinity.

Macho behaviour is customary on the reserve and television adventure shows, mainly police stories and westerns, provide attractive models. An additional factor might be the presence of taboos on overt aggressions which create an atmosphere whereby outlets for aggression are sought through vicarious identification with television's masculine superheroes

like the Fonz and McGarret.

feminine napkin commercials - birth - pregnancy documentaries

The dislike of feminine napkin commercials and of scenes of giving birth may be traced to beliefs about the polluting qualities of females when in critical states of femininity. Men should not see or be near females at such times or bad luck may ensue. Television shows depicting such activities are seen as unwelcome intrusions upon these customs.

the Muppets

A survey of people in the target and control communities revealed that a surprising number disliked the Muppets. Videotape experimentation and opinion survey (C. Hanks & Granzberg, 1980; Pereira, 1980A) showed that objections centered upon Kermit (the frog puppet host of the show) and Fozzie (a timid puppet bear comedian on the show). It was discovered that traditions surrounding frogs which connect them to trickery and sorcery were applied by some Algonkians to the Kermit character and may have caused objections to the lovable way he was portrayed on the show. It was also discovered that traditions of danger and power associated with bears were carried over to Fozzie and it may be that the tradition that bad luck ensues from disrespect to the bear was carried over as well. Perhaps these traditions caused Algonkians to feel that Fozzie's portrayal as timid and as the butt of practical jokes was an insult. In addition, it was found that concrete-pragmatic orientations produced a basic resistance to the show's fantasy format. Algonkian viewers couldn't see the point to the show. There was no practical framework to give the show meaning and relevance.

Conclusions

Impact of television

Our study confirms the supposition that television is, indeed, a very powerful tool through which Western culture is diffused to the Native. It has the capacity to increase identity with the West and, as a result, to increase participation in Western economics, Western behaviour models and Western information flow. On the one hand this could be viewed as advantageous to the Native cause, as greater assertiveness combined with greater feelings of control and security and greater information increases the effectiveness of efforts to secure Native rights and securities. On the other hand, the study suggests that factionalization stresses may be augmented, traditional patterns of socialization weakened, and individualized competitive and divisive goal patterns strengthened.

The study further suggests that the forces of acculturation introduced by television are less effective among mature, emotionally controlled individuals and solidary, integrated societies and, more generally, are not strong enough to engulf deeper lying levels of cognitive style and value structure.

The role of cultural solidarity in shaping television's impact has been noted by other researchers (Beal, 1976: 228-229; Hudson, 1975: 17; Eapen, 1979: 109). Its effects are verified in our study by three independent measures: 1) longitudinal sociological study of occupational and educational aspirations among 7th, 8th and 9th graders; 2) longitudinal psychological study of aggression among 3rd, 4th and 5th grade children; and 3) seven years of ethnographic observation. These measures all show that the solidary control community, after it finally received television, was able to successfully combat certain acculturation pressures.

The percentage of people indicating occupational aspiration away from traditional interests in hunting, fishing and trapping, and educational aspiration beyond the traditional senior high drop out point did not increase (in fact decreased) at the solidary community after it received television, though high aspirations increased by 16% at the less solidary target community after it received television. A measure of aspirational change at the solidary community prior to its reception of television showed that aspirations were rising at a pace very close to that which was occurring at the target community.

Aggression did not increase (in fact decreased) at the control community after it received television, but aggression increased significantly at the target community after it received television.

Ethnographic observation attested to a retrenchment and increased conservatism and religious fundamentalism at the control community after it received television. Evidence of such retrenchment did not appear, except in isolated, individual cases, at the target community after it received television.

Meaning of television

The study confirms the important role played by culture in shaping television's impact. It demonstrates that traditions of storytelling, dreaming, conjuring, image replication, pragmatism and television illiteracy can serve as catalysts for materializing the capacity of television to increase out-group identity.

It also demonstrates, however, how these traditions can be used effectively by strongly solidary traditional groups to counter out-group identity and to help maintain traditions. This is done by reinforcing traditional fears of exploitation by the West, by stressing the sorcery-

like capacity of television through numerous symbolic narratives, and by greater efforts at maintaining traditional patterns of socialization.

Theoretical implications

The findings support the call by most modern communication researchers for the development of a multilineal rather than unilineal theory of television impact (Einstadt, 1976; Schramm, 1976). The rapidly expanding data base on the impacts and meanings of television among differing peoples has made it clear that television's impacts are multiple and that cultural variation is the key to understanding. It is now possible to rough out a series of key cultural factors that are critical in determining the particular pathways of television impact. Four factors are indicated. These are adaptive strategy, amount and nature of locally sensitive programming, uses and meanings of television derived from local traditions of communication and world view, and level of community solidarity.

adaptive strategy

Native societies develop customary procedures for adapting to acculturation pressures. Some focus upon a resistive rejecting stance. Some place their efforts toward acceptance of change and assimilation. Others find a middle ground. These latter groups appear to assimilate through rapid surface adoptions of out-group ways but, on a deeper level, continue to cling to traditional cognitive styles, value structures and world view. This is the Algonkian strategy of adaptation. We may call this the trans-formational adaptive strategy because it depends upon an ingeniously fascile mind which is capable of finding essential common denominators between traditional objects and actions

and strange new objects and actions. This strategy, thereby, finds the means to rationally apply traditional codes to the new material and, in so doing, transforms the unknown to the known.

When television is introduced into each of these types, the prospects for impact would seem to differ. In the case of the rejecting strategy, it would seem that television would, at first, meet with resistance and would produce little change. But, perhaps, in the longer run, it might create a quick and unsettling revolution of ideas.

In the case of the assimilation strategy television might spark rapid change of a thorough and lasting nature.

In the case of the transformational strategy, television would also produce rapid change, but not as thorough or fundamental as in the assimilative case. There would be a continuance of tradi-tional values and world view even as many surface changes appear.

In each case there would be a differing stress pattern. In the resisting society stress from television would gradually increase; culminating, perhaps, in a social breakdown.

In the assimilative case there would be high initial stress which would gradually reduce over time.

In the transformational case there would likely be a steady, mid-level of stress which would maintain itself and would not lead to social breakdown.

Native programming

Governments in developing areas inevitably wish to reduce Western

content and introduce locally sensitive content which utilizes local languages, customs and world view.

The more governments are able to dispense news, drama and other television content in locally designed culturally sensitive packages, the more effective they will be in carrying out their programs of development.

Effective Native programming will reduce the stress of government developmental programs and eliminate conflicting ideas that may appear on Western television.

uses and meanings of television derived from local traditions

The success of Native programming ultimately depends upon an awareness of meanings and uses of television derived from local traditions. These meanings and uses will vary considerably from one culture to another, depending on the nature of beliefs, world view, and psychological propensities.

However, certain common developmental experiences, customs and beliefs produce some rather general uses and meanings of television that can be anticipated. The almost universal presence of traditions of communication through dreaming, conjuring, drama and storytelling and the presence of television illiteracy and social-communal interests develop an extra importance for television as a highly trustworthy news source, and as a source of behaviour models, morality and revelations. Furthermore, a common history of stressful colonial exploitation by Western man inevitably produces a wariness of television which is augmented to sorcery proportions in more conservative quarters and where Native programming is not well-

developed.

Traditions of concrete pragmatism produce a desire for relevant and practically useful programming. Sheer fantasy programs may even be resented.

Intermittently occurring taboos, such as those which concern the nature and extent of male-female interaction, may produce distaste for certain Western programming which goes beyond local tastes in the extent of portrayal of sexual interaction, nudity, women's rights, and female biological process.

Other taboo areas, such as certain behaviours directed at the dead, may be less capable of anticipation and require situational adaptations.

level of community solidarity

The extent to which perceived negative models on television can be counteracted depends greatly upon the level of community solidarity. Where solidarity is high, a concerted, integrated effort at establishing counter-socialization arises and has success.

These factors and others need to be incorporated in a modern theory of cross-cultural television impact. At this time we can only glimpse the rough structure of such a theory, but we are far ahead of where we were a short time ago when cultural factors were only cursorily included, if at all, in such theories.

Considerations For The Future

The rapid refinement and growing usage of satellite broadcast television is the major factor for future consideration. The economy of such a technology and its potential for pluralistic programming, with sensitivity to local regions, provides a potential that is very positive. But there are negative aspects. Expanding satellite usage is creating a television potential that is not unlike the development of the various radio "voices" that were aimed across national borders and which had both positive and negative features.

On the one hand, the presence of a television international "voice" creates the opportunity to bring messages of hope and information of a kind which perhaps some people may profit mightily from. On the other hand, developing countries may be attempting to maintain traditions and identities that are in a critical state of insecurity and which could perhaps be forced over the edge of extinction by the very effective forces of Western acculturation produced in daily Western television programming.

And again, on the one hand, the technology with widely expanded channels of broadcasting opens the airways to numerous producers of programs and provides an opportunity for producers to shape programs for specific populations. The information we now have about Native programming needs can be implemented and more effective Native programming will develop.

On the other hand, this development only increases the effectiveness of television socialization pressures and intensifies the problems of conflict between identity-maintenance needs and modernization needs. Television messages will be focused more sharply with the development of effective Native programming and this will make the role of the television

producer even more critical as a determinant of where the balance falls in the battle between modernization and the survival of authentic cultures.

Specific Recommendations

Native programming should be given support. For the technology of the future will be especially amenable to such programming.

The first Native programs to be attempted should be news and information shows in local languages with subjects of local interest and delivered in local idiom and employing storytelling and other characteristics of traditional communication. Trickster legends could be profitably employed in this context. As has always been the case, they would supply the metaphors which would raise the concrete incidents of news to higher levels of meaning which embrace traditional perspectives.

The second type of program to be initially undertaken could be Native soap operas, but with one difference. These would be soap operas which have a major goal of education as well as entertainment. The world experience has been that "soaps" are almost universally the most popular form of television. They have already been used effectively in many areas in localized ways. They should now be developed for Native Canada and should employ Native actors and utilize Native languages (though English and French versions would also be effective). They should concentrate upon current problems of Native life and show how these problems can be effectively confronted. They should show the difficulties to be encountered in the city and the reserve and should show people working through them-- some succeeding and some failing. The reasons for the various outcomes should be made clear, but not, of course, in lecture form. All the

variables involved should be revealed through dramatic stories.

Native writers are, of course, required and a doubling of effort in this area is needed. As well, non-Native writers can also be effectively employed. There are many who are intimately familiar with Native life and who understand many of the variables. A team effort in writing would, perhaps, be best.

In all programming decisions for Native communities, the policy of integrity of choice is paramount. Local community participation in decision-making must be present. The world experience shows that this can best be done by usage of television groups who discuss programs and who make suggestions. The world experience also shows that such groups quickly become ineffective and become alienated if they are not truly incorporated within the decision-making machinery. They have to see the effects of their suggestions and know they are having influence.

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