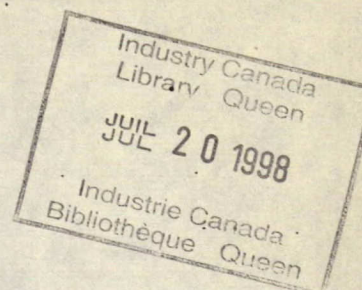


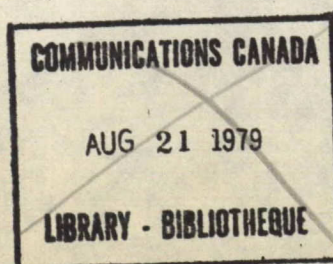
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SECOND REPORT ON THE ADOPTION OF TELEVISION
BY NATIVE COMMUNITIES IN THE CANADIAN NORTH:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

J. Hamer, Brandon University
J. Steinbring, University of Winnipeg
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Introduction to the Second Report

by

John Hamer

This is to be an interregnum document on fieldwork operations and preliminary results to be followed by a more fully developed report in 1976, when the first phase of research has been completed. This document reports further developments in the collection of base line material on the introduction of television in Cree and Saulteaux communities as compared to the control community of Oxford House where television is lacking.

Operations were commenced during the summer of 1974 by establishing two student field workers, one at Norway House and the other at Oxford House. Mrs. Florence Zwinsky (Columbia University) spent July and August gathering data pertaining to child-rearing, television, and the everyday life-style at Norway House. Mr. Christopher Hanks (Eisenhower College) spent July gaining background ethnographic information at Oxford House. Unfortunately, he became ill early in August and had to leave the field. To compensate he returned for a month of winter field research in January 1975, gaining much useful data on winter living conditions and the observation of children in the classroom situation. Professor Jack Steinbring conducted field research on the Jackhead Indian Reserve during the summer and early fall. Professor Granzberg did extensive testing at Norway House and Oxford House during

the late summer and fall. In addition Professor Granzberg collected test data, as an additional measure of control, from Winnipeg school children during the spring of 1974. Both Professors Hamer and Steinbring supervised the student field workers and dealt with the various administrative and report writing chores connected with the research grant.

At present there is a considerable accumulation of field notes from all the participants. Numerous tape recordings have been obtained at folk tales and rituals in the two Cree and the Saulteaux communities. Much of the preliminary statistical analysis on the testing and child rearing data is now complete and will be discussed in the second section of the report.

The first section of the report will include a brief summary of the socio-cultural aspects of communication at Oxford House and Norway House. In the second section Professor Granzberg will present a detailed discussion of the results from his testing of children at Oxford House, Norway House, and Winnipeg. In the third section of the report Professor Steinbring will consider the results of the field research at Jackhead and the concluding section will deal with progress toward answering questions raised in the 1974 Report.

PART 1

COMMUNICATIONS AMONGST THE CREE OF OXFORD HOUSE AND NORWAY HOUSE

There is much evidence that the personality structure adaptable to a hunting, gathering, and trapping society continues to be important and that many of the socio-cultural innovations of recent years have been reinterpreted in terms of this older life style. Life patterns were traditionally almost totally committed to subsistence and health activities within the small extended family. Given the rigours imposed by the physical environment it is not surprising that various forms of fantasy and psychosocial controls became deep rooted. It is these aspects largely at the unconscious level of the personality structure which continue into the present and have important implications for the introduction and use of communication devices such as television.

Traditionally, the fantasy world of the Cree was largely structured by the vision quest, the presence of shamen, and various curing and communication rituals. People no longer, at least to our knowledge, practice fasting and seclusion in order to obtain a supernatural guardian who will provide protection and skill in adapting to a harsh environment. But visions whether they come through dreams, religious experiences, or alcohol are still important in curing illness, predicting future occurrences, communicating with the dead or spatially distant relatives, and adapting to situations of social tension. We

are told that the shamen are long since gone, and to our knowledge we are not acquainted with any, but it is possible that there are a few old men and women with shaministic skills. We have data on several old women who provide cures based partly upon dreams and knowledge of traditional herbal remedies.

The memory of the 'shaking tent' and the shamanistic practices surrounding it is still very much alive. Indeed, there was even a portrayal of the 'shaking tent' ritual at Norway House during the York Boat Festival (August 1974). Traditionally, a shaman entered the tent to call on the spirits of the dead or absent relatives in order to ascertain their well-being and/or receive information. Spirits of the absent or departed would make their presence known by shaking the tent. The relevance of this ritual for reinterpreting the working and meaning of television, at least for older members of the community, is discussed in the next section of the report.

On the other hand, large segments of the populations at Norway House and Oxford House are composed of young people barely into their twenties or younger.¹ The traditional religion and ritual is remembered more than it is practiced by the older generation, which is to be expected considering the change from a migratory, subsistence, existence

¹See "Preliminary Report On the Adoption of Television by Native Communities in The Canadian North" 1974, p. 5. Here it is indicated that 64% of population at Norway House and 46% of population at Oxford House are less than 14 years of age.

to sedentary living supported largely by the institutions of the industrial, welfare, state. Nevertheless, the traditional fantasy adaptations provide an important means of Cree identification, even for the youth.

One of the ways in which the 'new' and the 'old' have apparently been combined is through the Pentacostal Church movement. There is a tendency for the conventional churches to attract the older segments of the community, but the Pentacostal Church attracts all age groups. The high emotional pitch maintained through the continual singing, prayer, and sermonizing is reminiscent of the pattern of traditional curing rites conducted by shamen. Moreover, the emphasis on revelation from within and the entering of the 'holy spirit' is in many ways analogous to the acquisition of a traditional 'guardian spirit'. Informants have indicated that they have found much satisfaction in the 'driving out' from the body of physical illness, drinking, and smoking. Indeed, one minister of a conventional religious group at Oxford House suggested, somewhat enviously, if he could heal like the Pentacostals he would have many more adherents to his faith. Thus there is evidence of a reinterpretation of the traditional belief system and its focus on curing and the quest for health within the framework of an extreme evangelical Christian institution; a forum for bridging the gap between the old and the new.

While there are indications of continuity for tangible beliefs there is also much evidence for the persistence of more subtle means

of communication and attitudes pertaining to subsistence and the isolated extended family. Much has been written about the social atomism and restraint in interpersonal relationships in Algonkian-speaking communities.² These were highly adaptable traits for mobile hunting societies existing in harsh physical environments in which the maximum unit of social interaction throughout much of the year was a husband/wife and children, both married and unmarried. This was as large a unit as could be supported by the resources of the environment and there was no institutionalized authority to enforce the norms amongst individuals and between bands. In such a situation there were few alternatives to self-help and individual restraint in dealing with others within and between extended family units.

It is significant that the change in style of life to the sedentary, welfare, existence of reserve life has not led to a sense of community cohesiveness nor has it altered the pattern of socializing restraint in interpersonal relationships. Though people have moved to reserves and only a small minority gain a livelihood trapping, fishing, and hunting, life in the bush is still idealized and seems to form the keystone of Cree identity. How important this is psychologically can be seen from the fact that at Norway House older men have been employed in youth projects to instruct youngsters in the lore of woodcraft and camping, much as Euro-Canadian youngsters learn about

²See especially Landes, R., 1937, Ojibwa Sociology; Hallowell, I., 1955, Culture and Experience pp. 350-351; Friedel, E. 1956, "Persistence in Chippewa Culture and Personality," American Anthropology, pp. 814-823.

these matters in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. Thus while the hunting style of life is not practiced by most, and has to be learned in a highly artificial manner by children, its symbolic meaning is very real. Moreover, there is much of the traditional rhythm of life in reserve living of seasonal variation and task discontinuity, which is similar to the old way of life. For example, most men do not work at full time jobs, change employment after satisfying short term goals, and perform a variety of differing tasks according to seasonal variation. It is not uncommon for a man to derive income from fishing or working on construction during the summer, collect unemployment compensation and hunt to supplement the family diet in the fall, and go to work in the south for a month or two in the early or late spring. In many ways the variety of activities and tasks is similar to the old cycle of hunting and trapping in late fall and early winter with a switch to fishing in early spring and summer, to be followed by hunting in the early fall.

Mobility, which is so adaptive in a hunting society geared to seasonal movements, continues to be highly prized. The difference is that in the old days people would simply pack their belongings into a canoe, a dog sled, or on the back and be off. In other words there was a minimum lapse of time between the decision to leave and going. Today there may be a considerable lapse of time between a decision to travel and the actual journey. Money must be accumulated for the purchase of equipment, fuel, or air fare. All of this introduces the concept of long term goals and the necessity of saving, attributes

associated largely with Euro-Canadian culture. At the same time there develops a sense of resentment against members of the latter who appear to have much easier access to material resources than do Natives.

The extended family of blood relatives and kin by marriage continues to be the basic social unit in the reserve setting. It provides the basic unit of competition for control of band politics, the limited amount of wage labour, and modern housing. Just as parents and close kin were the sole models for adult roles in the traditional culture there is a tendency for this to continue to be the case on the reserve, despite increasing competition from the peer group, school, and the television sets at Norway House (see previous report, p. 8-9, and next section).

As in the past parents on both reserves tend to be relatively permissive in the socialization of their children. Indeed, they usually equate discipline with the formal education system and are frequently perturbed that the teachers are not sufficiently rigorous in their demands for 'proper' deportment by pupils. This helps create a considerable discontinuity between the family and the school as socializing units. It is as if the parents are saying "provide our children with the skills to exploit the material advantages of the white-man's culture, but don't interfere with our way of life." At Oxford House the death in a plane crash of eight youngsters returning from boarding school, a few years ago, has served to further widen the gap between the two systems of socialization. Some older informants see the school

as contributing to the destruction of Cree culture, not so much as regard to socialization content as to the interference with the traditional mobility and rhythm of life. As one man explained it, if the school program had been carried out in the summer when people traditionally banded together for fishing and other activities, the pattern of winter hunting in small extended family groups would not have been disrupted.

Thus the compartmentalization process helps maintain the family as an independent unit of socialization and helps perpetuate social atomism. Parents encourage their children to be shy in the presence of strangers. At Oxford House children learn to play alone or with relatives and seem to be wary of peers who are not related by blood or marriage. A form of stoic self-control and the self-help principle are traditional attributes apparently still socialized and highly valued in both children and adults.

Much of the evidence for the above comes out in the communication process. Verbal conversation with visiting relatives can be quite lively and animated, whereas with non-kin it tends to be guarded and perfunctory. There seems to be fear of expressing aggression or arousing the least animosity which may lead to irresolvable conflict. Almost any request for assistance or statement of purpose is either made indirectly or simply by the presence of another whose purpose must ultimately be surmised by actions rather than words. Criticism of others is made only by way of gossip and ambiguous comments, except in the drinking situation where both direct verbal and physical

action is permissible. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that in group situations, such as schools or public meetings, persons are afraid to answer questions for fear of ridicule.

Verbalization acquires a negative connotation because words can be dangerous. Therefore, children are often cautioned physically rather than verbally, as for example in situations of danger such as getting too close to the fire or deep water. There seems to be more emphasis on body than verbal contact in a social situation. One of the field-workers noted much hand holding, embracing, and simply touching the other person in the course of conversation by both sexes. On the other hand, this same field worker noticed that in situations of potential aggression, such as sports events, there was a tendency to avoid physical contact. Furthermore, teachers at Oxford House have noted great acuity of vision, so important in adopting to a hunting environment, along with adeptness in the use of the hands. Pupils have been found to do especially well with concepts related to hand action.

All of the above suggests a continuing orientation on the psychological communication, and motor behavioral levels toward the traditional style of life. In socio-cultural systems where the total life-style is geared toward concrete subsistence activities, non-verbal action is a means of minimizing the ambiguities of verbal communication. Body contact being associated with the tangible, un-ambiguous, response is more reassuring than verbal exchange. Ambiguous verbal symbols lead

to a degree of unpredictability that can only be managed when institutions exist to resolve the conflicts that will of necessity arise. Reserve communities are notably lacking in such specialized institutions and as a consequence the traditional system of communication continues to be adaptable.

What is the meaning for the use of such devices as television in regard to this socio-cultural communication data? We may hypothesize that program content with action and material that can be reinterpreted to fit the reserve life-style will be more meaningful than dialogue. The following sections of the report will deal in greater detail with this subject. It is sufficient here to note the great popularity at Norway House of such action programs as Cannon, Hawaii 5-0 and other shows of this nature. There are elements of reinterpretation and problems of interpersonal relationships in such serial programs as Edge of Night (see previous report pp. 70-87) and Family Court. There continues of course to be most active interest in the development of Cree programming pertaining especially to the use of the language and portrayal of the traditional life style. Information material such as news telecasts and children's programs such as Sesame Street and Mr. Dress-Up are exceedingly popular. The latter find favour because of the instruction provided in basic English.

There is a noticeable concern by older people about programs which place an emphasis upon murder and violence. Given, however, the preference for action programs this seems paradoxical. Indeed, this

is a point of conflict between Euro-Canadian and Algonkian speaking cultures. On the one hand action is less ambiguous than verbal communication and hence more predictable, but the action of Euro-Canadian themes often places stress on violent activities which are inimical to Algonkian cultures. The dire implications of this paradox for children will be brought out in the following section.

Though television does not exist at Oxford House, movie preferences provide some interesting parallels to television preferences at Norway House. According to the opinions of the operators, westerns are the preferred films in both movie houses. The field investigator found that the most popular movie shown during January and February of 1975 was The Chinese Connection which consisted of almost continuous sequences of violence, portrayed even in slow motion. On the other hand, The Godfather, shown the previous summer, was poorly received. In the opinion of the Cree operator this was attributable to language problems; only people with considerable knowledge of English liked The Godfather. Undoubtedly language comprehension is a factor in the formation of preferences. Nevertheless, given the life-style of the Cree it is difficult to visualize a preference for Cree quiz programs or dialogue shows.

There is both positive and negative anticipation that television will ultimately be available to the people of Oxford House. Several informants were of the opinion that it will be a disruptive element because of the violence and the possibility that it will encourage inertia. But there are also those who see it as an alternative form

of recreation that will keep young people off the streets at night and out of trouble. Given this ambivalence it is not surprising that general enthusiasm for the presence of television is lacking. In fact the Band Chief expressed a definite preference for an adequate telephone system to replace the inadequate radio-telephone as a means for overcoming isolation.

PART II

THE INFLUENCE OF TELEVISION AT NORWAY HOUSE

by

Gary Granzberg

1. Introduction

In this section we will describe the progress we have made in studying a lively and controversial facet of communications; the impact of television upon the personality of children.

The research in this field has not yet produced any conclusive, fully accepted findings. We can surely empathize with the Igloolik Eskimo who recently rejected television because they were unsure about the effects it would have upon their children. A review of the literature on the effects of television upon children would not have helped them much. Some of the studies suggest a modernizing effect of television on children (Schramm 1960, 1964 AB, Himmelweit 1958, McClelland, Tarroni, Irving), others emphasize a deleterious conflict engendering effect (Pye, Bandura et al., Berkewitz, Wells, Gerbner, Glynn, Belson, Freedman, Gross, Halloran, Katzman), and still others maintain that both things happen at once (Schramm 1964A: pp. 130-131).

Does television modernize? Does it engender conflict? It has been suggested that sometimes it does one thing and sometimes another, depending upon the culture of the children exposed to it (McClelland, Henry, Wells, Marceau, Schramm 1964B, pp. 13-14 & 1964A). And yet,

almost all of the studies have been done in agricultural, industrial societies. If the effects of television can vary according to subtle cultural differences among agricultural, industrialized peoples, then certainly its effects in a hunting and gathering society, where studies are practically non-existent, cannot at all be predicted ahead of time and requires open minded investigation.

Thus we have inaugurated our research into the effects of television upon Cree children with an open mind on the two questions posed by the literature. "Does television modernize the Cree child and facilitate Cree economic development?" And/or "does television engender conflict among Cree children and retard healthy emotional development?" We have measured variables that pertain to both of these concerns and we are hopeful that our work will further understanding in both areas.

2. Methodology

2.1. Subjects and Design

On December 23, 1973 the first television signal in the history of Norway House was received from CBWT in Winnipeg. A new era of mass communication in that community was thus introduced. Our research group had foreseen the coming of that event and had made plans to assess its impact. One of our concerns was the impact upon children.

We decided to measure the impact by means of a longitudinal design in which children would be tested shortly after the arrival of television at Norway House and then retested a year later. Tests would

be given to three groups of children in all. Beside the Norway House group, tests would be given to a sample of children from Oxford House and Winnipeg. The latter two groups would form the controls in the study, as Oxford House children will remain completely unexposed to television throughout the study, while Winnipeg children will have full exposure to television throughout the study. The only group which undergoes a change in exposure to television during the study is the Norway House group. They begin the study basically unexposed to television and become exposed to it during the study. Most of the children at the time of testing had no television in their homes and the few that did had only experienced it for several months. One-half year later practically all the children had television in their homes.

The children were all boys in the 3rd, 4th or 5th grades. The average age in each society was 9.7. There were 44 Winnipeg boys, 45 Norway House boys and 28 Oxford House boys. In each society all the boys attended the same school.

The testing was done during school hours in a private room. The subject faced the researcher across a table and was read the sentence completions and shown the TAT's one at a time. His responses were recorded in long hand. The testing was conducted in English except for thirteen Oxford House subjects who were tested in Cree by a local young adult who was trained by the researcher. The testing took 25 minutes on an average and, although the Cree subjects were shy until they gained confidence that their accent could be understood

by the researcher, the subjects were all eager. Drawings were obtained from the subjects in class during their normal art period.

The data compiled is to be analyzed in two ways. First of all an overall comparison of personality change at Norway House, Oxford House and Winnipeg will be made. If this comparison of personality change in the three groups shows that the Norway House children undergo a change which is different from the other two groups, it would provide evidence of the effects of television in that community. And yet, attributing any differences in personality change at Norway House to television alone would be difficult. It will be very hard to isolate the effects of television from the effects of other pre-existing forces that also influence personality.

For although Oxford House was chosen as our control because it was the most comparable group to Norway House which would be unexposed to television throughout the study, there are yet a number of differences between the two besides that of exposure to television that could possibly explain a differing development of personality at Norway House than at Oxford House.

They both have schools, they both have churches and the Hudson's Bay, they both have roads, cars, airplanes, and boats, they both have hospitals and construction activity, and they both have numerous white visitors. But at Norway House these factors are more intense. There are more churches at Norway House, more schools, better roads, more cars, more frequent airplane service, bigger hospitals with resident doctors rather than just nurses, better telephone service and more

white visitors, including an active metis community which is not present at Oxford House.

One might argue, however, that the more intense acculturation pressure at Norway House starts early and quickly spurs greater modernization among Norway House children, but that by the time they are 8, 9, or 10 (their age at the time of testing) the pace of change slows and that after age 8 the change at both places is in the same direction and at the same pace.

The second method of analyzing the data provides a way of testing the validity of attributing a differing personality development at Norway House to television. This second method consists of a comparative study of change within Norway House among children who watch an above average amount of television and children who watch a below average amount of television. If this comparison (which controls for most of the acculturation factors) reveals a difference which is equivalent to the overall difference between change at Norway House and Oxford House, then there would be firmer evidence for attributing the difference to television rather than the other acculturation factors.

Longer range possibilities also suggest themselves. We intend to monitor the personality of the children in these three communities for a number of years. We expect that changes at Norway House, if they don't appear after the first year of exposure, will likely appear after the second year and certainly after three or four years. In addition, eventually Oxford House will have television. Our work will

then receive a powerful boost because we will be able to monitor change at Oxford House after television enters and we will be able to see whether the effects of television there are the same as the effects that occurred at Norway House.

2.2. The Variables

2.2.1. modernization variables

A search was made of the literature on the personality bases of modernization and economic development (Foster, Hallowell, Chance) and the literature on the modernizing effects of television (see above). It was determined that the following have been defined as "modern" personality traits and as traits likely to be invigorated by television exposure:

1. need achievement
2. causality
3. abstract ability
4. rigid time consciousness
5. self-motivation and independence
6. optimism
7. open emotions

2.2.2. conflict variables

A search was also made of the literature on child development (Dollard et. al., Coopersmith, Mussen et.al., Hill & Sarason, Ruebush) and the conflict engendering effects on television (see above). It was

determined that the following personality variables should be studied to assess the impact of television upon healthy child development:

1. anxiety
2. repression of id
3. self-esteem, acceptance and confidence

These variables were all operationally defined according to the differing ways subjects responded to various items in our tests (see appendix 1 for definitions of these variables).

2.3. The Instruments

The personality variables listed above were measured through the administration of projective tests. Two of these tests, the draw-a-man test and the delay-of-gratification test, were standard tests used in west and non-west societies. The others were not. It didn't seem to us that there were any tests available which had been standardized in Cree society and which, in addition, were fashioned in a way that would measure the variables we were interested in and, at the same time, not alienate nor bewilder the cree subjects. Thus we chose to devise our own series of tests which included sentence completions, verbal and pictorial TAT's, and an accuracy of time reckoning test. The sentence completions and the TATs are presented in appendix 1.

The tests were administered to children individually and privately during school hours. In addition, the researcher conducted three months of participant observation research at Norway House (most

of the time living with a (free family at Rossville) and two weeks at Oxford House. This work provided needed insights into the socio-cultural factors that pertain to the personality data compiled. The researcher was aware that part of the effects of television would be indirect through television's influence upon such pre-existing forces as child-training patterns and social relations. The researcher also realized that pre-existing socio-cultural forces would influence how television was used and perceived and that this in turn would condition its impact on the community. The participant observation research centered on these two areas of concern.

2.4. Scoring

The data was scored according to the operational definitions outlined in appendix 1. The questionnaire responses were scored blind by the author and a reliability check was made on the data by several judges unconnected with the project. The reliability was found to be 90 per cent or better on most of the variables.

Each response to a test item was examined and then a presence or absence score was given for each of the modernization and conflict variables that seemed to be reflected in the response. Each subject then received scores on each variable which indicated how frequently that variable was scored as present over all his responses to the test items. Then, within each of the three societies, a final culture score was compiled for each variable which indicated the sum total of times that item was scored as present in all the responses the boys of

that particular society made to the test items. These final frequency counts by culture were then analyzed by means of t-tests to determine whether there were significant differences between the cultures.

3. Results

The baseline work is now complete and the pre-television profile of personality in the three societies may now be reported.

3.1. Personality traits related to modernization and economic development:

Tables 1 & 2 summarize the relative standing of Oxford House, Norway House and Winnipeg children with respect to modern personality traits.

Table 1

Difference between Norway House and Oxford House with respect to frequency of "modern" responses to test items

<u>Modern Variables</u>	<u>Culture where Variable is most Frequent</u>	<u>Significance</u>
1. N.-Ach	----	N.S.
2. Causality	----	N.S.
3. Abstraction	NH	.08
4. Time accuracy	----	N.S.
5. Self-reliance	OH	.001
6. Optimism	NH	.06
7. Open emotion	OH	.001

Table 2

Difference between Norway House & Winnipeg with respect to frequency of "modern" responses to test items

<u>Modern Variables</u>	<u>Culture where Variable is most Frequent</u>	<u>Significance</u>
1. N.-Ach	Wpg.	.06
2. Causality	Wpg.	.001
3. Abstraction	Wpg.	.05
4. Time accuracy	Wpg.	.001
5. Self-reliance	---	N.S.
6. Optimism	Wpg.	.04
7. Open emotion	Wpg.	.001

In comparison to Oxford House, Norway House is more abstract, less open and less independent. However there is no significant difference between them in n-ach and causality. As compared to Winnipeg, Norway House is less achievement oriented, less causal, less abstract, less open, less rigidly time oriented and less independent. Thus it can be seen that in all respects Norway House is less modern than Winnipeg but that in comparison to the less acculturated Oxford House it is more modern in some respects and less modern in others and in still other respects the same.

3.2. Personality traits related to conflict and healthy child-development:

Tables 3 & 4 summarize the relative standing of Oxford House, Norway House and Winnipeg with respect to indices of healthy child development.

Table 3

Difference between Norway House and Oxford House with respect to frequency of "maturity" responses to test items

<u>Maturity Variable</u>	<u>Culture where Variable is most Frequent</u>	<u>Significance</u>
1. Anxiety	NH	.02
2. Self-esteem & confidence	OH	.05
3. Repression of id (role vs play behavior)	OH	.06

Table 4

Difference between Norway House and Winnipeg with respect to frequency of "maturity" responses to test items

<u>Maturity Variable</u>	<u>Culture where Variable is most Frequent</u>	<u>Significance</u>
1. Anxiety	---	N.S.
2. Self-esteem & confidence	Wpg.	.05
3. Repression of id (aggression)	Wpg.	.03

It can be seen from these tables that, as compared to Oxford House, Norway House is more anxious, less repressive of id, less accepting of self, and less confident. As compared to Winnipeg, Norway House is less repressive of id, equally anxious and less self accepting and confident.

It seems then that Norway House children face more problems in healthy emotional development than do Oxford House and Winnipeg children.

It is necessary now to describe the culture and personality dynamics that lay behind the Norway House child's personality, for this will provide a framework for interpreting the effects television has already had at Norway House and the effects that are likely to ensue. We believe that a large part of the impact of television at Norway House comes about not as a result of the traditionally studied universal features (i.e., its educational qualities and its behaviour content), but as a result of the unique way the culture and personality dynamics at Norway House have caused the parent and child there to perceive television and to use it.

4. Interpretation - Culture and Personality Dynamics at Norway House

The personality profile at Norway House may be interpreted as the outcome of the child's attempt to simultaneously adapt to three powerful and conflicting forces: traditional cree beliefs and values, (see Hallowell, Preston, Skinner, Mandelbaum, Honigmann, Landes, Stevens) modern white beliefs and values, and contemporary acculturative social and economic conditions.

The impact of traditional traits explains why Norway House children are less modern than Winnipeg children in terms of causality, time orientation, abstractness, optimism and emotional openness. The impact of modern traits explains why Norway House children are more modern than Oxford House children in terms of abstractness and causality. And the impact of the social and economic forces of acculturation explains why Norway House children are less maturely developed

than Oxford House or Winnipeg children in terms of anxiety, self-esteem, repression of id, independence and aggression.

4.1. The effect of traditional cree beliefs and values at Norway House

Our finding that Norway House children, as compared to Winnipeg children, are non-causal, non-linear, non-abstract, more pessimistic and less emotionally open may be explained, we believe, as being due to the functioning of traditional culture at Norway House. These traditional unmodern personality traits, we feel, are passed on to the children through the cree language, through cree folklore and through parental models of non-interference, emotional control and concrete-situational orientation.

4.1.1. non-interference at Norway House

The cree were traditionally hunters of small scattered animal populations. They pursued their game in small scattered bands each consisting of one or two families usually patrilineally related. The necessities of the hunt required an assertive personality. The food supply was not domesticated and raised locally, requiring only responsible care to exploit. Rather it was distant, elusive and undomesticated and needed to be sought out assertively. The quest, however, could be greatly facilitated by agreements with and knowledge of the various "persons" or "wills" that populated the world and controlled many of the events that took place in it.

The cree boy was prepared for the assertive necessities of the

hunt by a basically non-interfering child training in which the boy's behavior was given free reign. Except for rare occasions of direct physical punishment, the type of sanctioning practiced was indirect ridicule or teasing, and this was not of an abstractly moral nature but rather very situationally oriented toward whether or not the behavior would produce the desired effects.

Thus moral constraints were played down and practical efficiency of behavior themes played up. This helped promote the freedom for exploitative assertion atmosphere that was desired.

The non-interference theme continues today at Norway House in customs of child-rearing. Children are allowed to pretty well set their own pace of life. It is largely their choice as to when they arise in the morning (usually late) and when they go to bed at night (also late) and when they eat and where they go and who they play with and where they sleep (often at relative's homes). And children are not stopped from experimenting with knives, slingshots, matches and axes.

The persistence of traditional forms of communication at Norway House also fuels the non-interference theme. One of the characteristics of Cree communication is that much of it is non-verbal. The modern Cree prefers to let his happenstance presence at places and his preparations for activities speak of his intentions rather than his verbal pronouncements. This may be because it is easier for the other person to ignore a request spoken with body action than one given verbally, thus preserving the others freedom of choice. When verbal

statements are made, they are frequently couched in subtle metaphor and analogy. In fact the Cree language is so inappropriate to an interference mode of interaction that when a direct interfering verbal action is required, as is occasionally the case in child-rearing, the parent often turns to the English language with its most direct system of communication.

The persistence of non-interference themes at Norway House is, it would seem, one of the reasons why Norway House children demonstrate a non-causal view of the world. It is a way of thinking which is highly compatible with a view of the world which emphasizes that each aspect has its own will and purpose which must be respected and given freedom. It is not compatible with the basic assumption of western science and western religion that a large overall force is at work which acts uniformly upon all things. The non-causality of Norway House children is indicated in our test data by the fact that their stories often seem, to western eyes, to lack plot, connectedness, and focus or direction. In other words, the western concept of causality is largely absent. As an example, information on background and setting was given three times as frequently by Winnipeg children as by Norway House children ($P .06$). Explanations of "why" something happened in a story were given more than twice as frequently by Winnipeg children as by Norway House children ($P .001$).

Another source of non-causality at Norway House is the theme of emotional control and its attendant concrete-situational orientation. This theme, too, spurs a view of the world which entails concern for

detail and uniqueness of event rather than abstract, universal patterns of causality applicable everywhere.

4.1.2. emotional control at Norway House

The cree hunter was required to not infrequently deal with life and death situations. It was understood that efficiency in dealing with abruptly confronted life and death situations entailed emotional control (Preston). Fear, aggression, grief, self-pity and panic had to be controlled and repressed in favor of cool calculated efficient action. A number of institutions arose which promoted emotional control and reticence. Those that persist today at Norway House include concrete-situational orientation, swaddling, certain aspects of the structure of the cree language and certain aspects of cree body movement patterns.

4.1.2.1. concrete-situational orientation

As mentioned above, the child's behavior was not criticised in terms of whether or not it took into account abstract moral principles but in terms of whether or not it took into account concrete situational factors that would effect its success. The cree child developed the habit of refraining from abstract general considerations of situations and instead focused in on the details that had to be surmounted for survival. It was a habit well suited to the need for emotional control and cool calculated reasoning in crisis situations. The hunter couldn't afford to have his actions hampered by self pity or fear that might arise from an abstract consideration of his situation.

This is well illustrated by a story told by an older Norway

House cree man. He was hunting in a rather severe and difficult winter. He was weak and hungry and pulling his toboggan behind him. All at once six wolves, driven to desperate actions by their own hunger, headed toward him and began to surround him. If ever a situation called for cool, efficient action certainly this one did. There was no room for self pity or fear that might arise out of an abstract consideration of his plight. He was served by his training in emotional control. Coolly controlling his emotions, he turned his toboggan over, crouched behind it, got out his gun and waited for the wolves to get close enough so he could pick off the leader without missing, for if he missed, they would all attack at once. He didn't miss and as the other wolves surrounded him somewhat confused he picked each of the others off in turn.

That concrete-situational orientation is still a habitual pattern at Norway House is seen in the responses of Norway House children to the TAT's. In comparison to the Euro-Canadian Winnipeg children who were able to detach themselves from the immediate stimuli in the pictures and let their minds wander into abstract conjectural areas, the Norway House (and also the Oxford House) children gave descriptive, stimulus tied responses ($P .05$). Other evidence of the continuance of the situational orientation at Norway House comes from the responses of subjects to a question about what a boy did when, during a walk, he came to a stream. Norway House and Oxford House subjects gave significantly more short range, immediate stimuli related responses than Winnipeg children ($P .05$). While Winnipeg

children would likely say that the boy would wade through at a shallow spot, or swim across or make a boat to go across, the cree children usually had the boy take a drink of water or play there for a while. A related experiment demonstrated a similar contrast between Norway House and Oxford House on the one hand and Winnipeg on the other. This was the delay-of-gratification experiment in which children were asked whether, as a reward for taking the tests, they would like a candy bar right away or would elect to wait a week and then have two candy bars. The cree children reacted to the immediate stimulus of presently available candy bar and more than 2/3 took one right away. The Winnipeg children split 50-50 on their choice (P .01).

Finally responses to the sentence completion question "the man was sick because ----?" reveals that the Cree, as compared to Winnipeg subjects, more frequently separate out one part of the body and explain its particular illness rather than conceptualizing an illness for the body as a whole (P .01). This is in keeping with concrete-situational orientations. Traditionally the parts of the body were separated and independent. Each part had a will of its own. A favorite tale of wiisakatjik findings him berating his anus for plotting against him and not carrying out the responsibility he had given it of standing guard while he slept. A similar situational conception of the body is present in the response a Cree friend gave the researcher when asked why he didn't take a pill to settle his pain. He said, "It's my feet that hurt, not my heart or other parts of my body. The pill goes where I don't need it."

4.1.2.2. swaddling and emotional control

Swaddling practices introduced emotional control to the child. Children were swaddled tightly in a cradle board from birth to often five, six or seven years of age. They learned to stay still and observe and keep their bodies under control. The moose hunt and other hunt requirements demanded a similar body control. Often the cree hunter had to wait in a boat near the potential site where a moose might water himself. He would have to stay quiet and motionless often for hours on end yet keeping an alert ear and eye ready for signs of the presence of the moose.

Swaddling at Norway House today is not practiced as universally nor as intensely as it once was. Most mothers today only swaddle during the first year. After that they switch to the crib where the child is allowed free exploration.

4.1.2.3. Cree language and emotional control

The Cree language teaches emotional control through the unaspirated nature of its phonemes. It has often been observed by westerners that the cree seem to bit off their words and swallow them. This would be noticeable to a westerner who is not used to unaspirated sounds and who expects to hear consonants explode out at him.

4.1.2.4. body movement patterns and emotional control

The Norway House child also learns emotional control through copying the body movement patterns of his parents and kin. Gestures

are not effusive. In dance the upper body is kept rigid, the arms extended and unmoving at the sides. Facial expressions are also controlled and there is no elaborate greeting or parting gestures. Even the return of a long absent loved one does not bring about great surface emotional display as it would in western society.

The effectiveness of these forces in promoting emotional control and a reserved, closed self is seen in the analysis of the draw-a-man test. As compared to Winnipeg children, cree children drew smaller, less detailed, less open stanced men ($P .001$).

4.1.3. Pessimism at Norway House

Pessimism is another feature of the need to be prepared to confront potential life and death situations. It is suitable in a world where events could take a sudden dangerous turn at any moment. A rather defensive, reticent stance is needed to maximize one's survival potential. One cannot "leap before looking" in the bush or one might fall through the ice.

Pessimism persists at Norway House in the frequent "if God wills" condition placed upon future planning, in the extreme caution with which estimates are made of the probable success of planned hunts or fishing excursions and in the numerous bad omens they attribute to various events, such as the sighting of mamagwaso (little people), the hooking of a white fish, the presence of an owl or frog or snake and the making fun of people. Pessimism is seen in our test responses in the more frequent attribution of negative outcomes to

situations in TATS by Norway House children as compared to Winnipeg children (P .04).

4.1.4. non-lineality at Norway House

Part of the traditional conception on non-lineal time can be traced to the stability of the traditional system. Events were repetitive and cyclical. There was no evidence of a history of change and development as is found in the west. The inventory of tools and techniques remained relatively unchanged over time. People came and went, but the cycle of the seasons and the cycle of social, ceremonial and economic behavior remained unchanged. A concept of repetitive, circular time seemed only natural. Behavior it seemed was not created afresh by individuals, but was merely brought into actuality from already pre-existing potentials.

This non-linear orientation of the cree is still largely present at Norway House. Winnipeg children guess a thirty second time interval to within 13.1 seconds on an average while Norway House children average 20.1 seconds off. On a second trial, after the children are allowed to watch 30 seconds tick off on a stop watch, Winnipeg children average 8.2 seconds off while Norway House children average 14.1 seconds off (P .001).

A non-linear time orientation is also evident in the daily behavior of the cree. In conversations they often fail to make time references and usually leave a western observer wondering when the activity took place. The non-linear orientation to time is also

found in the Cree language. There are no past, present and future categories of grammar as are present in English.

The Cree are aware of their differing view of time and occasionally respond to a westerner's invitation to do something at a given time with "Is that Cree time or white time?" In Cree time the vicissitudes of life are such that one would not like to pin another down to presenting himself somewhere at a precise time. This is too interfering of the other person's freedom of choice.

4.2. The Effect of Modern White Beliefs and Values at Norway House

Modern white beliefs and values are influential at Norway House most notably through the impact of the Hudson's Bay, Churches, schools, movies, magazines, radio, white people and Metis, and modern conveniences such as electricity, motors, cars, planes, clothing and utensils.

These forces, we believe, account for the greater causality, abstractness and optimism at Norway House as compared to Oxford House. Western culture has developed in the direction of the technological mastery of nature and, in consequence, has fostered an attitude of detachment from and domination of nature.

Science is the keynote. It epitomizes the themes of causality and abstractness. The children of Norway House learn science in the schools. They also learn math, social studies, geography, literature, and reading and all of these require the child to use his imagination, to be abstract, to compare and contrast, to speculate, to deal with abstract causality and generalized principles.

In addition, the schools have many rules to obey. In fact more rules probably than the child has ever been subject to in his previous non-interfering upbringing. There are rigid time rules about when things have to be done, rules about clothing and cleanliness, rules about talking and eating, about where to play and where not to play, what doors to use, how to ask questions, and how to line up for various activities.

Models of abstract causal behavior and interference are also present in other white institutions at Norway House -- in the bay, the movies, the churches with their one universal God and His all encompassing universal laws and their specific lists of sins and blessings, the radio and magazines. Even new leash laws for dogs bring in an interfering mode of action, these laws arising because of the larger population and 'packing' of the many dogs during the winter leading to occasional kills of young children.

The influence of these white forces upon abstraction is seen in drawings of churches where 45% of Oxford House children, 17% of Norway House children and 4% of Winnipeg children draw small churches ($\frac{1}{4}$ of page or less), but were 24% of Oxford House children, 34% of Norway House children and 65% of Winnipeg children draw big churches ($\frac{3}{4}$ of page or more). An emphasis on made-made churches rather than the surrounding nature in which it is submerged could be interpreted as an indication of abstractness. The influence of white forces is also seen in the more imaginative stories at Norway House as compared to Oxford House. And finally, it is seen in the addition of moral

considerations to the practical considerations with which children's behavior at Norway House is judged. One area where this enters is in the finding of "morals" to traditional folklore. The most frequent "morals of the story" point out the negative results of being dependent and disrespectful -- two behaviors of children in their acculturative situation of which parents are very critical. As an example, in a story about a young boy (aiyase) who is given directions from an old woman about how to proceed on a long journey, it is pointed out that when he is respectful and obeys the suggestions he is successful, but when he does not, he gets in trouble. In another story about a frog and rabbit it is pointed out that when the rabbit hides from wolves under the backbone of a moose it is caught because it is bad to go to someone else's backbone for support; one should stand up under one's own backbone.

The influence of white forces upon causality is seen in the more frequent use of dominance-submission interaction imagery in TAT stories ($P .02$) at Norway House as compared to Oxford House.

4.3. Contemporary Acculturative Social and Economic Conditions

The contemporary acculturative conditions of sedentariness, money economy, welfare, family allowance, alcohol, and conflicts between traditional and modern values we believe explain our test findings that Norway House children have lower self esteem, lower independence, lower id repression and higher anxiety, than Oxford House children and that they have higher aggression and lower self-esteem and

lower repression of id than Winnipeg children. Put at the highest level of generalization, we may say that these conditions exert their effect by removing a sense of direction from the child's life. Living an aimless life, the child has little incentive to mature and, with a low level of emotional maturity, has a difficult time handling the stepped up pace at which he is exposed to knowledge of the world, to new ideas and to new experiences. He reacts with dependence, narcissism, anxiety, aggression and low self-esteem.

Traditionally the cree child was early made aware of the need to repress selfish narcissism for altruistic role behavior and had considerable help to do so. He had appropriate parental models who were diligent, self-sacrificing hard workers. He had skill developing chores such as carrying water, gathering and cutting wood, setting rabbit snares, gathering berries and seeds, helping to clean and prepare game, and helping to repair the cabin each new season. He had natural bush necessities and restraints to keep his behavior in line. He had a functioning religion and effective discipline from parents that were respected. And finally there was ceremonial celebration of many of the important steps in his development to maturity. This ceremony provided him with the incentive to work hard to develop the skills that demonstrated his movement to a higher stage of development and which, when achieved, made him the focus of celebration. Among these ceremonies were a celebration of his first steps outside the home, a feasting of his first successful hunts, and a group supported quest for a vision, which, when successful, resulted in a new name,

new personality, and a prestigious place in the curing and conjuring ceremonial of the shaking tent and leadership in the campfire song, dance and story telling.

Thus with this effective guidance, the child's identity and direction in life was secure and he was able to slowly and surely surmount his growing up problems to achieve mature self confident behavior.

Acculturation forces have entered the picture today to erode the traditional maturity of role orientation in children. The task of growing up and finding purpose and meaning to life, and reason to sacrifice and to work hard and to give up childhood indulgences and narcissism is considerably more difficult for today's child than it was for his predecessor. He has to tend to the task without many of the external and internal supports and guides that traditionally were available and which traditionally provided the rewards, punishments and incentives that directed his behavior development.

The breakdown of the reward, punishment and incentive system may be traced to the following: a presence of too many relatives and friends acting upon an ideal of communal sharing of property, absence of a clear definition of maturity and goals in life, absence of survival necessities, and absence of effective parental discipline.

4.3.1. Too many relatives and friends acting upon an ideal of communal sharing of property

Once a system of welfare, family allowance and largely free

housing and medical care is introduced into the traditional setting, with the services localized in one area where a school, a bay and a church are also present, and once the white man's laws are enforced, especially the one that says that children between the ages of seven and sixteen must go to school, then inordinate pressure mounts for the cree to give up the hunting and gathering way of life and settle down around the services that the white man has offered.

Families now increase in size with a scarcity of government housing and with a reduced reason for spacing children. Two babies close in age can now be more easily cared for with the settled life and its reduced movement and with more numerous baby sitters and other services. And, with each new child, welfare and family allowance increases.

With increased family size and with many previously scattered families coming together permanently in one location, the population density of the living area increases dramatically. The increased population places a great strain on the traditional practice of communal sharing of property, especially when the property is scarce, very desirable, and takes hard work to acquire.

In a situation where everyone is not producing equally, and where a plethora of relatives demanding their fair share quickly dissipates any gain acquired through hard work, the incentive to work hard and sacrifice to accomplish something is lost. This is seen in the fact that at one time, before the population of Norway House reached above the 1000 persons mark (it is about 3000 today), the people

had gardens and grew potatoes and other vegetables. Now there are no gardens. They say it wouldn't do them any good to grow and the children would steal it. Youth coming back from a period of fire-fighting or construction work have a similar complaint. They say they get an inordinate amount of pressure from their friends and kin to "spring" for drinks all around and that this quickly uses up any money they may have saved by their hard work. This pressure comes from the traditional ideal of a hunter returning from a successful hunt who is expected to share his good fortune.

4.3.2. Absence of a clear definition of maturity and goals in life

The conflict between traditional and modern definitions of maturity and accomplishment confuses the child and makes him hesitate in devoting much energy to any one goal direction. He is faced with a situation where rewards from one sector for a certain kind of goal directed behavior are counterbalanced by punishments from another sector. He is unclear as to which way to go.

There are great jealousies between the traditional and modern sectors of society in the possession of the child's loyalties. The school is the symbol of modernism. Parents are the symbol of traditionalism. The two are in frequent conflict. From the parent's point of view, very few would dispute the value of an education, but what they do dispute is the value of the other things that often come with it (e.g. selfishness with property, disrespect for parents and traditions, movement to the city). From the school's point of view,

very few would dispute the value of having pride in ones traditions, but what they do dispute is the wisdom of keeping some of those traditions going (e.g., the cree language, shamanism, emotional reserve, non-abstractness and non-causality).

Of course not all parents are traditional and not all school people are modern. In fact, the neat separation of people into these polarities is a distortion of the real situation. Most people are somewhere in between, with fine distinctions between them in how much modernism and traditionalism they feel is advisable.

The child's choice is thus not simply a matter of going traditional or going modern. It is much more complicated than that. There are numerous intermediate pathways available to the child, each with its own problems and its own means of balancing and integrating the two sides.

Since none of the numerous pathways dominate, there can be no ceremonial which defines each step along the way and which provides rewards and fulfillment for the sacrifice that is entailed in making each transitional step.

4.3.3. Absence of survival necessities

Traditionally there was a consensus that the need to survive by hunting and gathering was a primary value in life and was an end to which behavior had to be focused. Today survival is through the dollar. But unlike the hunt where it is clear that certain behaviors bring success and others bring failure (e.g., reticence, concrete-

situational orientation, pessimism, knowledge of animal and plant habits, preparation of nets, traps and weapons, body health, assertiveness and self-reliance), it is not as clear in the hunt for the dollar which behavior brings success and which brings failure.

In fact, there is no total failure. Regardless of what one does, there is always money through welfare and family allowance to survive on. Hence there is no clear survival necessity to define goal direction and to give the child an incentive to mature.

4.3.4. Absence of effective parental discipline

A major factor eroding the effectiveness of parental discipline is the disrespect children have for the father which has been caused by the schooling of children in white values and the breakdown of the father's traditional role.

4.3.4.1. schooling of children in white values

Schools, television, movies, radio and magazines introduce values and behaviors in the child which, because of their conflict with father's values and behavior, cause a generation gap and a mutual disapproval of certain behavior in each other.

One of the areas of conflict is with regard to standard of living goals. From white culture the child learns that he is impoverished. He begins to see his father as a failure, as being poor and unable to provide an adequate standard of living. The child will desire a "better life" and may wish to leave the reserve.

In addition, white culture makes the child aware of his "indianess" in its negative sense. The child sees such labels attached to his race as "heathen", "pagan", "uncivilized", "cruel enemy", "drunkard". He even comes to identify with the cowboys over the indians. Many children dress up in cowboy clothes and see the cowboy figure as the hero. The child may come to disrespect his father for being an indian.

A more subtle area of conflict arises from the low level of understanding modern children achieve in the Cree language. They are taught English in the schools and often have to observe rules about not speaking Cree in school. They may come to view the Cree language as bad and facility in English as prestigious. Thus, even though Cree is spoken in most homes, it is not practiced as much as formerly and there is a failure to understand it at a high level, especially with the absence of bush experiences to give meaning to many of the analogies and metaphors.

The child is therefore unable to reach a mature understanding of the philosophy of Cree traditions and fails to appreciate the father's knowledge and expertise.

4.3.4.2. breakdown of the father's traditional role

A number of institutions now exist at Norway House which, by providing services to the child that used to be provided by the father, reduce the father's role. The most obvious one is welfare and family allowance. This situation, combined with the presence of the money economy and the Hudson's Bay, undermines the father's role as provider.

Another institution that takes over for the father in servicing the child is the school. The school takes over the father's role of teacher, and, in part, it also takes over his role as disciplinarian. The father used to teach bush skills but these are no longer necessary. The child now needs knowledge of the white world and this is obtained more from teacher's, from peers, and from television than from parents. Part of the father's teaching used to be through stories and folklore, now the child turns to teachers and television for story telling.

Discipline is also now a function of the school and it is interesting to note that although parents are concerned about occasional excessive discipline in the schools (as they see it), they are adamant that teachers should be firm and should use the strap when necessary. Parents now feel inadequate to handle the discipline of children. Traditionally they relied on bush restraints and slow development and continual chaperoning to make the child behave. None of these things are possible today. Within the safety of the reserve, children roam far and wide without worry of getting lost or being attacked by animals or bush "bogeymen". They have many places to hide and play and explore out of the range of parental eyes and ears. And they group in sizeable number, using their combined strength to scheme and evade parental control.

Not only can they avoid bush dangers and parental chaperoning, they also now grow up much faster than before and they are more worldly, curious, and adventuresome. They are not afraid to go out and explore. This is because they have been raised in a freer environment.

With reduced infant mortality and more security in the babies safety, it seems mothers are now willing to invest emotion in the child earlier than before, knowing the investment is fairly secure. They name the child earlier, talk to it earlier and generally recognize it as a "person" earlier. And, too, realizing that openness, and willingness to take chances are requirements for success in the white man's world, they prepare the child by a less restricting, freer child-rearing -- they wean from the breast earlier, take the child out of swaddling in a cradle and put him into a crib where he can learn to stand and explore earlier, provide "walkers" so he can walk earlier and let him play alone outside earlier. The child thus walks, talks and plays outside alone earlier than before. And when the child interacts with the many people around him and sees all the things happening around him (there are no trees to block his view as there used to be), he quickly becomes worldly, gets new ideas of sex, drugs, stealing, aggression, etc., and hence becomes more of a discipline problem than ever.

Hospitals, nurses and doctors provide medical care to the child. Once more the father's role is undermined, for he traditionally provided much of this service.

As a result of these factors the child often does not identify with his father and does not internalize him as a vicarious source of pleasure. Without the internal father figure (or, as some would say, without a well developed superego), the child lacks an internal model for behavior and an internal "policeman" who rewards and punishes

according to a specific behavior direction. This is a serious obstacle in his attempt to find meaning, purpose and direction in life.

Evidence of the child's conflict with his father is seen in the TAT responses of Norway House children. As compared to Winnipeg and Oxford House children, the Norway House child more frequently tells stories about punishing parents and evil parents (P .02).

Evidence of a general lack of goal direction is seen in the fact that Norway House children tend to describe themselves and other persons in terms of play and self-indulgent activity whereas Oxford House children tend to describe themselves and others in terms of role and altruistic behavior (P .06).

Evidence of the undisciplined nature of the Norway House child is seen in the undisplaced, unrepressed nature of their aggression imagery. Norway House children more frequently use imagery of direct aggression against other people than Oxford House and Winnipeg children (P .02). Winnipeg children are more likely to displace aggression inward upon self. Oxford House children tend to displace aggression onto animals and inanimate objects. An example of the different way the three societies handle aggression is seen in the responses to the sentence completion item "the boy had a knife and he -----". Whereas Norway House boys were the most likely to say that he would stab somebody, Oxford House boys would say he threw it in the ground or carved something and Winnipeg boys would say that he hurt himself. Imagery of a boy punishing himself could be interpreted as evidence of super-ego behavior. This is infrequent at Norway House.

Evidence of the child's general disorientation and confusion is seen in the anxiety displayed in the responses of Norway House boys. They more frequently read fear into the behavior of characters in stories than did Oxford House or Winnipeg children (P .02).

Finally the lack of skill and lack of ability to handle all the incoming stimuli is seen in the low confidence and low self-esteem of Norway House children. This is evident in the draw-a-man where Norway House children draw smaller, less detailed and less open stanced figures than Winnipeg or Oxford House children.

4.4. Method of Adaptation at Norway House

How does the child adapt to the lack of incentives, to the lack of guidelines and to the anxieties and insecurities of acculturation? He responds to the lack of guidelines and incentives by refusing to plan for the future and by escaping into excitements of the present; he represses his doubts, anxieties and insecurities with a macho type bravado and with a frustration releasing aggression; and he becomes dependent on his peers for support and commiseration and on the white man for survival.

4.4.1. escapes

More than the Oxford House child or the child of earlier days the Norway House child plays. He uses play as an escape from the pressures of acculturation. He has been raised in a freer, exploration encouraging atmosphere and he is willing to try things. In the crowded,

exposed living conditions around him he sees many things to try - sex, drugs, rebellion, stealing and any number of faddish behaviors (especially those introduced through movies and television) like kung fu combat, sword fighting, new styles of dress and verbal interaction and Evel Knievel daredevil behavior on bicycles. Old standby games include general chasing and wrestling and mischief making, king of the hill challenges, exploration of dangerous areas like the school after hours and the teacher's compound, chasing dogs, horses and birds with sling shots, going visiting, playing hockey, baseball, and basketball, and going to evening dances, canteens, socials, movies and bingo.

The problem is that the child's adventuresome spirit and "worldliness" and exposure to ideas and opportunities gets him into situations that his emotional maturity cannot handle. He doesn't know how far to go and where to stop. He doesn't know when there are dangers. Children have been killed through exploring the excitement of glue sniffing, aerosol and paint thinner sniffing, and "black-out" games. They have become pregnant through sex. And their rebellion and stealing causes damage and gets them into trouble with the police.

But through it all they seem to give each other support and they display a surface bravado that keeps the anxieties and insecurities under control.

4.4.2. Bravado

The effects upon a child of having a weakened father figure and

a strong mother figure and of living with discrimination and poverty have been studied by a number of people (D'Andrade, Harrington, Burton & Whiting, Lewis, Kardiner & Ovesey) and a dominant theme of their work is the finding that a boy raised under such conditions becomes insecure about his masculinity and compensates through "super masculine" behavior. Such behavior is visible among Norway House children. They group into all male gangs at around the age of seven or so (this sex segregation of play coming much earlier now than previously when boys and girls still played house and cowboys and indians together up until puberty). They dress "macho" with boots and faded blue denim motorcycle type jackets and jeans. They engage in frequent fights and swearing and testing of the dominance hierarchy by bluffs and demands for submission from those lower down. They are vain and sensitive to insult and maintain a sexual bravado with the girls. They engage in "chicken games" whereby one must show courage in standing up to teachers and parents and each other and, later on, they will engage in wife beating and drunken brawling.

Our test findings also show evidence of this "supermasculine" adaptation of the children. It may be interpreted as one of the factors for the greater dominance and sex (P .04) in the stories of Norway House children as compared to Oxford House children and for the greater person oriented aggression of Norway House children as compared to Oxford House and Winnipeg children. It may also account for the fact that of all the draw-a-mans from all the children only three drew strong men lifting bar bells and two of the three were at Norway House, the

other one was at Oxford House.

4.4.3. Dependence

Because of the lack of direction and incentive, children do not develop self-reliant skills. They do not learn bush skills and bush lore. Very few have seen a live moose, wolf, bear, or a dog team. They do not know how to track, set snares, build shelters or prepare a proper fire. Instead they learn to be dependent on the white man and, indeed, some achieve considerable reknown as highly skilled hunters of the white man's services. "What would happen if the white man went away?" parents lament. "What would the children do then?" "All they know," parents say, "is money; all they know is how to put a dollar next to the cash register." One father's recent experience is not untypical. He took his young teenage son on a hunt and, the first night, was told by the child that he wanted to go home to his soft bed and he wanted to watch bugs bunny on television.

This dependence is revealed in our test data by the fact that Norway House children as compared to Oxford House children more frequently solve hypothetical sentence completion problems by imagining that the characters seek help rather than relying on their own resources (P .001). An example is a TAT picture of a young Cree girl looking off into the distance with a finger in her mouth and a somewhat fearful look on her face. Norway House children more than Oxford House children read a desire for mother into her behavior (P .003). The Oxford House children more likely suggest that she has a toothache or

that she is afraid of something or has been hurt without suggesting that she's seeking help to solve her problem. It is interesting to note that the Freudian interpretation of orality being a projection of dependence is supported by the fact that Norway House children are the ones who most frequently refer to eating, the mouth, and food (P .06). Winnipeg children do not differ significantly from Norway House children in dependent responses.

4.5. Summary

We may summarize our interpretation of the culture and personality dynamics that lay behind the personality of Norway House children, as revealed by our field work and test analysis, by saying that the Norway House child is caught in a bind between traditional values and modern values in which he lacks both external and internal guides to enable him to successfully find a direction out. He reacts to the ensuing anxiety, frustration and low self-esteem and confidence by seeking escapes and "excitement", by tension reducing aggression, by putting up a brave "macho" front, and by dependence upon peers, parents and white people.

5. The Uses and Perceptions of television at Norway House

The impact of television at Norway House is greatly effected by the culture and personality dynamics that have been outlined above. These culture and personality factors have shaped the way television has been received at Norway House. It has not been received passively.

The people have taken it and forged it into a tool which they are using to help them better adapt to some of the pressures they must confront. At Norway House television has become something quite different from what it is in Winnipeg or America or Africa or possibly anywhere. And the unique thing that it has become at Norway House is a result of the culture and personality needs of the people. Since we are focusing upon children, we shall see what television has become for children at Norway House. We shall see that television has become an instrument for escape, for resolving the conflict between traditional values and modern values, for dependence and support, for protecting the child against his knowledge and lack of maturity, and for helping him with verbal communication skills.

Its nature and content have been interpreted in relation to these problems and have ingeniously been shaped to help solve them. Parents are responsible for a considerable portion of the shaping of television but the children have contributed their part. The popular programs are the ones which best fit the shape intended.

Let us now take a look at how television has been shaped to attend to the Norway House child's needs. We shall discuss this under four headings: television as a resolution of the conflict between traditional and modern values and as a source of support for dependence needs; television as an escape for the child; television as a protector of the child from harm; and television as an aid in verbal communication.

5.1. Television as a Resolution of Acculturation Conflict and as a Source of Support

One of the fundamental postulates of anthropology is that when an object diffuses from one society to another its original meaning and use may change. This is what has happened to television. Parents have given television a new meaning in such a way that it can be used to help the child solve acculturation conflicts and find support. The new meaning of television, as several informants have independently told us, is that television is the traditional powerful mind of the Cree shaman, and the things seen on television are the results of that mind's conjuring, vision seeking for helpers and dreaming. Television is the white man's koosaba-chigan, we have been told. It is the shaking tent. The shaking tent, they explain, was the original television. It was a place where the shaman would go and, with his powerful mind, would do many wonderful things. He would dream people into the tent from great distances and they would tell of the activities taking place, activities that could have a bearing on the Cree's welfare (especially if warfare is concerned). The "people" brought into the tent could be from all times and places. Some might tell of the future. The snow would tell how deep the snow, slush and ice will be; the water could tell where flooding will occur and how high the lakes and rivers will be; the moose will tell where moose may be found. Some could give power. The tree might tell which of its parts can be used for curing, the eagle might carry the shaman through the sky. When a spirit enters the tent it begins to shake

and the spirits voice is heard from a drum through the same sound wave power that brings a voice into the television.

Very few people today are able to acquire the power of mind that the shaman attained. Very few are able to go out and obtain a vision and a spiritual, powerful guardian and helper. There used to be powerful medicines to help achieve a vision, now these are largely lost. A shaking tent is a very rare event today, though it still occurs in some of the more traditional areas. However the need for powerful support from the spirits is still there. There is still a need to learn of dangers, of curing techniques, of activities in distant places. There is still a need to feel protected. However these needs are now oriented toward the white world and the need now is for a new kind of shaking tent that is relevant to the white man's world. For some people at Norway House, television answers that need. It is the new, more relevant shaking tent. But the perception of television as the new shaking tent does more than provide support in the white world. It also provides a linkup between the old and the new. It reduces the conflict. Television is no longer new and alien, it is the old returned, although dressed in new garb to suit the changed times. There are new powers in the shaking tent now . . . the white man's spirits. But though these new spirits of the new shaking tent have a different form than the original ones, their function and meaning remain the same. They battle with each other, they attempt to serve and protect their clients, and they bring news and information of distant places and even of the future. Some prove themselves to be extremely powerful.

These are admired and looked up to as heroes and even as potential personal helpers in the white world.

There is Cannon who has the power of knowing good people from bad people and who is very powerful in protecting his clients against the bad. There is Gilligan, the trickster of the white world. Like the Cree trickster wiisakatjik, Gilligan plays the fool, changes character, gets beat up and dominated and yet, somehow, is effective and solves people's problems. There are the people of Edge of Night who may be the shamans of the white man's world. They demonstrate extreme mind power in their scheming against one another. And there is Tarzan who, with his great strength and animal helpers, is able to defeat all the bad powers that attempt to hurt his clients. And finally there are the news programs in which activities in distant places are revealed and forecasts of the future told.

The most popular programs at Norway House correspond to the list of heroes and helpers outlined above. In order of their popularity they are Gilligan, Cannon, Tarzan, Edge of Night and news. When we asked the Norway House boys why they liked Gilligan and Cannon and Tarzan they were reticent to respond, but the few comments that were made were revealing. For the comments supported the "helper" interest in these programs that a shaking tent interpretation of television would bring to prominence. One boy said significantly of Gilligan that "he does anything you say." Another said of Cannon, "He caught the bad man". Concerning Tarzan it was observed that "Tarzan helps people", "Saves people", "He's very strong".

It is interesting to note that there are sex differences and cultural differences in the popularity of programs. Gilligan, Cannon, and Tarzan are the most popular only among Norway House boys, not among Winnipeg boys nor among Norway House girls. This is as it ought to be if there is a tendency for some of the Norway House boys to interpret television as a source of guardian help. For it would only be at Norway House then that Gilligan, Cannon and Tarzan would gain special significance and meaning from their powerful and helpful image. And then only among the Norway House boys, not the girls. For the boys are the ones who traditionally were most concerned with "dreaming", "helpers" and "power".

Thus, whereas among Norway House boys movies, cartoons, situation comedies and hockey were least popular while detectives, Gilligan and Tarzan were the most popular, among Winnipeg boys it was the reverse. The most popular programs in our sample of 44 Winnipeg children were, in order, cartoons, movies, Lost in Space, hockey and situation comedies. Trailing behind were detectives, Gilligan and Tarzan. And whereas among Norway House boys Gilligan, Cannon and Tarzan were the "big three", among Norway House girls it was Sesame Street, Bugs Bunny, and the Partridge Family.

Most children at Norway House have their own particular television heroes with whom they identify. And, as in the past when the vision seeker received a name reflective of his vision source, the children are nicknamed according to their heroes and fight each other in the name of their heroes. Also, as in the past when one did

not reveal the details of a vision quest, they are reticent about talking about their heroes and the programs they like.

Also in keeping with the shaking tent conception of television as a place where future dangers are foretold, some old people point out to the children that the city scenes they see on television are a sign of the future. They warn that there will be tall buildings at Norway House in the future and paved streets and sidewalks and there will be policemen who will arrest people who walk in the wrong place or at the wrong time. Recently television forewarned the people that there would be floods in the south and they prepared for it by putting up hay so their kin down south would have food for their horses.

The one thing lamented about television is that it is not free and has to be bought. "The white man took our minds and sold it back to us" one verbally gifted cree complained.

5.2. Television as an Escape

The children like excitement on television. They like adventure, fear, danger, aggression and laughter. These things call up their interest and make them forget about the confusions of the real world. Cannon and Tarzan and Gilligan contain these qualities and this adds to their popularity.

Tarzan serves as a particularly successful escape not only because he may be identified with as a helper and protector, but also because the scenes are set in a familiar bush atmosphere and because

the hero is super masculine and can satisfy the "macho" bravado interests of the boys.

Gilligan's great popularity was also in part due to the familiar setting (a bush atmosphere near a lake), but it also had the added advantage of relying heavily on broad, slapstick action which didn't require any dexterity with English to comprehend. But most of all its popularity was due to the identification of Gilligan with Wisacatjik, the trickster of Cree folklore. Wisacatjik, in his bumbling, slapstick way of getting things done, gave children, and adults as well, a basis for feeling less ashamed of their own mistakes and pratfalls and gave them courage to take the tumbles required to build skills. Wisacatjik also fulfilled the standard comedic function of enabling people to feel good about seeing that someone is stupider, more unlucky and in a worse predicament than they.

Gilligan, like Wisacatjik, is a bumbler and a fool, but also like Wisacatjik, somehow his bumbling and his trickery get jobs done. He is the one who is the hero and saves the people from danger. This is a good escape device. The common man can identify with Gilligan. He is like anyone. And yet he is a hero. Through identifying with Gilligan the ordinary man himself becomes a hero. And like Wisacatjik, Gilligan engages in many character changes, often involving a sex change as well. Scenes of Gilligan dressed like a woman and acting like a woman bring howls from the crew -- possibly because they are used to a strong segregation of sex role.

5.3. Television as a Protection of the Child from Harm

Parents are very concerned about their children being out unchaperoned at night experimenting with new ideas. Lacking the child's respect and being insecure and jealous of each other and the school over the child's loyalty, they cannot keep him at home out of danger through reasoning nor do they wish to chance alienating the child through strong discipline. They therefore have turned to television as a magnet to attract the child and keep him home.

They feel that television has functioned fairly successful as a stay at home attraction. At certain times, especially when Gilligan, Cannon, Tarzan or a good movie is on, there are very few children to be seen roaming about the community. Normally, on a nice evening, there may be as many as 40 or 50 young pre-teen children playing around the school late into the night.

5.4. Television as a Communication Aid

In the past, commonly shared bush experiences and folklore served as meaningful analogies to facilitate communication. In the present it is television which takes over much of that function. Children and adults continually refer to things they have seen on television to explain themselves. The researcher was asking once about traditional kinship terms and was told that the father's brother was called nokombmees but that informally he was known as Wisacatjik. When the researcher questioned further he was told "It's like the Odd Couple on Television". From that it was understood that the relationship

between ego and his father's brother was one of teasing and joking.

Nicknaming according to television heroes is another communication aid. The researcher is called "the professor" from a character on Gilligan's Island and teachers are also given appropriate television character names which reveal much about their behavior traits.

In addition, television situations help explain the meaning of English words and thus help children use English more effectively. Sesame Street is thought to be very helpful in this regard. It provides understandable pictures to fit words to. Although the mesh between pictures and words is probably at its highest in Sesame Street, it is a general benefit that all television programs provide.

Teachers have found that television references help them to teach English. One fifth grade teacher mentioned the program the Collaborators and said that he was able to teach the meaning of the word "collaborate" and also of the word "laboratory" by referring to that program.

Before television the little dirt road running around Norway House was called a highway. It still is, but having seen freeway chase scenes on television, the people now have a better appreciation of the word.

6. Some Conjecture on the Impact of Television on Personality

A major part of the impact of television upon the personality of Norway House children, it is believed, will come about through the culturally specific interpretation it has been given. However, it would

seem that there will also be effects from television which will occur independent of the cultural interpretation it has been given. Both types of impact are included in the conjecture that follows.

6.1. Postive Effects

6.1.1. possible influence on alcoholism

Alcoholism, among the cree, is, in general, a very negative institution. However there are some positive effects which include reassurance, aggression release, escape from reality and excitement. Weekend drunks have become an institution at Norway House and they almost inevitably lead to verbal and physical aggressions. But aggression is later excused as being the alcohol talking and not really the person himself. As one cree put it, holding up a bottle of Seagram's whiskey, "This is excitement!" If alcoholism serves as a means for releasing aggression, as an escape and as excitement, then television may reduce the need for alcohol for it too releases aggression, provides an escape from reality and provides excitement.

6.1.2. effects upon maturity

Traditionally the guardian spirit and the other "powers" provided the support individual's needed to enable them to go forth self-reliantly into an otherwise quite anxiety provoking world. If television, in its identity with dreaming and the shaking tent, revives this feeling of support from various powers, then it will increase aspirations, and self-confidence. Interpreting the new in terms of

the old promotes continuity, respect for tradition and less chaotic culture change.

Another potential positive effect on maturity comes from the nature of the behavior displayed by the characters on television. The television heroes are typically western in their emphasis on private property, and open, unhesitant social interaction beyond the primary group. These values could help the Cree deal with the factors in their new environment of needing to interact with many people beyond the primary group (not a traditional problem) and needing to recognize a vastly expanded network of kin (due to population growth). The traditional value on reticence and communal sharing works against the new interaction needs. Strangers can no longer be thought of as enemies. One's comfortable survival may depend upon fast reaction, and unhesitant socializing with strangers -- particularly potential employers. The open manner of the television hero in his interaction would be helpful here. Also, the expanded network of kin can no longer be given full access to one's property if one is to get enough benefit out of the property to pay for the sacrifice that went into acquiring it. An expansion of the concept of private property may be demanded here and, again, the behavior of television heroes may provide the model. If television provides models which may provide a basis for more sacrifice, hard work and effective social relations, it certainly will promote maturity and reduce frustration and anxiety.

6.1.3. effect on understanding white man's world

In general, television prepared the child for things to come.

A group of keddettes from Norway House went to Winnipeg for their first visit. They were not surprised by the tall buildings or the many tiered parking ramps or the hockey game they went to see, for they had seen all those things on television. But they were perplexed by the restaurant. Not the structure of it, for that they had also seen on television, but by the menus and the undecipherable descriptions of the dishes -- "big mac", "club sandwich", "ceaser's salad", "chicken steak", etc. Many of them got big surprises when their orders arrived. However, they quickly learned that it was not impolite to ask what things on the menu mean and another hurdle was crossed.

Television also helps the children judge time and read clocks. This is because the programs are listed according to clock time and are usually a standard half-hour or hour in length. As they are watching the clock waiting for a favorite program to come on or checking the listings to see when a certain program will be televised, the meaning of white man's time is made more clear.

It is hoped that television will provide a more accurate conception of the white man's role in the world. It seems that the biased sampling of white people experienced by the Norway House Cree leads them to perceive of the white man in one of two ways, as either a hero who provides for their needs, or as a villain who breaks promises, takes land, and jails or kills people. When a group of Norway House and Oxford House children were asked to pick out the heroes, villains and victims from a series of pictures of whites, blacks and indians,

they saw the white man as most likely to be the hero or the villain but as least likely to be the victim. This extreme view of the white man may be ameliorated by seeing him on television in roles where he is the victim of crime or pranks or the butt of jokes and not solely in the role of hero or villain. Admittedly the view of the white man on television is still a distortion of reality, but it may be less of a distortion than the narrow view they have previously had of white men.

6.2. Negative Effects

6.2.1. influence upon self-esteem

As a result of watching television, going to school, reading books and seeing movies, the Norway House children slowly become aware of the fact that the larger world considers them poor and pitiable and uneducated.

It's a slow dawning, but by the time the child is in the 6th grade and has a limited understanding of written and spoken English, his awareness of his poverty, his inadequacy in English and his general status in the world is enough to fuel an inward turning trend that lasts through the middle teenage years. The change in the personality of school children between 6th and 7th grades is dramatic. The sixth grade child is aspiring, lively and hopeful. The seventh grade child on the other hand is introverted, turned off and uncommunicative.

Television represents an invasion of the white world and its values into the pre-school child's mind. Before television, parents

could pretty well shield the child from negative self-images until he entered school. But now, with television in the home, the child is exposed to negative evaluations of his condition very much earlier than school age.

It is difficult to come to an overall conclusion on what might be the effects of this; there would seem to be two sides. On the one hand an early awareness of the indian's status in the world could reduce the numbing shock of later awareness and allow the child to more quickly throw off the inward retreat of teenage years. Presently at Norway House, the students begin to pull out of their introversion around the 10th grade level. Will an earlier exposure to reality fascilitate a more effective defense? On the other hand, an early exposure to negative self-images on television could drastically weaken the level of self-confidence and self-esteem generated in the normally shielded early years and thus reduce one of the few sources of strength the child has. It could thus make him even less effectual and persevering in his relationships with the world.

A study of responses to the TAT's show that the less acculturated Oxford House children do not recognize any conditions of poverty present in their lives while the Norway House children do. Responses were scored for the frequency of occurrence of references to the standard of living of the people in the various scenes of cree life depicted in the TAT's. There were no references to standard of living at all at Oxford House, while there were 10 at Norway House and 31 at Winnipeg (P .02). At Norway House, the breakdown was 0 references to standard of living for

3rd grades, 0 for 4th grade and 10 for 5th graders (distributed among five 11 year olds and one 12 year old).

The corresponding frequency by grade level and subject tested in succeeding years should provide evidence as to what effect television has on self-esteem.

6.2.2. influence on ability to evaluate and judge information

Television may reduce the ability of people to critically evaluate information and be active rather than passive recipients of information. Traditionally information was received through gossip and social interaction. Faculties of critical evaluation and active participation in the giving and receiving of information were developed. Today, with information being received through television, there is an absence of social interaction at the time of receiving information. Thus critical faculties of evaluating information may not develop as well, producing a more susceptible, less internally secure personality.

The show Gilligan's Island is a particularly good example. Gilligan, as we have said, is identified with Wisacatjik, the trickster. The function of trickster tales in their original context was several-fold, and we have already listed some of the functions. But those we listed are on a rather surface level of analysis, a deeper meaning, it has been suggested (Storm), is to reveal an important lesson about mankind -- that man is basically blind and irrational and will not do what is good for himself except through sheer trickery. Thus a trickster is the only one that can get people to do what is right. Traditionally

children asked their parents questions about the tales and learned about the deeper meanings. Television, however, cannot be questioned, nor does it volunteer information about the mysteries of life. Children today thus fail to profit fully from the stories they are told.

Another way that television weakens self reliance and spurs a more passive interaction with the world is through its restructuring of social relations in the home. Formerly chairs and couches were arranged in a circle and people faced each other and talked. With the arrival of television the seating has been arranged as an amphitheater with everyone facing the same direction toward the television. With this new seating arrangement and with television requiring more of the senses than radio, social interaction is reduced and, consequently, social skills.

Another reduction of social interaction caused by television is the decline of the movie as a social occasion. Before television children and adults numbering in the fourties and fifties went four or five times a week to see movies. With television these people are now staying home in small kinship groups and, thus, an important occasion for social and communal activity has been undermined.

6.2.3. effect on sex and violence

The Cree people are critical of sex and violence on television. They blame television for a too early awareness of sex on the part of the child and a too early experimentation with it. They also blame

television for dangerous children's games including kung-fu fighting and sword fighting and for the occasional discovery of children tied up to trees and abandoned.

6.2.4. effect on alertness at school

Teachers have complained that television causes children to stay up late at night (many parents, following the traditional non-interfering pattern, do not set bed times or television watching restrictions) and causes them to show up at school tired and listless.

6.2.5. effect on acculturation conflict

The modern values and behavior patterns seen on television may increase the conflicts of acculturation. For example, the effectiveness of the social control mechanism of attributing illness to bad behavior and the retribution of other persons may be reduced by western explanations of illness. Concepts of private property and reduced communal emphases may place an extra burden upon the unlucky, the aged and the infirm. And interfering modes of interaction may reduce the essential freedom of people. And all of these things will increase generation conflict.

But maybe in the long run these new values will serve the Cree in their new world. Hopefully television will provide insights into white behavior which will enable the Cree to fight more effectively for their rights and to more effectively carve their own pathway to the future.

7. Implications and Prospectives

We have seen how the culture and personality of the Cree have caused them to perceive television as a very different "thing" than that which Westerners conceive it to be. And we have seen that this perception plays an important role in determining the impact of television at Norway House.

This finding underscores the necessity of studying the impact of television from the perspective of the viewer. This is known, in Anthropology, as the "emic" approach. Many studies have failed to do this and have interpreted "effects" as being due to Western conceptions of the content and nature of television. This is known in Anthropology as the "etic" approach.

Our study cautions that "etic" findings may be culture bound and may be inapplicable to new situations and peoples.

As we proceed into the post television period of retesting subjects and continuing with our participant observation work, we shall be cognizant of the problem of the extent to which the effects of television at Norway House are due to etic or emic factors.

We feel that progress in the study of the impact of new communication systems will proceed as the role of these two factors in the process is clarified.

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9. Appendices to Part II

9.1 Appendix 1

Definitions and Scoring of Variables

A. Modernization Variables

1. Need - Achievement

Need-achievement is scored whenever subject tells a story in which someone seeks to excell and stand out as better than others.

2. Causality - Non-Causality

Causality is indicated by the tendency to tell stories in which characters try to overcome barriers in reaching goals and in which explanations are given for why things happen. It is the description of the settings and backgrounds for events.

Non-causality is indicated by the tendency to tell stories in which no explanations are given for demands or for what happens. It is the refusal to speculate and it is the description of events without plot, beginnings or endings.

3. Abstract Ability

Abstract ability is the attribution of imagined conjectural behavior to characters in stories. It is a willingness to speculate beyond concrete cues and readily apparent situations.

4. Rigid Time Consciousness

Rigid time consciousness is a concern with concrete and precise time. It is indicated by the ability to accurately judge the passage of time without mechanical help.

5. Self-Motivation and Independence-Dependence

- a. independence - independence is the tendency to try something unaided.
- b. dependence - dependence is the tendency to seek help in solving problems. Dependence is scored when a character in a story seeks help or sympathy or when he is disturbed over the loss of love or support. Dependence is also scored when characters are given help or a gift.
- c. self-motivation - self-motivation is scored whenever a subject describes behavior which is freely self-willed and which need not appear except as motivated by personal unforced wishes. Self-motivated behavior is behavior the absence of which does not bring strong negative external punishment. Self-motivation is scored when desires are attributed to characters and when those desires persist against blocks.

Outside motivation is scored whenever a subject describes behavior which is compelled by outside pressures. It is scored when behavior is described which ceases as blocks to it arise.

6. Optimism - Pessimism

- a. optimism - optimism is scored when subject gives stories a happy ending.
- b. pessimism - pessimism is scored when subject fantasies bad endings to stories or events.

7. Open Emotions - Closed Emotions

- a. open emotions - open emotions is scored when subjects draw large detailed, open stanced people.
- b. closed emotions - closed emotions is scored when subjects draw small, undetailed, evassively stanced people.

B. Conflict Variables

1. Anxiety

Anxiety is scored whenever subjects impute fear to characters in stories or when subjects describe fear provoking events.

2. Repression of Id

Repression of id is controlled aggression and controlled self wants.

- a. aggression - aggression is scored for death concepts, physical assault or verbal insult or threat. Aggression is scored as "controlled" when subject describes aggression toward non-human objects or when he does not elect to impute aggression to characters when such a fantasy is possible.
- b. controlled self-wants - self-wants are controlled when subject elects to delay gratification for seven days in order to obtain two candy bars instead of one.

3. Self-Esteem, Acceptance and Confidence

High self-acceptance and confidence is drawing large, detailed, open stanced men. It is the absence of references

to the standard of living of the Indian characters in photos.

Low self-esteem is drawing small, undetailed, closed-stanced people, and reference to the poorness and low standards of living of Indians in photographs.

9.2 Appendix 2

DRAW-A-MAN ANALYSIS
OF HORWAY HOUSE, OXFORD HOUSE
AND WINNIPEG CHILDREN

By: Linda Thorlakson &
Gary Granzberg

1. Introduction

Although the Rorschach and Thematic-Apperception-Test are the best known and most frequently used projection techniques in cross-cultural research, the draw-a-man offers some promising advantages for cross-cultural research. It minimizes the problem of verbal communication and translation. It is easy to administer in the field, requiring little time and equipment. And it is particularly useful with children, shy subjects, or any who find it difficult to communicate verbally. With these advantages, and with the knowledge that the draw-a-man had been used to interpret several personality traits which were of interest to the authors, drawings were collected from the group of Cree and Euro-Canadian children who were under observation in our study of the impact of television on the Cree.

2. Method

2.1. Subjects

Data was collected from 145 children - 45 Cree children in Oxford House, 53 Cree children in Norway House, and 47 Euro-Canadian children from a Winnipeg school. The children were in grades 3, 4 and 5 and ranged in age from 9 to 12. Division between males and females was approximately equal.

2.2. Procedure

While in class, the subjects as a group were asked to draw themselves, to draw a man, and to draw a church. They were given paper and used pencils or crayons as available. These drawings were then

scored blindly and analysed. The analyses of the draw-a-man will be described here.

2.3. Scoring

The draw-a-man research (Buck, Machover, Bodwin) was studied and an eclectic scoring scheme was drawn up. Three scales were derived: 1) open vs closed self-concept; 2) intelligence; and 3) active and assured vs. passive and low self-confidence.

2.3.1. open vs. closed self-concept:

There were 32 variables which were scored for self-concept. Each variable received a score of 1, 2 or 3. A "1" indicates an open self-concept meaning active, assured, outgoing, self-reliant, self-confident, social communicability, feelings of control or power. A "2" is 'in between'. A "3" denotes a closed self-concept, meaning passive, withdrawn, submissive, dependent, retained, insecure, socially evasive. The scoring system for open vs. closed self-concept is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Draw-A-Man Variables for Scoring Self-Concept

Perspective:	(1) forward stance
	(2) body profile, face forward
	(2) face profile, body forward
	(3) full profile
Stance:	(1) legs apart
	(2) legs together or parallel
	(3) body in profile
	(2) legs not visible
	(2) legs missing

- Action or Movement: (1) figure indicates movement
(2) figure is static
- Size of figure: (1) 8" and over
(1) 6-8"
(2) 4-6"
(3) 2-4"
(3) 0-2"
- Placement on Page: (2) top left
(2) top centre
(2) top right
(1) middle left
(1) middle centre
(1) middle right
(3) bottom left
(1) bottom centre
(3) bottom right
- Space usage: (1) all over
(3) isolated areas
- Head: (1) large
(2) medium
(3) small
- Facial Expression: (1) happy
(3) sad
(2) bland
(1) angry
(3) worried
(2) unable to tell
(2) surprise
- Mouth: (1) large
(2) medium
(3) small
(3) missing
- Number of details in mouth: (1) four
(2) three
(2) two
(2) one
(3) none
- Eyes: (1) large
(2) medium
(3) small
(3) missing

Number of details in eyes: (1) five
(2) four
(2) three
(2) two
(3) one

Ears: (1) large
(2) medium
(3) small
(2) not visible
(2) missing

Hair: (1) much
(2) average
(3) little
(2) not visible
(2) missing

Arms (size): (1) long
(2) medium
(3) short
(2) n/a

Arms (direction): (1) away from body
(2) down at side
(3) behind back
(3) pressed close to side
(2) not visible
(3) missing

Hands (size): (1) large
(2) medium
(3) small
(2) not visible
(2) missing

Hands: (1) visible - doing
(1) visible - holding
(2) visible - static
(3) behind back or in pocket
(2) not visible
(3) missing

Legs: (1) long
(2) medium
(3) short
(2) not visible
(3) missing

- Feet: (1) large
(2) medium
(3) small
(2) not visible
(3) missing
- Background: (1) none
(1) little
(2) average
(3) much
- Clothing (number of pieces): (1) 0-3
(2) 4-7
(3) over seven
- Accessories: (1) none
(2) 1-2
(3) more than 2
- Line pressure: (1) heavy
(1) firm
(3) light
- Line solidity: (1) solid
(3) broken or fragmented
(3) sketchy
- Erasures: (1) none
(2) single
(3) multiple
- Reinforcements: (1) none
(2) single
(3) multiple
- Transparency: (1) none
(2) part
(3) whole
- Degree of completion or detail: (1) very
(2) average
(3) little
- Symmetry: (1) yes
(2) no
(3) unable to tell
- Primitiveness: (1) no
(2) some
(3) yes

Form (preference): (1) straight, angular
 (2) curved, circular

2.3.2. intelligence

Seven variables measured the amount of detail in the drawings. The amount of detail indicates the level of intellectual maturity (high detail = high intelligence). Table 2 presents the scoring system for intelligence.

Table 2

Draw-a-Man Variables for Scoring Intelligence

Number of details in mouth:	0 zero 1 one 2 two 3 three 4 four
Number of details in eye:	1 one 2 two 3 three 4 four 5 five
Ears:	1 present 2 absent
Background:	1 none 2 little - horizon line or tree 3 average - couple of details 4 much - 3 or 4 or more details
Clothing (number of pieces):	1 0-3 2 4-7 3 more than 7
Accessories:	0 zero 1 one 2 two
Degree of completion or detail:	1 little 2 average 3 very

2.3.3. active and assured vs. passive and low confidence

Nine variables were selected which measured confidence and passivity. They are listed in Table 3 - the higher the score the more passivity and lack of confidence.

Table 3

Draw-a-Man Variables for Scoring Active and Assured
vs. Passive and Low-Confidence

Form (preference);	1 straight, angular 2 curved, circular
Action or movement:	1 movement 2 static
Size of figure:	1 more than 8" 2 6-8" 3 4-6" 4 2-4" 5 0-2"
Placement on page:	1 top centre 1 middle left, centre and right 1 bottom centre 2 top left and right 2 bottom left and right
Arms (direction:	1 away from body 2 down at side 3 behind back 4 pressed close to side 5 not visible 6 missing
Action of hands:	1 visible - doing 2 visible - holding 3 visible - static 4 behind back or in pocket 5 not visible 6 missing
Background:	1 none 2 little 3 average 4 little

Line pressure: 1 heavy
 2 firm
 3 light

Erasures: 1 none
 2 single
 3 multiple

3. Results

3.1. Open vs. Closed Self-Concept

The number of subjects who indicated a "1" response was totalled for each of the 32 variables. Similarly, for a "2", and a "3" response. The results were as follows:

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
1	631	648	693
2	531	647	560
3	278	401	250

A complex chi square test shows that these differences are significant at better than .001 probability.

On the average, if one subject was taken from each culture, the number of "1", "2", and "3" responses he would have would be the following:

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
1	14.0	12.2	14.7
2	11.8	12.2	10.9
3	6.2	7.6	5.3

3.2. Intelligence

Each subject was given a score on the basis of the 7 variables described in Table 2. A higher score indicates a higher level of intellectual maturity. Mean scores were calculated for males and females in each culture.

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
M	7.91	8.12	8.16
F	9.62	7.38	10.5

An extension of the median test was performed on the following data, using M and F combined: ("A" indicates the number who scored above the median, and "B" indicates the number who scored below the median.)

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
A	21	15	21
B	23	32	16

It was found to be significant between the .05 and .02 level of probability.

Intelligence scores were re-calculated and tested after the elimination of one variable (the amount of detail in the background) because the test after which this scale was modelled did not include this variable. The results were very similar:

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
A	22	14	22
B	22	33	15

The extension of the median test showed these differences to be slightly more significant (between .02 and .01 probability).

3.3. Active and Assured vs. Passive and Low Confidence

Each subject was given a score on the basis of the 9 variables outlined in Table 3. A higher score indicates greater passivity and non-confidence. Mean scores were calculated for males and females in each culture.

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
M	18.82	18.58	16.94
F	18.42	17.57	18.72

An extension of the median test was performed on the following data, using M and F combined: ("A" is the number who scored above the median and "B" is the number who scored below.)

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
A	19	24	13
B	25	23	24

It was found to be significant between the .20 and .10 level of probability.

It was thought profitable to regroup the variables composing this measure. Background, line pressure and erasures served to indicate confidence vs. non-confidence (where a high score equals low confidence); the other variables formed the active vs. passive scale (high score = high passivity).

Active vs. Passive: Subjects were divided by grade and rated on this scale. The mean scores are as follows:

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
3	--	11.87	--
4	12.36	12.85	12.36
5	12.25	11.56	11.68

Using all grades and all sexes combined, an extension of the median test was performed on the following: (where "A" is the number above and "B" is the number below the median).

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
A	19	11	11
B	25	36	26

It was found to be significant between the .20 and .10 levels of probability.

Confidence vs. Non-confidence: Each subject was given a score on this scale and an extension of the median test was performed on the following:

	Oxford House	Norway House	Winnipeg
A	17	26	10
B	27	21	27

It was found to be significant between the .05 and .02 levels of probability.

4. Discussion

From the above data, the Winnipeg sample has the most open self concept (the highest percentage of "1" responses and the fewest "3" responses). Norway House has the most closed self concept (the lowest percentage of "1" responses and the most "3" responses).

Oxford House is in between.

More subjects in the Winnipeg sample scored above the median on intelligence than below; in Oxford House the split was about equal; while in Norway House, more than twice as many scored below the median than above. This suggests that, for this particular measure, Winnipeg is the most intelligent, followed by Oxford House, and then Norway House. However the influence of culture upon self-concept would cause us to question the validity of this finding.

In Winnipeg, nearly twice as many scored below the median on the active and assured vs. passive and low-confidence scale, indicating they tended toward the active and assured end of the scale. The same trend was shown in Oxford House, although there is not such a marked dichotomy. But in Norway House, the split is almost half and half. So to rate the three cultures, Winnipeg is the most active and assured, followed by Oxford House, and then Norway House.

But looking at the active vs. passive dimension alone, the result is different. Slightly more than twice as many scored toward the active side in Winnipeg; a few more scored toward the active side in Oxford House than to the passive; but in Norway House, more than three times as many scored toward the active end than the passive end. The fact that the Norway House group is the most aggressive of the three may account for part of this difference.

Looking at the confidence dimension alone, nearly twice as many in Winnipeg showed confident responses as showed non-confident

ones; in Oxford House, more showed confident responses than non-confident ones; and in Norway House, more subjects showed non-confident responses than confident ones. This also agrees with the field workers' observations that the Norway House group is the least confident of the three.

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PART III

TELEVISION AT THE JACKHEAD (SAULTEAUX) RESERVE - 1974-75 (WITH AN ADDENDUM ON THE FISHER RIVER CREE)

by

Jack Steinbring

During the period following our preliminary report, a thorough survey of television preferences together with some social, demographic and economic information on families was conducted at Jackhead. This involved both directive techniques (in the form of a questionnaire) and non-directive techniques (in the form of open-ended interview elements). The survey work was conducted in the Saulteaux language by the wife of the band manager. This woman was born on the Jackhead Reserve and had achieved Grade 10. She had previous questionnaire-based interviewing experience, and was closely supervised by the field investigator during the 8-week period of data collection. A substantial amount of basic interviewing was conducted by the field investigator. This was designed to develop cultural background data, and to secure depth for communications analysis.

Of the 30 families at Jackhead, 27 voluntarily responded to the band-approved interviews. Two refused to participate, and one could not be reached. The two that refused did not own television sets. One old woman who did participate in the interviews also did not have a television. She had both sight and hearing deficiencies, and explained that she could not understand much English anyway.

Typical Saulteaux reticence is evident in all the interview material. Responses, even to open, motivational inquiries, were tense and guarded. A virtually identical program of interviewing was conducted at the neighboring Cree community of Fisher River (Koostatak) during the same period. There is a very substantially greater responsiveness indicated in that recovery. One immediately evident way in which this is expressed is through the numeration of favored programming. Jackhead preferences average between 3 and 4, while Koostatak's commonly range between 7 and 10.

The Jackhead families show a degree of alignment between "traditional" orientation and certain forms of program preference, as well as in total television-related behaviors. As had been predicted in the preliminary report, the more conservative families in the community tended to exhibit a strong preference for the "soap opera" category, principally Edge of Night. The expectation that Family Court would also be a heavy favorite for this community division was, however, not sustained. While popular, it was spread across community "lines", and did not rank nearly as high as the non-directive interviews of 1973-74 had suggested it would. It is not known if this constitutes a change over the year, or if, in fact, the interviewing on this had earlier involved non-representational units. Family Court is known to be distinctly unpopular among conservative Saulteaux families in the eastern Lake Winnipeg area.

Edge of Night remains unique in the power it has over behavioral adjustment. Adult males, working on road brushing crews, were quitting

their jobs early enough in the summer afternoons of 1974 to travel back to the reserve (up to 25 miles) in order to see it. These were mature, responsible family heads in no way given to excessive behaviors. One 60 year old woman (Pentocostal-traditional) proudly remarked that she had only missed the program once (during a power failure) since getting a set (about three years before). No important advances have been made on the explanation for this phenomenon. The attraction still appears to be framed within a deep-seated combination of cultural and psychological factors not readily described in ordinary terms. There is, in fact, an added potential complication from the 74-75 data. An informant, seriously reflecting on its possible meaning, suggested that the program is a "kind of puzzle". Taken together with the correspondence between the complex pattern of familial and extra-familial relationships of actors, and that of the indigenous Ojibwa kin structure, cognitive satisfaction in the excitement of prediction is a definite possibility. The role of gossip mentioned in the preliminary report forms a very basic factor in such a hypothesis, since gossip acts as a kind of catalytic force in the fusion of kin-non-kin elements of the social world with the unique Ojibwa intellectuality. It is something to be both endured and manipulated by all, and its primary requirement (in the success of either) is pervasive knowledge of stance and relationship in the total community. In a non-literate culture, particularly one in which kin structure is evolved to a high level of complexity (as the Ojibwas' is), this experience offers one of the various significant counterparts to the "advanced" reasonings of Western man. This would

help explain another response that Edge of Night is "a maze". Davidson's finding in the preliminary report that the background music of this program offers a perfect correspondence with that used to describe traditional Ojibwa visionary experiences appear greatly strengthened by recent psychiatric research in British Columbia. In this work (Jilek & Todd 1974) EEG's administered to Native mental patients listening to shamanistic drumming record ranges significant to those regarded as having therapeutic value. From this, it can be advanced that satisfactions may accrue from the dramatically ordered music which aligns with the mobile dimension of the attractively complex plot structure.

With the exception of Edge of Night, action programs dominate the television preferences of most families. Canon ranks next to Edge of Night, and most explain its popularity by the fighting in it. Each episode involves at least one hand-to-hand battle with the hero. Hawaii 5-0 has a very similar combination of action elements, but rates much lower than Canon. This is easily explained by the fact that Hawaii 5-0 is scheduled very late at night while Canon is on at "prime time". Tarzan is a big favorite in this category too, but its scheduling on Saturday morning conflicts for many with trips to purchase supplies. Nearly all direct sports telecasts are highly popular, even swimming events. An exception is golf, for which no interest was expressed. Finally, cartoons attract both young and old, and the news is listed by many. The latter remains confusing since many do not understand what they are hearing, and, in some cases, seeing (as in news reports on technical equipment like computers). In talking about the newscasts with one

informant, it was explained that this "shows you what is happening all over". Further discussion brought out that the "news" functions somewhat as travelling did in the traditional culture. It is quite conceivable, from indigenous concepts of time and space (Hallowell 1955), that travelling served both functional-adaptive ends related to economy, and ends which could be classed as entertainment. Travelling offered new and exciting vistas constantly, and the enormous distances commonly negotiated by aboriginal Ojibwa cannot be explained by economic factors alone. Thus, as Granzberg has shown a possible connection between conjuring shamanism and television among the Cree, it seems plausible that television programs like the "news" relate to a traditional love for travel among the Ojibwa. Even the practical elements of imagery might be analyzed for their cognitive potentials. Just as one passed along the rivers in a canoe with the scenes moving past the viewer, the television watcher remains stationary as the scenes pass him. Television offers an infinitely variable impingement of new experiences. Thus, this concept may offer both practical and abstract applications.

Resistance to television at Jackhead is very low. Only three families do not own televisions, all of them Pentacostal church members who believe that television violates their code. All the other families have owned a set for at least two years, and some for as long as 5 years - mutually coincident with the provision of electricity. Three families have color sets at this time. Only one of these could be classed as "affluent," the others getting their sets by skillful management.

Given opportunities to reflect on the advantages and disadvantages of television, the Jackhead people reach a generally positive consensus. Television provides good, cheap entertainment at home, without travelling in enormously expensive cars. Parents frequently point out that their children are "learning better" because of television. In the latter case, Sesame Street is commonly cited as helping children learn their numbers quickly, well before going to school. Adults too, learn refinements in English because they hear its use in many situations.

Despite the generally positive consensus, there are certain things which all users criticize. Foremost among these remains the belief that violent behavior has been aroused by it among their formerly passive children. Only the application of empirical tests comparable to those being administered in the other three research units can serve to develop a clear understanding of this. Another major criticism is the exclusive use of English in programming. Many would like a regionally focused program in Saulteaux or Cree (which most understand reasonably well). More channels are desired too, since CBC (the government owned network) is the only one available for virtually all of the Canadian north. Almost equal to these criticisms is the view that there are too many commercials. Many advertisements are thought to be fundamentally offensive, especially those which are sexually oriented. Contrary to stereotypes, both Saulteaux and Cree totally refrain from non-verbal sexuality in communicative behaviors. It seems curious that this obvious ethnologic fact appears never to have been referred to by analysts in the past.

An interesting example of the connection between adult learning from television and commercials was brought out by the chief. He openly discussed the educative value of television to himself (he has Grade 4). He observed, however, that "just when you start to understand something, a commercial comes along". In this he was referring to both understanding particular English usages, and some aspect of urban culture. He went on to say that he often got frustrated at times like this and would turn the set off.

While some families impose restrictions on child viewing, most do not. This conforms directly with the permissive-indulgent child-rearing practises of the Saulteaux. It is of interest to observe, however, that the dilemma described in the preliminary report may now be seen in slightly greater depth. The more traditional families are the ones to have instituted controls, probably because their stronger identities enabled them to more readily perceive the effects of this new stimulus. Being also conservatively wary, they were proceeding upon a more tentative, experimental plane with the new phenomenon. The non-traditional, whose identity parameters were already confused, retained the permissive stance and could effectively argue its retention on "traditional" grounds. One may note further, that there are very few criticisms about the effect of television violence upon children by the latter group. Empirical testing may offer some clarification on the actual effect of these two divergent approaches.

Granzberg has cited the literature on television violence and its effect upon children. It remains here to describe the historical

and social factors which relate to violence among the Saulteaux at Jackhead. Hallowell (1955) has indicated, from long term residential research among the Berens River Saulteaux (to whom the Jackhead families are directly related), that the Ojibwa personality is one of inordinate passivity. The traditional means for expressing psychological aggression were largely confined to sorcery and gossip. As Christian missionizing and other Western influences caused shamanism to diminish, gossip came to take on a more and more important role. To some extent, alcohol may have come to serve nearly equally. Gossip is a form of social manipulation, however, and does not involve raw aggression. For that matter, neither did sorcery. Alcohol does involve raw aggression, and a very substantial record of such behavior can be obtained at Jackhead. Some violence too, is malicious, object-directed, and not alcohol related. The latter would appear to be associated with younger people, but there are incidents which, as will be seen below, are attributed to adults. (Some of these may be alcohol-related). The following discussion derives entirely from 1974-75 field notes not available at the time of the preliminary report.

In December of 1975, the forestry cabin north of Dallas (37 miles south of Jackhead) was burned to the ground. Several informants indicate that this was a case of arson (nobody was living in it, and there were 2 feet of snow all around it). Rumors attribute this act to a particular family which seems to have a reputation for violent acts. The elderly parents have, at times, covered for the sons, but both have expressed deep depression over their lack of control. The family is very

active in the Pentacostal church and clearly of traditional persuasion. The arson could be viewed as anti-White then, if it were not for the fact that the same "boys" are alleged to have fired a .303 through the Pentacostal church on New Year's Eve 1974. This incident took place when the lights were on, but no one was in the church. An informant remarked that he would normally have been seated in the direct path of the bullets.

All of the windows of the Anglican church were broken in the spring of 1974. The pump hoses for the fishing station were severed with a knife. The fishing association involves all three church groups and was the main source of earned money income for many large families during 1974. The pumps are essential for maintaining legal standards, and fish cannot be processed efficiently without them. Several cars which were mechanically functional were wrecked by rocks during the summer of 1974. The windows and headlights were smashed and hoods bent, as well as some dismantling. Children (9-10 year range) were seen doing this in one case, but another seems confidently attributed to the same family associated with the shooting and arson incidents. In this case, a possible RCMP informant (who witness the shooting incident) had hidden his car in fear of retaliation. It was found and wrecked.

During a drunken brawl, one man shot another in the arm. The victim was hospitalized for several weeks during the summer of 1974. Recently a man at the Peguis Reserve was acquitted of charges laid in connection with his shooting a Jackhead man who broke his front door in

at 4:00 A.M. The Jackhead man was reported to have been drinking heavily. Over the same period, several shooting incidents (at least one fatal) occurred at Berens River among families related to those at Jackhead. Shortly before this interim report, a Jackhead man was murdered in front of the beer hall at Hodgson (55 miles south of Jackhead). Two men beat him to death with a car jack as he emerged with some beer. This happened in full view of his wife who was waiting in the car a few feet away. There had been an argument in the beer hall earlier. On the same weekend, a car travelling at a fast rate completely severed a gas pump just across the street. The speeding car was driven by persons from the Peguis Reserve who had been drinking.

Middle-aged and elderly people at Jackhead have expressed great fear that the irresponsible use of cars on their main road will soon lead to deaths. Youths and young adults travel at great speed down this loose gravel road. They are often drinking at the time. The RCMP, when possible, arrest such persons and take away the licenses. Impaired drivers are listed in the newspapers. Addresses are given, so lists can be checked for reserve residents. Many Jackhead drivers have lost their licences, at least temporarily. This has led to a profitable vocation for moderate or non-drinkers. A chauffeurs licence permits one to drive another's car. The "fees" for this have come to be quite high. It is now common practice for a "delicensed" person to hire a driver who can "switch" in case the RCMP show up. Recently one of these unlicensed drivers was relieved of a loaded* gun he had in the

*Since moose and other game may be spotted on the roads, guns carried in cars are always loaded.

car since the "chaffeur" and other passengers felt that he might shoot someone.

During the period here considered, one forced entry to the band store took place. The glass and latch of the main door were broken and a large amount of tobacco and sweets taken. The culprits were found, all males under age 10. One informant later remonstrated with the lads saying that they had been "stupid" to take only tobacco and sweets, and further, to have tried to hide the things together. In other words, no actual guilt for the offense itself was proclaimed. The same informant, on another occasion, openly described (as a "good deal") his purchase of a probably stolen gun in new condition.

Two brutal beatings of older men by several younger men are known to have occurred during the 1974-75 note period. One was the Chief, the other an elderly councillor. Community factionalism, apparently apart from the Church, was the only explanation. The incidents were covert. Measures were taken to prevent further occurrences, the Chief, for example, travelled with a brother to events at which the same trouble might develop. Drinking was not involved in the case of the Chief, but it was in the case of the old councillor.

Some analysts of the television phenomenon have asserted that violent behavior may be moderated by its persistent experience in the "television state". This idea might be coupled with that of McAndrew and Egerton (1960) which has it that alcohol is "time out". Television may be "time out", and the experience in it (a sub-liminal state) may exhaust, to some degree, the psychic energies otherwise motivational in

violent behavior. This, of course, would be quite apart from the many other functions it presumably serves. And, the proof of it would require long term observation and highly complex forms of analysis. Needless to say, it may not be true.

There is at Jackhead (and probably at many other Native communities) a coincidence of highly strategic historical factors, some of them mentioned above. In overview this coincidence involves a base-state of essential passivity. To this aboriginal phase were introduced Christian missionizing and alcohol. The decline of Native religious experience led to elaborations of gossip and acceleration in alcohol adoption. There is ample evidence for the historical association between raw aggression and alcohol, whether one accepts or rejects the "excuse for bad behavior" hypothesis of McAndrew and Egerton. For most, interior Algonkian communities the acculturation surrounding these factors was very gradual. In recent decades, many communities have experienced a renewed abruptness in strategic acculturational factors. This is brought on by two events, the introduction of roads (and cars), and the introduction of hydro-electric power. At Jackhead, raw aggression was probably at a minimum prior to the introduction of a road. Alcohol supply was very limited until then. Urban contact, and a growing involvement in money-centered economy grew with roads. At Jackhead, money welfare programs grew rapidly with increased road traffic. This led immediately to higher purchasing power for alcohol. The next major event is the provision of electricity. With it came continuous (as opposed to controlled)

radio use, and television. It seems that raw aggression has increased greatly as television has been introduced and adopted. This does not suggest causality, however, since urban influences, combined with church-related factionalism may have produced tensions, the resolution of which is neatly explained away by alcohol, just as McAndrew and Egerton claim for earlier historic phases elsewhere. It remains to be found out whether the "dream state", and intellectual absorptions created through television function to resolve tensions of the kind being experienced. These tensions are more than just simply psychological. They are basically fused with both social and cultural factors.

Major frustrations at either the group or individual levels, are sometimes seen to cause violence. The Jackhead community did experience such a major frustration in 1974. The newly formed Jackhead fishing station was a remarkable success when it was initiated in the spring. The Chief directed its organization and there was a high degree of cooperation among many of the more responsible and mature Jackhead men. They built an ice house, "made ice", and erected an excellent processing station. The men had commercial fishing experience, and the summer catches were good. Several filled their quotas, with the Chief himself getting the largest poundage. A store was set up, and the early summer fishing saw many family bills paid up, and some rigs (boats, motors, and nets) clear. Soon after the beginning of the even more lucrative fall fishing season, however, disaster hit. Employees of the Freshwater Fish Marketing Board of Manitoba declared a strike at the Selkirk processing plant. This

literally crippled the small commercial fishermen of the province. Jackhead was instantly affected. Fish piled up until storage was exhausted, and still no chance to send it on to the processing plant. The men were forced to stop fishing. The strike lingered on until the acceptable time limits of storage at Jackhead were exceeded. The fall catch was trucked to two large disposal areas outside the community. By this time, the fishermen had large debts at the band store. Ultimately, the store was forced to close with \$55,000 on the books. An advisor from the Federal Government is reported to have suggested the possibility that boats and motors might be confiscated. To date this has not happened. There was much doubt expressed about the resumption of the fishing operation at all in 1975. At this time the (now former) chief has agreed to manage it and five of the best fishermen from last year are committed. There can be no doubt that the effect of the fall fishing failure was profound at Jackhead. Many families and the band store itself were dependent upon it. The failure was especially disastrous in the light of the summer success. And, it was totally beyond the control of efficiently organized men who knew well what they were doing and who shared in an excellent spirit of group cooperation. It was the ultimate in deflation for persons who could rightly have expected the opposite. How far the influences of this could have proceeded into the psychological and social spheres will probably never be known. If, however, these kinds of things can be the indirect cause of violence, then the Jackhead situation would form an example of unusually high potential.

Another source of stress at Jackhead which has become more noticeable over the past year is the church-related factionalism. There are Anglican, Catholic and Pentacostal churches operating at Jackhead. The Catholic church is very small, the Anglican is nominally the largest, and Pentacostal is between the other two in size, (probably closer to the Anglican than the Catholic). Pentacostal affiliation is not always formal. Persons who state their affiliation to be Anglican may actually attend Pentacostal services more often than they do the Anglican. While difficult to support with figures, it seems that there is a general trend (regionally as well as locally) toward Pentacostal. One reason for this may involve Native identity. Pentacostal preachers are almost invariably of Native background. At Jackhead, they are lay persons from the band itself. Anglican preachers are almost always White, as are the Catholic clergy. Pentacostal, by its belief in a spiritual visitation as a profound turning point in one's life, perfectly satisfies the indigenous concept of the vision quest. The strength of Pentacostal has grown at Jackhead to the point where stress has arisen over the "official" cemetery plot. This lies on the Anglican church grounds. Each spring there is a community clean-up of the cemetery. This year (1975), some Pentacostals refused to participate in this saying that they should have their own cemetery. Added to this argument was the reminder that "Pentacostals are Indians". The people are generally disturbed over church factionalism, even to the point that one man recently had a dream in which his name was called to go about tearing down the signs on churches. He states that "God

did not make Anglicans, or Catholics, or Pentacostals. He made Indians". Some even cite scriptures to support this.

It is difficult to say that the incidents of violence involving the Anglican and Pentacostal church buildings are the result of factional disputes. The fact that the most strongly alleged perpetrators of the Pentacostal incident were themselves Pentacostal suggests that this is a doubtful hypothesis. The "dual" membership of many persons would also detract from it.

Work will continue indefinitely at Jackhead with the collection of non-directive interview data bearing on the significant questions raised in this interim report. A full analysis of statistically useful questionnaire data will be completed for inclusion in a final report scheduled for 1976. The introduction of empirical tests among children will have to await the provision of further funds. It is considered a vital component in testing assumptions about television violence, and should be commenced within the next year.

Addendum - Koostatak, Fisher River Reserve

During December and January 1974-75, Janet Crate, a young Cree woman from the Fisher River Reserve conducted a survey of television preferences and family background data on her reserve. Miss Crate did this work as part of third year studies at the University of Winnipeg. The data includes family composition (sex and age of all members), educational levels, vocational and economic information, an ordered listing of television preferences, and open-ended reflective responses

bearing upon values related to television. A very high proportion of families responded to this survey, and the data is unusually comprehensive for this type of survey.

The Fisher River Reserve was established as a relocation of about 25 Cree families from Norway House in 1875. The leader of this group was Koostatak, after whom the main settlement of the reserve is named. The community was formed with the intention of farming, a policy in vogue at the time. Commercial and independent fishing, and some trapping dominated the economy throughout the reserve's history, but farming did develop and now constitutes a primary economic venture. In 1909, The Peguis Reserve was established directly adjacent to Fisher River on the west. This new reserve accommodated a Saulteaux relocation from the St. Peters band near what is now Selkirk, Manitoba. While there is a substantial vocabulary overlap (50%) between Cree and Saulteaux, the distinctions, both sociological and linguistic, are sufficient to largely prohibit intermarriage. Naturally there is some, but Saulteaux from Jackhead marry Saulteaux from Peguis, Berens River, and Poplar River, not Cree from Fisher River who are their closest neighbors. The same is true for Peguis residents. These Saulteaux, living adjacent to the Cree Reserve, still commonly marry Saulteaux from other areas, or from within their own (which is the 2nd largest in the province). Traditional differences in culture are diminishing. The totemic system of the Saulteaux has largely disappeared thus virtually eliminating this distinction from the Cree which did not have such a system. There were various differences in specific kin-structural

attributes, but these too are no longer of consequence. Institutional development in the sphere of magico-religious activity was confined to the Saulteaux. This too has disappeared, while similarities in the more personal levels of such experience are to some extent retained by both. Too little is yet known to speculate on basic psychological differences, but hints at differences in female-male role distinctions and authority patterns suggest that there may be some.

A highly significant binding attribute in the form of contemporary religious life is growing. Koostatak is the regional center for Pentacostal church activities. While the Peguis Reserve has temporary tent meetings during the summer, Koostatak has one all summer long. A great many people from Peguis attend these services, more than once a week. Car loads of people from Jackhead also make the 40 mile trip twice a week to Koostatak. In conversations about church life, Koostatak always comes up. It seems possible that this important sharing of belief and practice will increase intermarriage and tend to diminish "felt" distinctions between Saulteaux and Cree in the Interlake. The implications this has for further investigations of television influence are clear. Work on the basic cultural components must be completed without delay.

With a good body of Cree data from Norway House and Oxford House already in hand (and growing), the comparative value of the Koostatak material is readily apparent. Here are the descendants of a population moved from Norway House, one-hundred years ago. Our present investigation features, as one of the most significant units, the "ancestral"

band itself.

Fisher River received hydro six years ago, at which time many families quickly acquired television sets. A casual comparison of preference data suggests general similarities to Jackhead. An analysis of the data has not yet been initiated and a description of the Fisher River material is planned for the 1976 report.

PART IV
CONCLUSIONS

by
John Hammer

In this report the descriptive material of life on the three reserves indicates considerable conflict and contradiction between Algonkian beliefs and values and those of Euro-Canadians. Much of the individualistic cognitive style of the free ranging hunter and trapper remains intact, despite the sedentary existence in fairly densely populated reserve communities. This does not mean, however, that cooperative community action is impossible or does not occur. The data on the fisheries cooperative activities at Jackhead indicate that the people can work together enthusiastically under appropriate circumstances.

Nevertheless, the comparative data from the testing of Cree and Euro-Canadian children points up the nature and depth of the conflict. Such items of difference are to be seen in the Cree stress on pragmatic rather than abstract morality, the emphasis on the concrete and unique as opposed to concern with the overall situation, an orientation toward repetitive, cyclical, time instead of a temporal system conceived as an infinite, progressive, continuum, and a deep-seated concern on the part of the older generation for generosity and respect for elders. It is evident from the test material that value conflict is most severe for

Norway House children, but that the institutional source of the disturbance is conceived by Cree informants on both reserves to be the Euro-Canadian socialization process provided by the public school system. Though in recent years education authorities have come to respect the importance of Cree traditions in the maintenance of ethnic identity, they have not been able to completely accept such fundamental cultural aspects as the Cree language, shamanism, emotional reserve, non-abstractness, and non-causality.

In light of the above it is interesting that one of the most important ways in which both children and adults have adapted to acculturational stress is in the reinterpretation of the meaning of television to fit the traditional cognitive style. As we indicated in the beginning of this report the Cree fantasy world centres on techniques for gaining power through dreams and shamanistic practices. Consequently the source of television has become analogous to the power generated in the shaman's tent in which distant persons and animals, alive and dead, were conjured up to provide vital information, curing techniques, and information on activities in distant places.

The content of modern television deals extensively with situations of power as in the case of the professional patron/client type relations, rivalries, and jealousies of the soap opera. In addition there are the fantasies of talking with and gaining power through the assistance of animals and the metamorphosis of humans into animals and inanimate objects. All of these events are reminiscent of the traditional emphasis on dreaming and quest for supernatural experience.

Some, such as the informant at Jackhead, complain of the discontinuity between program and advertising which disrupts the chain of thought and makes understanding difficult. But even in the fast change of pace and discontinuity of subject matter there is an analogy with the traditional Algonkian propensity to anticipate the unexpected, as well as acceptance of a continual change of scene that is part of the semi-nomadic hunting and trapping life style.

There are, however, some potential non-adaptive aspects of television that may be recognized by some of the questions advanced in the previous section and at the end of the last report. One such problem relates to the potential opposition between parent/child and peer group relationships. The traditional permissive, learn by example, socialization process characteristic of bush living seems to have carried over to reserve life. Indeed, as we have seen, parents are reluctant to impose the restrictions on children which they sense are imposed by Euro-Canadian parents living in sedentary communities. Instead they look to the school and teachers to impose behavioral limits. At the same time the school is a principle source of contention, viewed by parents as having served to destroy much of the traditional culture. Moreover, most parents have experienced relatively little formal schooling hence are no longer in a position, especially father, to provide the effective adult models that they did when people were living in the bush. Thus it is one's peers with whom one is being trained for the future who stand in opposition to an irrelevant parental

generation. This helps to explain the increasing parental sense of lack of control, the random wandering of teen-age gangs, and the many destructive and violent acts which are becoming a part of the reserve style of life.

Given traditional pragmatism, the presedence of detail over wholistic explanation, lack of committment to long term goals developed through time, and lack of emphasis upon a discontinuity between subjective and objective experience, it is easy to see how television can become a disruptive instrument in Algonkian cultures. Thus our analysis of the response to programming indicates that it is not the message, other than the factual data provided by news coverage, but the characters which seem to be important. It is the aimlessness and vitality of the peer group which provides an ideal situation in support of acting out the aggressive bravado of television characters. We have provided considerable empirical data showing why and how violent characters are both abhorred and esteemed. On the one hand overt aggressiveness has traditionally been unacceptable, but on the other hand action is more meaningful than words. Unfortunately much of the action of Television characters is involved with violent activity. It is not the ends of these actions but the actions themselves which seem to be the focus of Algonkian fantasy. The fact that there is no great distinction between the world of fantasy and reality, makes acting out the roles of television heroes and heroines fit perfectly with the aggressive bravado of peer relationships described in Section Two. Furthermore, the excitement of the moment, regardless of long-term consequences, feeds

into this situation. The sense of rage that often accompanies peer group violence is also supported by the contradictions between the material splendour of the urban, Euro-Canadian, life style which is sometimes indicated by parents as the way of the future, and the demeaning stereotype of the Indian as poor, pitiable, and uneducated.

In addition to the need for more empirical data for further testing of the above hypotheses it is necessary to know more about the following:

- A. The effect of differential exposure to television. Does the amount of exposure relate to the fantasy use of television roles within the peer group? What is the effect of selective viewing control by parents and what kinds of parents are likely to exercise such controls? How do those children experiencing regulated television viewing, as compared with the non-regulated youngsters, react vis-a-vis the peer group?
- B. What differences and similarities are there between Cree and Saulteaux reactions to television? Specifically, will the children at Jackhead respond similarly to the Norway House children in the battery of personality tests? To answer this question we will need to test the children at Jackhead in the next phase of the project.
- C. Has there been any change in response to the various questions on the base line questionnaire which may be attributable to the two years of television exposure at Norway House? To determine the answer we expect to administer the questionnaire again this fall at both Oxford House and Norway House.

In summary, we have to date made considerable progress in understanding the symbolic meaning of television. There has been a base-line assessment of basic socio-cultural and personality variables which will enable us to assess future change. It is evident from our data that there is a definite preference on the part of the people for a large portion of native programming. It is possible that a change in content in this direction would serve to counteract the dangers from fantasied and overt violence discussed above.

