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Author
Knopf, Kerstin

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"Sharing Our Stories with All Canadians": Decolonizing Aboriginal Media and Aboriginal Media Politics in Canada

KERSTIN KNOPF

The mass media are an essential constituent in the construction of a nation's and an individual's self-image. Whether we like and know it or not, from early childhood on we are surrounded by media images and messages that to a great extent shape our perception and understanding of the world as well as contribute to our identity formation and our perceived place in society. What if these images and messages are generated within a culture that is not our own? What if our self-image is incongruent with the national self-image constructed in the mass media? What kind of consequences does such incongruence have for individuals? These are questions that Aboriginal people in Canada are faced with, questions that could direct discussions about the present state of Aboriginal Canada toward thinking about colonization and neocolonialism and their devastating consequences for Aboriginal Canada.[1] Likewise, they point toward the fact that colonialism produced neo/colonial discourse and mass media, which with the help of Michel Foucault's ideas can be seen as "the colonial gaze." This neo/colonial discourse and gaze has shaped the perceptions of indigenous cultures in Western mainstream societies and contributed to the production of colonized minds. Many Aboriginal people saw (and see) themselves through the eyes, mind-set, and lenses of the colonizing group and "learned" their framework of thought: Aboriginal cultures and religions are inferior; Aboriginal people are less effective, rational, intelligent, and organized; and Aboriginal people are second-class citizens. To counter this situation, an autonomous decolonized media discourse is necessary that presents Aboriginal issues from the inside out, offers a second (opposing) perspective on current issues, and helps

Kerstin Knopf holds a master's degree in American/Canadian, Hispanic, and Scandinavian Studies from the University of Greifswald in Germany. She received her PhD from Greifswald University and is assistant professor to the chair of North American Studies at the University of Greifswald. Her main research interests are indigenous literature, film and media, and women and gender studies.

Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canada alike to "unlearn" and break down images of the Aboriginal from neo/colonial (mass media) discourses.

This article calls attention to some aspects of the presentation of Aboriginal issues in Canada's mainstream media and outlines the concept of "decolonizing the media" before briefly discussing the conditions and frameworks of indigenous media creation.[2] It then presents a closer look at the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) and the radio stations Native Communications Incorporation (NCI) in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and the Wawatay Radio Network (WRN) in Sioux Lookout, Ontario. All of these media institutions are working to reach Aboriginal people across Canada in order to meet their information and entertainment needs from within their cultures as well as to build bridges across cultures to find the necessary common ground between Aboriginal and mainstream Canada. The article explores the politics of the three media institutions concerning their mandates and missions, structure and government, staff, finance and advertisement, focus and program, acquisition, and broadcast language in order to see how they can decolonize the Canadian media.[3] This general overview of these media institutions does not allow for discussion and analysis of individual programs and renders the mode of the article more descriptive than analytical.[4]

DECOLONIZING THE MEDIA AND CONDITIONS OF INDIGENOUS MEDIA CREATION

The mass media in contemporary North America are dominated by the mainstream, by neocolonial societies that uphold the neocolonial status quo. The hegemonic national self-image seems to ignore the fact that their nations were built on the traditional territories of indigenous nations, which have been dispossessed and subjugated, their numbers deliberately reduced, and their cultures purposely enfeebled if not destroyed. Indigenous nations can be considered the fourth world whose people largely live under third-world conditions within first-world countries; they are nations that are subjected to imperial domination within the nations that colonized their traditional territories.[5] The fact that the four settler nations of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States voted against the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples when it was passed on 13 September 2007 shows that these countries are not truly committed to emancipating the indigenous populations politically, economically, or socially. North American media discourse (including movies, television, radio, and print) mainly supports the national images that portray colonial conquest as an inevitable historical development and legitimizes colonial politics, upholds cultural and political hegemonies, and strives to impose the neocolonial perspective on the colonized "others."

When concerned with indigenous cultures and issues, stereotypes, prejudice, ethnocentrism, and tendencies of appropriation abound in mainstream media discourse. Warren H. Skea finds that "Natives feel that there has been persistent negative portrayal, bias, scapegoating, stereotyping and sensationalism of Native Peoples by the Canadian media."[6] As Elizabeth Furniss has

shown with the example of the Cariboo Chilcotin justice inquiry in British Columbia, mainstream media coverage (she distinguishes between urban and rural print media) selects, frames, and represents Aboriginal-related events "in a manner consistent with the dominant conceptual framework through which many Euro-Canadians understand themselves, Aboriginal people, and their relationship with Aboriginal people."[7] Other studies by Yale Belanger of a *Calgary Herald* op-ed piece and by Robert Harding of the mainstream coverage of Aboriginal control of child welfare in British Columbia support the argument that "the media habitually portray Native culture as combative with and at odds with Canadian society."[8] Similarly, Skea analyzed the coverage of the Oka crisis in fifteen major newspapers in Canada and found that "the Canadian newspaper industry included only accepted liberal, or mainstream, frames in the thematic portrayal of the Oka crisis ranging from 'pro-Native' to 'anti-Native.' Although a majority of articles, as well as a majority of newspapers, take a decidedly 'anti-Native' approach, all articles are set within these 'acceptable' thematic limits or boundaries. However, the data indicated that most Canadians . . . read articles that portrayed the events of the Oka crisis in an 'anti-Native' manner."[9] The biased media coverage of the Oka crisis in 1990 and the recent Caledonia reclamation protest in 2006 and 2007 show that in situations of conflict between Canada and the Aboriginal population, the news media tend to take the stand for mainstream Canada and present Aboriginal protesters as "gun-toting warriors," "lawless terrorists," "stubborn negotiators," "rebels without a cause," and "angry, violent, and hysterical Indians."[10] Rosemary Coombe holds that such "media warriors" become "floating signifiers," images that are "endlessly reproduced and circulated by mass media."[11] The extensive coverage of the devastating drinking-water quality and of residents suffering from painful skin rashes and other side effects at the Kashechewan First Nation in October 2005, with the consequence that the whole reserve was evacuated, brought the extreme poverty and squalid living conditions of Aboriginal people on-reserve as well as governmental apathy about such human rights tragedies to the public's attention. For example, one hundred other reserves in Canada were under boil-water advisories at this point.[12] On the one hand, such media coverage is necessary to bring forward such third-world living conditions of indigenous populations that are so easily hidden from public conscience. On the other hand, such coverage inadvertently sustains the stereotypes of the lazy Indians on welfare and the Indians as victims to be blamed for their state. To put it differently, as Furniss holds based on Stuart Hall's arguments, "the media play a critical role in reproducing the dominant ideology and reinforcing relations of social inequality in society." She argues that the media do not necessarily act in a conspiratorial manner but rather that "it may be more in the conventional structures of news production, the implicit cultural assumptions of reporters, and the textual and linguistic forms of news discourse that dominant ideologies legitimating structures of power in society are reproduced."[13]

Likewise, ethnographic filmmaking, Hollywood, and North American television have constructed and sustained the "imaginary and ideological Indian," an array of dehumanizing, humiliating, and romanticizing stereotypes,

and have furthered the idea that indigenous cultures are inferior to the "advanced" and "civilized" Eurocentric cultures.[14] In her November 2004 report about Aboriginal-language broadcasting in Canada, Jennifer David states, "stereotypes of the alcoholic on welfare, the wise elder, the squaw, the princess, the noble savage, and the warrior are just a few of the images that the media perpetuates through advertising, typecasting, and exclusion of contemporary portrayals of Aboriginal people . . . . [T]here are very few programs where Aboriginal people are not cast in stereotypical roles."[15] These imaginary and ideological Indians have been "as real, perhaps more real, than the Native American of actual existence and contact," says Robert Berkhofer.[16] Amanda Cobb notes that "American popular culture has been so saturated for so long with representations of Hollywood Indians that those representations have become a litmus test by which non-Native people judge whether or not an actual Native person is 'really Indian.'"[17] Likewise, the self-perception of indigenous people is channeled through this colonial lens, and indigenous people have often appropriated the image of the imaginary and ideological Indian and/or the inferior second-class citizen, which has resulted in confusion, self-denial, cultural alienation, and identity crises—one side of colonial legacy with which whole generations still battle.[18] Outside of academia, this practice of representation is seldom challenged, and at the same time, indigenous voices and those of other marginalized groups are largely silenced. In that context Peter Lewis observes in his introduction to *Alternative Media: Linking Global and Local* that there are "communities and minorities whose access to information, and means of self-expression, are not guaranteed by mass channels, and that more sharply focused, customized and essentially smaller or local media are important, filling this gap."[19]

Foucault theorizes in *The Birth of the Clinic* about the observing and objectifying gaze; he describes the complicity between visual domination and the rise of modern medicine and elaborates on the disciplinary power of *le regard*—the gaze. He equates the gaze with language and thought: "[a] hearing gaze and a speaking gaze . . . all that is *visible* is *expressible*, and that is *wholly visible* because it is *wholly expressible*."[20] Martin Jay observes, "what is in fact 'seen' is not a given, objective reality open to an innocent eye. Rather, it is an epistemic field, constructed as much linguistically as visually, which is more or less close to the 'truth' than what it replaced."[21] Thus, linguistic and visual discourse necessarily deviates from the "truth" of its objects; representation/discourse is an epistemological construct of the represented. In his lecture "Orders of Discourse," Foucault delineates discourse and scientific/academic qualification as phenomena of power. The union of truth and power defines discourse as an agency of power and the "will to truth" is a disguised "will to power."[22] Thus, the gaze becomes speech which becomes discourse which becomes power. It follows that whoever is in power has control over discourse and wields power through discourse. This discourse is carried and distributed through political and governmental bodies, the judicial and executive system, state and educational institutions, print, publishing houses, libraries, laboratories, and think tanks. These ideas lead us to see an authorial/objectifying gaze as a gaze of power. Foucault's ideas applied to North America allow us to

see as the gaze of power the neo/colonial Western gaze at inferior "others," the indigenous cultures through film, photography, television, radio, and other visual and electronic media. Going back to what Jay has said, this neo/colonial lens or discourse, informed by cultural hegemonies, represents a "truth" about or image of its indigenous objects that severely deviates from a self-perceived "truth" or image.[23] The results are misrepresentation of indigenous issues at best and devastating stereotypes at worst, which encourage demonizing of indigenous cultures in mainstream thought as well as physical violence against indigenous people.[24]

Himani Bannerji's concept of "returning the gaze" applied to the works of indigenous visual artists, filmmakers, and media creators permits seeing the process of visual and sonic self-representation as metaphorically returning the neo/colonial gaze, because the artists avail themselves of the formerly colonialist means of production (that is, photography, film, television, and radio) and employ them for creating self-controlled images and discourses that look critically at colonialist images and discourse.[25] They—and this is the governing thesis of this article—decolonize the neo/colonial media by creating self-determined images and discourse free of stereotypes and objectification (be it the representation of history, political issues, cultural events, traditional teachings, or contemporary indigenous experience) and by asserting control over the products. This notion of "decolonizing the media" echoes Randolph Lewis' concept of "representational sovereignty," a group of people having "authorship and ultimate authority over their own image" and "the right, as well as the ability . . . to depict themselves with their own ambitions at heart."[26]

Indigenous people struggle for recognition, participation, and control over their own affairs in politics and social matters, as many successful land-claim settlements, self-government agreements, and transfer of social responsibilities, such as health care and child welfare, to indigenous organizations and communities show. Likewise in the media, they strive for participation and productive control over their images creating smaller and local, or sovereign, media and thereby decolonizing the mainstream media. Their voices are emerging in all kinds of media outlets, be it television, radio, news media, magazines, or film. In September 1999, a national Canadian Aboriginal television channel that is controlled by Aboriginal people was licensed. APTN is the first indigenous television network in the world that has a countrywide broadcast license. Similarly, Aboriginal radio stations have emerged all over Canada, and such media institutions are a main pillar in the Aboriginal national self-image and the renaissance of an Aboriginal self-confidence.

Faye Ginsburg holds that the creation of indigenous media "is part of broader movements for cultural autonomy and self-determination that exist in complex tension with the structures of national governments, international politics, and the global circulation of communications technology."[27] She believes that indigenous media are "understood by [their] producers to be operating in multiple domains as an extension of their collective (vs. individual) self-production."[28] One aspect of such tensions is government funding

and control of self-determined media creation. In this line of thought, Jeremy Beckett argues that welfare colonialism needs to secure the assent of its colonial subjects "as evidence of their political enfranchisement." Because these subjects are often economically and politically weak, the state creates channels of political and cultural expression, which, on the one hand, institutionalizes colonial distinctions and, on the other hand, creates a constituency that has to be maintained and (can be) controlled.[29] The neocolonial states, in part, strive to promote and fund indigenous media creation because this also allows for control. They admit to the need to include indigenous voices in the mediascape for various reasons. For example, Canada has launched government programs that facilitate and financially support indigenous media according to its "ethnic broadcasting policy framework," outlined by Lorna Roth.[30] Consequently, indigenous media creators are in a precarious situation. Much-needed government funding also means neocolonial influence, a circumstance that weakens the autonomy of the media creators and creates dependencies. State funds for indigenous media production have been withdrawn and cut often, seemingly upon a whim or because of financial shortages on the part of the government—or, as is suspected, whenever radio stations and the like became too strong, independent, autonomous, and/or critical.[31] For example, the 1990 decision of the Canadian government to discontinue its financial support for the Native Communications Program severely affected many Aboriginal-controlled newspapers in positive and negative ways, triggering changes in entrepreneurial policies, more dynamic drives toward self-sufficiency, intensification of involved labor, reorientation of news foci, limitation of travel budgets for journalists and thus less contact to the respective community, increased control of Aboriginal political organizations and thus less political independence, and/or radical transformation into independent and/or profit-oriented media.[32] Simply withdrawing funds easily cripples media production. Another way control is instituted is through governmental communications commissions, such as the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) guidelines concerning licenses and Canadian program content.

A further critical aspect also concerns autonomy, as indigenous media production operates within the framework of a mainstream-dominated mediascape. Ginsburg argues that "the important, specific ways in which cultures differ and people experience political and economic inequality are erased in an ethnocentric utopian vision of an electronic democracy."[33] Certainly, in order to be successful in Western societies, indigenous media institutions have to adapt to mainstream forms of media production and consumption, that is, similar program formats and styles (for example, length of programs, genre of program, interview forms, mono-directional reports by news anchors, and documentary and fictional forms), modes of presentation (for example, a distinction between news and fact, human-interest stories, and fiction), models of generating revenues (for example, advertising), and forms of governance. One can argue that colonized indigenous cultures are hybrid cultures with differing grades of merging indigenous and Western values and philosophies; social, political, and economic structures; and forms

FIGURE 1. *Aboriginal News anchor Holly Bernier. Copyright © 2007 APTN.*

of communication. Because of immense colonial influences and partly devastating colonial politics, "pure" indigenous forms of living and communicating do not exist in fourth-world cultures. Thus, the framework of electronic media communication is adapted to Western forms; technical aspects of communication are similar as are formats, modes of presentation, models of generating revenues, and certain forms of governance. The process and context of media creation, program content, and the language of transmission can be more aligned with indigenous practices.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLES TELEVISION NETWORK

APTN rightly prides itself on being the first national Aboriginal television channel in the world with programming by, for, and about Aboriginal peoples. Its trumpeted motto "sharing our stories with all Canadians and viewers around the world" contains Aboriginal philosophy and a political message (see fig. 1 and fig. 2). The idea of sharing is a basic indigenous value, and it is both an invitation to experience indigenous storytelling and media making and to communicate across cultural boundaries and thus foster intercultural understanding. The motto is a self-confident assertion that Aboriginal cultures do have rich cultural knowledge that is worth becoming familiar with, which counters the general assumptions of many Canadians, born and nurtured in colonial discourses, that it is antiquated, quaint, and inferior to Euro-Canadian knowledge and cannot contribute to the Canadian national image and discourses. The objective of proving that Aboriginal Canada has something compelling, new, enriching, and informative to say is

FIGURE 2. *Creating a news piece: cameraman Bill Scott. Copyright © 2007 APTN.*

a big responsibility that APTN tries to fulfill with a diversity of programs by a variety of Aboriginal media producers representing an assortment of cultures and languages. APTN airs 56 percent of its programs in English, 16 percent in French, and 28 percent in diverse Aboriginal languages, such as Chipweyan, Cree, Dene, Dogrib, Gwich'in, Inuinaqtuun, Inuktitut, Inuvialuktun, Mechif, Miqma'aq, Mohawk, Ojibway, Slavey, and Tlingit.[34] The APTN program policy requires an all-Aboriginal program schedule, meaning that it has to have 100 percent Aboriginal-related content. From these diverse programs with Aboriginal content ensue the distinguishing characteristic that roughly 60 percent of APTN programming is exclusive to this network and more than 85 percent has Canadian content, exceeding the CRTC guidelines of a minimal 60 percent Canadian content for Canadian networks.[35] The rest of the broadcast schedule includes movies and indigenous programs from countries around the world, including Australia, Central America, South America, New Zealand, and the United States.[36]

APTN is based in Winnipeg and has regional news bureaus in Halifax, Nova Scotia; Montreal, Quebec; Ottawa, Ontario; Toronto, Ontario; Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Edmonton, Alberta; Vancouver, British Columbia; Iqaluit, Nunavut; Yellowknife, Northwest Territories; and Whitehorse, Yukon Territories (see fig. 3). The fulfillment of the vision of national Aboriginal television goes back to the efforts of media makers in the north, who along with Television Northern Canada (TVNC) had created pan-Arctic television in order to cater to the needs of Arctic cultures.[37] The board of directors of TVNC fervently pursued the goal to extend the broadcast signal to the whole

FIGURE 3. *Headquarters of APTN on Portage Avenue in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. Copyright © 2007 APTN.*

nation and applied for a national broadcast license, which the CRTC granted in February 1999. The CRTC regulated that all cable, satellite, direct-to-home, and wireless television service providers carry APTN and all subscribers pay a ten-cent fee, raised by the CRTC in 2005 to twenty-five cents with their renewed seven-year broadcast license for the network.[38] APTN was launched on 1 September 1999.

Its board of directors consists of twenty-one Aboriginal volunteer members, representing all regions in Canada and serving five-year terms. They work in the media industry, performing arts, or public offices. Chief

Executive Officer Jean LaRose is an employee of the board and communicates with the board members about general strategic directions and timelines. The board creates policies and approves budgets. At the senior management level there are two non-Aboriginal employees out of ten. More than 75 percent of the network's one-hundred-plus employees are of Aboriginal ancestry in order to ensure Aboriginal input at all levels of media production, dissemination, and administration. APTN strives to employ Aboriginal people when possible; otherwise, it will train Aboriginal people in the respective fields. Its internship and mentorship programs are in place to enable the development of Aboriginal media professionals and enhance Aboriginal leadership in the media industry.[39]

Being a not-for-profit organization, APTN does not receive direct funding from the government but finances its expenditures through subscriber fees, advertising sales, and strategic partnerships. The Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP) and the Northern Distribution Program (NDP) indirectly support APTN, as it carries programs by NNBAP television-producing societies and, with the assistance of the NDP, provides free carriage to ninety-six northern communities that previously received TVNC.[40] Strategic alliances are, for example, partnerships with the Canadian Broadcasting Centre (CBC) and OMNI Television, which expanded the variety of Aboriginal-language programs. The alliance with CTV allowed the establishment of news bureaus across the country, and an alliance with Global permits APTN to finance a series of shared programs annually. The partnership with the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) secures access to its extensive collection of documentaries with Aboriginal content.[41] While generating advertisement revenues, APTN competes with other media institutions for buyers of advertisement space. It recently commissioned a Print Measurement Bureau study that revealed the consuming practices and foci of APTN viewers, their investment practices and income figures, and their habits with regard to traveling and attending cultural and sporting events.[42] The APTN advertisement policy bars ads about alcohol and gambling and ads that feed into stereotypes.[43] Otherwise, APTN carries generic ads like any other commercial channel as well as public service announcements, such as diabetes-education and safe-driving ads. No commercials are shown during children's programs except "promos" for other children's shows. As standardized by the CRTC, APTN has a program-to-advertisement ratio of twenty-four to six minutes for the half hour. APTN produces three to four ads during the year as well as the public service announcements it airs.[44]

Because APTN is a mandatory service, it is available to roughly ten million Canadian homes and commercial establishments and has access to 80 percent of all Canadian households. Northern Canada is served by using low-range transmitter towers; the APTN Northern Broadcast Feed reaches all ninety-six communities.[45] But these figures can be misleading because in provinces outside of Manitoba, where the signal is carried on channel 14 in Winnipeg, APTN is carried high on the channel scale; for example, in Toronto and Ottawa it is on channel 70, in Saskatoon on channel 22 and 46, and in Vancouver on channel 107.[46] This is unfortunate for APTN because many

Canadian viewers do not know about it and therefore do not access it, it is too far up on the channel scale, and there are fewer chances to access it through channel flipping. In most regions of Canada one has to make a conscious choice to watch APTN. Nevertheless, in the past few years, the network's audience has doubled. Though its primary audience is Aboriginal, contrary to widespread assumptions the APTN audience does not solely consist of Aboriginal people. In fact, 3.1 million non-Aboriginal viewers watch APTN at least once per week. Between September 2004 and August 2005 more than 65 percent of all Anglophone Canadians watched APTN, and 79 percent of non-Aboriginal Canadians in the north watched this channel. APTN ranks third among the television networks that the Aboriginal population watches.[47]

In 2007 APTN conducted a long-due study of its Aboriginal and northern audience. The audience north of the 60th parallel and in remote communities (north of the 60th, or "no60") consists of 55 percent Aboriginal people, including First Nations, Inuit, and Métis; the rest is non-Aboriginal, while the on-reserve audience is entirely First Nation. North of sixty, 94 percent of the population receives the APTN signal and 82 percent of Aboriginal people on-reserve receive it. Sixty-three percent north of sixty and 52 percent on-reserve watch APTN one to three hours per weekday, with 7 percent and 6 percent watching four to six hours. Generally, both groups watch APTN less on weekends: 47 and 40 percent watch one to three hours and 8 and 8 percent view four to six hours. The majority of APTN viewers responded positively to the statements that "APTN is reflective of Aboriginal cultures and traditions" (87% no60; 66% reserve); "APTN is an entertaining service" (80% no60; 53% reserve); "Programs on APTN have good production values" (79% no60); "APTN has the best traditional stories, cultural programming, and documentaries" (59% reserve); and "APTN programs teach me important things about my culture and traditions" (73% no60; 50% reserve). Twenty-eight percent of viewers north of sixty stated that APTN is boring, mainly because the shows are not appealing or are disliked, or because the pollees do not watch television. The main reasons people on reserves do not watch APTN are because they do not receive the signal, do not watch TV, and dislike the shows. To Aboriginal viewers overall, APTN is their first choice for traditional stories, news and current-affairs programs, and movies. North of sixty, 42 percent of viewers watch traditional-language programs between once per month and daily; of those, 74 percent agreed that such programs help to preserve Aboriginal languages. On reserves, 47 percent watch one to six hours of APTN programs in an Aboriginal language; of those, 54 percent agreed that language programs help to maintain these languages. In general, APTN viewers felt that the news programs are reflective of the perspective of Aboriginal people (82% no60; 69% reserve), the news programs are accurate (82% no60; 58% reserve), expert commentaries help to understand the covered issues (78% no60; 57% reserve), and the news coverage is timely (71% no60; 46% reserve). Of its Aboriginal viewers, 25 percent watch the *APTN News* or *Contact* on a daily basis and 46 percent watch them on a weekly basis. To 63 percent of Aboriginal viewers north of sixty, APTN is the source for news and current-event coverage; and only 24 percent of non-Aboriginal

viewers agreed to this statement, apparently because the APTN news programs cover only Aboriginal-related issues.[48] In general, APTN viewers north of sixty tend to watch more APTN and respond more positively to its programming than viewers on-reserve. This study clearly delivers the reasons for the success of APTN with Aboriginal and north of sixty viewers: Aboriginal cultural-patriotic support, the educational and entertainment value for Aboriginal viewers, and Aboriginal-centered news. Aboriginal viewers obviously welcome self-controlled media products that focus on the Aboriginal experience and perspective of national events, as these are nonexistent in the mainstream media. Whether the increasing success with non-Aboriginal viewers, despite a general marginal status within Canada's media and precarious channel carriage, is due to growing non-Aboriginal interest in Aboriginal issues and perspectives, qualitatively good programs or educational and entertaining qualities must remain open for speculation, as these aspects and audience are not covered by the commissioned studies.

APTN broadcasts twenty-four hours per day, with programs between 6:00 AM and 2:30 AM and with infomercials overnight. Except the news shows and live coverage of nationwide events or sports, all programs are acquired either from independent Aboriginal producers, some of them award winning, or sources such as the NFB and movie distributors.[49] According to CRTC regulation, 80 percent of APTN programming has to be independent and cannot consist of news, current events, or sports. The sheer variety of programs—from news shows, live coverage of special events, movies, dramatic series, documentaries, sports, children's series and cartoons, youth shows, cooking shows, comedy shows, to educational programs and programs on culture, traditions, dance, and music—is impressive and requires Aboriginal expertise in diverse fields of media production. This program variety reflects the mission of APTN to bridge "the cultural gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people," provide "programming that is reflective of First Nations, Inuit and Métis Peoples," and share "our peoples' journey, celebrate our cultures, inspire our children and honour the wisdom of our Elders."[50] It presents Aboriginal cultures from diverse angles, informs about and discusses political issues from an Aboriginal viewpoint, provides an Aboriginal learning and experiencing context within the media for adults and children alike, and focuses on cultural programs that feature elders, among others. These programs reach out also to non-Aboriginal Canadians by offering a perspective that has been ignored for so long and by inviting them to participate in learning about Aboriginal cultures and experiencing the world through Aboriginal eyes and lenses.

APTN translates oral tradition into electronic media by recording elders talking in their traditional language (closed-captioned) about cultural traditions, colonial history, and residential school experience, or by simply telling stories. Such programs include, for example, *Tamapta*, *Haa Shagoon*, *Our Dene Elders*, and *Nunavimiut*. The network has great programming for kids, including the educational *CG Kids* (Canadian Geographic for Kids); the puppet shows *Tipi Tales*, *The Longhouse Tales*, and *The Wondrous World of Greenthumb's Garden*; cartoons like *Inuk* and *Nanook*; and the stop-motion

animated *Wapos Bay*. *The Longhouse Tales* actually contextualizes oral tradition and introduces the storyteller Hector Longhouse, who tells stories brought to him by Coyote, which are then "enacted" by puppets. For the sport enthusiasts, APTN covers National Hockey League (NHL) classics, one game per week, the National Aboriginal Hockey Championships for men and women's hockey, the finals live, as well as the Aboriginal Lacrosse Championships. *Tears and Triumphs* follows local and national Aboriginal sport competitors on their journeys to triumph. *Qaujisaut*, targeted at Inuit youth, introduces traditional and modern tools, teaches life skills, and discusses issues that are important to young Inuit. *Qaggiq* teaches traditional activities, for example, fishing, in Inuktitut. In the cooking shows *Cooking with the Wolfman* and *Wlipogwad*, Aboriginal and Quebec chefs combine Aboriginal and Western ingredients and styles of cooking to tempt viewers' palates. *Spirit Creations* presents Saskatchewan Aboriginal clothing designers and their work, which is often a combination of modern and traditional materials and designs. In *Medicine Woman*, a Métis doctor travels six continents in order to learn about the medicinal knowledge of indigenous peoples around the world. The animated series *The Dreaming* is based on the Aboriginal Australian oral tradition and their dreaming stories that tell about ancient spiritual knowledge, nature and survival knowledge, and ancestral heroes. *Safer Sex Trade* features young prostitutes and their experiences and thus takes issue with the stigma of prostitution. *Profiles of Nature* explores various species and their natural habitats. *Storytellers in Motion* features a diverse range of Aboriginal filmmakers, writers, photographers, and performing artists and follows them during the process of media creation. *Short Cuts* presents a number of innovative and award-winning short films by filmmakers from Canada and the rest of the indigenous world. The programs *Reel Insights* and *Voices of the Land* showcase documentaries and new insights into current issues, the latter program in various traditional languages. Yet the network's main pillars in an effort to draw audiences are their news and current-affairs programs, dramatic series, and movies.

Within the genre of dramatic series, APTN started off with the CBC-produced *North of Sixty* about a fictional reserve up north; the show covers the reserve's conflicts and human-relations dramas and the way the community deals with various kinds of problems. The CBC-produced *The Rez* is a witty, provocative, and funny counterpart of *North of Sixty* that revolves around the trials and tribulations of on-reserve teenagers. The first dramatic series by Aboriginal talent, *Moccasin Flats*, was picked up by APTN. *Moccasin Flats* (produced by Jennifer Podemski and Laura Milliken) concerns itself with the most pressing issues of urban Aboriginal youth and the rougher sides of life in the flats. APTN was also able to acquire series from other continents like New Zealand's *Jackson's Wharf* about a snug seaside town and its brooding interpersonal and intercultural conflicts and *Street Legal*, a series about the struggles of a law firm. *Renegadepress.com* is presented from a teen perspective and deals with honesty, peer help, and the daily petty battles during high school for recognition and acceptance from fellow teens and the adult world. The latest additions to the APTN series stock are *Hank Williams First Nation*, featuring the lives and stories of a vibrant remote Cree community, and

Warriors: TKO about physical endurances, friendship, and competition among four young boxers from two rival clubs.

The guideline for choosing the five movies per week holds that there has to be an Aboriginal component in the movie. This can range from an Aboriginal director, producer, or writer, to Aboriginal content, to having an Aboriginal or part-Aboriginal actor.[51] Such an acquisition policy gives Aboriginal filmmakers the opportunity to showcase their work in an Aboriginal media environment, and viewers have the chance to become acquainted with self-controlled Aboriginal movies from Canada and the United States, such as *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner*, *Big Bear*, *Bearwalker*, *The Business of Fancydancing*, *The Colony*, *The Doe Boy*, *The Fifth World*, *Skins*, and *Smoke Signals*, or indigenous movies from around the world, like *Once Were Warriors*. Movies by non-Aboriginal filmmakers about Aboriginal experiences also make it into the schedule, for example, *Geronimo*, *Heater*, *Powwow Highway*, *On the Corner*, *Thunderheart*, and *Windtalkers*. But some films aired on the network transmit subtle or blatant stereotyping and/or colonial historiography like *Pocahontas*, *Dances with Wolves*, *Last of the Mohicans*, *A Man Called Horse*, and *The Silent Enemy*. Sylvia Kolopenuk says that according to network policy, APTN movies should not be offensive to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal viewers alike, although APTN cannot always predict what might be perceived as offensive.[52] Obviously, selecting movies for screening is a tricky issue but carrying some with neo/colonial misrepresentations and racist or benevolent clichés on an autonomous Aboriginal media outlet might transport the message to the Aboriginal population and the rest of Canada that such neo/colonial images and historical presentation are okay and correspond with the self-image of an Aboriginal Canada that otherwise struggles hard for emancipation. Such programs might reinforce stereotypical thinking and a neo/colonial mind-set with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. The need for APTN to recruit more regular viewers dictates that it carries general-interest movies with at least an Aboriginal/part-Aboriginal actor, such as *Being John Malkovich*, *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, *Fargo*, *The Matrix*, *Moonstruck*, *Something about Mary*, and *Three Kings*, although the Aboriginal tie might get lost on uninformed viewers.

The APTN news programs consist of the two daily, half-hour regular news-format shows *APTN National News Daytime* and *Primetime* at 12:30 PM and 6:30 PM as well as the weekly hour-long call-in show *Contact*, which airs Wednesdays at 7:00 PM.[53] Hosted by Cheryl McKenzie, *Contact* is a popular current-affairs program in which the host, studio guests, and callers discuss prevalent and pressing issues pertaining to all aspects of Aboriginal life, such as the legacy and honor of Aboriginal war veterans and the Ipperwash Inquiry Final Report. This report investigated the police-sniper killing of Dudley George. George was one of a group of thirty Aboriginal protestors who, after fruitless attempts to reclaim land and a burial ground belonging to the Stoney Point Band on the shore of Lake Huron that was expropriated in 1942 under the *War Measures Act*, built barricades at nearby Ipperwash Provincial Park in 1995 in order "to underline their land claim and to protest the destruction of the burial ground."[54] Other issues that were discussed in April 2008 include the hesitant and fragile process of reconciliation after the government agreed on financial compensation for all

residential school survivors but refused a public apology; and the sexual exploitation of children in the shadows of society.[55] Ninety percent of such sexually exploited children are Aboriginal children who tried to escape squalid poverty and dysfunctional homes. Also contextualized in *Contact* is the issue of the overproportionate number of Aboriginal women missing and murdered. These women also often work in the sex trade, and the reason for this is attributed to the low self-esteem and colonized minds of the individuals concerned, extreme poverty in some strata of Aboriginal Canada, the stigma of the profession, and the long-established racist and sexist stereotypes attached to Aboriginal women. This current-affairs program format grants multiway dialogue and immediate interaction, involving media and politics professionals as well as grassroots workers, whereas the other two news programs (*Aboriginal National News: Daytime* and *Primetime*) are one-way monologues by news anchors, owed to their conventional format, which is geared toward disseminating information. Sometimes in-studio interviews and call-in opportunities break up this conventional format.

For these two news programs a group of three hosts/reporters, seventeen video journalists, correspondents, researchers across the country, four producers, one editor, and one news director team up to cover up-to-date issues from all over Aboriginal Canada and the indigenous world.[56] The guideline for selecting the news items specifies that they have to relate to indigenous people in Canada and around the world. Thus, a political decision in Ottawa that would indirectly affect Aboriginal politics would be covered. Most news items are Canadian while the rest are from Africa, Australia, New Zealand, South America, and the United States. The hosts write and coordinate in-studio interviews, and regional video reporters send in their news items. Journalists individually produce a majority of the news items, and only a minority is based on wire services such as Associated Press, The Canadian Press, Reuters, and United Press International.[57] The news team also invites viewers to suggest stories to be covered.[58] Similar to the CBC guidelines for good journalistic practice, APTN attempts to show both sides of the conflict.[59] The news items on a regular day in both shows include a Tyendinaga Mohawk road-blockade protest in Deseronto (200 kilometers east of Toronto) to call public attention to an unsettled land claim of a disputed parcel of forty acres that had recently been opened up by the federal government for a housing development; the commemoration of the predawn raid of unarmed blockade protesters in Caledonia by the Ontario Provincial Police two years and a day earlier; the lifting of the First Nations University of Canada's probation and return of its degree-granting privileges after these were suspended because of excessive influential involvement of the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations; Manitoba Hydro striking a million-dollar deal to sell power to Wisconsin; and the scandalous irony that the Shoal Lake reserve in Manitoba is on boil-water advisory because it does not have clean and safe drinking water (officially since June 2000) while the neighboring lake is the source of Winnipeg's good-quality drinking water.[60]

Other featured items were an urban map guide for Aboriginal people, created by an Aboriginal woman in Halifax to help her fellows coming from

remote and rural areas to get settled in the city; a luncheon to recognize Aboriginal Youth in Governance and Leadership in Winnipeg; a three-day youth orientation session at the Pan Am Clinic in Winnipeg; and the Toonik Tyme annual celebration of the return of the spring in Iqaluit. The *Primetime* program repeated some of the news items and further addressed the issue of possible massive Aboriginal protests at the 2010 Vancouver Olympic Games with rallies on issues like Aboriginal poverty, lack of affordable housing, and recognition of Aboriginal rights already taking place. The Assembly of First Nations, however, officially supports the Vancouver games. More items included the warnings against wasting meat in the Arctic, when with spring thaw many a hunted animal is wasted as people forget about stored carcasses in light sheds, for example, where they are preserved during winter by the temperatures; Aboriginal hockey players in the NHL; and the CD release party of the Children of the Rainbow drum group, which mostly consists of young people in foster care, who through drumming build up a connection to their culture. Last but not least, two radio DJs in Anchorage are suspended and undergo sensitivity training for issuing offensive comments about Alaska Native women. These news items are covered from an inside perspective and thus ensure an Aboriginal presence in the national news mediascape, where such issues are often under- and/or misrepresented and are seen from an outside mainstream perspective. The Aboriginal perspective and news environment also ensures more trust with Aboriginal viewers, who more often than not would be antagonized, offended, or patronized by mainstream coverage of Aboriginal issues.

The CRTC held that APTN, in accordance with its self-chosen mission, would have to have a minimum of thirty hours per week broadcast in a traditional language.[61] By providing 16 percent of programming in various Aboriginal languages, APTN answers to the need of Aboriginal nations to work against a gradual loss of languages by reintroducing an interest in traditional languages and actually providing language practice, because all Aboriginal-language programs are subtitled or closed-captioned. However, the responses to language programming diverge. In her November 2004 report about Aboriginal-language broadcasting in Canada, Jennifer David holds, “Some felt it was important for communities to see and hear programming in their own language, but many others had no patience for languages they did not understand. It seems many viewers welcome Aboriginal language programming—but only if it is in their own language!”[62] Admittedly, it seems tedious to watch a program one does not understand, and these reserves are comprehensible. In general, APTN has to consider the fact that advertisers are not interested in unilingual Aboriginal-language programs because the market for such programs is small. When a program is dubbed or captioned, statistics confirm that viewer numbers increase, and consequently the market for these programs grows.[63] The network now requires all of its language programs to be closed-captioned in either English or French.[64] Furthermore, APTN strives to introduce secondary audio programming to its French- and Aboriginal-language programs in order to reach more viewers, raise viewers’ interests in watching APTN, and secure advertisement revenues.[65]

Since its beginning, APTN has provided two feeds, the southern main feed and the northern feed, the information and entertainment programs of which were more aligned with northern viewers' needs and interests. In 2006 APTN launched a split feed in the south, the west feed serving Saskatchewan and the western provinces on Pacific daylight time, and the east feed serving Manitoba and the eastern provinces on eastern standard time. This split feed permits more regionally specific programming as well as allows schedule time adjustments in order to serve viewers across Canada at more convenient times.[66] Another technical innovation is the introduction of a high-definition signal/channel in the spring of 2008. APTN HD broadcasts 16.5 hours of distinctive network shows, such as the *2007 Aboriginal Peoples Choice Music Awards,* popular shows, and *APTN National News: Daytime* and *Primetime.*[67] The news programs, including *Contact,* are also accessible through streaming on the Web site. The network repeatedly receives international requests (mainly from the United States) from people who wish to have APTN on their channel list. Unfortunately, APTN holds broadcast rights only for Canada and is currently not legally allowed to serve other countries.[68]

Part of the APTN mandate is to promote and buy the programs of independent Aboriginal media creators and companies. An Aboriginal production is created by Aboriginal people who or Aboriginal production companies that, according to the network's definition, are:

> An Aboriginal person, if an individual, which is defined to include a First Nations, Métis or Inuit person who resides in Canada; or an Aboriginal production company, which is defined to include: A sole proprietorship, a limited company, a co-operative, a partnership, or a not-for-profit organization in which Aboriginal persons have a minimum of fifty one (51%) percent ownership and control; or a joint venture consisting of two (2) or more businesses provided that the businesses have a minimum of fifty one (51%) percent Aboriginal ownership and control of the joint venture.[69]

This definition reveals that the network has a nonexclusionary approach to Aboriginal media making. It ensures that more than half of its production source is Aboriginal, but it does not exclude non-Aboriginal involvement in the production process. Twice a year, the programming department announces a request that invites producers to submit program proposals relevant to the network's programming mandate and broadcast requirements. The selection criteria are "the vision of APTN; our desire to attract and engage our viewers; the terms of our license with the Canadian broadcast regulator; and the finite financial resources of the network."[70] APTN also invites proposals for the development of programs throughout the year. The network has different financial envelopes according to genre, and producers can apply for public federal funding, such as the Canadian Television Fund, through APTN, which provides a percentage of the budget (see fig. 4 and fig. 5).

All these facts serve to show that APTN is a self-controlled autonomous media institution that was created with Aboriginal endeavors and

Figure 4. *Scott Carnegie in the editing suite at APTN. Copyright © 2007 APTN.*

Figure 5. *Sandra Seidel in the APTN National News control room. Copyright © 2007 APTN.*

commitment and that self-confidently asserts Aboriginal knowledge, experience, and entertainment as an equal to mainstream Canadian media. Having limited viewer numbers because of its position on the channel scale in some provinces and relying largely on a committed audience that consciously chooses to watch APTN, the network occupies only a small space in the Canadian mediascape but does so boldly and autonomously nevertheless. Its decolonizing strategies include full Aboriginal control and three-quarters Aboriginal staff; financial independence through indirect government funding only and self-chosen strategic partnerships with mainstream media institutions; guidelines against advertisements that feed into stereotypes; 100 percent Aboriginal programming with a variety that sheds light on all aspects of Aboriginal life; news programs that cover exclusively Aboriginal issues in Canada and indigenous issues worldwide from an Aboriginal point of view and within an Aboriginal context; the introduction of traditional forms of communication (oral traditions) into the programming; a fair share of programming in traditional languages; and the support of independent Aboriginal media creators. Its program politics, staff politics, and creation guidelines are informed by Aboriginal values, and thus representational sovereignty is secured. Aboriginal communication traditions, languages, and experience are written into the Canadian mediascape on a daily basis so that this channel truly decolonizes the Canadian media within the scope of its possibilities.

NATIVE COMMUNICATION INCORPORATED

Native Communication Incorporated (NCI) is a public Aboriginal broadcaster that provides radio service throughout Manitoba. It is considered “the voice of Aboriginal people,” or “the heartbeat of the Aboriginal community,” endeavoring to inform, entertain, and unify the Aboriginal world. It is the first Aboriginal radio network in Manitoba, has the largest reach in the province, and offers a mandate to “foster and promote Aboriginal languages, Aboriginal music, and information.”[71] Its mission to develop, promote, and share Aboriginal culture and talent to all people, like the APTN mission, introduces the idea of sharing cultural knowledge into the North American media.[72] It is a self-conscious statement that envelops the concepts that self-controlled Aboriginal media can overcome hegemonic Eurocentric ideas of the incompetence and inferiority of Aboriginal media production and that the transmitted insights into Aboriginal culture actually enrich non-Aboriginal audiences. The dedication to foster the development of Aboriginal talent in the media industry inheres in the statement as well. True to its mission, NCI provides news, current-affairs stories, entertainment, and Aboriginal music broadcasts in English, Ojibway, Cree, and Mitchif, in order “to counter-act some of the effects of mass culture and to encourage our people to work through problems using the media as a means of communication,” says NCI Chief Executive Officer David McLeod.[73] The Aboriginal and Canadian content of the program schedule vary, but NCI keeps focused on Aboriginal-related information and entertainment. Thus, it carries a considerable

share of programming that other stations do not offer and serves as many Manitoban Aboriginal people as it can.

NCI is headquartered in Winnipeg with another office in Thompson. Using fifty-eight radio transmitters it reaches 98 percent of the province from Altona in the south to Churchill in the north and transmits its signal to more than seventy-five communities. It is easy to tune in from everywhere in Manitoba, and the network dials are listed on its Web site. The history of NCI started in 1971 when, at a grassroots level, six elders from Cross Lake, Wabowden, and South Indian Lake formed a committee that became NCI, incorporated as a legal entity according to Manitoba laws.[74] They wanted to hear Cree on the radio and to facilitate the communication among trappers and Aboriginal people in different communities. NCI began by purchasing airtime, sponsored by Manitoba Hydro, on Thompson's CHTM radio station from 7:00 to 8:00 PM Monday through Friday. This broadcast in northern Manitoba was immediately popular, not least due to the country and rock music played. In the mid- to late 1980s, NCI added traditional Aboriginal music to its repertoire. It started broadcasting provincewide in the early 1990s. In the mid-1980s the CBC was mandated to open television and radio airwaves to Aboriginal programming, however not on primetime. That is when NCI began to produce television programs, including children's shows, interviews with elders, and current-affairs programs, that aired on CBC Manitoba and North of Winnipeg. Between the mid-1980s and 1990s, there were as many as ten people working for NCI-TV; now there are none, as NCI has withdrawn from this field. When APTN was launched, it showed many programs from the NCI archives.[75]

A board of directors, consisting of five Aboriginal members from different regions of the province, holds the ownership of NCI in trust on behalf of Manitoba's Aboriginal community. The board is involved with hiring managers and makes sure that the daily operations and broadcasts stay in accordance with the network's mission, mandate, and objectives. All together, thirty-one people work for NCI full time and part time, twenty-seven in Winnipeg and four in Thompson, with roughly 60 percent having an Aboriginal background. This is of utmost importance for the Aboriginal cultural programs as well as for the advertisement sales department, which has a staff of six people.[76] As a registered charitable and nonprofit company, it receives some governmental funding through the Northern Native Access Program, which makes up 18 percent of its budget, with the objective of fostering Aboriginal culture and language in the media in northern Manitoba. The rest is self-generated through advertising (35%), the popular one-hour radio bingo on Saturday morning (40%), and purchased airtime for community events such as live talent shows, gospel jam broadcasts, and political messages by, for example, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs (25%).[77] NCI carries general ads like other stations, with the national ones provided by advertisers. NCI staff produces provincial and local ads for businesses, which range from car dealerships to event ads, all including Aboriginal entrepreneurs. Additionally, the federal government commissions public-service announcements about health issues, education, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police recruiting, sometimes

in Cree and Ojibway. On average, NCI carries ten minutes of advertisement per hour between 6:00 AM and 6:00 PM and six minutes per hour during the evening and night, including public-service announcements.[78]

A phone survey conducted by Probe Research during 2004 and 2005 with Aboriginal adults eighteen years and older found that NCI is the preferred radio station of 33 percent of Manitoba's Aboriginal population, with 69 percent of these living on-reserve, and it found that the urban Aboriginal population listens to the station to a much lesser degree (7%), due to other preferred network choices.[79] Of urban Aboriginal listeners most are between the ages of eighteen and forty-four (15% are ages 18–24, 28% are 25–34, and 19% are 35–44).[80] NCI sees the reason for the general disinterest in Winnipeg as being different music tastes (NCI primarily plays country and rock): "The discrepancy in numbers clearly shows that urban Aboriginal tastes in music and contents vary from those in the north."[81] One can speculate that in Winnipeg there is less ability and need to speak and listen to an Aboriginal language and that even fewer Aboriginal teenagers would listen to the station for the same reasons. Also, there are nine other major radio stations in Winnipeg that along with NCI compete for listeners and whose share of Aboriginal listeners ranges between 4 and 16 percent.[82] Another focus group study showed that, on average, 10 to 12 percent of the mainstream audience is interested in Aboriginal issues and activities, which would make up a second large potential audience. A third potential audience is global as NCI's signal is available worldwide through live streaming on its Web site. Because Winnipeg has the largest urban Aboriginal population nationwide, which is growing fast, including an increasing migration of predominantly young Aboriginal people from the north, it became apparent that one Aboriginal radio station cannot serve the tastes and needs of the whole urban Aboriginal community and that mainly the younger people are underserved in this respect. Thus, NCI has applied for a broadcast license for a second station that would be designed according to the tastes and interests of that age group.[83]

The station broadcasts twenty-four hours per day and seven days per week, with roughly 70 percent of its programming featuring Aboriginal-related content during the day, except for the news. Between 7:00 PM and midnight the programming is completely Aboriginal-related and is broadcast in Cree or Ojibway. NCI is registered as an Aboriginal country music station and features roughly 40 percent Aboriginal songs. It prides itself on being the only station that plays grassroots (Aboriginal) country artists. Out of the music played during weekdays, 40 to 45 percent is Canadian, and roughly 80 percent of this music is played from 7:00 PM to midnight. Thus, NCI easily meets the CRTC guidelines that require stations to feature 35 percent Canadian music.[84] During the day, most programs are entertainment shows, hosted by eight radio DJs, such as the broadcaster and stand-up comedian Gerry "The Big Bear" Barrett. Besides country and a mix of Aboriginal rock and country music, his *Morning Show* features pop-culture references, ticket giveaways, human-interest stories, powwow trail announcements, contemporary stories, and commentaries, such as a wake for missing Aboriginal women, follow-ups on political events like the blockade and protest at Hollow Water against

a cottage development on traditional territory, and health-related issues.[85] The most popular programs are request shows for greetings and personal announcements, like *The Internet Café* with Kimberly Dawn. A predominantly older audience listens to the two language programs in Ojibway and Cree, hosted by Dennis Chartrand and Audrey North, that transmit important news items, deliver community and personal messages for specific regions, and often feature guests in conversation with the hosts. In his *2 Hour Blues Show*, Cree host and storyteller Duncan Mercredi talks about poetry and writing. Two Métis programs, one purchased by the Manitoba Métis Federation (MMF), feature Métis fiddle music and culturally and politically related content, for example the address by MMF President David Chartrand.[86] In 2007, a one-hour program on Aboriginal spirituality with invited elders was added to the schedule in order to balance out the Christian programs on purchased airtime. Furthermore, NCI is in the process of creating a talk show that will discuss current events and political issues.[87]

Between 6:00 AM and 1:00 PM the network carries an hourly six- to seven-minute newscast, with an additional newscast on the half hour during the *Morning Show.* All are broadcast from Winnipeg, except two that are phoned in from Thompson. A quarter of the news items are Aboriginal-related, with the increasing priority from international, national, regional, to local news. Aboriginal news is defined as direct Aboriginal coverage, such as chief and council items, political events like protests and blockades, and indirect coverage, that is, anything that will affect Aboriginal communities, such as political decisions in Ottawa or cost of airplane fuel and gasoline prizes. Newscaster Richard Mason prepares the news on the basis of The Canadian Press, press releases, the CNN Web site, national newscasts, APTN, the local news information station CJOB, the *Winnipeg Free Press* and the *Winnipeg Sun*, local Aboriginal newspapers, and news items sent in by e-mail or phone. The Canadian Press delivers the 5:00 PM newscast.[88] An essential part of the newscast, especially in northern regions, is the continuous update on the weather forecast.

NCI started at the grassroots level, created by elders to counter the absence of Aboriginal voices and languages on the radio waves. Its decolonizing strategies are similar to those of APTN: it is fully under Aboriginal control and the majority of the staff is Aboriginal; it receives limited government funding and thus ensures almost complete financial independence; it airs local advertisement for Aboriginal businesses; 70 percent of its programs have Aboriginal content, with six primetime hours in the evening featuring 100 percent Aboriginal content and broadcast in Aboriginal languages; it facilitates the training of media professionals; and at least one-quarter of its newscast is Aboriginal-related. The radio station is unsurpassed in Canada in its reach of a whole province, and it does relatively well in the province capital among its mainstream competitors. In order to provide service in Winnipeg for younger audiences and people with other music tastes, NCI is in the process of launching a second station. These operational politics ensure continuous representational sovereignty and help to decolonize Manitoba's mediascape.

THE WAWATAY RADIO NETWORK

The Wawatay Radio Network (WRN) is part of the Wawatay Native Communications Society (WNCS), which caters to the communication needs of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation in northern Ontario. The society issues a biweekly newspaper, maintains a multimedia Web site with online news and information, provides daily radio programming, produces television programs, and offers translation and interpretation services. The society was founded in 1974, when Aboriginal communities up north were in dire need of communication infrastructures. It is a self-governing, community-driven Aboriginal organization with a mandate to serve Aboriginal northern Ontario by employing state-of-the-art technologies in order to preserve, maintain, and enhance Aboriginal languages and culture. WNCS has offices in Thunder Bay, Sioux Lookout, and Timmins with each having different areas of responsibility. While the office in Thunder Bay primarily produces the paper and Web site, Sioux Lookout and Timmins mainly provide radio broadcasts and television production. Wawatay employs thirty-three people, of whom thirty-one are of Aboriginal descent.[89]

The newspaper *Wawatay News* is the only paper in Ontario that provides information in English and the Ontario Aboriginal languages Ojibway, Oji-Cree, and Cree. It gives an Aboriginal perspective on national and local events as well as concentrates on Aboriginal news items, events, culture, and human-interest stories. The paper is circulated to more than eighty First Nation communities as well as to Aboriginal people living in the towns and cities of northern Ontario, reaching almost 58,000 Aboriginal people. The paper prides itself on excellent journalistic practice as it was awarded sixteen national and provincial newspaper awards during the past four years. Launched in May 2007, *Wawatay News Online* similarly carries Aboriginal perspectives and news coverage for northern Ontarians, but its multimedia character is specifically targeted at Aboriginal youth. It combines text, photographs, audio, and video and offers live streaming of the WRN broadcast. It facilitates familiarization with Ontario Aboriginal languages and extention of language skills by translating featured stories into syllabics that can be downloaded.[90]

In concert with the WNCS mandate, the WRN mission is to provide radio programming to the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation of northern Ontario in the traditional languages of Cree, Ojibway, and Oji-Cree on a continuous basis, and thus to enhance and preserve the nation's languages and traditional cultures and lifestyles. It is the only network in Ontario that does that. Likewise it strives to promote and encourage the social and economic development of the people as well as the training of Aboriginal-language radio journalists and media creators in order to serve the information and entertainment needs of the Nishnawbe-Aski people.[91] Similarly to NCI, it developed at the grassroots level, when community members with government funding initiated the launch of a radio station at Sioux Lookout in 1984, extending the local service of the existing community radio stations at Big Trout Lake and Muskrat Dam First Nations.[92] Today it serves more than thirty thousand Aboriginal people

in the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation and Treaty 3 areas, from the Manitoban border in the west to the James Bay in the east. Thunder Bay is reached through Shaw on cable, and the signal is now also distributed through Bell ExpressVu Channel nationwide.[93]

WRN is owned by the fifty communities of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation and governed by a board of directors consisting of five Aboriginal members. There are ten people on staff in Sioux Lookout and six in Timmins; fifteen of these are of Aboriginal ancestry. The network is funded to 70 percent by the government and generates the rest of its budget through advertisement and airtime for spiritual programs (gospel and sermons) purchased by different Christian denominations throughout the north as well as programs by political organizations, such as the local offices of national parties or the office of the Grand Chief of the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation, Stan Beardy. The advertisers are mainly Ontario corporations and local businesses as well as the Ontario provincial government. There are thirty-second to one-minute ad slots throughout the hour, totaling five to nine minutes per hour. The network does not commission any professional studies or ratings but has sent out survey questionnaires to individual communities. The feedback led to changes in the program; for example, starting in early September 2007 the news is now also broadcast in English, and improvements have been made in sound quality.[94] The station builds and maintains a good relationship with the communities it reaches through regular contact and consultation with the communities, local people, and local radio stations. This close community contact renders this a truly grassroots network on the base level that makes every effort to develop news and programs in the context of Aboriginal cultures and philosophy and to disseminate such values.[95]

WRN's programming is largely a mix of music and entertainment twenty-four hours a day, all—except the news broadcast—in Cree, Oji-Cree, Ojibway, and English. The program schedule is 100 percent Aboriginal-related with 85 percent Aboriginal music, traditional and modern. The network broadcasts 100 percent Canadian content. All programs are alternately broadcast from Sioux Lookout and Timmins. During the weekdays the morning shows are a syncretic mix of prayer, gospel, and traditional religious messages. Aboriginal priests from different parishes conduct prayers, and gospel songs are broadcast in the Aboriginal languages. The transmitted information is adapted to northern needs, that is, invited elders counsel on fishing, trapping, and hunting; personal and community announcements are aired; and the weather reports are tailored to such activities, that is, they inform about conditions for hunting and trapping and about the thickness of the ice for crossing waterways. Representatives from all fifty communities are contacted for ten-minute reports, the Northern Reports, of which two are aired in each morning show, pretaped or live. A call-in show invites people to phone in and report about current issues or things like moose hunting; likewise a "Boozoo Corner" welcomes people to phone in with their greetings for friends and family. In phone interviews Grand Chief Beardy accounts for his ongoing activities and decisions, and he keeps people informed about current affairs—such as housing, education, health issues and developments—and about the dealings

with the federal government. This practice fortifies the close-knit relationship between the people and their media network, and between the people and their chosen leadership through a self-controlled media network.

Besides this general broadcast, Wawatay Radio offers forty-eight hours of special programming during the week, of which forty-four are aired in the three traditional languages. These programs are, for example, the *Cree Elders' Hour*, the Ojibway program *Earth Sounds*, the *Laugh Hour*, *Legends from the Land*, youth programs, a women's program, and a current-issues program. *Youth News* and *Youth Radio—Let's Speak* feature soft rock music, interviews with young people, such as musicians, and recorded stories that are of interest to younger generations, and it discusses topics like education and lifestyle. Host Nick Sherman envisions involving more young people with the creation of the latter program, soliciting their input in terms of content and production and consequently training young radio journalists and technicians. His development proposal states: "The goal is to create an environment where the youth involved can gain career skills, develop focus in their lives, begin feeling active and represented, express their talents and perspectives, strengthen their verbal expression, build their involvement in the community by becoming advocates for social issues, and air a diverse, youth-driven show while working together with peers and community members."[96] The programs are broadcast in English, with the planned format having young people who speak the traditional languages coming in to translate. These programs are an essential addition to WRN's broadcast that otherwise runs the risk of losing a young audience, mainly because of the network's culturally motivated mandate to broadcast in Aboriginal languages.

In *Women's Voices*, host Kenina Kakekayash puts on the agenda topics such as health issues, elders' teachings, education, women as leaders, parenthood, women's careers, substance abuse and violence, new technologies, and language barriers. She invites studio guests, visits women on location, and conducts telephone interviews. Her preferred music choice is women artists.[97] Tiar Wilson's *Straight Talk* is a one-hour program without music, for which she preproduces documentary features on current issues, for example, about a priest who had abused children in his parish, which had just made the headlines.

During the day, there is a newscast on the hour with Aboriginal content, including such things as national and provincial elections. The focus is on local and regional news items, with national and international news items following suit, and finally sports and weather. Wilson prepares the news on the basis of wire services, the Internet, and Thunder Bay's *The Chronicle Journal* for the English newscast, and Randy Moskotaywenene translates them for the Aboriginal-language broadcast.[98]

The Wawatay television segment produces three shows that run on APTN: *Wawatay Kids*, *Cry of the Loon Fishing Adventures*, and *Shoomis' Legends*. *Cry of the Loon* introduces traditional fishing techniques, and the children's program *Shoomis' Legends* tells traditional legends in Oji-Cree. *Wawatay Kids* is the Aboriginal version of *Sesame Street*, as writer and producer Michael Dube calls it. Each season consists of thirteen parts that are twenty-four minutes each.

The shows are shot in English, and the fifth season introduced an Ojibway version. Six puppeteers and a camera person comprise the production team. Seven puppets appear regularly and a few others less regularly. In the program, invited local Aboriginal guests teach about different things such as wilderness survival, canoe building, Aboriginal legends and teachings, or give language lessons.[99]

Wawatay Radio is also a community-founded network and is owned by fifty Aboriginal nations in northern Ontario, a fact that requires the network to stay at the community level in its operative function and conditions decolonizing strategies that embed the network more tightly in the context of the Aboriginal community: it is governed by an all-Aboriginal board of directors; almost all staff are Aboriginal; it offers continuous service in Aboriginal languages as the only network in Ontario; its program and news production involves a close interactive relationship to the served communities; it offers 100 percent Aboriginal-related programs, which are aligned to the needs of northern inhabitants; it plays 85 percent Aboriginal music; it focuses its newscast on local and regional news; it trains Aboriginal media creators; and it is linked to the national Aboriginal television network. In 2007 WRN also started to broadcast its news in English, and it involves youth in the creation of youth programs lest the network loses its younger audience. The Wawatay Society provides a multimedia online version meeting the communication habits of younger generations, and it issues the only Aboriginal newspaper in Aboriginal languages in Ontario with a wide reach and award-winning quality. That Wawatay Radio is 70 percent government-funded is the only weak point that limits its financial autonomy, but with its 100 percent Canadian content, it easily answers to CRTC guidelines, which helps with government support. WRN is, in essence, an Aboriginal-focused, customized, and local media institution that Peter Lewis calls for, one that decolonizes the Canadian media from the bottom up.

CONCLUSION

Aboriginal media in Canada are hybrid forms of communication at the interface of colonial history and neocolonial conditions and increasing self-determination and decolonization; indigenous and Western values and philosophies; and indigenous and Western forms of mediating knowledge and information. All are structured similarly to other mainstream media organizations; that is, a board of directors governs the networks. The differences are that the respective Aboriginal communities, also emphasized in information material, own the radio stations NCI and WRN, and the traditional community-ownership form is combined with the Western-government form. All networks transmit media and employ program formats like Western networks, but they adapt their programming to Aboriginal culture-specific needs of information and entertainment. In contrast to commercial mainstream institutions, which usually generate their revenues almost exclusively through advertising, the Aboriginal institutions have models of combining funding through advertising, subscriber fees, strategic partnerships, industry

sponsoring, and government funding. The Canadian government only indirectly funds APTN, while NCI receives 18 percent and Wawatay Radio receives 70 percent funding. It seems that the more local a station becomes, the more it depends upon government support. However, in terms of programming, WRN, the most remote and locally oriented station, has its programs, forms of entertainment, content of news, and community communication through the station most aligned with Aboriginal local needs and cultural values, and it is the network that is most tightly embedded in the community. APTN, conditioned by its countrywide broadcast license, and thus responsibility, in contrast includes a number of language programs and other culture-specific programs, but in general caters to a more pan-Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal audience in Canada. All three networks are obliged to meet CRTC guidelines in terms of Canadian program content, but because their focus is on national and local Aboriginal news, issues, music, and drama, these guidelines are met by their self-defined priorities and, in this sense, do not pose neocolonial governmental control.

Aboriginal media in Canada are on the move. Be it radio, television, movies and short films, or magazines and newspapers, Aboriginal people are taking the representation of their cultures into their own hands to counter the still prevalent stereotypes and misrepresentation floating in the mainstream mediascapes. Belanger and Skea stress that the mainstream newsmedia shape the larger public's opinion and perception of Aboriginal cultures and issues.[100] In this light, autonomous sovereign Aboriginal media, if accessed by the mainstream, influence the public image of Aboriginal cultures and the way the public judges current Aboriginal issues by providing a second, inside perspective that is otherwise lacking in the Canadian mediascape. The self-controlled operation of Aboriginal television and radio that support the production of independent Aboriginal media, present Aboriginal contemporary society from an Aboriginal viewpoint, and offer a media discourse that Aboriginal people can identify with is a daily act of decolonizing the media. Many programs contribute to an autonomous Aboriginal media discourse that teaches and entertains Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians and attempts to undo the effects of mainstream neocolonial media discourse on Aboriginal people. Likewise, these programs help Aboriginal viewers to (re) generate and sustain self-respect and pride in being Aboriginal, in Aboriginal cultural knowledges, values, and philosophies. APTN, the discussed radio stations, and the many others not mentioned deserve great respect for their daily efforts and achievements. Their sharing of Aboriginal experience and knowledge with mainstream Canada is one further step on the way to mainstream recognition of Aboriginal people as equals in Canadian society.

NOTES

The author would like to thank the reviewers for their incentive and helpful critiques. This article was written in early 2008, all mentioned facts pertain to this date.

1. The term *colonization* denotes "direct territorial appropriation of another geopolitical entity, combined with forthright exploitation of its resources and labor,

and systematic interference in the capacity of the appropriated culture (itself not necessarily a homogenous entity) to organize its dispensations of power" (Anne McClintock, "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Post-Colonialism,'" in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman [New York: Columbia University Press, 1994], 295). The contemporary indirect colonialist relations in North America—the current domination of mainstream Eurocentric Canada and the United States over indigenous North America in terms of, e.g., politics, economy, legal and social issues, education, discourse, and representation—are seen as neocolonialism. Thus, wherever applicable the term *neo/colonial* is used in this article to refer to historical colonial conditions and contemporary neocolonial ones.

2. This article employs the term *indigenous* when referring to indigenous cultures worldwide and *Aboriginal* when referring to indigenous cultures in Canada.

3. The author intended to include a discussion of Aboriginal Voices Radio, based in Toronto, with broadcast stations in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Kitchener-Waterloo, Ottawa, and Montreal, and soon to be nationwide. Aboriginal Voices Radio is undergoing major structural changes, and two attempts to contact public relations personnel or the CEO for interviews failed. Unfortunately, a discussion of this station, which undoubtedly would have enriched this article, cannot be given.

4. An earlier article has critically analyzed APTN program politics and discourse, Kerstin Knopf, "Aboriginal Media on the Move: An Outside Perspective on the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network," in *Canada from the Outside In: New Trends in Canadian Studies/Le Canada vu d'ailleurs: Nouvelles approches en études canadiennes*, ed. Pierre Anctil and Zilá Bernd (Bruxelles, Belgium: P. I. E. Peter Lang, 2006), 169–87.

5. Cf. George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Don Mills, ON: Collier-Macmillan Canada, 1974).

6. On the basis of Aziz Khaki, Kam Prasad, and M. Grenier: Warren H. Skea, "The Canadian Newspaper Industry's Portrayal of the Oka Crisis," *Native Studies Review* 9, no. 1 (1993–94): 16.

7. Elizabeth Furniss, "Aboriginal Justice, the Media, and the Symbolic Management of Aboriginal/Euro-Canadian Relations," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25, no. 2 (2001): 3.

8. Yale Belanger, "Journalistic Opinion as Free Speech or Promoting Racial Unrest?: The Case of Ric Dolphin and the *Calgary Herald*'s Editorial Presentation of Native Culture," *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (Summer 2002): 393–417, quotation on p. 399; Robert Harding, "Aboriginal Child Welfare: Symbolic Battleground in the News Media," in *Aboriginal Canada Revisited,* ed. Kerstin Knopf (Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press, 2008), 290–328.

9. Skea, "The Canadian Newspaper Industry's Portrayal of the Oka Crisis," 29.

10. Cf. Kerstin Knopf, "Terra—Terror—Terrorism?: Land, Colonization, and Protest in Canadian Aboriginal Literature," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 27, no. 2 (2007): 301–9.

11. Rosemary Coombe qtd. in Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, *Indian Country: Essays on Contemporary Native Culture* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press: 2005), 42.

12. Assembly of First Nations, "A Community in Crisis: National Chief Calls for Urgent Action on Unsafe Drinking Water in Kashechewan First Nation," http://www.afn.ca/article.asp?id=1768 (accessed 2 April 2008).

13. On the basis of Stuart Hall, Herbert J. Gans, and Roger Fowler: Furniss,

"Aboriginal Justice, the Media, and the Symbolic Management of Aboriginal/Euro-Canadian Relations," 5.

14. One needs to note here that ethnographic filmmaking shifted some of its methods, principles, and objectives beginning in the 1970s. Many filmmakers began to change the object-subject relation between filmmaker and filmed, the filmed were involved in the process of filming, and the products often served the interests of both and drew attention to indigenous issues so that by the 1980s and 1990s ethnographic filmmaking transformed into a more subjective and reflexive genre. Furthermore, filmmakers began to produce indigenous films with the concerned and helped birth the development of indigenous filmmaking (Sarah Pink, *The Future of Visual Anthropology: Engaging the Senses* [London: Routledge, 2005], 11–12).

15. Jennifer David, "Aboriginal Language Broadcasting in Canada: An Overview and Recommendations to the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures" (Debwe Communications, 2004), 9, http://www.aptn.ca/content/view/19/175/ (accessed 19 September 2005).

16. Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978), 71.

17. Amanda J. Cobb, "This Is What It Means to Say *Smoke Signals*: Native American Cultural Sovereignty," in *Hollywood's Indian: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film*, ed. Peter C. Rollins and John E. O'Connor, exp. ed. (1998; repr., Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 217.

18. Cf. Heather Norris Nicholson, "Introduction," in *Screening Culture: Constructing Image and Identity*, ed. Heather Norris Nicholson (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003), 1.

19. Peter Lewis, "Preface," in *Alternative Media: Linking Global and Local*, ed. Peter Lewis (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1993), 33.

20. Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (1963; repr., New York: Pantheon Books, 1973), 115; emphasis in original.

21. Martin Jay, "In the Empire of the Gaze: Foucault and the Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-century French Thought," in *Michel Foucault: Critical Assessments*, vol. 1, ed. Barry Smart (New York and London: Routledge, 1994), 206.

22. Hans Herbert Kögler, *Michel Foucault* (Stuttgart and Weimar, Germany: J. B. Metzler, 1994), 81, 84.

23. For a more comprehensive discussion of Foucault's "gaze of power" and the notion of "decolonizing the media," cf. Kerstin Knopf, *Decolonizing the Lens of Power: Indigenous Films in North America* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi Press, 2008), 1–7.

24. For Canada, examples are the racist-motivated murder of Helen Betty Osborne in The Pas in 1971, numerous other cases of missing and murdered Aboriginal women, and the cases of arrested Aboriginal men being left to die of exposure on the outskirts of Saskatoon by police officers in the winter of 2000.

25. Himani Bannerji, "Returning the Gaze: An Introduction," in *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics*, ed. Himani Bannerji (Toronto: Sister Vision Press, 1993), xxii–xxiii. Means of media production are understood as colonialist in this article because they were/are mainly controlled by colonial powers and dominant mainstream society and thus serve(d) neo/colonial interests and discourse formation.

26. Randolph Lewis, *Alanis Obomsawin: The Vision of a Native Filmmaker* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 175.

27. Faye Ginsburg, "Aboriginal Media and the Australian Imaginary," *Public Culture* 5 (1993): 558.

28. Faye Ginsburg, "Embedded Aesthetics: Creating a Discursive Space for Indigenous Media," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 368.

29. Jeremy Beckett qtd. in Ginsburg, "Aboriginal Media and the Australian Imaginary," 559.

30. Lorna Roth, "The Delicate Acts of 'Colour Balancing': Multiculturalism and Canadian Television Broadcasting Policies and Practices," *Australian-Canadian Studies* 16, no. 2 (1998): 72–74. Roth provides a critical discussion of the implementation of these color-balancing policies.

31. These thoughts came up in a conversation with Marjorie Beaucage, a Métis documentarist from Saskatoon and founding member of the Aboriginal Film and Video Art Alliance (AFVAA). Cf. also Jöel Demay, "Clarifying Ambiguities: The Rapidly Changing Life of the Canadian Aboriginal Print Media," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 11, no. 1 (1991): 96, 100.

32. Demay, "Clarifying Ambiguities," 100–6.

33. Ginsburg, "Aboriginal Media and the Australian Imaginary," 561.

34. APTN, "Factsheet," http://www.aptn.ca/content/view/124/188/ (accessed 14 April 2008).

35. APTN, "Programming," http://www.aptn.ca/sales/programming.php (accessed 14 April 2008); APTN, "Sharing Our Stories with All Canadians," October 2006, http://www.aptn.ca/sales/files/APTN-sales.pdf (accessed 14 April 2008); CRTC, "Canadian Content for Radio and Television," http://www.crtc.gc.ca/public/old_pubs_e/G11.htm (accessed 14 April 2008).

36. APTN, "Programming."

37. For the development of self-controlled Inuit television and Television Northern Canada cf. Valerie Alia, *Un/Covering the North: News, Media, and Aboriginal People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 99–110.

38. APTN, "APTN's Broadcast Licence Renewed for a Full 7-Year Term," http://www.aptn.ca/images/stories/corporatepdfs/aptn7-yearterm.pdf (accessed 14 April 2008).

39. Interview with APTN Manager of Communications Sylvia Kolopenuk.

40. Whiteduck Resources Inc. and Consilium, "Northern Native Broadcast Access Program (NNBAP) and Northern Distribution Program (NDP) Evaluation: Final Report" (2003), 29, http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/em-cr/eval/2003/2003_05/index_e.cfm (accessed 15 December 2005).

41. APTN, "Sharing Our Stories with All Canadians," information brochure (n.d.).

42. APTN, "Our Viewers Unmasked," http://www.aptn.ca/sales/research.php (accessed 14 April 2008).

43. Interview with APTN Director of Marketing Sky Bridges.

44. Kolopenuk interview.

45. These northern transmitter towers are being decommissioned and will be replaced with either cable or satellite service (depending on availability in each respective northern region) due to the CRTC's mandate for over-the-air television signals to be completely digital after 31 August 2011 (Kolopenuk interview).

46. The channel numbers depend upon the channel provider in the respective region; for all numbers, the channel provider lowest on the scale is given. Channel

placement is dependent on the BDUs, i.e., the cable or satellite companies that deliver the service (Kolopenuk interview).

47. APTN, "Sharing Our Stories with All Canadians."

48. APTN Research, *North of 60 and First Nations on Reserve: Comparison Study on Primary Audience—Final Report* (5 September 2007), unpublished.

49. APTN, "Key Events in APTN's History from 1978 to 2007: APTN Awards," http://www.aptn.ca/content/view/20/196/ (accessed 14 April 2008).

50. APTN, "Sharing our Stories with All Canadians," information brochure; APTN, "APTN: 2006 Annual Report," http://www.aptn.ca/images/stories/corporatepdfs/Financial/annualreport2006.pdf (accessed 14 April 2008).

51. Kolopenuk interview.

52. Ibid.

53. For the fall 2008 schedule APTN will launch a one-hour primetime news program and will drop the daytime edition (Kolopenuk interview).

54. CBC, "Ipperwash," http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/ipperwash/ (accessed 11 February 2007).

55. On 11 June 2008 Prime Minister Stephen Harper, on behalf of the Canadian government, delivered the long-overdue public apology to all residential school survivors in Canada.

56. APTN, "National News Bios," http://www.aptn.ca/content/blogcategory/41/90/ (accessed 14 April 2008).

57. Kolopenuk interview.

58. APTN, "FAQ #4: News Stories," http://www.aptn.ca/content/view/16/175 (accessed 14 April 2008).

59. Kolopenuk interview.

60. E.g., 21 April 2008.

61. Kolopenuk interview.

62. David, *Aboriginal Language Broadcasting in Canada*, 23.

63. Ibid.

64. APTN, "Eligibility and Rating Criteria for Development and Licensing," http://www.aptn.ca/content/view/162/105/ (accessed 14 April 2008).

65. APTN, "Sharing Our Stories with All Canadians," *CRTC Communiqué* (Fall 2006): 1.

66. Ibid.

67. APTN, "APTN Launches High Definition Channel," http://www.aptn.ca/content/view/803/39/ (accessed 14 April 2008).

68. APTN, "FAQ #7: APTN Outside of Canada," http://www.aptn.ca/content/view/13/175/ (accessed 14 April 2008).

69. APTN, "Eligibility and Rating Criteria for Development and Licensing."

70. APTN, "APTN Proposal Process and Programming Cycle," http://www.aptn.ca/content/view/160/104/ (accessed 14 April 2008).

71. NCI, "About NCI," http://www.ncifm.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=13&Itemid=27 (accessed 18 April 2008); NCI, "Frequently Asked Questions," http://www.ncifm.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=50&Itemid=44 (accessed 18 April 2008).

72. NCI, "Native Communication Incorporated (NCI-FM): Strategic Planning," unpublished.

73. Speech by David McLeod on NCI Winnipeg at a CRTC hearing in Toronto in 2003, unpublished.

74. NCI, "About NCI."

75. Interview with David McLeod; NCI statement for a CRTC hearing in Toronto in 2003, unpublished.

76. McLeod interview.

77. NCI, "About NCI"; NCI, "Frequently Asked Questions"; McLeod interview.

78. McLeod interview.

79. Probe Research Inc., *Indigenous Voices, Final Report*, unpublished.

80. Probe Research Inc. qtd. in an NCI statement for a CRTC hearing in Toronto in 2003. Unfortunately, there is no data about Aboriginal teenagers in this study.

81. NCI statement for a CRTC hearing in Toronto in 2003.

82. Probe Research Inc., *Indigenous Voices, Final Report*.

83. NCI statement for a CRTC hearing in Toronto in 2003; McLeod interview.

84. McLeod interview.

85. Interview with radio DJ Gerry Barrett.

86. McLeod interview.

87. Interview with Programming Manager Rosanna Deerchild.

88. Interview with Gerry Barrett and David McLeod.

89. Wawatay, "About Wawatay," http://www.wawataynews.ca/about_wawatay (accessed 24 April 2008).

90. Ibid.

91. Wawatay, "Wawatay Radio Network Proposal 2006–2007," unpublished.

92. Interview with WRN radio host Bill Morris.

93. Wawatay, "About Wawatay."

94. Morris interview.

95. Wawatay, "Wawatay Radio Network Proposal 2006–2007."

96. Nick Sherman, "Proposal Youth News, Youth Radio—Let's Speak, Youth Evening Show," unpublished.

97. Interview with WRN radio host Kenina Kakekayash.

98. Interviews with WRN newscaster Tiar Wilson and Station Manager Randy Moskotaywenene.

99. Interview with Michael Dube, producer of *Wawatay Kids*.

100. Belanger, "Journalistic Opinion as Free Speech or Promoting Racial Unrest?," 399; Skea, "The Canadian Newspaper Industry's Portrayal of the Oka Crisis," 29.