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NATIVE CHANNELS: SOME AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGIES

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NATIVE CHANNELS: SOME AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGIES

by

Richard Martin Wheelock

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This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:

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Associate Professor of English

1/27/84
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This thesis is dedicated to my Mother and Father, Irene and Martin; and to my wife Liz. Without their moral support, this effort would not have been possible.

PREFACE

As American Indians struggle to control their own destinies, communications media have become an important focus on their attempts to deal with the problems of cultural survival and self-determination in government. Indian media, in turn, have had to deal with the problem of reaching an Indian audience often distracted from these goals by the social dynamics of non-Indian America, including non-Indian media.

Since Indian communities face such widely different local historical, social and political climates, their strategies for communicating with each other have been necessarily affected. In the ares of formal communications media with which this paper deals, the diversity of the Indian audience is startling. While non-Indian media are likely to regard the Indian audience as a single demographic among many in their mass audience (Eisenlein 1982, p. 3), Indians are by no means a homogenous social unit. Each tribe and even each community within each tribe maintains an incredible diversity of personalities, political splinter groups, and opinions on issues of community development. This may seem an obvious point, but to the non-Indian mass society, Indians have often

been categorized into easily apprehended stereotypes in the rush to maintain a massified society. Non-Indian media images of Indians clearly demonstrate a one-dimensional perception of Indians and Indian affairs. The fact that these perceptions are then passed on to American audiences served to reinforce the process of cultural domination in the media.

To understand the problems Indian media people face and the strategies they employ, it is necessary to assess the historical, cultural and social forces with which they contend. This paper is an attempt to provide an overview of these forces and some Indian responses in the area of media. Chapter One provides an overall view of the history and development of Indian media. Far from complete, it spotlights some of the trends which have influenced Indian media through the years. Chapter Two of this paper provides four concrete examples which demonstrate how specific Indian groups currently handle their unique communications environments.

A common problem faced by Indian media is how to deal with non-Indian media and their interference in community cultural and political affairs. Chapter Three, entitled "Expanding Mass Society and its Media", discusses this problem. Another issue seems to be the degree to which Indian tribes and organizations should maintain control over their media in order to assure harmonious development in Indian communities.

Chapter Four entitled "Freedom of the Press in Indian Country" outlines this issue.

It is hoped that this research will provide a fundamental understanding of the current state of formal Indian communications media. Perhaps some perameters will thus be established for both Indian media professionals and Indian community leaders in planning communications strategies.

The author wishes to thank the Indian media professionals who so fully cooperated in this research. Special thanks are due to Stanley G. Throssell of the Papago Runner, Grace Koehler of the Kalihwi.saks, Roland Pancho of the Eagle Free Press, Guy Redsteer of the Affiliation of Arizona Indian Centers' Intercom, and Stephanie Hare of the Native American Public Broadcast Consortium. These professionals offered frank information in a field largely undocumented.

The author also wishes to acknowledge the efforts of his thesis committee in helping to meet the standards of the American Indian Studies Program. Thanks to Lawrence J. Evers, Chairman of the Committee, Thomas Holm, and Robert K. Thomas.

Finally, thanks to the other students of the American Indian Studies Program. They, too, have been my teachers.

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ABSTRACT

Indian communities have long suffered from outside control of information media. Since these media are not intended to serve Indian community needs, Indian newspapers and a few Indian-controlled broadcast operations have been forced to be both news conductors and "voices" for the community. Their struggle has been against well-financed and well-schooled media professionals whose values and orientation reflect American mass society's priorities. Many Indian newspapers, for example, have historically decried the bias of non-Indian media in coverage and portrayal of Indian subjects. Often, they have worried, that as a result, Indian and non-Indian alike were beginning to define away Indian problems into policies which undermined tribal sovereignty and identy.

Some very special problems face Indian media professionals. Financing is difficult because there is usually a small, specialized audience. The relationship with tribal or other governing bodies continues to develop in the absence of traditional methods for dealing with such problems as freedom of the press.

This paper is an attempt to provide an accurate assessment of the challenges facing Indian media professionals

in four different types of Indian communities. Four specific case studies are undertaken to illustrate the wide diversity of communications environments different Indian groups face and the strategies employed to contend with that environment. It is hoped that this research will provide some parameters for both Indian media professionals and Indian communities in planning successful communications policies.

CHAPTER 1

HOW WE GOT WHERE WE ARE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIAN MEDIA DEVELOPMENT

Long before Europeans arrived in what they were to call the "Americas," Indian people maintained communications systems which served their specific needs. The existence of such means of communications as wampum for the tribes of the eastern woodlands or even the more sophistocated figure-writing of the Mayan and other Meso-American groups satisfied Indian needs to communicate with each other over time and space. Not only could events be recorded, but concepts and ideas could be exchanged both within tribes and between tribal groups. For the more mobile and nomadic tribes, sign language and signal languages of many types were developed (Mallery 1880), as were trade languages such as Chinook Jargon of the coastal tribes (Shaw 1909). The need to communicate also created a vigorous oral communications tradition throughout the Americas. Eloquence in this tradition was a much-sought after skill in many tribes.

As Indian lands throughout the Americas were expropriated and Indian societies were forced into rapid change by the Euro-American settlers, the need for Indians to communicate became critical for their continued survival.

In order to carry on the trade, form alliances, establish boundaries and hunting and fishing territories, tribes of many different linguistic families and dialects needed to communicate. Many depended on neighbors for trade goods which were otherwise unavailable or novel to them. In other cases, alliances were necessary to repel raiders who were not content to trade for items they desired. Tribes claiming contiguous or overlapping hunding, fishing or gathering grounds had either to fight one another or to agree on boundaries or other usage patterns.

Indian Print Media Beginnings

Despite the need for intertribal communications, internal tribal communications were by far the higher priority. According to Jeanette Henry, editor of Wassaja, "With the development of modern print journalism, Indian scholars and writers eagerly embraced the media, producing magazines and newspapers that delineate the modern history of the American Indian, often for better and more accuracy than anthropological studies. Historians must perforce make a special effort to examine these historic documents if they are to understand Indian history (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. viii). By the time the first Indian newspaper, Cherokee Phoenix, was printed in 1828, many eastern tribes had disappeared. Members had died in warfare, disease or fled their homelands, melting into other tribes to the west. The Cherokee Phoenix was called Tsalagi Tsulehsanuhi in the Cherokee language, meaning "I will arise."

Even this title shows the tribe's determination to survive as Cherokees. The paper was to be one instrument to assure tribal unity. The Cherokee tribal government demonstrated that the paper was to receive high priority by appropriating fully one-fifth of its tribal funds to the purchase of the press and type in both English and Sequoia script and to the hiring of a printer. The enlightened spirit of the beginnings of the Phoenix were stated by John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokees when said of the relationship the Phoenix should have with tribal government: "...The only legislative provision necessary for conducting the press...is to guard against the admission of scurrilous productions of a personal nature...The freedom of the press should be as free as the breezes that glide upon the surface (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. 24). It was not long, though, before Ross changed his tune. When Elias Boudinot, the paper's Cherokee editor, began to publish accounts of the dissension in the Cherokee tribal council over removal to Indian Territory, Ross told him not to do so. Boudinot resigned in 1832 after being told to assure Cherokees that they would retain their tribal rights if they would remain in the area which was about to become the Carolinas. "...I cannot tell them that we shall be reinstated in our rights when I have no such hopes (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. 30)." Ross asked the new editor, Elijah Hicks, to avoid controversy in the interest of "Unity of sentiment and action (Murphy and

Murphy 1981, p. 30). It was not the last conflict over freedom of the press in the Indian country.

It is clear that the tribal government saw communications as an essential strategy for resisting the on-slaught of settlers from Georgia. The Phoenix plant, press and type, though, were seized by the Georgia Guard in 1834 after years of harrassment from non-Indians who coveted Cherokee Indian lands and after years of internal arguments among Cherokees about removal to Indian Territory. The first published voice of Indian people was forceably extinguished.

For most tribes, no tribal pulbications arose until the twentieth century. Newspapers like the Cherokee Advocate, which succeeded the Phoenix after removal, or Creek's publication, the Indian Journal, founded in 1876, were exceptions (Sam G. Riley 1982). Still, the Indian Territory, later to become Oklahoma in 1907, was the center of Indian publications for many years. The Vindicator at Atoka and the Star at Caddo and the Cherokee Telegraph, begun in 1848 were among those published before the Civil War interrupted publishing activity in Indian territory. After the Civil War and until 1907 and Oklahoma statehood, many tribal publications thrived in Indian Territory. According to James and Sharon Murphy, "...all played a role in the emerging consciousness of self and tribe so prevalent among Indian tribes today" (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. 52). The Cherokee Advocate was closed by federal order on May 4, 1906, (Murphy

and Murphy, p. 51). After statehood, little was published by Indians until the 1950's, as non-Indians dominated communications media in the state.

Indian Publications in the Early Twentieth Century

A different form of Indian publication began to appear in the later 1800's. Financed by groups who hoped to "improve" the Indians by remaking them in the image of non-Indians, they were published under the auspices of religious groups or federal boarding schools. An example of the boarding school publication was the Red Man of the Carlisle Indian School, establlshed in Pennsylvania in 1879. Carlisle was once characterized by its founder, General Richard Henry Pratt, as a place to "Kill the Indian and save the man..." (Peter Iverson 1982, p. 9). Carlisle's student publication appeared in 1908 and was published monthly until 1917, when Carlisle was closed as an Indian school to make room for an army hospital during World War I. Though the Red Man carried the inscription "An illustrated magazine by Indians" on its cover, many articles were not written by Indians. Many were written by officials of the Indian Bureau, especially in the later years of its publication. Those written by Indians were invariably in agreement with official Indian policy. All articles seemed to paint a rosy picture of hope for Indian people in the struggle to become ever more like their non-Indian teachers.

Characteristic of the Red Man are such articles as "Mohonk Conference Does Effective Work" in the November 1910 edition and "Annual Convocation of Dakota Indians of the Episcopal Church" in the October 1913 issue. Through "Moral Instruction" in the October 1913 issue and "The Evils of Annuities to Indians," April 1911, show the magazine's constant appeal to Indian students to follow Christian ethical values and become independent, upstanding American citizens.

Not all Indian publications of the early 1900's were controlled by non-Indians, though. Carlos Montezuma's Wassaja was emotionally critical of the Indian Bureau and the dependency it helped foster. Montezuma's purpose in publishing the Wassaja was never in doubt. "This monthly signal ray is to be published only so long as the Indians bureau exists. Its sole purpose is for the Indians through the abolishment of the Indian Bureau (Carlos Montezuma 1919, p. 1)." Montezuma also attacked the leadership and the Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians since he believed the organization allowed itself to be manipulated by the Indian Bureau. Montezuma was a man determined not to be dominated. While one might have questioned the wisdom of abolishing the Indian Bureau, leaving Indian lands open to further expropriation, one couldn't doubt Montezuma's dedication to his cause.

During the Depression years of the 1930's, the era of the Indian Reorganization Act, publications for Indians

and Bureau personnel were published by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. John Collier's Indian At Work focused on the positive accomplishments of Depression programs on the reservation. One pulbication of the Bureau intended for Papagos was published in both English and Papago languages (Spicer, p. 149).

In the Mid-1900's, few Indian-owned publications existed within Indian reservations, National Indian organizations became the focus of Indian communications strategies. The National Congress of American Indians published its N.C.A.I. Sentinel designed to keep Indians throughout the country forewarned and educated about policy changes being made in Washington, D.C. The Sentinel, still in publication today, hoped to remedy a situation characteristic of federal handling of Indian affairs. As Beverly Geary wrote, "Many areas of government...have had a fairly free rein in actions relating to Indian tribes, without most of the checks and balances provided by a vigilant press (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. 74)."

Indian Print Media Today

As Indian controlled publications gained strength on the reservations in the 1960's and 1970'a, a major proportion of their editors remained non-Indians in positions with extremely low pay (Murphy and Murphy, p. 75). Though this situation has changed rapidly, low pay and long hours have

continued to attract few professional journalists to tribally-owned publications. Problems of funding and control have slowed the development of many publications.

Despite these problems, a surprising number have reached high plateaus of quality. The Navajo Times, first published in 1959, became the first regularly-published daily Indian newspaper in 1984. The Yakima Nation Review, which began publication in 1970 is able to command advertising rates which greatly reduce its dependence on tribal government funds (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. 102). The Lakota Times, under editor Tim Giago is possibly the only commercially successful Indian-owned newspaper in the country. Wassaja, dedicated to the memory of Carlos Montezuma's fighting spirit, is a national Indian newspaper published by the American Indian Historical Society in San Francisco. It claims a circulation of over 80,000 (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. 80). Another well-known Indian paper with a national audience is the award-winning Akwesasne Notes, a publication of the Mohawk Nation in New York.

Over the past few decades, many Indian service organizations, often federally funded, have created newsletters for specific segments of the Indian audience. Indian education newsletters, Indian health and mental health journals, Indian legal journals and Indian urban center publications have helped provide a growing but fragmented coverage of Indian concerns.

Indian Broadcast Media

Indians have also begun to make their presence known in the broadcast world. As Murphy and Murphy note "...Communication can help form community, and in some parts of Indian country, broadcast communication probably can serve that role better than any other medium (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. 131)." For audiences less oriented to the written word as some Indian communities may be, broadcast operations demand highly-trained, well-paid technicians. Despite these disadvantages and the concern of some tribal people that broadcast may bring on rapid acculturation (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. 131), some 14 Indian-controlled radio stations now exist or are under construction. A Native American Public Broadcast Consortium, Inc. study also lists six Indian television projects in cable, production or actual broadcast operations. Several Indian-owned production companies have begun business to help provide programming for broadcast operations (Blythe, no date, p. D2-7). This is, of course, a very small slice of the overall radio and television industry in the United States, but it is enough to establish a basis for planning of an Indian broadcast network. Case D in Chapter two of this paper further documents developments in Indian broadcasting.

Despite the often courageous attenpts to access and control at least come broadcast and print media for the benefit of Indians, the overwhelming bulk of media to which

Indians are exposed daily are commercial mass media. The survey found that while 55 percent of responding tribes received five of fewer channels of television, an amazing 28 percent said they received six to nine channels (Eisenlein 1982, p. 2). Only eight percent indicated a program in an Indian language and merely 18 percent indicated that the channels they received provided news about Native Americans. Among larger tribes, though, nearly 30 percent received Native American news. It is critical to note that most of the media Indians receive continues to be non-Indian for a mass audience.

CHAPTER 2

FOUR CASE STUDIES OF CONTEMPORARY INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND THEIR COMMUNICATIONS STRATEGIES

This paper is an attempt to document current communications strategies used by various Indian groups. Each of the four appendices in this paper provides an example of the communications environment within a certain Indian "community" and the strategies employed by a communications organization to meet information needs there. Indian communities find themselves in widely contrasting communications environments because of such dynamics as differing cultural and political histories, degrees of assimilation into American mass culture, relationships with their land base, and availability of trained media professionals.

Case A documents the Papago Tribe's communications environment and the efforts of the Papago Runner to deal with it. The Papago Reservation community is an example of one which is comparatively isolated from outside interference in its cultural and social affairs.

Case B shows the contrasting situation faced by the Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin and its tribal newspaper, the Kalihwi.saks. This much smaller community has a very small,

fractionated land base. It is highly impacted by the surrounding non-Indian communities and has a cultural and social demeanor which differs slightly, but significantly, from that of its non-Indian neighbors.

Case C exhibits the strategies used by the Eagle Free Press in reaching the urban Indian population of Phoenix, Arizona. The fact that htese Indians are of many different tribal backgrounds and are scattered throughout greater Phoenix makes this population a community only in the sense of its common Indian identity.

Case D deals with a national Indian media organization, the Native American Public Broadcast Consortium, Inc. (N.A.P.B.C.). The N.A.P.B.C. has a broad audience which includes nearly all Americans who receive public broadcast services. Their services to Indian communities is on a much more abstract level, since they operate in a communications environment dominated by the cultural and social perspective of a mass society. This case study also documents some recent developments in Indian-owned broadcast media and the advantages and new problems these developments create.

Case A. The Papago Runner

The Papago Runner, begun in 1976 by tribal resolution, is a tabloid-sized, official publication of the Papago Tribe. It is published twice a month at Sells, near the

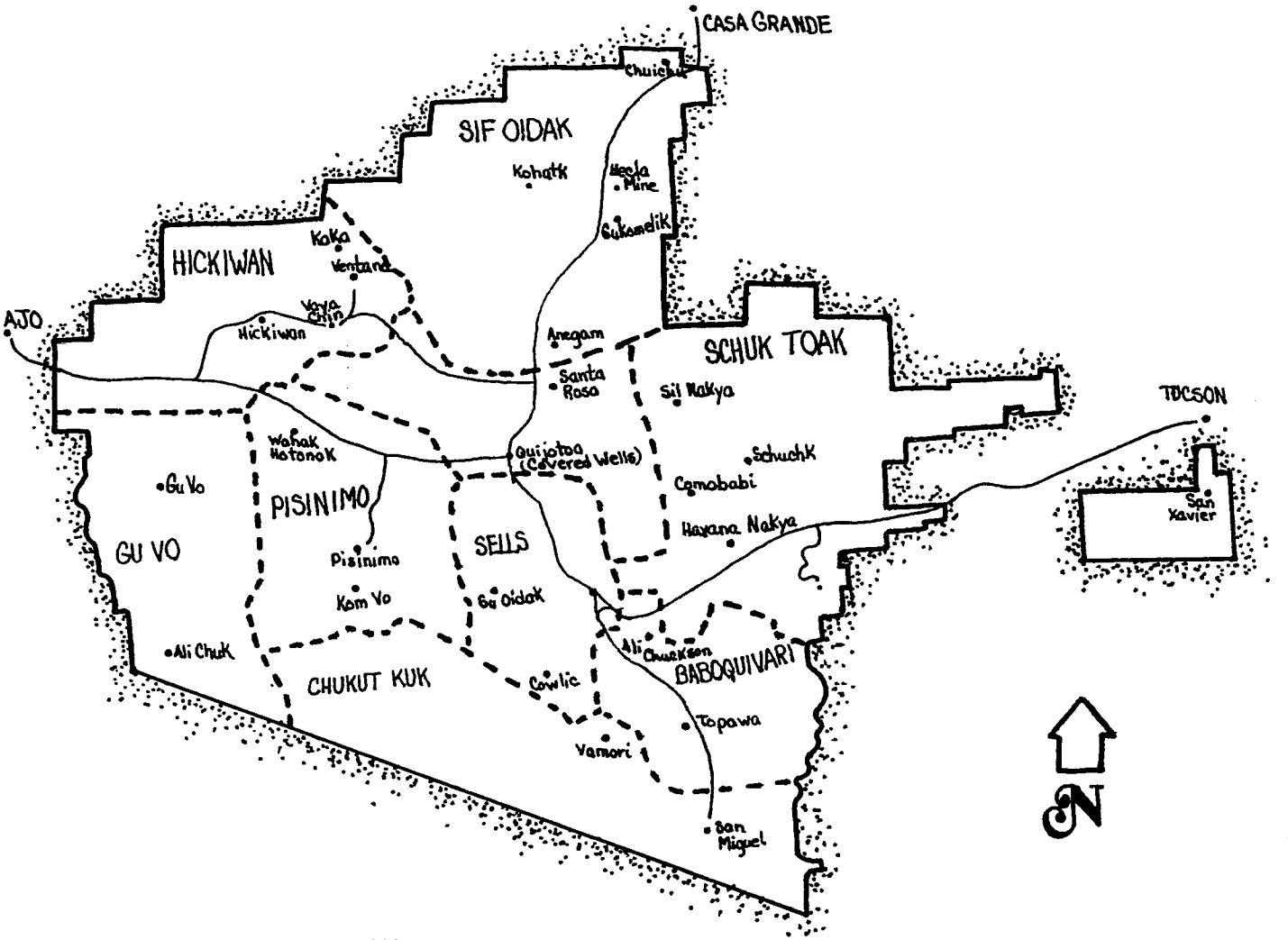

Fig. 1. Papago Indian Reservation
(Source: Kelly, 1963)

center of the Papago Indian Reservation in the southwestern desert of Arizona. According to the publication's editor, Stanley G. Throssell, about 2,000 issues of the Runner are circulated, mostly to tribal members who live on the reservation. The paper currently employs two persons, the editor, Stanley Trhossell, a Papago, and a reporter, Donna Jones (Throssell 1984). The Papago Runner faces some tremendous challenges in informing Papagos of news and events which will affect their lives. In order to understand the strategies employed by the Runner in meeting these challenges, it is necessary to assess the communications environment of the Papago Runner.

The Papago Indian Reservation Community

The Papago Reservation is an example of a large Indian homeland, comparatively isolated from American mass society. It is not technically accurate to label the Papago Reservation a single community. It is instead a widely-scattered system of semi-automonous small communities, spread across a vast desert environment, as the map on the preceeding page shows. The largest of the three Papago land areas, headquartered at the tribal capital at Sells, comprises some 2,774,370 acres. A population of only 7,073 tribal members shares this area. Isolated from this largest portion of the reservation, is the San Xavier District near

Tucson with an area of 71,095 acres and a tribal population of 707; and the Gila Bend District where 264 tribal members share 10,409 acres (Federal 1974, p. 66). Tribal members living adjacent to these areas bring the total tribal population to about 11,000 (Spicer 1962, p. 145). It is clear from these figures alone that the Papago Runner faces a formidable task in informing tribal members. The cpmparative isolation of these scattered communities from each other, some 63 overall (Spicer 1962, p. 144), makes it especially difficult to ascertain their common communications needs.

The reservation is divided into 11 tribal government districts, each with its own district council. Two representatives from each district sit on the 22-member Tribal Council, which meets at Sells. The tribal government itself provides a kind of communications system of district and tribal government meetings. Representatives are likely to have much face-to-face communication with constituents. In the area of tribal government communication, though, the Papago Runner has an obligation to provide an authoritative, accountable record of tribal government actions which may be reviewed at its readers convenience. The critical problem of whether tribal members will take advantage of this service hinges upon their orientation to the written word as well as their confidence in tribal government in

meeting their local needs. In urging participation in tribal meetings and elections, the Runner also serves the purpose of attempting to gain further support for the tribal government as an institution.

Urging Participation in Tribal Government

The history of tribal government on the Papago Reservation, like that of many tribes in the western United States, has made the winning and maintaining of confidence of constituents a high priority for tribal government. Each of the three land areas of the Papago Reservation was created separately by federal executive order. San Xavier District was first to become a Papago Reservation on July 1, 1874. Gila Bend, northern-most of the present-day Papago districts, became a reservation on December 12, 1882. It was not until February 1, 1917 that the large portion became a Papago reservation. Even then, the federal government acquiesced to the demands of non-Indian ranchers and miners in the creation of the reservation. A large strip of land near its center was excluded from tne reservation and all mineral rights were reserved to the tribe by the federal government (Fontana 1974, p. 47). Situations like these could not have helped build confidence amont the Papagos in the federal government's ability to protect their land

and economic interests. It is not surprising that when the Indian Reorganization Act (I.R.A.) was passed in 1934, proposals to begin a tribal government under federal supervision might be viewed with suspicion. In 1934, a referendum was held to accept or reject the Indian Reorganization Act for the Papago People. 1,443 Papago Indians voted to accept, while 188 voted against the proposition (Spicer 1962, p. 143). Although a great effort was made to create an I.R.A. government with total tribal approval, only a small minority actually voted to accept the I.R.A. As economic development was rapidly undertaken on the reservation, the Papagos first received news written especially for them in the form of a monthly agency newspaper in both Papago and English languages (Spicer 1982, p. 143). Despite these heady times of economic improvement, tribal government was not receiving total support by all Papagos. Villages were reluctant to subordinate their interests to those of others. District representatives were often seen not as duly empowered to enact legislation, but rather as "legs" or as messengers of news to their district councils in a more traditional sense (Spicer 1962, p. 144). It was not until the 1950's that many of these problems were overcome sufficiently so that Papago tribal government became at least nominally accepted

across the reservation (Spicer 1962, p. 144).

The Papago Runner today continues to be confronted with issues of competing tribal interests which threaten tribal unity and confidence in tribal government. The goal remains for the Runner to urge the solution of such problems within the tribal government's structure of remedies.

The Diverse Audience of the Papago Reservation

Besides the challenge of maintaining support for tribal governmentm the Papago Runner also deals with the problems of serving the informations needs of the diverse and occasionally factionalized readership. Forces of acculturation and economic development have lead to factionalization for many tribes throughout the United States. The Papago Tribe has also experienced these diversive forces despite their isolation from American mass society.

One question which often appears in relation to economic development concern the direction such development should take. Are tribal individuals to maximize their own economic positions in order to benefit themselves and their immediate dependents, or should certain economic advantages created by federal trust status be retained for the tribe as a whole? This question often surfaces in relation

to whether individual tribal entrepreneurs or tribally-owned corporations should develope tribal resources or market advantages. An example on the Papago Reservation is the current controversy over long-term leasing of tribal and allocated lands at San Xavier for development by non-Indians. One group favors the leasing arrangement on the basis of an individual's right to take advantage of his assets. Another group opposes the plan, claiming that the tribal sovereignty over long-term leased land supercedes any individual rights (Papago Runner 1984, p 8). It is not a far cry from the situation the Papagos faced over cattle grazing soon after the 1937 tribal constitution was ratified. In that dispute, individual Papagos who had successfully developed cattle grazing operations opposed the tribe's regulation of the industry which favored the tribe's own herd (Spicer 1962, p. 143). Such factionalism arising from economic conflicts has led to deepseated divisions between Papagos in the past.

The Papago Runner has steered a careful course in relation to such intra-tribal controversy. In the San Xavier case, the issues have been covered as objectively as possible, leaving the advocacy for either position on the question of long-term leasing to be argued in paid advertisements (Papago Runner 1984, pp. 5,5 and p. 8). Letters to the editor and editorial comments about the lease occasionally appear in the Runner, but the paper has so far

avoided the appearance of supporting either side. By keeping the coverage of news and events related to the controversy as objective as possible, the Runner maintains its creatibility as a news conductor intended for all Papagos, not just for one faction in a controversy.

Another source of division within the Papago Runner's readership is that of religious preference. This source of division has moderated greatly since the 1920's when villages west of the Babaquivari Mountains became internally split along Catholic and Presbyterian sectarian lines. This also played into the political factionalism of the time between the League of Papago Chiefs, a traditional group which opposed interference in traditional ways by the superintendent, and the Good Government League which advocated cooperation. The League of Papago Chiefs tended to be Catholics; the Good Government League were often Presbyterians (Spicer 1962, p. 141). It is important to note that this factional dispute was restricted to the southeastern reservation and was not an issue in other areas. In much the same way, the San Xavier leasing controversy is of only passing interest to Papagos in the more remote areas of the Papago Reservation. Such local disputes must be reported carefully by a reservation-wide newspaper like the Papago Runner. Each side in the dispute is likely to expect favorable coverage for their cause. Other Papagos not directly involved are likely to ignore the issue as none of their

business, unless they understand how it will affect them. The newspaper is forced to carefully evaluate the significance of the controversy to each of these three segments of its readership in order to be of optimal value to its readers.

Problems of Literacy

A serious problem confronting the Papago Runner and many other tribal publications, is that of orientation of its target audiences to receiving information via the written word. Since the Papago Runner is entirely printed in English, there is some question about reaching some of its audience which might be more comfortable conversing in the tribal language. According to some observers, few Papagos over 60 years of age speak English. Of the age group 30-60 years, only one-half speak acceptable English. Only one-third of females in this group are proficient English speakers. Of those Papagos under age 30, most speak English well (Thomas 1984). The O.odham language is an orally transmitted language, only comparatively recently standardized into a written form by modern linguists. One might argue that non-literacy in either language is an even more serious problem for print journalists. Still, the assumption of an orientation toward reading may overlook the fact that many Papagos might be better served by certain broadcast media. Many tribes and other Indian organizations find that broadcast

media reaches many Indian groups despite porblems of literacy. Costs of such media are, of course, a limiting factor. Since 1864, when the first mission schools were established among the Papagos, the tribe's children have attended classes taught in the English language (Spicer 1962, p. 437). Boarding schools were especially effective in cutting off young Papagos from tribal cultural influences and especially from tribal language. Papago language has only recently been taught in area schools. Mandatory attendance has made most younger Papagos proficient in written English, so the question of their orientation toward receiving news via the written word is of more consequence to print media people than is their literacy.

Freedom of the Press

Of great interest to civil libertarians is the relationship of tribal publications to the tribal government. In the tradition of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, newspaeprs have always taken a certain adversarial role with relation to government. A kind of watchdog role has emerged for media in the United States through a long history of court decisions. These desisions, though, are not easily applied to tribal publications since they are commonly funded by the tribe. The question of how the tribe's citizens are to be protected from the arbitrary or even illegal actions of tribal government when no such

watchdog exists is an important one. Some Papago leaders seem to be keenly aware of this problem. In the creation of the Papago Runner in 1976, plans were made to make it economically self-sufficient as soon as practically possible. The annual subsidy was to be reduced each year until the Runner was self-sufficient, relying on advertising, related public relations jobs and subscriptions for its revenues (Throssell 1984). Tribal officials hope this economic self-sufficiency will help to eliminate the problem of a kind of implied self-censorship which might otherwise face the Papago Runner's personnel as tribal employees.

The freedom of the press issue has been one of concern to the Papagos since soon after their acceptance of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (48 Stat. 984) The Constitution and By-Laws of the Papago Tribe, approved January 6, 1937, explicitly guarantees "...the freedom of worship, speech, press, and assembly... (Const. 1937, p. 4) to tribal members". In 1968, the U.S. Congress mandated press freedom and other constitutional rights on Indian reservations when it passed the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 (82 Stat. 77). The language of the act is very similar to that of the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment. Though these laws clearly restrict the tribal government from censorship or prior restraint upon publications not funded by the tribe, a question still remains as to whether the tribe's

own official publication is thus protected. It is an open question whether a tribally-financed publication should be in a watchdog role or in a role as an uncritical public relations arm of tribal government. The Papago Runner's editor, Stan Throssell notes that no overt censorship has occurred, but just as the tribe is obliged to spend federal funds as the government mandates, so the Papago Runner is committed to provide a service as the tribe has funded it to do (Throssell 1984). It is a delicate balance, then, to serve the interests of tribal government and yet protect the rights of tribal citizenry to review the actions of that government.

Encouraging Tribal Development

Another role tribal media have accepted throughout the country has been the voice for community development. Many publications and broadcast operations have tried to build community confidence in social and economic development. Tribal media often are involved in improving the self-image of the tribe and its individual members. Coverage of positive accomplishments of tribal members or tribal enterprises is one method of reinforcing confidence in a community's ability to develop its own human resources. The story headlined "Given up on Shopping Center? Tribal Officials Say Don't" (Papago Runner 1984, p. 6) is a good example of the kind of optomistic reporting which serves this purpose.

Dealing with Non-Indian Media

Tribal papers often directly confront the non-Indian media in their stereotypic portrayal of Indian life. In this way, they hope to break a cycle of cultural domination which has helped create negative self-images among tribal members. Editor, Stanley Throssell, points out one media event which seems to reenforce stereotypic images of helpless Indians being aided by benevolent Americans. Annually, around Christmas time, military helicopters fly a fully-costumed Santa Claus to several schools on the Papago Reservation (Throssell 1984). Each year, local television stations portray the event in a manner which can only help the public image of one of southern Arizona's major economic entities: U.S. Military. The fact that this media event is reenacted every year tends to magnify its tendency to maintain stereotypes which appeal to its audience.

Throssell believes that non-Indian media would like to do a better job of serving Indian readers and of avoiding stereotyping in their stories. Their first obligation, though, has always been to the larger and more economically powerful non-Indian readership. As Throssell observes "...Essentially what they are doing, is telling a story about Indians to their non-Indian readership." (Throssell 1984). Another example Throssell noted is mass media coverage of a tribal protest against sonic booms caused by low-level supersonic flights by military airplanes from

nearby training bases. An account by a local non-Indian paper used a photograph which Throssell felt distracted readers from one protestor's message. A wideangle lense was used to capture the squalid conditions of the man's home, suggesting negative images of Papago life and, possibly, hurting the man's credibility with non-Indian readers.

The persistence of negative portrayals of this kind in many stories having to do with the Papagos is often not intended by non-Indian reporters and editors, Throssell believes. He thinks that much of it comes from lack of serious research by reporters as they cover stories on the reservation (Throssell, 1984).

Conclusion

The Papago Runner, then, has a responsibility to cover events among the O.odham from the perspective of its own readership, since in this way it is more likely to give an account upon which Papagos may make responsible decisions for the future. The Papago Runner provides much of the information critical to tribal self-government to the tribe's electorate. Communication must remain a high priority among tribal officials as pressures for tribal resources increase.

The Papago Reservation represents one of many types of reservation communities. Its communications environment is uniquely its own because of its vast size and scattered village populations. Uneven levels of social and economic development among its districts also contributes to a frag-

mented readership. Despite their long association with outsiders from Spain, Mexico, and finally the United States, their relative isolation has helped to protect the traditional lifestyles of the O.odhan from wholesale, rapid extinction. As they face the challenges of the 1980's and beyond, tribal communications will be forced into rapid development if the tribe is to control its own destiny as a culturally independent democratic community.

Case B. The Kalihwi.saks

The Kalihwi.saks, the official newsletter of the Oneida Tribe of Wisconsin, is an 8½ x 11, 2-column magazine-format publication printed on canary-colored bond paper. It is published twice monthly at Oneida, Wisconsin on the Oneida Reservation. The paper has a staff of three; the editor, a secretary and a machine operator for printing and collating. The first issue each month is mailed to 700 local tribal members at no charge. The second monthly issue goes not only to local tribal members, but to tribal members throughout the country, who have current addresses on file with the tribe. Some 1,500 copies circulate in this second monthly edition (Koehler 1984). Since there is no charge for the publication, and it receives total financial support from the tribal government.

The Oneida tribal community's history is quite different from that of the Papago history and provides another kind

of communications environment with which this tribal publication must deal.

The Oneida Indian Reservation Community

The Wisconsin Oneida's were originally part of the Iroquois Confederacy which also included the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and after 1722, the Tuscaroras. Oneidas have had direct contact with Europeans since at least 1634 (Richards 1974, p. 4). Their long association with European exploitation and their involvement on the side of the Colonists in the Revolutionary War greatly altered Oneida society. Early Jesuit missionaries also began to significantly influence Oneida religion and culture as early as 1677 (Richards 1974, p. 27).

Though the Iroquois League attempted to remain neutral, most Oneidas and Tuscaroras supported the colonists during the Revolutionary War, while most of the other tribes sided with the British. This breach of the League brought about factionalism not only between tribes of the League, but within individual tribes. The Treaty of Ft. Stanwix in 1974 confirmed Oneida and Tuscaroras title to their homelands, but forced the rest of the League to give up most of their land (Richards 1974, p. 27.). The fortunes of war, though, were not enough to protect Oneida lands indefinitely. The State of New York and several land companies soon took control of much of the Oneida lands through questionable treaties and transactions. Some of these treaties are being challenged in

court to this day.

The pressures for Oneida lands caused many to leave the area, sometimes in fear for their lives. In 1817, only 1,500 Oneidas remained in New York State. Many others had fled to Canada westward. In that year, Eleazer Williams was appointed as Episcopal Lay leader among the Oneida by Bishop John H. Hobart. Williams succeeded in converting the so-called Pagan Party among the Oneida, ending one serious factionalism. He then set about to accomplish his dream of an Indian Confederacy which he hoped to establish somewhere in the West. Pressures by non-Indians for the removal of all Indians from the East helped make Williams' efforts at least partially successful. Despite Oneida Council condemnation of the idea of removal of it repudiation of an 1821 agreement with the Menominee for lands in Wisconsin, Williams and his Oneida followers concluded even better land agreements and many moved to Wisconsin in 1823. To those Oneidas who vowed never to leave their homelands within New York State, such a move was unthinkable. Among other tribes of the Confederacy, factions for and against removal also developed. Only the Senecas were united in opposition (Richards 1974, p. 64). For years groups of Oneidas traveled to join these Wisocnsin Oneidas. The last major Oneida group from New York arrived in Wisconsin in 1836. By 1838, Six Nations land holdings in Wisconsin whittled down from hundreds of thousands of acres to what was to be the final reservation of less than 65,000 acres.

The Oneidas in Wisconsin remained factionalized by several forces, many of which continue today. Methodist missionaries began to work on the reservation in 1829, cutting into an almost total monopoly by Episcopals. Each immigrating group brought with it its own leadership contributing to disunity.

In the 1860's the government agent to the Oneidas began another attempt to move the Oneidas even further west. The Attempt failed; Oneidas were learning the value of constant vigilance in protecting their lands. Acceptance by the tribe of The Dawes Act of 1887, allowed appointment of tribal lands to individual Oneidas. They had been promised a boarding school if they would agree to begin allotment immediately. By 1904, nearly all Oneidas lost their lands to non-Indians, often through unconscionable dealings (Richards 1974, p. 74). Most lands within the boundaries of the 65,000-acre reservation became Indian-owned. By 1930, only 1,000 acres was still held by Oneidas.

In 1934, the Oneidas voted to organize under the Indian Reorganization Act. Again, factions developed over the issue. Traditional chiefs and their followers opposed the idea, but soon to be the minority. A kind of underground traditional government continued for a time, questioning the legitimacy of the new I.R.A. government. Under the I.R.A., though, the Oneidas actually regained nearly 1,900 acres, despite strong opposition from local non-Indians and even a few Oneidas, (Richards 1974, p. 85). The tribe still purchases lands if they

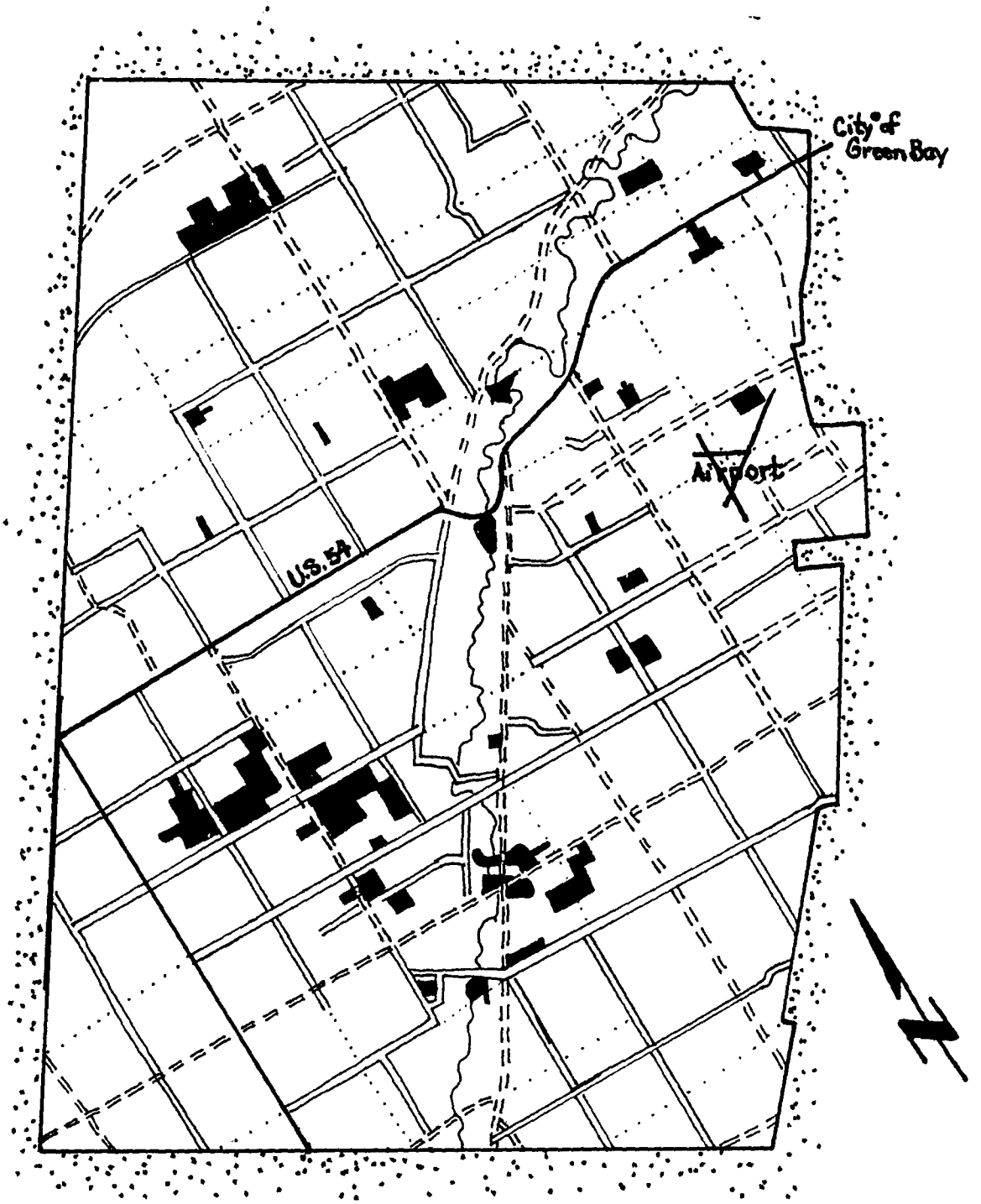

Fig. 2 The Oneida Indian Reservation
(Source: Richards, p. 84)

Darkened areas represent present tribal holdings.
Exterior boundaries of map show 1838 treaty boundaries.

become available within the old reservation boundaries. Today, the tribe maintains over 3,000 acres of tribally-owned land (Doxtater 1984) with another 473 acres held by individual Oneida allottees (Federal 1974, p. 589). The map on the preceding page illustrates this fragmentation.

The social impacts of the continuously threatening environment at Oneida have been significant. When the Oneida Boarding School was shut down in the 1940's for instance, Oneida children were required to attend schools in the nearby towns of Seymour, De Pere or the City of Green Bay. According to Cora Richards, Author of The Oneida People, some of these students encountered discrimination there as late as 1974 (Richards 1974, p. 80). A continual struggle by Oneidas finally resulted in the establishment of the Oneida Tribal School in 1979 on the site of the old boarding school. Such efforts have helped to maintain tribal identity and community spirit despite an often antagonistic surrounding community of non-Indians.

The Diverse Oneida Audience

The Kalihwi.saks has the difficult task of reaching a readership fragmented and factionalized by a particularly unsettled history. Some 1,900 Oneidas now live on the reservation (Federal 1974, p. 589), while the tribal roles record over 8,800 tribal members (Powless, 1984). The demographic demonstrates the degree to which Oneidas have left

the community over the years, either to seek better economic conditions, or to attend schools, or to join the military. The Kalihwi.saks has developed its circulation strategy in order to maintain contact with these off-reservations Oneidas. Its second issue of the month is designed to inform both local and tribal members and those more distant about activities of the tribe. The more local first issue of the month circulated to 700 Oneida living on or near the reservation, concentrates on tribal services, local announcements and events.

The Oneida community remains a diverse one. Many Oneidas are forced to seek employment off the reservation, often in the city of Green Bay or other nearby cities and towns. Their work orientation often leaves them little time for community involvement. The fact that the reservation is divided into two counties, Outagamie and Brown and three public school districts, works against the unity of purpose. Social activities such as athletics and the annual pow-wow, tend to bring Oneidas together. The many tribal programs have also helped to involve Oneidas in community development, since many programs require an advisory board of tribal members. The Kalihwi.saks continues to carry much news about these programs. According to editor Grace Koehler, the paper maintains reporting on tribal programs as a high priority (Koehler 1984).

Encouraging Participation in Tribal Government

Support for tribal government seems secure. In the July 26, 1981 tribal elections, a record number of 830 Oneidas voted (Kalihwi.saks July 31, 1981, p. 8). This hotly contested election, though, tended to divide the community when the tribal chairman position was won by one candidate by only three votes. Bitter feelings over the election are still a source of factionalism at Oneida as the next tribal election approaches (Koehler interview). Struggles for positions in tribal governments have been keen and may contribute to eventual alienation of large groups of voters. The Kaliwhi.saks must carefully maintain its objectivity under these conditions. Urging participation, though, remains an important function.

Since the paper receives all of its funding from the tribe, it has little leverage as a watchdog on tribal government. It is interesting to note that an anonymously published newspaper has appeared regularly within the community since the 1981 tribal edition. In the absence of an accountable community-based newspaper which is independent of the tribal government, the Ridge Runner is rife with rumor and inuendo. Several false stories have been published by this paper and it is occasionally criticized in the Kalihwi.saks by those who become its target. In one such rebuttal, the Oneida Tribal School administrator defended the tribal school's alcohol and drung program, denied

he was "giving up" and moving to California, and generally denounced the irresponsible journalism of the Ridge Runner (Gollnick, 1984). Editor Grace Koehler of the Kalihwi.saks, notes that the Ridge Runner first appeared soon after several Oneida Business Committee members were removed by the General Tribal Council following a dispute over personnel policies (Koehler, 1984). In such disputes, the Kalihwi.saks offers space for letters to the editor which are considered fit to print. Since such a policy has lead to continued public argument in which individuals used up needed copy space, only two rebuttals are allowed (Koehler, 1984).

Another pulbication, Shenandoah, appeared for several years. It was published by a former editor of Kalihwi.saks, Paul Skenandore, at his own expense defrayed by subscriptions of readers. His long essays, intended to rally Oneidas behind traditional ways, often bordered on racism where he recounted the events of the past: "...your politicians have weakened your sovereignty arguments. And the whites continue to tell your politicians, that they have no choice, except to work and make agreements with people you know cannot be trusted." (Skenandore, 1982, p. 14). His attacks on the pragmatic nature of tribal politicians show him to be an adherent to philosophies of traditional Oneida government.

It is interesting that an amendment to the Oneida Tribal Constitution and By-Laws guarantees freedom of the

press (Amendments - Const. & By-Laws For Oneida Tribe of Ind. of WI). Again, the fact that the Kalihwi.saks receives its funding directly from the tribe and that its employees are employees of the tribe completely circumvents the issue of freedom of press. Clearly, Kalihwi.saks employees must be very careful in criticizing tribal government actions or in agressively investigating the actions of tribal officials. Because of this relationship with the tribal government, the Kaliwhi.saks compares in function with in-house publications which report to shareholders of a corporation. Since the tribe is incorporated under terms of the Indian Reorganization Act, this is an apt comparison.

Dealing With Non-Indian Media

Another part of the communications environment with which the Kalihwi.saks must deal, is the mass media centered mainly in the nearby city of Green Bay, Wisconsin. This industrial city of 88,000 population has three commercial television stations, many AM and FM radio stations and two major daily newspapers. Coverage of news events which occur in the Oneida community by these news media often seem sensationalized and fundamentally skewed to non-Indian perceptions of Oneida life. When the tribe began discussions on a shoreland ordinance designed to protect Duck Creek and other waterways wthin the reservation boundaries from further water polution and erosion, many non-Indians in the area

feared they would be regulated by laws which they could not have a hand in formulating. The resulting controversy quickly became a media event in the Green Bay area (Kalihwi. saks, Jan. 30, 1981, p. 3-4). One television news reporter went so far as to make a formal request of the tribe so that he could do a series about Oneidas. His letter to the tribe proposed a documentary featuring tribal culture and providing community profile. When the tribe reluctantly agreed to the proposal, the reporter instead used his material in a sensation series of stories he called "This land is whose land?" The Oneida Business Committee voted to bar the reporter from the reservation, though they had no enforcement power to carry out the actions. In later hearings at Oneida, the reporter's inquiries were pointedly ignored by the tribal government officials. This example of the limiting of a certain newsman's right to access information brings up an important point for tribal governments. It is a confrontation between tribal government sovereignty and the supposed right, within the United States, for newsmen to gather information. Though the television station wisely withdrew its reporter, the Shoreland Ordinance hearings remained a sensationally reported news story until the tribe suspended plans for enactment. Since that time, the Green Bay media have occasionally criticized the tribe for not being open to outside news reporters.

Encouraging Tribal Identity

The Kaliwhi.saks attempts to counter the often hostile environment at Oneida by optimistically reporting community news. Stories like "Grand Opening (Kalih. April, 1984)," recounting the ribbon-cutting ceremony following improvements to an Oneida recreation center, gives an on-going message of continuity to Oneidas. A column of "Happy Birthday" wishes is open for community members to honor their friends and relatives. Editor, Grace Koehler, notes that there is a strong need to reinforce tribal heritage and culture: "...a lot of people are just slipping away from their heritage and their culture.... I don't think they really realize....it." (Koehler, 1984). She thinks, though, that the tribe still has held on to the ability to solve its problems as a people. The challenge facing the Kalihwi.saks is to provide accurate material on issues so that the tribe's General Tribal Council can make informed choices in the years ahead.

Another function which Kalhwi.saks staff performs is the printing for the many tribal programs. This is a big job which can interfere with the staff functions of reporting. The January 7, 1984 Semi-Annual Report to the General Tribal Council, for instance, contained some 35 one to three-page reports on tribal programs and enterprises. The 102-page document was distributed to nearly 1,500

addresses. Since the Kalihwi.saks reproduction center is very short of equipment for such undertakings, many hours of staff time is used in layout, printing, collating and stapling. Material improvements in the Kalihwi.saks would seem impossible under these conditions. It would appear that the tribe must consider whether a separation of the printing and reproduction office from the newspaper office would help the Kalihwi.saks to better cover community news. Since funding for the Kalihwi.saks has always been problematic at Oneida, though, printing for tribal programs helps justify its existence.

Conclusions

Many challenges face the Kalihwi.saks staff. Their fragmented readership presents a difficult target audience. Their position as a tribal program gives them little latitude for examining the options of tribal government. As less accountable newspapers spring up within the community, the Kalihwi.saks can only allow its readers space to correct unsubstantialed rumors. The Kalihwi.saks remains, though, the main conduit for information flow between tribal government and its people.

The Oneida Reservation is a completely different type of reservation community from the Papago Reservation in southern Arizona. It has been highly impacted by agricultural and finally urban development which began first

outside, then moved within reservation boundaries. Today, more non-Indians than Oneidas live within the 65,000 acre reservation set up in 1938. Like many Indian communities in the eastern half of the U. S., it had to struggle to maintain its Indian identity. Since the Phoenix-like rise of tribal government in the 1930's and 40's, the Oneidas have clung to their rights as tribal people. Though many of the tribe's cultural symbols were altered in the process and Oneida language loss is severe, the community thrives today as a distinctly Oneida one. Kalihwi.saks is part of an information system which helps to keep these people together.

Case C. The Eagle Free Press

The Eagle Free Press is an official publication of the Phoenix Indian Center, Phoenix, Arizona. It is tabloid-sized, printed on newsprint paper and published monthly at the Center near downtown Phoenix. The circulation of the Eagle Free Press is about 450 readers, including urban-based Indians of all tribes who utilize the Center's health services, legal aid, job training and placement programs, and programs for elderly. The Center's long-range goals, part of a 5-year effort begun in 1982, are explained in its mission statement:

> The mission of the Phoenix Indian Center, Inc. is to promote the social and economic self-sufficiency of the tribal Indian population in the Phoenix metropolitan area. To accomplish this, the Center's major area of focus will be the effective functioning of individual families, Indian community development, cross-cultural understanding, cooperative efforts with

> the broader community linkage with Arizona Indian communities (Stevens 1982, p. 1).

The Phoenix Indian Center had a budget of nearly $1,250,000 in 1983 (Swallow 1983, p. 9). It served some 6,000 clients in 1982. As a communications device of the Center, the Eagle Free Press carries much of responsibility of communicating these goals to Phoenix's Indian Center population and for covering activities of the Center as it pursues objectives.

The Phoenix Indian Community

The 1980 U.S. census counted 16,247 Indians living in the Phoenix metropolitan area (Stevens, p. 13).

In surveying a representative sample of this population, the Phoenix Indian Center found that approximately 28% of the sample was Navajo and 13% was Pima (Stevens 1982, p. 17). The fact that many other tribes were represented in the sample shows one of the demographic problems faced by Eagle Free Press. Its coverage is of a more generalized ethnic "Indian" perspective rather than focusing upon tribal activities.

The paper's circulation, now about 459, with paid subscriptions of $5 per year making up a large portion of the total. These are circulated through mail to subscribers. Many copies are available to organizations and institutions in the Phoenix metro area which may serve Indians. Hospitals are among such institutions, according to Roland Pancho, Editor, Eagle Free Press (Pancho, March 23, 1984).

Subscriptions remain a small portion of the revenues for the paper. Advertising is becoming a more important source of funds as the paper gains readership. Pancho admits, that with its relatively small audience, the Eagle Free Press cannot hope to attract major advertisers on the basis of significant returns to advertisers. He sees advertising as contribution to the intercultural communication and an opportunity for business to demonstrate concern for Indians, though they remain a small portion of the Phoenix population.

Funds from the Phoenix Indian Center provide the major portion of the Eagle Free Press's budget, paying editors' salary and other expenses met through subscriptions and advertising. The Center also provides some secretarial and volunteer services in the composition process.

The Eagle Free Press Audience

Since the Phoenix Indian Center is involved in direct social service to Indians in Phoenix, a major target audience of Eagle Free Press is clients and potential clients. Stories such as "Toll Free Crisis Line for Parents Anonymous" (Eagle Free Press, Jan/Feb 1984, p. 8) are primarily aimed at this group, providing information about services which may benefit clients. A regularly appearing column written by a Phoenix Indian Medical Center doctor, is also a service to Center clients. "Spotlight On Health" provides health education information (Eagle Free Press 1984, p. 3). "Rolling With Roland"

(Pancho, Jan/Feb, 1984, p. 2), written by editor Roland Pancho, an Alabama-Coushatta Indian, also appears regularly. It provides monthly reports on social activities sponsored by the Phoenix Indian Center and other scheduled events of interest to the Indian population.

Another segment of the Eagle Free Press audience is the more general Indian population of greater Phoenix, who are not clients. Pancho notes that these readers are very interested in what other Indians are doing. According to Pancho, Indians are pretty hungry for Indian news. Anytime a publication comes out done by Indians, they'll read it, they'll keep it and they will tell others about it (Pancho, March 23, 1984).

Non-Indians are another very important part of the Eagle Free Press readership. They too are potential donors and volunteers. Pancho sees the paper as a good tool to "...give the general public an opportunity for cultural exchange." He notes that "Even people who have lived here (in Phoenix) all their lives...really have not had the inclination or opportunity to become acquainted with the Indian community." (Pancho, March 23, 1984). He feels that the information in the Eagle Free Press demonstrates to the non-Indian business community that there are many competent Indians available as employees. It is in relation to these readers that the paper hopes to contribute to improving the public image of Indian people overall. According to Phoenix Indian Center's long-range Goal-V, "To increase cross-cultural understanding among Indian,

non-Indian communities, the Phoenix Indian Center will promote community public relations and volunteer participation." One objective under this goal is to "expand and sophistocate the Pboenix Indian Center Newsletter (Stevens, 1982, p. 41)." Clearly, the Indian Center sees improved relations between Indians and non-Indians as essential to the welfare of Indian people in Phoenix. The Center believes that the Eagle Free Press can contribute to the improvement of the public image of Indian people. This gives the Eagle Free Press the usual charge of improving public relations for not only the Phoenix Indian Center, but for all Indian people.

Freedom of the Press Concerns

This issue of freedom of the press is less critical under these conditions. The Eagle Free Press is clearly a public relations arm of the Phoenix Indian Center and rarely is cast in the role of watchdog on government for the benefit of citizens. Pancho notices little conflict over this issue, but remembers one incident where he was asked not to print a story which might have hurt on-going negotiations between the Indian Center and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Since the Center is dependent upon contact with the Bureau for the continuance of some of its programs, it was deemed inappropriate to criticize the Bureau's delay in funding for a particular program (Pancho, March 23, 1984). One might question whether the Center's clients had the right to know

the reasons for a prolonged delay in funding of a program which might affect their interests. Since the Eagle Free Press might be considered an "in house" communications organ, though, no violation of press freedom can be assumed from this case of prior restraint upon the paper's editor.

Pancho stresses that the Eagle Free Press maintains an emphasis upon positive aspects of Indian life in Phoenix. He avoids controversy when possible in keeping with the goal of positive images of Indian people.

Conclusion

As a communications arm of a non-profit service organization to the Phoenix Indian people, then, the Eagle Free Press faces a unique environment. Its strategies for improving the relationship between Indians and non-Indians in Phoenix is aimed at helping Indians to adjust and thrive in the urban environment they have chosen. Issues of the acculturation of Indians or loss of tribal culture are of lesser concern under these conditions. Though efforts are made to maintain the social identity of its clients as Indians, the Phoenix Indian Center is more concerned with their immediate material needs. The issue of the right to self-government would seem to have been surrendered when these Indians left their home reservations. even though many Indians may have felt it imperative to leave the reservation because of lack of economic opportunities. Certainly,

the Eagle Free Press makes a high priority of helping to meet the needs of its readers.

Despite the need to adapt to urban realities, papers like the Eagle Free Press help to maintain the Indian identity in the city. An Osage Indian, Jerry Elliott, who is a National Aeronautics and Space Administration engineer, spoke of these concerns when he said:

> Unless you adapt to your environment, you die. I am no less an Indian because you teach me to use a computer. Using a computer does not mean that I have to change who I am. Survival is the name of the game. And survival means to adapt ...Maybe you have to give up some of your old ways, but you can still be an Indian person (Murphy and Murphy, 1981, p. 133).

Case D. The Native American Public Broadcast Consortium

Created in 1977, the Native American Public Broadcast Consortium (N.A.P.B.C.) is not a newspaper, but a non-profit public corporation funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and designed to fill the need of public broadcast stations for minority programming, mandated by the Federal Communications Commission. Four other corporations, representing other minorities have been created, serving American Blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders (Hare 1984). The N.A.P.B.C.'s goal is "...to encourage the creation, production, promotion and distribution of a quality programming by, for, and about Native Americans." (Native Amer. Public Broadcast Consortium, 1984, p. 1). Headquartered in Lincoln, Nebraska, it is a membership organization, charging membership

fees in three categories; public broadcasting, educational/organizational and individual memberships. For a $600 annual fee, members receive unlimited usage of the N.A.P.B.C's library of broadcast materials (Title Catalogue 1974, p. 2). The monthly N.A.P.B.C. Newsletter keeps members informed of recent developments in the Consortiums services, provides updates on tribal development of broadcast stations, spreads word of new productions and carries job announcements from broadcast operations around the country. (N.A.P.B.C. Newsletter, Sept. 30, 1983). Members also nominate and vote for members of N.A.P.B.C's Board of Directors, composed of 5 Native Americans and 4 representatives from public broadcast organizations. Non-members may use library materials by paying rental fees for broadcast materials used. Stephanie Hare, N.A.P.B.C. Program and Projects Coordinator, notes that while only some 20 public broadcast organizations are members of the consortium, several times that many actual stations gain access to N.A.P.B.C. materials as members of networks which are members. She estimates that more than one-third of public broadcast television stations have broadcast materials from N.A.P.B.C.'s library (Hare 1984).

N.A.P.B.S.'s source of services include broadcast program development; production and distribution, Native American telecommunications feasibility studies, consultations, and research and networking and job referrals.

N.A.P.B.C.'s filltime staff includes an esecutive director, a projects and program coordinator and a secretary.

Other personnel are hired on a contractual basis for individual projects. The organization received a $127,000 general operating budget from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 1983 (Hare). Other specified projects are funded by grants from such organizations as the National Endowment for the Humanities. From one such grant, a twelve-month production of six 30-minute scripts was completed for a series of children's cultural programs called "I Am Different From My Brothers." (N.A.P.B.C. Newsletter, Feb/Mar, 1984). Co-productions with other media organizations also helps expand their program production services.

The N.A.P.B.C.'S Audience

In terms of audience, the N.A.P.B.C. is different from the other three media organizations in this study. The Papago Runner and the Kalihwi.saks serves the greater Phoenix area urban Indians. The N.A.P.B.C., however, has the broadcast kind of audience: The mass audiences through public broadcast facilities (Hare 1984). Since it serves a large non-Indian audience, it is often cast in a role of educator of non-Indians about Indian culture, history, arts, or political issues. Broadcast networks which tend to join the consortiun are likely to have a large Indian population within their broadcast area (Hare 1984). In this situation, N.A.P.B.C. is in a good position to provide programming challenging the stereotypic images rife in American media and provide accurate basic information which could contribute to better relations bewtwwn Indians and non-Indians.

An example is "Forest Spirits", a seven-part series of 30-minute programs portraying the history, culture, and lifestyles of the Oneida Nation and the Menominee tribes of Wisocnsin. Indian programs such as this remain in the N.A.P.B.C. library for periods up to 3 years or until they lose their currency with member broadcasting organizations and audiences (Title Catalog, 1979).

From a series of surveys of 140 Native American organizations, 109 tribes, 75 public television stations and 103 public radio stations, a report was compiled in 1982 for the N.A.P.B.C. on serving Native American Broadcast needs. It provides an interesting profile of public broadcast services and Native American preferences. The public broadcast organizations, intent upon serving the broadcast-possible segments of their broadcast area, often differed with Native American audiences about what should be the content of programming concerning Native Americans. For instance, while tribes and Indian organizations indicated that the "most important" broadcast topics were jobs, alcoholism, and dealing with the dominent society; public television stations rated those of the 'greatest potential interest" to their audiences were tribal history and profiles of outstanding Native Americans. While a very high rating was given by tribes and Native American organizations for Native American news, only 8 percent of public television stations and 12 percent of public radio stations thought this was of a great interest to many of their listening audiences

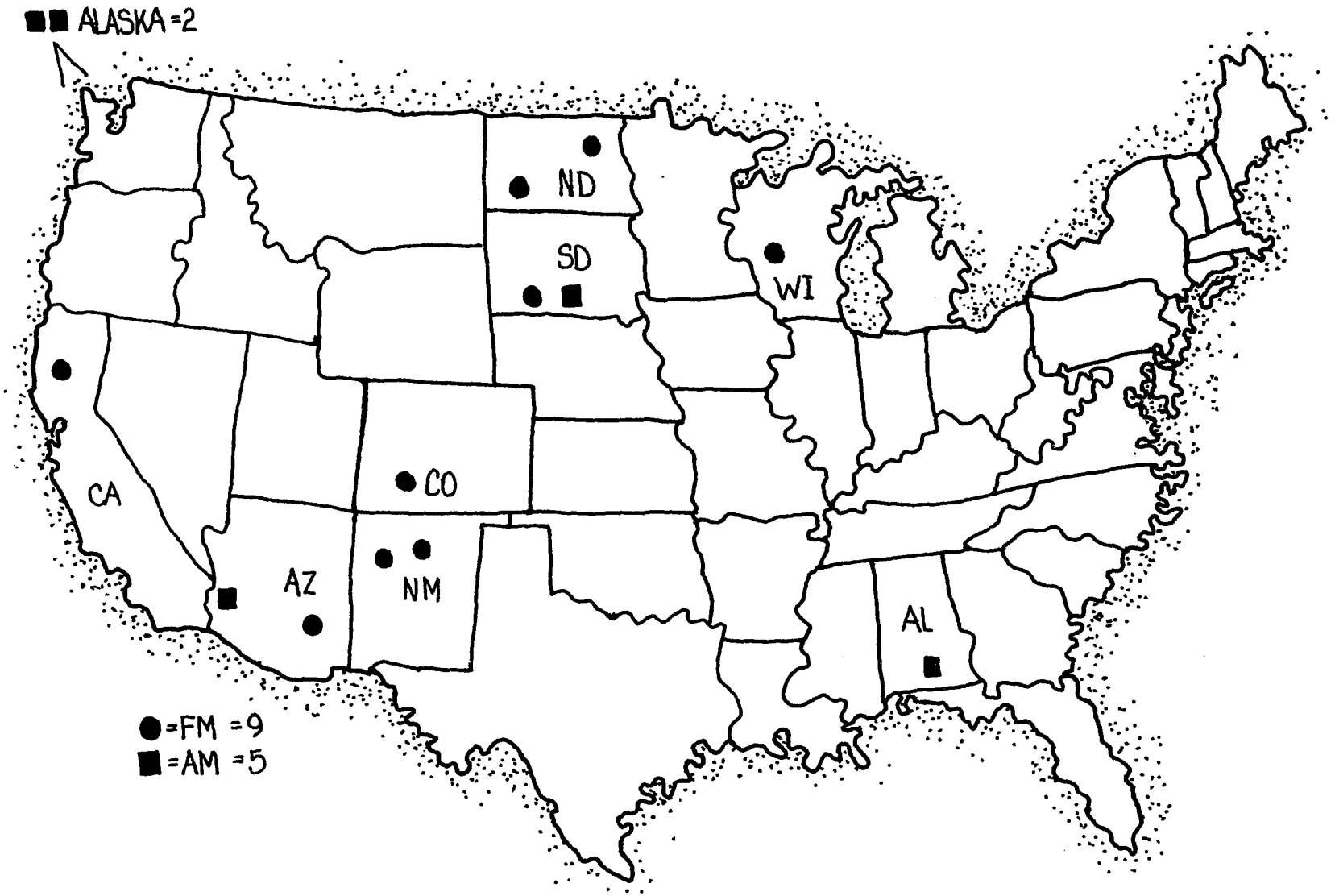

Fig. 3. The locations of Native-owned radio stations (Source: Blythe, p. D.2-5)

TABLE 1

NATIVE AMERICAN TELECOMMUNICATION PROJECTS

FM RADIO, ON AIR

KIDE, Hoopa, CA
KSHI, Zuni NM
KTDB, Ramah, NM
KEYA, Turtle Mountain, ND
KNNB, White Mountian, AZ
WOJB, Lac Courte Oreilles, WI
KSUT, Ignacio, CO

AM RADIO, ON AIR

WASG, Atmore, AL
KINI, Rosebud, SD
KYUK, Bethel, AK
KOTZ, Kotzebue, AK
KMDX, Parker, AZ

FM RADIO, UNDER CONSTRUCTION

KMHA, Fort Berthold, ND
KILI, Pine Ridge, SD

PLANNING GRANTS, 1982

Warm Springs, OR
Quinault, WA

TV PROJECTS

Cherokee, NC (Cable)

Pembroke State Univ. (Cable)

Creek Nation (production)

Minneapolis AIC (dormant)
KYUK-TV, Bethel, AK (on air)
Navajo Film and Media (production)

RADIO PRODUCTION

Navajo Film and Media (public affairs)
Migizi Communications (news)
Seattle Indian Center (adult education)

RADIO STATIONS, DORMANT

KIPC-FM, Albuquerque, NM
KIEA-FM, Wind River, WY
KNCC-FM, Tsaile, AZ (Navajo c.c.)

TV, APPLICATIONS TO FCC

NAPBC, Lincoln, NE
Cheyenne, MT, LPTV
Flathead, MT, LPTV

(Source: Blythe, pp. D2-7)

(Eisenlein 1982, p. 6). The problems of serving the communications needs of Indians through a medium designed to serve a broad mass audience is obvious from figures like these, once the preferences of Native Americans are often in the competition for mass audiences.

The N.A.P.B.C. hopes to better meet the needs of Native Americans by providing programming dealing with such topics as accurate history and social issues and concerns (Hare 1984). To counter the problem of appropriationers of programming for Native Americans, the N.A.P.B.C. has given high priority to encouraging tribes and Native American organizations to begin their own broadcast operations. According to Stephanie Hare, some 13 Indian-owned radio stations are now licensed in the United States (Hare 1984). These stations are documented on the preceeding pages. The N.A.P.B.C. has provided consultation to several of these stations and helps keep those broadcast skills in touch with those hoping to develop broadcast operations. Because of its position as a permanent federally funded organization, it has become the focal point for many Indian tribes and organizations in the development of broadcast in Indian country.

Encouraging National Indian Media Organizations

N.A.P.B.C. strategies for better meeting the needs of Native Americans in the broadcast media has also included

the encouragement of Indian broadcast organizations as the American Indian Films Institute. The N.A.P.B.C. has co-sponsored a conference designed to bring together media professionals and other interested parties to discuss the issues in the development of Indian media and media policies. Several Indian media organizations have existed in the past, but often were forced under by lack of financial support. Funds for costs of travel and time for tribal employees to attend media organizational meetings have been a problem in the past. Some of the advantages of national or even regional organizations are the opportunities for low-cost networks among Indian media, training and technical assistance in such diverse areas as grant writing or journalistic skills development, the chance to recognize and reinforce peers in superior accomplishments, and the excahnge for ideas in solving specific problems.

Another effort by the N.A.P.B.C. has centered on establishing a Native American communications network nationwide through the use of satellite technology. A feasibility study conducted by N.A.P.B.C. (Blythe) found that:

> ...a real need exists for Native American Indians to control and increase communications and information service by and for widely-dispersed Indian populations, both on and off reservations. Secondly, the formation of a centralized national radio network, utilizing existing satellite distribution services, could be the most cost-effective method for interconnecting these populations.

The study cited several problems which would complicate the building of such a network. First, no Indian-owned entity presently exists to take on the task. Also, funds for on-going development and the support and financial committment of Indian tribes and communities would be needed (Blythe, p. 4). The study made some specific suggestions for overcoming these problems and a timetable for developing the network. Though the project has not yet been undertaken, N.A.P.B.C. has provided a valuable study on its feasibility. It is an example of the research capabilities of N.A.P.B.C.

Conclusion

The Native American Public Broadcast Consortium continues to offer the greatest number and degree of services to American Indians in the area of their broadcast communications needs. With their help, Indian tribes and organizations can begin to gain some control in high-tech communications. Though the Indian communities have historically been justifiably concerned with their local social and political, to the detriment of formulating policies and strategies for survival on a national scale, broadcast networks offer a chance to unite on a issues of common concern. If satellite newtorks were to be created, tribes would have access to not only broadcast radio and television, but data transmission, electronic mail, telephone services, audio

teleconferencing, teletext and medical imagery. Costs for such systems remain high and would demand that tribes and organizations rank communications among their higher priorities. Indian leaders must be convinced that the financial and social costs of high-tech communications are justified by benefits to their communities. The fact that tribes are already building and operating their own cable systems, low power television and public and commercial radio stations, shows that broadcast communications is becoming a higher priority with many Indian tribes and organizations. It would appear that until even more Indian communities come to this decision, a satellite network for Indians remains in the future.

CHAPTER 3

THE EXPANDING MASS SOCIETY AND ITS MEDIA

The case studies in Chapter Two of this paper demonstrate that dealing with media produced by non-Indian mass communications organizations is a high priority fo Indian media. In their efforts to reach an audience often innundated by the mass media, Indian media must concentrate on the unique needs of Indian communities. They must also be aware of the cultural domination present in much of today's mass media.

According to one researcher, formal communications media encompass more than messages and recognizable circuits; they actually help to define social reality. They influence the organization of work, the character of technology, curriculum of educational systems and the use of free time. They influence the basic social arrangements of living (Schiller 1976, p. 3).

The notion that communications mass media in the United States are dominated by a certain cultural perspective is not a new concept. All of the commercial media are bent on serving the broadcast market they can and, in so doing, they reflect the mass market. The mass communications media seem continuously in search of symbols which will undoubtedly

affect a predictable response from their mass audiences. Nothing so clearly demonstrates this appeal to the supposedly common perceptions of the mass audience than commercial advertising. Whether the medium is visual, as in films or television; audio as in various forms of radio or the recording industry; or print, as in textbook and book publishing, magazines, newspapers; marketing determines survival. Even such supposedly non-commercial interests as cable television must compete with commercial ventures for shares of the mass audience. Increasingly, programming for cable television or even public television, is supported in part by grants from foundations formed by large commercial corporations. This market orientation insures that media must compete for the attention and revenues of a single "American" mass audience. The fact that many national, racial and ethnic groups are overlooked in this rush to gain "market shares" is not surprising, since such groups rarely wield much financial clout.

Such indices as Nielson rating points for broadcasting media and circulation volume for print media determine advertising rates. The unbending motives of financial survival and profit force the media to appeal to broad portions of the mass audinece, neglecting the communications needs of the smaller, less lucrative markets like Indian communities.

Since programming and advertising are designed to appeal to the economically dominant society, they tend to reflect and influence dominant United States culture. Even newspapers are forced to use a test of newsworthiness as that which will appeal to the "man on the street," who is assumed to espouse the values dominant in United States culture.

Indian communities can hardly be described as lucrative markets for the mass media. Their needs for internal communication coupled with the often expressed desires for cultural survival and tribal sovereignty run counter to the prevailing "American" world-view. Because of the dominant need of media to serve its mass audience, portrayal of Indians and events involving Indian people are oriented to the perceptions of white, upper middle class Americans. The results are often images of Indian people which reinforce viewpoints which are pleasant to middle class Americans. Actual challenges to middle class culture are either not portrayed or are played down.

Film portrayals of Indian people "as they should be" are the subject of Raymond William Stedman's book Shadows of the Indian. He maintains that the perception that Indians ought to conform to certain stereotypes is attributable at least in part to the pandering of filmmakers to comfortable feelings of cultural superiority on the part of their audience. By protraying Indian people and concerns in terms

comfortable to middle class sensibilities, the filmmakers are certain to maintain a large audience without alienating them (Stedman 1982, p. 161).

Indian people as media consumers are likely to witness or read bogus portrayals of Indian people in an atmosphere in which there is little attempt made to challenge inaccuracies. Tribal leaders and officials are often too busy to become full-time monitors of offensive and inaccurate material in the media. Indian people often express the view that challenging inaccuracies in the media is futile, since even corrections are likely to be skewed by poorly informed programmers or newspersons more interested in ratings than in accuracy. Do these unchallenged inaccuracies significantly affect the self-image of Indian people, especially young people? Are traditional community values called to question? Does the media's emphasis on consuming of products help to cause changes in the lifestyles of individual Indian people which undercut tribal culture? A study of television by the National Institute of Mental Health released in 1982 notes that "...television has become a major socializing agent of American children. Children are taught to be avid consumers; they watch the commercials, They ask their parents to buy the products and they use or consume the products (National Institute of Mental Health, 1982, p. 7)." Certainly, older people become more sceptical

of such advertising, but the socializing of children has always been an emotional issue in many Indian communities. According to the Institute of Mental Health report, "Television, according to some observers, reinforces the status quo and contributes to a homogenization of society and a promotion of middle class values (National Institute of Mental Health, 1982, p. 8)." These findings take on special significance in Indian communities hoping to maintain their cultural integrity.

Culturally Appropriate Media?

The experiences of Indian communities in controlling their own media has raised some issues which seem to disprove the assumption that establishment of Indian controlled media will automatically aid in both tribal development efforts and in the protection of tribal cultures. Stephen E. Rada observes that even when the Ramah Navajos consciously attempted to protect aspects of tribal culture, the nature of radio programming was in itself an attack on cultural values.

> Radio embraced as a means of cultural reinforcement, ironically, has proved a Trojan Horse, introducing into the Ramah community Anglo values and institutions, hastening the acculturation of the Ramah Navajos into the greater Anglo society (Rada 1978, p. 370).

Ramah Navajos found it more convenient to remain home and listen to the synopsis of Chapter House meetings

than to participate directly. Rada noted that radio was a positive force in its ability to improve participation in some community events, but he also claimed "...offsetting this ability to inform and bring people together was radio's power to rearrange and sometimes replace traditional patterns of social interaction (Rada 1978, p. 366)." While the Ramah case is difficult to apply to the wide variety of information requirements of other tribes, Rada believed that it demonstrated one medium's potential for destruction of traditional culture.

Rada found that little planning or preliminary research had gone into preparations for the radio station in terms of its potential impacts upon an oral, traditional culture. He felt that the fact that non-Indian engineers were brought into the community to establish the station and train staff assured that it would be conceived "...in terms of the engineering and licesning requirements of the F.C.C., and not in terms of cultural imperatives (Rada 1978, p. 364)." Rada still recognized the station as the most successful Indian radio station at that time. In another case, Rada found similar problems with KIPC-FM, and now-dormant station of the All Indian Pueblo Council. Again, the requirements of federal agencies, here the Department of Health Education and Welfare, superceded the desires of the Indian people. The H.E.W. denied a facilities grant

for the station "on the basis that an all-Indian operation was restrictive, discriminatory and did not satisfy the criteria of the Communications Act of 1934 (Rada 1979, p. 98)." To satisfy those criteria, the All-Indian Pueblo Council was required to set up a "...board of governors independent of the Council which would reflect the ethnic composition of Albuquerque (Rada 1979, p. 99)." Albuquerque was to be its base of operations. When the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the other granting agency for KIPC, demanded an 18-hour broadcast day, Pueblo Indian programming fell to about 25% of the broadcast day (Rada 1979, p. 99). Rada's studies should not deter Indian media development, however. He also had some suggestions for avoiding the pitfalls of broadcast media intended for Indians, but subtly controlled by policies of non-Indian agencies. He urged a professionally conducted needs assessment which does not rely on mere "political intuition (Rada 1979, p. 100." A careful analysis of media competition and the employment and support of media professionals at all levels were other suggestions. He also thought Indians should avoid dealing with agencies not structured to meet their unique needs.

Instead, sources of secure and less restrictive funding should be sought. Here he noted that groups unable or unwilling to find at least half of a broadcast operation from its own in-house resources should probably not be

involved in radio. Funding and control are nearly always related. Finally, he urged Indian groups to insure that governing boards for stations were "unified in vision and purpose (Rada 1979, p. 101)."

These are undoubtedly some of the problems which have been overcome by the broadcast operations documented in this paper in Case 4, Chapter 2. Their strategies for obtaining funding and maintaining control have had to satisfy their need for culturally appropriate media. As Rada wrote, his studies were "...prompted by a desire to see Indian broadcast succeed. Failures are not pleasing, but the lessons learned from the Pueblo Indian experience may allow another Native American Station to survive (Rada, 1979, p. 97)."

It appears that tribes must carefully assess both their communications needs and the most culturally appropriate means to reach their goals. In so doing, they will be forced to decide the kinds of programming tribal media shall print or broadcast. This, of course, has great implications for freedom of the press guarantees since tribal communications policies are not likely to be in total harmony with press freed guarantees of the surrounding mass media.

CHAPTER 4

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IN IDNAIN COUNTRY

A difficult problem facing Indian governments is how or whether to control media policies on the reservations. Papago and Oneida tribal governments took difficult approaches to the problem. Papagos are working toward an independent position for the Papago Runner. The Oneida chose to deal with their communication environment with more of an in-house publication funded and controlled by tribal government.

The basis for freedom of the press on Indian reservations is a somewhat confused one and sometimes contributes to problems bewteen media persons and tribal officials.

In language much like that of U.S. Bill of Rights, the federal government mandated freedom of press on Indian lands. The following is from the Indian Civil Rights Act, 1968 (82Sat,77):

> No Indian tribe in exercising powers of self-government shall make or enforce any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of Grievances;...(The Indian Bill of Rights, 1969, p. 1349).

It is no revelation that freedom of print and electronic media in the United States has always been a limited freedom. From time to time, that freedom has swung

from a nearly responsibility-free right for journalists to gather and publish whatever they felt was important news, to a nearly total ban by government of the publication of information claimed to be "sensitive." Even in less extreme situations, press freedom remains one which is negotiated, sometimes in court, between the principle actors: The media organization and the government.

For Indian governments and Indian media organizations, the negotiations of press freedom has been especially difficult. Since tribal governments are themselves often in an ambiguous position vis-a-vis non-Indian governments, tribal media often receive mixed signals concerning their freedom to publish controversial information. This is despite the federal mandate from the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, and the fact that at least 42 tribes throughout the country have press freedom provisions written into their constitutions (LaCourse 1982). There is, in fact, a scholarly argument which could be made about whether these guarantees are legitimate. The Indian Civil Rights Act, afterall, was imposed by fiat by the federal government in exercising its trust responsibility. Tribal approval of the act was not required or sought in the passage of the law. Tribal constitutions are sometimes challenged because of questionable procedures used in the initial ratification among certain tribes during Reorganization in the 1930's.

Against this confusing background of federal fiat and tribal law, the mission of Indian journalists becomes problemmatic. Is their primary charge to be a watchdog on tribbal government in the name of the tribal citizenry? Is the prime function to be one of refereeing between the Indian community and neighboring non-Indians? Is cultural preservation the main goal? Is their function to marshall support in favor of greater degrees of sovereignty for tribal government? Are they to beocme strictly bulletin boards for social events within their communities or merely a pulbic relations arm of the tribal government, uncritically informing tribal members of the actions of tribal government? These are the kinds of negotiations a tribal media organization must make with tribal government and with it tribal readership. Often, few clear guidelines exist and a media organization becomes a reflection of the priorities of its staff in interplay with audience and tribal government.

Funding of media is an important aspect of press freedom. Much of what we know as press freedom guarantees in the United States apply to the commercial mass media. Most tribal communications are funded by the tribe itself. In such a situation, the tribe would be expected to demand certain standards and often to set many policies of the tribal media. Only a few tribal news organizations are truly dependent on tribal funds. Advertising, the main

source of revenues for commercial media, is often difficult to encourage in Indian country because of depressed economic conditions. Where such revenues are available, the audience served by the tribal media organization may have to be broadened to include non-tribal audiences in order to attract them. Such a move may call the media organization's goals into question. Tribal media, then, are rarely as independent as commercial mass media. Many tribal governments have tried to give their news media wide latitude to objectively report on senitive issues. Most tribal media persons, though, remain employees of tribal government, a situation which may lead to a kind of self-imposed prior restraint. The problems of economics and control of Indian media will remain a dilemma for tribes for many years to come.

The ambiguity of freedom of the press guarantees in Indian country was only slightly cleared when the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 was passed. Slander, liable, sedition and obscenity have been areas of press freedom in the non-Indian world not protected by the constitution's Bill of Rights. These terms have been carefully defined and adapted over hundreds of years of court cases involving freedom of the press. No such development has yet occurred in Indian country. It is important to note that the American method of adversary litigation is rarely appropriate in tribal courts for cultural and social reasons. Tribal courts

are unlikely to be prepared to handle any freedom of the press issues which might erupt within their jurisdictions. Since such questions involve federal law, remedies are likely to be sought in, or appealed to, federal courts ("The Indian Bill of Rights...," p. 1373) removing the resolution of such cases from community review and working against the establishment of community standards of press freedom. For tribes like the Oneida, without their own court systems, of course, community review of freedom of the press guarantees is even less likely. Where cases are heard by a tribal court, precedent may not yet have been established. Then, as Richard V. LaCourse, an experienced Indian journalist, wrote in 1982, "...the Tribal Court utilizes the body of American press law as a guide for information and reasonableness in the case, as do prosecuting and defense attorneys arguing before the Tribal Court (LaCourse 1982, p. 5)." The result, then, is a code of press freedom which appears imposed upon Indian communities from outside. It is no wonder the tribal governments have been reluctant to encourage their own tribal media to agressively report on actions of tribal government. Remedies for media abuses lie outside the tribal community and may impose precident upon the tribe. As Jeanette Henry, editor of Wassaja has observed, "The time is coming when tribal controversies will be discussed in a manner reasonable enough to produce

real understanding. Today, however, fear of impairing the often tenuous tribal interrelationships remains an obstacle to candor." (Murphy and Murphy 1981, p. xiii).

Still, most tribes have accepted, in principle, the concept of freedom of the press by their adoption of guarantees in their own constitutions. Both the Oneidas and the Papagos have such guarantees. In so doing, they appear to recognize the need to protect the often expressed assumption of democratic administration, that of the citizen's right to know so that he may knowledgeably "partiicpate in the process of consent and consensus (LaCourse 1982, p. 2)."

With the development of local stations by tribes, many of the same problems of control over content may develop as has developed over freedom of the press in Indian country. Since the tribe is likely to be the only organization in a position to administer the station, some questions arises as to how free it will be to discuss tribal problems. So long as the broadcast operations remain in areas of accurate historical and cultural programming, little censorship is like to occur. When the station delves into current events or political elections, though, some diversive issues are likely to develop. Organizations and tribes must be aware of this potential problem from the outset in order to head off debilitating dissention over content. It is important to note that media problems are

not only limited to supression of media by government, but that media can be abused to favor individuals or political groups unfairly. It is quite possible for media personnel to manipulate content to their own advantage as well. As tribes and Indian organizations gain more experience in dealing with problems of content, communications policies can be expected to develop which will minimize these problems. For now, training of both tribal government officials and media specialists in ethical media practices in Indian country may be a good way to begin.

The Freedom of the Non-Indian Press in Indian Country

A topic often discussed in relation to freedom of the press in Indian country has to do with outside media coverage of the Indian community. Off-reservation media are often roundly accused of misrepresenting tribal government positions, interfering in tribal affairs, violating cultural sensibilities or of focusing on negative aspects of tribal life. Some have held that the mass media's penchant for reporting events as confrontations of social forces has fueled unnecessary animosity between Indians and non-Indians. This is a serious problem for Indian tribes whenever they attempt to exercise what sovereignty they do retain. Media organizations from off-reservation wield an intimidating power to foment public opinion against

actions of tribal government.

To meet this problem, tribes have occasionally used their power to restrict particularly offensive off-reservation media persons from their lands ("The Indian Bill of Rights...," 1969, p. 1366). A recent lawsuit brought by Santo Domingo Pueblo illustrates one tribe's desire to control off-reservation media people from violating tribal cultural sensibilities. When a reporter from a nearby city newspaper disrupted a sacred ceremony by photographing the event from a low-flying airplane, the Pueblo sued for $3,65 million (Jaynes 1984, pp. 11-14). The reporter had blatantly violated tribal regulations banning photographs of its religious ceremonies.

There can be little that Indian communities feel great pressures through the mass media to become a part of the more homogenized middle-class oriented society which surrounds them. Having retained their tribal identities for generations, many Indians fear the relentless power of the media will have ever greater effects upon each succeeding generation. It is from these deep-seated concerns that some tribes have felt it necessary to try to limit the impacts of outside media on Indian communities.

So there are really two concerns about outside media and their activities on Indian reservations. One is that by misinterpreting or actively opposing tribal

government actions, such media interfere in ongoing tribal activities by stirring up opposition among non-Indians. The other concern centers on cultural survival. The steady flood of print, broadcast, and film media produced by off-reservation sources and aimed at non-Indian middle class audiences is effective propaganda for the supposed American ethos. This message has promoted an empathy for change, to become modern and reject traditionalism, desire western goods and become urbanized (Schiller, 1976, p. 48). While this problem would seem to go beyond the scope of tribal authority to limit resisting the acculturative effects of media is often a part of the rationale for tribal language and cultural programs designed to rescue the community's traditional values. Also, many tribes have begun their own print and broadcast systems to compete directly for Indian audiences with the dominant mass media.

The concept of freedom of the press is a relatively new one among Indian communities. In the United States, press freedom has been considered essential to the survival of a mass society dedicated to principles of democrary. It is not surprising that these principles have been extended along with other civil rights into Indian communities. Tribes need to take time to develop well thought-out policies which protect the civil rights of their individual citizens while also protecting the tribe's group right to remain a

distinct Indian people. In formulating communications policies, tribes must be continuously aware of the impacts of media on their own cultural destiny.

CHAPTER 5

CONSLUSIONS

The challenge faced by Indian media professionals is essentially a two-sided problem. First, Indian media must deal with media produced by media organizations for the general American mass society. The tendency of such media to interfere with tribal cultures and internal afairs forces Indian media to formulate strategies to compete with media for an Indian audience. Indian media, then, must make an effort to maintain an on-going contract with their audiences by seeking feedback and encouraging participation by community members in producing appropriate media products appealing to Indian audiences. A thorough knowledge of a community's demographics must be balanced with a special understanding of what it is that names the audience a distinctly Indian one. The case studies undertaken in this paper clearly domonstrate that Indian communities each face a communications environment uniquely their own. While Indian media organizations can learn much from each other in formulating methods for producing appropriate media for community use, they will always be forced to tailor their products to the special needs of their specific audience. Media development may have costs of accelerating loss of tribal identity

if they are not culturally appropriate (see "Culturally Appropriate Media?," in Chapter 3 of this paper). Indian media share the responsibility of conducting Indian culture into the electronic age. Still, many elements of tribal culture demand direct participation by tribal members. For this reason, tribes often forbid the practice of taping ceremonial events for the entertainment of a passive audience. Tribal media people need to be especially sensitive to such aspects of Indian culture.

The second challenge confronting the development of Indian media is the relationship between tribal government and its media. One strategy for dealing with the issue is to clearly define the role which the media will play relative to the governing body of the tribe. If the tribe's interests are best served by an independent media organization the tribe must take steps to remove the conflicts of interest caused by directly funding the paper. Tribes need to carefully balance the tribal citizens' need for and right to information with assurances against irresponsible journalism. If the tribe prefers a public relations medium, it must be willing to provide the necessary close contact with the funding of the medium.

The Papago Runner is a good example of a tribe's effort to clearly separate the paper from implied censorship by the tribe (see Case A). As the newspaper becomes

more financially independent, its latitude in examing tribal policy and administration becomes greater.

The Oneida tribe's Kalihwi.saks, on the other hand. illustrates an effort by that tribe to use the paper for public relations goals (see Case B). The only source of revenue for the publication is the tribe. This insures that the mission of the paper is clearly understood to be a communications conduit from the tribal government and its programs to the tribe's membership.

For the media whose audience included a significant number of non-Indians, strategies for confronting stereotyping and improving ethnic relations are an important focus. A publication such as the Eagle Free Press (see Case C), has a special charge to improve the negative images of Indians held by non-Indians in order to improve opportunities for Indians for employment and social adjustment. The Native American Public Broadcast Consortium (see Case D) also shares this objective. Their emphasis is on supplying programming depicting accurate cultural domination, not capitalizing on sensational stereotypes.

Each of these media remains an important voice for Indian people in a continuously-expanding mass society. Indian communities have a destiny of their own which can be realized only if they can resist the leveling forces of American society. Edward H. Spicer, the noted anthro-

pologist and linguist, noted this leveling of outlook when he wrote that people could be overcome by "...the flat and tedious sameness of spiritual outlook, the academic make-believe, the smug intolerance of the challenging, that so imprison our American souls (Sapir 1949, p. 26)." Indian media are in a unique position to participate in the on-going transitions of Indian communities as distinct cultural and social entities.

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