

**LAST STAND OF THE LUBICON  
FROM A NATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

**"LAST STAND OF THE LUBICON"**

**A CASE STUDY OF MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF THE FIRST NATIONS  
FROM A NATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

**by**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis has three major sections. The first section examines representation of Natives by Non-Natives. The history of "The White Man's Indian," is discussed in connection with sociological constructions of 'primitive societies'. The intention of this section is to demonstrate the deep rooted ethnocentric mis-representation Non-Natives have perpetrated about First Nations. The result is a consistent "engineering of consent" to oppress and displace First Nations. The exclusion of the Native voice has suppressed facts that challenge "Western thinking" with regards to development, progress and evolution.

The Native Perspective section outlines the basic themes emerge from analysis of First Nations' statements on their situation. First Nations philosophies are often in conflict with 'Western thinking'. The Native Perspective section focuses on Lubicon Lake Nation's land claim. The Lubicon are given the opportunity to present their struggle through their discourse, recorded during fieldwork at Little Buffalo, Alberta. The Lubicon content is analyzed and then compared to a Native newspaper's coverage of their situation.

The third section is a content analysis of mainstream newscoverage of the Lubicon land claim and blockade. The comparison demonstrates the systematic bias in newscoverage. The three newspapers, two dominant and one Native represent the Lubicon "story" in quite different contexts. The findings demonstrate how the "engineering of consent" is reproduced in contemporary situations.

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"The Lubicon Lake Nation"

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## TESTIMONY

Common ground. Natives and Non-Natives at odds, in every arena. Land claims: an esoteric word for struggle, resistance, and conflict. The conflict that has counted so many casualties, and they are almost all Native. Elijah Harper, the Cree-Ojibway MLA that killed Meech Lake, placing a breath of hope into the hearts of our people. Oka has brought us back to reality. The Mohawks are resisting an invasion by the Quebec government. The police prepare to use force to remove the Mohawks. The assault by the SQ is comprised of tear gas and gunfire. The lives of the men, women and children behind the barricades are spared. Who spared them? Any Native will tell you the spirits turned the winds, and the tear gas returned to the owners, forcing them to retreat. Another sign of hope.

1990: Mohawks barricade themselves inside a golf-course to fight for their land. As I sit watching the evening news, some 3,000 whites in Chateauguay hold signs -"savages", "filthy Indians"- and they burn an effigy of a Mohawk. The crowd cheers, they beat anyone who looks like an Indian, or who likes Indians. The reporter states, "They are frustrated over the closing of the bridge, the inconvenience." Canada has come out of the closet. Inconvenience, all over inconvenience. We have had 300 years of oppression and genocide, all to ensure the Whites are not inconvenienced. A return to reality.

Our Elders, women and children are stoned by White mobs



as they leave the 'war zone.' Several Elders and children are hit by huge chunks of concrete, the police do little to stop stone throwers. An Elder dies days after. Reality tears at the hearts of Natives across Canada and the United States. Every stone thrown by the mob is felt by us. Numbness turns to rage, then back to numbness as we watch the army raid a sacred Longhouse, beat women and surround the Mohawks with razor wire and Armoured Personnel Carriers (APC's). We hear the rumours: the SQ beats two Mohawk teenagers silly, they urinate on little children, they force Mohawk women to strip naked while several dozen officers jeer at the women. As the hate builds inside, the Elders say, 'stay calm, stay rational, don't take out your frustrations on our white neighbours.' Elijah Harper calls for unity, wisdom, peace and understanding.

The Lubicons, a small Nation of Cree, watch their entire world turned inside out for the convenience of the Canadian economy. Development brings employment, money to the economy, progress- none of which the Lubicon prosper from. Their land is destroyed beyond recognition, their lives are split and left open, the wounds fester. There is no escape from reality; only through the bottle or suicide can the pain stop. Those who choose to fight end up in jail or burnt out. Where do we go from here? We stand together, that is our only hope of survival, and we fight with whatever means we have. That is the declaration of Native leaders today. It could be 1890 or 1790, it doesn't matter. The only difference between now and then is

that now Canadians are forced to watch, and the rest of the world can see a liberal democracy at work. Progress. Human rights. Development. Reality. This thesis is testimony of reality. Western notions of superiority have long supported the domination and exploitation of humans and land. Our grandmothers and Elders predicted and prepared us so that this generation would do what it is doing.

The Native voice was never taken seriously, and the exclusion of our voice explains why Non-Natives have never understood our reality. In this thesis I review the history of the distortion of the Native, and I link the historical 'Indian' representation with contemporary issues as they relate to the Native. The Lubicon voice is strong, as is the Native perspective. By analyzing the dominant media's representation of the Lubicon struggle one can understand why we are at odds on so many levels. The importance is in discovering a relationship between Natives and Non-Natives, and how that relationship has been weighed heavily in favour of the Non-Native. More importantly, we must come to terms with that relationship which is, to say the least, a strained one.

Somehow, as Natives, we must find the common ground. As I try to present a reality that is steeped in a Native perspective, I compromise for the common ground. What is in this thesis is testimony to compromise, negotiation. The truths I know as a Native person are shrouded within jargon that is acceptable to those that judge. Like the land claim, I find

myself at odds with the system. How, I ask, am I to write when those I write for tell me I cannot speak of the 'truth'? Is it a truth that exposes a little too much? Is it too uncomfortable? Is it not true that as I attempt to write this thesis, three Mohawk reserves are surrounded by the Canadian army? Is it not true that my people have been denied food, medicine and freedom of movement? As I sit here I can hear the low-flying army planes circle above my house. Here at Six Nations we have blockades up too. Are we next? To say the least this work is strained. How can I concentrate when the Mohawk people are currently under attack? I asked the Elders what to do, for help. They said to me, 'Arm yourself with the White Man's education to defend your people, finish your work.'

The Lubicons are close to the edge, there are no democratic avenues open to them. The questions they are now faced with are: do we stand aside as they destroy our lives or do we fight for our survival? Do we use guns to protect our territory? What will we have left, our children, if we don't make one last stand?

Truth evades academia. So, for compromise, I must say what I write is not truth, but "definitions of reality." For compromise, I refrain from expressing the full force of a Native perspective. I refrain from telling the truth, for the sake of "higher learning." My anger and frustration are similar to those that put up barricades. As walls come down in Europe, and apartheid begins to be dismantled in South Africa,

barricades go up in Canada and army tanks move in. Why? Because Canada does not want to face the truth. And what is the truth? Hypocrisy. "Freedom in all its glory" is a false freedom. "Democracy in its prime" is a myth. Every Native alive scoffs at the notion that we live in a free society. We know the reality of confinement- spiritually, physically and intellectually. We know we must work 'under' the system for the system's sake. But we struggle for the day when we work for ourselves, together with the system. There lies little doubt in my mind that this 'type' of work will be the last; like the peaceful blockade, it is a compromise of the past. The 'Law and Order' of this land is not our law or our order. This thesis is testimony to the law and order of Canada.

[We] have no written language, but have an understanding of relations with the with European neighbours. These records were designs worked in shell beads called wampum. Deskaheh brings two with him to the League of Nations. These two belts are a least two-hundred and fifty years old, for no handwrought belts from shells have been made by Iroquois at any later period. These belts were always produced on occasion of important conferences with British officials. One of them means by its two parallel dark lines that the government and law of the white man, and at the other end by the red man, that they are independent of each other and related by friendship.

Quoted from, "The Redman's Appeal For Justice",  
By The Six Nations,  
March, 1924

**CHAPTER ONE**

**THE HISTORY OF PROGRESS AND PRIMITIVES IN WESTERN THOUGHT**

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis has three major objectives. The first is to outline how western thought has historically distorted the "Native" to promote Euro-North American domination. The established tradition of using the Indian to promote an ideology that poses the "primitive tribal societies" as the "zero point of origin" and the White modern societies as the total sum of "mankind" will be explored. The Euro-centric representation of Indians allows for exploitation of land and resources that have always had genocidal consequences. How is injustice justified? Understanding the connection between the theorist and the "savage" will allow for a greater appreciation of an ingrained bias, prevalent in all forms of representation, reproduced time and again by the dominant media.

The concept put forth by historian Robert Berkhofer in the "White Mans Indian", (1982) that 'Indians have been used as counter-images of white society', will serve as the framework of this thesis. For example, the question asked of late is, who are the savages? Who are the terrorists? Berkhofer argues Europeans tended to use Indian imagery as a means to an end, whether practical or theoretical. The theory

chapter will outline Berkhofer's argument and illustrate the bias in the works of European intellectuals. The intellectuals this thesis is concerned with are the "fathers" of sociological inquiry. In this context I will illustrate the shortcomings of European sociological tradition. The objective is to 'show' that there is a standard ethnocentric approach and bias. I do not argue that sociology is invalid, but that it is ethnocentric.

The fact that Western Euro-Canadians have excluded the 'Native Voice' from all forms of information dissemination has led to much ignorance about the Native worldview or reality. This second section of the theory chapter will examine, within the tradition of social sciences, the treatment of Native people by social scientists. I will challenge the "fathers" of sociology's customary bias toward "tribal" peoples. In short, I will illustrate how Marx, Durkheim and Weber used "primitives" as a means to an end. In this Western tradition of using Indians to make a point, Indians were denigrated to the lowest common denominator. By objectifying Natives, intellectuals lessened our value and contributions to the 'New World'. The tradition of belittling the Native peoples has survived into the twentieth century.

The theory chapter outlines a general "Native Perspective." I argue there is a common set of assumptions First Nations share, while acknowledging the diversity in cultures. Just as Europe can trace a common history and world-

view, so can First Nations. As Europe has a myriad of cultures and traditions which differ significantly, so do First Nations. However, this shared set of values is not the same as the 'white mans objectified universal Indian'; this is the paradox. The significant difference between a Native perspective and a "Western" one is found in the assumptions and values they incorporate into their world-view. The Native voice in this section is taken seriously as legitimate and authoritative, something Western tradition has never attempted to do systematically.

The second major objective of the thesis is to outline the Lubicon land claim as the Lubicon understand it. If non-Natives are to begin to explain the Native people or their situation, academic or journalist, they should first position the involved party as a primary player. The Lubicon section is especially concerned with the political nature of their struggle. This section will provide insight to the Lubicons' understanding and assessment of their situation. As well, the representation of Lubicon struggle by Native media will serve as a point of comparison for that of the Non-Native media.

The third major objective is to undertake a content analysis of dominant media's news coverage of the Lubicon blockade and to compare that coverage with the Native news coverage. The findings will illustrate two things. The first is the hypothesis that Canada's law and order serve to benefit the dominant society while it denies Natives the right to live



as they wish to. With the denial of Native rights for the sake of "development" comes the assumption that the Native way of life is not of any value.

The second point in this section is that development is the antagonist of Native people. Development is represented by Western society as being "natural", not man-made. There in lies the justification for the destruction of the Indian, and the land. But how is destruction of a people possible in a liberal modern democracy? How in the 1990's does the North American justify oppression of Native peoples and exploitation of their land? The media are powerful players in the justification of exploitation. The connections between theorist, government and media should become clear at this point. The institutions with power are institutions that have long excluded Natives. By virtue of exclusion, the dominant society has monopolised the representation of North American Natives. This imbalance in power has allowed the White Man's Indian to gain prominence in current Western discourse and ideology.

Part of this third major objective is to illustrate how the media "manufacture consent" in the 20th century. By examining dominant media's coverage of a Native conflict, I will illustrate the issues as Native people see them and how Non-Natives produce them. I shall ask questions such as: even if the Native voice is heard, what established boundaries and discourse is it heard in? This relates directly to the

## THE HISTORY OF THE NON-NATIVES REPRESENTATION OF THE INDIAN

This section will draw largely upon historian Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr.'s *The White Man's Indian* to explain/describe the evolution of Indian imagery in North America. Berkhofer's argument will also be utilized to explain the relationship between intellectual and laymen in Western thinking. Berkhofer states:

Whites overwhelmingly measured the Indian as a general category against those beliefs, values, or institutions they most cherished themselves at the time...White Indian imagery sees Europeans and Americans as using counter images of themselves to describe Indians and the counter images of Indians to describe themselves (Berkhofer, 27, 1979).

Before one can understand the long history of Indian imagery, one must take seriously the "Western genre" which is so ingrained in the North American culture. At the heart of the successful Western genre lie two things: the reality of how "savagely" the "civilized White" acted in the conquest of land; and the necessity to justify it morally by displacing that reality. It is for this reason that the Western genre cannot be understood as a entity on its own. Rather, the themes which "Hollywood" drew upon had long been developed in the minds of Non-Natives. In James Smith's article, *Native American Images and the Broadcast Media* he states:

The images and participation of Indians in popular media has followed a pattern consistent with traditional inter-media relationship...With regard to program content, frequently capitalising on the success of another medium (Smith, 1986, 83).

In the case of this thesis the medium was print. The fascination, if not obsession, with portraying the North American dates back to the early 1500s. The content fits markedly with twentieth century representational patterns.

The initial image of the Indian came from Columbus. In his writings one can see the birth of the "Whiteman's Indian." Columbus wrote of North American Indians in 1493:

The people of this island and of all the other islands I have found and of which I have information, all go naked, men and women...built of a handsome stature, they are marvellously timorous...It is true that, they are so guileless and so generous with all they possess, that no one would believe it who has not seen it...for they are of a very acute intelligence...(Berkhofer, 1982, 7).

The Christian notion of a paradise existing somewhere in the West coloured Columbus' perceptions of the Americas. He even named one such site "Paradise Valley". The primitivist tradition had been established. In this way the American Indian became part of the "Noble Savage" theme; the Golden Age of the mythical paradise would long serve as the Non-Native's romance with the Indian. Columbus' reasons for such a representation were flavoured with Biblical presuppositions and economic advantages (Berkhofer, 1982, 16). European creation of the mythical childlike race was the beginning of paternalism over Indians. It is interesting to note the introduction of Columbus' letter, which I have found to be consistent with all other explorers' notes. For example

Vespucci's ethnography of New World's peoples in 1504 maintains:

First then to the people. We found a race I say so gentle and amenable. All of both sexes go about naked, covering no part of their body. They have indeed large bodies square-built bodies, well formed and proportioned, and in colour verging upon reddish. This I think come to them, because, going about naked, they are coloured by the sun. In their gait and when playing games they are agile and dignified...They have a custom very shameful and beyond all human belief. For the women, being very lustful, cause the private parts of their husbands to swell up to a huge size that they appear deformed and disgusting...(he goes on to mention their warring habits and sums the short letter up with), 'the women as I have said go about naked and are very libidinous; yet they have bodies which are tolerably beautiful and cleanly. It was to us a matter of astonishment that none was to be seen with flabby breast, and those that had born children were not to be distinguished from the virgins ...These are the most noteworthy things I know about them (Berkhofer,1982,9).

The survey of explorers' writings no doubt set the foundation for Indian imagery. The fact that most early explorers appear to focus on sexual imagery and subliminal rhetoric may explain the Non-Native's obsession with understanding their own repressive sexual norms. While the foundation for the "children of nature" theme was being construed by our friendly foreigners, the dehumanization of Indians was thus conceptualized. The imagery for the bloodthirsty savage was being set by less impressed explorers. Las Casas' impressions were as significant as his counterparts. He wrote in 1550:

Now compare [our] gifts of prudence, talent, magnanimity, temperance, humanity, and religion with those little men in whom you will scarcely find traces of humanity; who not only lack culture but do not even know how to write. But if you deal with virtues, what can you expect from men who were involved in every kind of intemperance and wicked lust and who used to eat human flesh? They were making war continuously and ferociously against each other with such a rage that they considered their victory worthless if they did not satisfy their monstrous hunger with the flesh of their enemies, an inhumanity which in them is so much more monstrous... (Berkhofer, 1982, 12).

The Spanish accounts of North America were echoed by their followers, the English and French, who also saw the Indian in light of their Christian world-view and cultural values. Jacques Cartier's impression of the Natives he encountered in 1534 left a lasting image upon the French mind. Berkhofer quoted his opinion, and commented:

These men may very well and truly be called wild, because there is no poorer people in the world. In his day wild signified hairy naked, club-wielding child of nature who existed halfway between humanity and animality. Lacking civilized knowledge or will, he lived a life of bestial self-fulfilment, directed by instinct, ignorant of God and morality. He was strong of physique, lustful of woman, and degraded of origin (Berkhofer, 1982, 13).

The dehumanization pattern caught on quickly, as more and more "explorers" moved in. In 1625, Englishman Samuel Purchas gave an account of his travels in North America in a four-volume magnum opus. He wrote:

On the other side considering so good a Country, so bad a people, having little humanity but shape, ignorant of Civilities, of Arts, of Religion; more brutish than the beast they hunt, more wild and unmanly then the unmanned wild country, which they range rather than inhabit; captivate also Satan's tyranny in foolish pieties, mad

impieties, wicked idleness, busied and bloody wickedness (Berkhofer, 1982, 21).

Alas, the latent birth of the Anglo-Saxon Indian. Could this be the basis of the stereotype of the lazy, drunk and morally deviant Indian? The "new" Englishmen's Indian was successfully established... possibly at the same time the mechanisms marginalization and justification were constructed. With the child of nature evolving into the noble savage and the wild men evolving into the ignoble Indian, the straightjacket of binary polarization had been placed on the Indian. To promote such dichotomization, the English Nation provided two great philosophers to "intellectually" ingrain the fixed dilemma of noble versus ignoble. Thomas Hobbes believed the Indian to live in the pure form of his concept of the state of nature. He condemned nature as being undesirable as it was nasty, brutish, poor and violent. On the other side of the ledger, John Locke argued the state of nature was desirable since it provided reason and peace without government. The trend, however, had been set; Indians would be used for the ideological polemics of social philosophers. As philosophers would employ the Indian to promote their values in times of social unrest, so to would all others (Berkhofer, 1982, 22).

As Berkhofer argues, Euro-North Americans saw Indians as a reverse or negative model of Euro-North American life,

with two different conclusions. The importance is in the Non-Native's ability to use the Indian to promote a desirable ideology of the day. The pattern of Euro-North American representation of Indians would significantly alter as others would manipulate the Indian for varied purposes; no longer realized as a subject, the Indian could be successfully objectified or abstracted. In order to accomplish true abstraction the Indian had to be universalized. Given the first Americans could be divided up into at least 2000 cultures and more societies, practising a variety of lifestyles, and linguistically separate, universalization would be no small feat. However, science would take on the task of solving the dilemma (Berkhofer, 91, 1982).

Darwin's theory of evolution sparked a scientific revolution. Sociologists, such as H. Spencer, began to employ the Indian as the prime example of a degenerative species. Indians were therefore no longer savages because they had not realized the true Christian God; rather, the Euro-North American had scientific proof that Indians were in fact inferior. Scholars such as Lewis Henry Morgan began to immortalize the "Savage Iroquois", the model for all Non-Natives to understand the new social order of the Indian. Auguste Comte and other enlightened scholars proved Indians have certain degenerative characteristics, thus serving to

put the "problem" in perspective. In this set of writings Indian imagery had undergone revisions. No longer a biblical "explanation" but a factual scientific one! Could it be that this new ideology would promote the idea of progress as natural and inevitable? Conquest had taken place; warfare and disease had reduced the numbers of Indians by the millions; their demise could be justified by nature.

Smith argues that media tend to be symbiotic, and naturally as the need grew for American literature to promote nationalism, Non-Natives would again call upon the Indian to serve as a metaphor. This took the form of the American nickel and dime novel. No longer did one have to be an explorer or scholar to know the reality of the Indians; Americans in general became the new experts. Berkhofer states:

As White settlement proceeded across the Missouri River and the Indian wars receded Westward, the Indian lost his place as an important subject in what we might call elite or formal art and literature. The Indian, however, did play a significant role if not subordinate role in popular arts. If the elite artist is expected to create new visions and aesthetics, the popular artist generally reverts to formulas that have been successful before. For the Indian in popular literature and art, that formula was the "Western", and the Indian of the Western was usually the generic tribesmen of the Plains - the new quintessential image of the Native American in White eyes (Berkhofer, 1982, 97).

The formula was: social order and anarchy meet, civilization confronts savagery. In the Western genre formula the strong White American character espouses reason, morality



and righteousness. On the "sympathetic" front, the themes of primitivism become symbolic of Herbert Spencer's unfair but inevitable "survival of the fittest" ideology. The noble savage was never realized as a real individual, but as a metamorphosis of manifest destiny, thus unburdening the White conscience of any wrong-doing. No peoples would ever have to pay such a high price for the realization of a Nation's nationalism.

The nickel and dime novels, formulated in the 1800's by James Fenimore Cooper, served as the authentic genre of the Western. The place and time was forever locked in the 18th century, in the West, and the tribes people were almost always Plains Indians. By universalizing the Indian, the Americans could effectively displace reality (Berkhofer,1982,87). According to Smith, the success of the dime novels in the mid-to late 1800s and the wide acceptance of the Wild West shows provided the opportunity to capitalise on the White Man's Indian's popularity through other of media. Logically, silent films followed suit and later radio and sound films. Smith states that a media choice:

...with regard to program content, frequently capitalizes on the success of another medium. Since the goal is to satisfy the largest audience possible , it was considered expeditious to develop a movie, radio program or television show from a successful book., magazine series, or play. Previous marketplace success not only provides indication of a public acceptance of a specific content, it also generates a core audience for subsequent versions of the story in other media. The practice of borrowing is also responsible for the rapid diffusion of

stereotypes, developed in one medium across another (Smith,1986,83).

In Philip French's *The Indian in the Western Movie*, he argues that 1950 was the "watershed year in which the Western movie took on new depth and resonance." He also argues that the two dominant traits during the 1950s and early sixties were, on one hand, the role of the Indians as an external force in uniting Americans, and on the other, the cultural clash between pioneer and redskin. However, by the late '50s there were over thirty westerns on television, and the stronger negative stereotypes reappeared. The saturation of a negative stereotype became intolerable given the ideological changes taking place in the mid sixties. With the civil rights movements of Martin Luther King, oppressed minorities were taken up as popular White causes. The call for a new formula was sounded, and the Western of the late sixties took a more radical look at the historical treatment of the Indian (Smith,1986,84).

Whites needed the Indian to look again at themselves. The hippies of the sixties used Native history to promote their sentiments about the Viet Nam war, instead of for a realistic portrayal of Indians and their problems (Smith,1986,21). The sociological explanation of the popular Western has its roots in the imagery conveyed by early explorers and intellectuals. All explorers had their economic

reasons for creating a certain image. The reason for consistently defining and reinforcing a stereotypical Indian has always had very political, economic and cultural bases. As the critical materialist perspective argues, those that exploit must continuously work to contain and manage the contradictions of that exploitation.

The basic prevailing ideology of the Indian was, they stand in the way of economic development; as we know, indians are still very much perceived in that way today. The immigrants had great difficulty in dealing with the existence of the Indian, given the economic gains that came from their demise. The inherent contradiction lies in the reason the foreigners came to the New World. An ideology that appears to hold freedom as its fundamental value cannot easily explain the price paid by the Indians who, in reality, were not initially hostile. The need to displace reality and create a revised image not only served those in power, but also soothed the conscience of a "founding nation."

Because it was largely the elitist European who produced reality in a concrete medium, that reality was conducive to their gains. As production evolved into mass consumption, the ideology promoted and served the dominant values of the day. The fact that the western genre had a large reliance on the Indian by no means implies they were central

characters. Rather, the use of the Indian fulfilled other functions. First, it naturalized the social order by successfully keeping the Indian locked into the past, and justified doing this by presenting real historical events. However, the ideological message was that of 'it is over and done with, we can not change history'. In this way the dominant medium managed the contradictions, and displaced a very real problem. As long as Indians were far enough removed from present reality, the ruling class could continue to oppress them. The second function it served was to abstract and objectify the Indian. By popularizing a symbolic people of yesterday, the media could continue with their degenerating of the Indian of today. The ideology promoted a view that the noble savage no longer exists, only the ignoble reservation Indian. Therefore, if one can no longer live as the stereotypical Indian, then one is no longer an Indian.

The most fundamental function the Western genre fulfilled was to reinforce the "goodness" of the White and, when needed, to re-define emerging values. But in doing this the Indian was represented as a casualty of progress, reinforcing the real economic values of those in power. To keep this flagrant conflict manageable the dominant media created an alternative depiction of Indians. By romanticizing Indians and appearing to empathize with their plight, the

ruling class could weep and bury the past.

Further into this century, alcohol, suicide, violence, incest, wife/child abuse have all become catchwords used in describing the contemporary Indian. At the same time, the dominant society refuses once again to look closely at its own image. The end result is undoubtedly to continue the tradition established by explorers, intellectuals and novelists, to use the Indian as a deviant other against whom Whites could define themselves. The next section of this chapter will outline how the ingrained bias of this use of the Indian as a deviant other to promote the superiority of the "civilized" Euro-North American is evident in sociological works. In particular, I will address the following questions: Did sociological thinkers use the Indian as a means to an end? Does that end imply Western industrialized society is at the right end and tribal non-western societies are at the wrong end? Is it the case, as Berkhofer argues, that these thinkers use Indians as counter-images for those values and beliefs they hold dear? In the end, do these thinkers attempt to give tribal peoples any benefit by acknowledging that their way of life is valid and equal in value to non-tribal peoples? All of these questions will be briefly explored in the following essay. Chief Seattle made this speech to the President of the United

States in 1855. Perhaps it drives home the perspective of the thinking Indian.

CHIEF SEATTLE, 1855

The President in Washington sends word that he wishes to buy our land. But how can you buy or sell the sky, the land? The idea is strange to us. If we do not own the presence of the air and the sparkle of the water, how can you buy them? Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. Every shining pine needle. Every sandy shore. Every mist in the dark woods. Every meadow. Every humming insect. All are holy in the memory and experience of my people. We know the sap that courses through the trees as we know the blood that courses through our veins. We are a part of the earth and it is part of us. Perfumed flowers are our sisters. The bear, the deer, the great eagle, these are brothers. The rocky crests, the juices in the meadow, the body heat of the pony, and man, all belong to the same family. The shining water that moves in streams and rivers is not just water but the blood of our ancestors. If we sell you our land you must remember it is sacred. Each ghostly reflection in the clear water of the lakes tells of events and memories in the life of my people. The waters' murmur is the voice of my fathers father. The rivers are our brothers. They quench out thirst. They carry our canoes and feed our children. So you must give the kindness you would give any brother. If we sell you the land, remember the air is precious to us. That the air shares the spirit with all life supports. The wind that gave our grandfather his first breath also receives his last sigh. The wind also gives our children the spirit of life. So if we sell you our land, you must keep it apart and sacred as a place where we can go to taste the wind that is sweetened by the meadow flowers. Will you teach your children what we have taught our children, that the earth is our mother? What befall the earth befalls all the sons of the earth. This we know. The earth does not belong to man. Man belongs to the earth. All things are connected like the blood that unites us all. Man did not weave the web of life, he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web he does to himself. One thing we know, our God is your God. The earth is precious to him. To harm the earth is to heap contempt on its creator. Your destiny is a mystery to us. What will happen when the Buffalo are

all slaughtered? The wild horses all tamed? What will happen when the secret corners of the forest are heavy with the scent of many men and the view of the ripe hills is blotted by the talking wires? Where will the thicket be? Gone. Where will the eagle be? Gone. And what is it to say good-bye to the swift pony and the hunt, the end of living and the beginning of survival? When the last Red man has vanished with the his wilderness and his memory is only the shadow of a cloud moving across a prairie, will the shores and the forest still be here? Will there be any of the spirit of my people left? We love this earth as a newborn loves its mothers heartbeat. So, if we sell you our land, love it as we have loved it. Care for it as we have cared for it. Hold in your mind the memory of this land as it was when your receive it. Preserve the land for all children, and love it as God loves us all. As we are part of the land, you too are part of the land. This earth is precious to us, it is also precious to you. One thing we know, there is only one God. No man, be he red man or white, can be apart. We are brothers after all.

Chief Seattle, 1855, Notes from Alberta Women's conference

## SOCIOLOGY...THE PRIMITIVE CONNECTION

This section should not be taken as a critique of Western science, but rather as a study of social science's treatment of Native peoples. Although Western science has a number of different competing perspectives and theories and conflicts, they nonetheless share common assumptions about the aboriginal peoples. The objective is to illustrate the biased treatment of Native peoples by Western thinkers. The basic problem is the assumption in Western thinking that Native society is less valuable than that of the Euro-North American. The reason for selecting Marx, Durkheim and Weber as the Western theorists to be analyzed in this regard stems from the fact they are considered the "fathers of sociology". These men, more or less, created the three sociological schools of thought: material/conflict, functionalism and interactionism. Their classic works are taught in universities across North America and elsewhere. If one is a student in the social sciences, then one is expected to learn and use one of these three paradigms. Given the "fathers" influence in the social sciences, I feel it is important to examine their assumptions about tribal peoples. If these paradigms are ultimately biased about tribal peoples, then we must rethink their value in terms of understanding Natives.



The evidence for this argument will be found in the ethnocentrism Marx, Durkheim and Weber exercised when writing about tribal peoples. The importance is to analyze the placement of tribal society on the evolutionary scale by each theorist directly or indirectly. This imaginary scale inadvertently places the industrialized, modern Euro-North American on the "right" end and the stationary "primitive" tribal society on the "wrong" end. Evolutionism is not in itself racist; rather it is what is inferred by the social scientist from evolutionism that is racist. That inference is that, Euro-North Americans are superior in that they are highest on the scale of "development" and "progress." Tribal peoples are seen as stationary, if not degenerative, in this context. The notion put forth that Euro-North Americans drive progress and development, which happens to be the natural and inevitable direction, justifies their destruction of aboriginal societies and land. The following will examine whether such biases are fundamental assumptions of Western social sciences. The question posed is, do the values in Western culture colour the fundamental social science perceptions of non-Western societies and therefore their own?

## KARL MARX AND PRIMITIVES

Science has taken the world in a distinct direction: progress, development, and evolution. For the Marxist followers the ideal society would be an industrialized version of the Iroquois social system. Weatherford states:

The discovery of new forms of political life in America freed the imagination of Old world thinkers to envision egalitarian democracy, socialism, communism, anarchism and dozens of other social reforms (Weatherford, 1988, 122).

Irving Zeitlin offers key insights into why evolutionists tend to study diverse arrays of cultures and times, in need of substantiating "their" stages of development. Zeitlin cites Nisbet's argument that the evolutionist school of thought is not a theory of actual course of development of a single social entity but rather

...is a series of stills as in a movie film. It is the eye -or rather in this instance, the disposition to believe - that creates the illusion of actual development, growth, or change...what 'develops' is in fact no substantive, empirical entity but a hypostatized, constructed entity...it is all much like a museum exhibit (Irving Zeitlin, 1986, 106).

An example of how evolutionists tend to build symbiotic relationships is the work of evolutionist Lewis Henry Morgan. Marx and Engels were great supporters of Morgan and enlisted his work to illustrate the origins of the family, private property and the state (Bloch, 1983, 19). However, I must note

that while Marx used much evolutionist language in the *German Ideology* , the published work based on Marx's notes on Morgan's work can only be attributed to Engels, who, it is argued, was an orthodox evolutionist, whereas Marx may not have been. First, one must look at how Marx had a double standard theory, one that treated the European oppression as a real problem, but the Indian/Black/Asian as having no role to play here. Marx excludes the possibility of traditional societies' ability to contribute to the struggle for freedom. In Marx's works, one can only conclude that only the White working class are the true heirs to an inevitable revolution. The working class will inherit the necessary consciousness. The only category Indians can be slotted in is "primitive".

Marx recognized such things as the aboriginal labourer's contribution to the emergence of capitalism but failed to include them in his scheme of the proletariat. For example, Marx states:

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in the mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production (Wallerstein,1974,xv).

From the latter passage one can see that Marx recognized somewhat the role of indigenous populations in creating a world economy, but Marx failed to see Non-Whites as peoples

who might rebel against capitalism and bring about significant social change that would humankind from oppression. What is the difference between the great mines of Potosi that swallowed eight million Indian miners and turned out billions of coins from the sixteenth century into the twentieth, and the situation of the working class which Marx wistfully describes in his *Economic and Philosophies Manuscript*? Marx states:

Even the need for fresh air ceases for the worker. Man returns to living in a cave, which is now, however, contaminated with the mephitic breath of plague given off by civilization, and which he continues to occupy only precariously it being for him alien habitation which can be withdrawn from him at any day - a place from which, if he does not pay, he can be thrown out any day...A dwelling in the light which Prometheus in Aeschylus designated as one of the greatest boons, by means of which he **made savage into a human being**, ceases to exist for the worker. light, air, etc-the simplest animal cleanliness - ceases to be a need for man. Dirt-this stagnation and putrefaction of man-the sewage of civilization (speaking quite literally) - comes from the element of life for him. Utter, unnatural neglect, putrefied nature, comes to be his life-element. None of his senses exist any longer, and he is not only in his human fashion, but in an inhuman fashion, and therefore not even in animal fashion (Marx,1844,117).

It would follow logically then, that there are two types of oppression, one for primary humans, and a secondary form for Non-Whites. If free labour is the criterion for a wage-earner, than how can Marx speak of 'his working class' as he did in the latter passage? It is after all not different from the darker skinned "savages" labouring for the sake of

capitalism. Neither worker is free in any sense of the word; both are forced to survive by working for the benefit of others. What is the difference between the Indian worker and Marx's worker? Is there a marked difference between those described in Marx's latter passage and the Inca miners? Crow's description sheds light on the similarities both experienced. He states:

The Indians entered the mines on Monday morning and did not emerge again until Saturday. Each man had to chisel out his daily quota of one quarter tons of ore. He then loaded it in bags and of little over one hundred pounds and carried it up to the main tunnel. This required that he drag and push the bag through a labyrinth of small tunnels barely large enough to squeeze through, and then carry it up ladders at odd angle's for hundreds of feet. In the first decades of this system, four out of five miner's died in their first year of forced employment in the mines (Crow,1980,269).

If there is a major difference between the two workers, Marx does not address it satisfactorily. Rather he seems to categorize according to other criteria, not necessarily material or social. One thing is certain, the Indians of Peru live this reality in the 20th century.

While Marxists have either denied or strengthened the social evolutionary overtones of Marxist theory, it cannot be denied that much of his work illustrates the implicit systemmization of stages. Marx's excitement over Morgan's work is an often cited example of his embracing of evolution of human society. But before Marx's encounter with Morgan's work,

he had already laid down the blueprint for social evolution in the *German Ideology*. For example in *Private Property and Communism*, Marx states there are three "moments" which must occur to constitute "consciousness":

These three aspects of social activity are not of course to be taken as three different stages, but just as three aspects or, to make it clear to the Germans, three 'moments', which have existed simultaneously since the dawn of history and the first of men, and which still assert themselves today (David McLellan, 1977,166).

In the next breath Marx states:

Consciousness at first, of course, is merely consciousness of the immediate sensuous environment and consciousness of the limited connection with other person's and things outside the individual who is growing self-conscious. At the same time it is consciousness of nature, which at first appears to men as a completely alien, all powerful, and unassailable force, with which men's relations are purely animal and by which they are overawed like beast; it is thus purely animal consciousness of nature (natural religion) just because nature is as yet hardly modified historically...man's consciousness of the necessity of associating with the individuals around him is the beginning of the consciousness that he is living in society at all. This beginning is as animal as social life itself at this stage. It is mere herd-consciousness, and at this point man is only distinguished from sheep by the fact that with him consciousness takes place of instinct or that his instinct is a conscious one (McLellan,1977, 87,166).

The latter quote illustrates that Marx has expressed the view that at the "beginning" there is an animal... "mere herd like consciousness", which in itself has implications that point to evolutionary stages. He views the development of consciousness as removing oneself from nature. Scholar Vine Deloria argues Marxists are completely misled when they

attempt to understand "natural man." He states:

The implications of Marxist thinking may be revolutionary for Western peoples but they raise a strange response in American Indians. Why is it that Western peoples feel themselves alienated from nature? And why is it that they seek some kind of messianic, ultra-historical solution once they have identified this estrangement? To consider communism, even in its purist form, the definitive resolution between humanity and nature is the fundamental problem around which all others revolve. Since this problem is so continuously on the minds of Western peoples, and since, after all, the economic analyses are concluded, Marx returns to his theme, a better use of one's time than advocacy of how Western peoples decided or when they first experienced this alienation - since it does not occur within the American Indian context... (Churchill, 1970, 133).

Chief Seattle, among others, would have debated this point with Marx. What implications does this have for tribal peoples who live off the land? Marx defines a first stage in his evolutionary scheme as it relates to historical development.

Marx goes on to state:

This sheep-like or tribal consciousness receives its further development and extension through increased productivity, the increase of needs, and, what is fundamental to both of these is the increase in population. With these develops the division of labour in the sexual act, then that division of labour which develops spontaneously or naturally by virtue of natural disposition (e.g. physical strength)... (McLellan: 1987; 167).

In this passage Marx states quite factually tribal peoples have a "sheep-like-consciousness." More than that, there are two points in the latter passages that are clear. One is that Marx's double standard for White workers stems from his belief that one must be in the European form of

"consciousness" to meet the necessary criteria for "class consciousness." And what of the brown-skinned primitives? They have not experienced the "moments" yet and therefore are incapable of escaping "sheep-like consciousness." Or they are in a "natural state", in bondage to "herd-consciousness," never to realize true freedom. Secondly, it is clear that Marx did indeed develop evolutionary schemes for the development of "man" which proves that Marx was an evolutionist. Marx concludes:

...these three moments, the forces of production, the state of society, and the consciousness can and must come into contradiction with one another....the latent slavery in the family, though still very crude, is the first property, but even at this early stage it corresponds perfectly to the definition of modern economist who call it the power of disposing of the labour power of others (McLellan,1987,168).

The latter passage identifies a definite zero point and until these moments occur, society remains at the point of origin. Deloria argues that Marx's notion of herd-consciousness is not correct. He states:

A common assumption underlying Western thought is that things must have had a beginning. From Christian theological speculations through Rousseau's noble savage, into modern scientific fictions concerning evolution, and in the Marxist analysis, beginnings or origins are critically important...The western propensity to absolutize events or to suggest that certain conditions must have existed at the beginning - either by a projection backwards of present conditions or assuming the relevance of certain conditions-seems to me to create unnecessary difficulties in understanding for Westerners (Churchill, 116,1970).



Marx clearly makes a connection between material development and consciousness. For Marx, human "growth" is determined by their material production, not by their values and relationship to the earth. Would Marx have understood that Chief Seattle had the wisdom to raise Western consciousness about the value of the earth?

Irving Zeitlin points out that Marx never took such things into account. He states:

In Marx's own preface to the second edition of *Capital* in 1873, he states that capitalism is a passing historical phase...Marx's study of England as the most advanced capitalism of his time has also suggested that for him the "less developed" societies were ultimately destined to mirror the conditions of the "more developed" (Zeitlin, 1987, 106).

I would agree with Deloria that Marxists tend to use England as a measuring stick for all other societies. But as Deloria states, "Western historical experiences are not, however, the standard by which human experiences should be gauged" (Churchill, 1970, 123). I would add that Western society in general should not be the yardstick that all others are measured by. The notion that there are moments that occur when man becomes separate from nature flies in the face of every Native in the globe. Indeed, Berkhofer's argument that Europeans and Euro-North Americans used Indians as a counter-image or negative reversal of themselves could explain Marx's preoccupation with "moments." Zeitlin's argument that

Marxists stop being Marxist when they turn to "primitive" society is exactly why Marx had to look for outside help when taking on the "primitive factor." This lies at the heart of Marx's use of Indians.

In short, Marx not only used evolutionary schemes to explain the material world, but used tribal peoples as the zero point of origin or as natural man. As Deloria points out, Westerners have always been concerned with origins, which could be attributed to the power struggle between church and state. In any event, Marx used Indians as a projection backwards, which holds little validity today. Secondly, Marx constructed a doctrine that set a double standard for primitive societies. While Marx recognized the oppression of Blacks and American Indians, he failed to include their position in the capitalist world. A primitive was a primitive, but a White worker was a proletarian. Unfortunately, this type of double standard has led Marx's successors to follow suit, as we shall see in the following section on Emile Durkheim.

## DURKHEIM'S VISION OF PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

Durkheim's work is based on an enormous number of false "facts" laced with sexism and ethnocentrism. In order to show the continuity of Marx's line of thought into the twentieth century it is necessary to briefly examine Durkheim's *Division of Labour And Society*.

In the *Division of Labour*, Durkheim outlines how society evolves from the lowest stage to the highest. He begins by assuming law is the key to concretely proving what stage a society is at. Durkheim asserts primitive societies are in a state of "mechanical solidarity." In his mechanical society the people are cohesive and share a "collective consciousness." The collective mind is sealed by their "likeness," individuality does not exist. This primitive state is marked also by the *repressive* laws which dictate collectivity. No one should question the world around them. Durkheim, like Marx, believed primitives or tribal societies are a "part of nature." And like Marx, he uses the Indian to prove his theory, specifically on the subject of marriage and family. Speaking of the Iroquois, Durkheim states:

Thus among the same peoples (Iroquois), marriage is in a completely rudimentary state. It is quite probable, if not absolutely demonstrated, that there was an epoch in the history of the family when there was no such thing as marriage. Sexual relations were entered into and broken at will without any juridical obligations linking the union. In any case, we see a family type which is

relatively near ours where marriage is still only in a very indistinct, germinal stage. This is the matriarchal family. The relations of the mother to her children are very definite, but those of the two people married are very loose...the state of marriage in societies where the two sexes are only weakly differentiated thus evinces conjugal solidarity which it itself is very weak (Durkheim,1933,57,58).

Durkheim's mechanical society is misleading. The Iroquois have had a Great Law for over a thousand years. Their constitution protects individual rights and freedoms. The Iroquois have had advanced concepts about women's role in society as well as about children. Contemporary western laws are just now protecting the rights of both women and children. How can Durkheim resolve the contradiction between mechanical and organic society and laws?

Durkheim, an orthodox evolutionist, also used Morgan's work, among others, to illustrate how "man" progresses from near-animal to the "modern cultivated state." Durkheim's entire thesis rests on the assumption of social evolution. Again we have a preoccupation with pinpointing when the "moment occurs" and man is alienated from nature. Durkheim appeared intent on promoting the Western world and enlisted "savages" to secure the notion of civilized superiority. Other "primitive" societies were enlisted to serve this function, such as the Germanic tribes of Europe. Through his conception of mechanical solidarity Durkheim could illustrate how disorder is a chronic ailment of primitives and not of

civilised man. Durkheim also stresses how repressive mechanical society is and perhaps even regressive, and he attempts to support this notion scientifically. In explaining the "primitive" and how "likeness" is associated with inferiority, Durkheim states:

These anatomical resemblances are accompanied by functional resemblances. In some societies, female functions are not clearly distinguished from male. There is even now a very great number of savage people where the women mingles in political life. That has been observed especially in the tribes of America, such as the Iroquois, the Natchez; in Hawaii she participates in a myriad of ways in men's lives, as she does in New Zealand and in Samoa....One of the distinctive contemporary qualities of women, gentility, does not appear to pertain to her primitive society (Durkheim, 1933, 58).

Durkheim demeans the role of women in both societies. The Iroquois laws and traditions define the role women play in political life, and it is not "mingling." The female Sachem holds title to the male Sachem; she not only holds the power of impeachment, she selects what male will receive the title. Durkheim's observation that "contemporary gentility does not appear to pertain to" tribal women is absurd.

Durkheim then backs up his explanation of mechanical society with biological evidence. By comparing the weight of craniums, he argues, one can see the marked difference in brain size not only between male and female, but, more importantly, between races. To affirm his theory he uses further evidence to compare the physical/biological difference

between "modern" and "primitive." He states:

By comparing a large number of crania chosen from different races and different societies, he [Dr. LeBon] has come to the conclusion: "The volume of the crania of man and women, even when we compare subjects of equal age, of equal height and weight, show considerable differences in favour of man, and this inequality grows proportionately with civilization,...Long ago, women retired from warfare and public affairs, and consecrated her entire life to her family. Since then, her role has become more specialized. Today among cultivated people, women lead a completely different existence from that of man. One might say that the two great functions of the psychic life are thus dissociated, that one of the sexes takes care of the affective functions and the other intellectual functions...According to the observer, this progressive chart would be due both to the considerable development of the masculine crania and to the stationary or even regressive state of the female crania (Durkheim, 1933, 57, 60).

We are dealing with explicit examples of evolutionism, sexism and racism. Tribal peoples are placed at the "wrong" end of the scale while Euro-North Americans are at the "right" end. It would not be logical to take Durkheim and his construction of societies/humans or history seriously at any level.

At the very least Marx criticized the exploitation and oppression of humans for the pursuit of profit. Bloch has illustrated that the material Marx and Durkheim drew from, as far as the Iroquois are concerned, was incorrect, as was the inference each drew from Morgan's work about family life and social organization. The concepts of "primitives" being in bondage to nature, unable to develop to the standards

Europeans achieved, illustrates a bias within each of their respective works. The inference is, "natural man" is doomed as progress and development move in, and tribal peoples are inferior to modern civilized man. It is ethnocentric at best.

## WEBER AND VALUE FREE IDEAL TYPES

In keeping with the question of evolution we are interested in whether Max Weber incorporated evolutionary concepts to his studies on Asian religions. First, an examination of Weber's methodological theories is necessary to ascertain whether or not Weber's "tools" of measurement are indeed value-free. There is no doubt that Weber was concerned about the values of the scientist "colouring" his/her perception about the subject in which he/she intended to study. Therefore we will first examine the assumptions embedded in Western science as we know it.

Science in itself has a preoccupation with the natural world and the mechanistic world, or in Weber's language the "emotional" world that does not act as the "rational" world. In this sense one can see a dichotomy which is ingrained in the very essence of science itself. This point is well stated by feminist Elizabeth Fee in *Women's Nature and Scientific Objectivity*:

The liberal ideology of science posits man as a rational individual "man", in confronting the natural world, is capable of creating a rational knowledge of that world through a process of testing and discarding hypothesis, and thus gradually progressing toward an ever more complete knowledge...We thus construct rationality in opposition to emotionality, objectivity in opposition to subjectivity, culture in opposition to nature, the public realm in opposition to the private realm. Whether we read Kant, Rousseau, Hegel, or Darwin, we find the female and male are contrasted in terms of opposing character: women love beauty, men truth; women are passive, men are



active; women are emotional, men selfish - and so on through the history of Western thought (Fee, 1986, 10, 12).

Marx and Durkheim delicately illustrated primitives as natural, as are women, and inferior. Traditional or tribal society is seen as representative of women's role in society i.e. emotional, beautiful and guided by spirituality rather than rationality. In Marx's words, when man is in nature he is part of the sensuous environment; or crudely put by Durkheim, science is for men and the arts for women. The idiosyncratic tendency for European man to alienate himself from nature, and thus from the female, exists not only in European history, but in the entire construction of Western science. Close analysis reveals that Weber tends to reproduce the same distinction or bias as his peers. The notion of evolution is implicit in Weber's work: the notion of progress and development is explicit.

In this section we will examine how Weber constructed a methodology that drew upon the dichotomy set out by early Western thinkers. What we want to ask is, does Weber imply that a society built by White male Westerners is "developed" and all others are not, and if so, what implication does this have for the claim to objectivity on the part of social science? Does Weber use Non-Westerners as a means to an end, to prove the superiority of Euro-North Americans?

First, one should look at how Weber arrived at his

ideal types and how these ideal types were used to describe or explain other societies or Western society. Weber asserts that the sociologist must have ideal types with which to categorize action, and states that rationality can be understood in two ways:

It can consist in direct understanding of the intended meaning of an action...for instance, we can directly 'understand' ' $2 \times 2 = 4$ ' when we hear it or read it: this is a case of direct rational understanding of a thought. Similarly, we can understand an outburst of anger, manifested in a person's facial expressions, exclamations, or irrational movements: in this case we have direct non-rational understandings.... (Runciman,1987:II).

In this sense rationality is illustrated by one's ability to understand math and a rational outcome. Irrationality is equated with emotional behaviour. Rationality exists for the scientists and their ability to understand and recognize irrationality and its meaning for the irrational actor. Weber further asserts that "voluntary association" and the institution are both associations which are rational, in the sense of being systematic to the extent that an association has a set of rational regulations governing the voluntary association (Runciman,1987,39).

Regarding religion Weber asserts:

In the case of hierocratic association one cannot use the 'nature' of the spiritual benefits offered, whether this-worldly, or other-worldly or internal or external, as a defining characteristic...it is a characteristic feature of the church, according to ordinary usage, that it should be a relatively rational institution (Runciman,1987,41).

Rationality is therefore equated with a "church" rather than a certain belief system, which may appear to be an objective criterion but in reality is riddled with ethnocentrism, as are his other concepts of rationality. An example of Weber contradicting his own methodology is seen in his comments on the Asian religions. He states in his discussion of *The Soteriology of the Underprivileged*:

The form of their religion is by no means unequivocally determined by these general conditions of their life. Chinese small businessmen, though extremely 'calculating', are not adherents of a rational religion; nor, as far as can be ascertained, are Chinese artisans. They are adherents both of magic and of Buddhist doctrine of Karma. This lack of an ethically rational form of religion, however, is their chief characteristic in this regard, and seems to have some bearing on the limited degree of rationalism....(Runciman,1987,176).

Apparently Weber had two forms of religion in mind. There was that practised by Europeans and then anything outside this sphere would fail to live up to his view of what constitutes rationality. In this sense Weber appears to be on the same track as Marx and Durkheim (Marx's natural religion - Durkheim's animistic or primitive religion). However, Weber does not blatantly display his values, since his doctrine specifically rejects value-judgments in science. As Deloria points out, Western thinkers were preoccupied with alienation. Weber indeed tends to focus on man's alienation within religion. He argues the rise of capitalism is a consequence of ascetism, or depriving oneself of the enjoyment of life.

This is the notion he builds progress on, and what others are defined by.

On the point of mixing values and objectivity Weber argues:

"Scientific analysis of social action, insofar as it proceeds beyond mere description, proceeds through the construction of ideal-type and, given the difficulties involved in the understanding of many forms of value directed or emotively influenced action, it is useful to construct rational types. Having specified in the ideal type what constitutes rational action, deviation from can be examined in terms of the influence of irrational elements (Giddens, 1971,148)."

Weber believed that by creating types, value-judgments would be safeguarded against. He stressed the importance of the academic keeping "evaluative" value-judgments out of the pursuit of knowledge. Similarly, he admonished universities for judging academics on the bases of their values. However, Weber appears to have failed his own criteria. As implied in his reference to rational religion Weber also states:

The concept of progress can of course be used in a completely value-free way, as when it is identified with the progression of some concrete developmental process considered in isolation...where evaluation of subjective experience are concerned 'progress in differentiation' is identical with an increase in value, only in the intellectualistic sense of an enlargement of an increasingly conscious experience or of an increasing ability to express and communicate (Runciman,1987,93,94).

Weber implies, similarly to Marx and Durkheim, that one must have the correct conscious experience in which to interpret his world of progress. This type of indirect association with evolutionistic notions is typical of Weber. Like his peers,

Weber stresses the "inability" of traditional peoples to "develop." Weber enlists the services of Asians to illustrate that the "problem" is due to the persistence of magic generally and the power of the kinship group. He states:

The persistence of charisma, in its oldest interpretation as a purely magical power, was the typical feature of Asian social order. And what is lacking is precisely the decisive element in Western economic life, the modification of this instinctive avarice, its transformation into a system of rational, inner-worldly ethics of action which was achieved in the West by the inner-worldly asceticism of Protestantism,....the preconditions for such a transformation were not present in Asia (Runciman,1987,199).

Deloria argues that Western thinkers were also preoccupied with the notion of "transformation." This notion goes hand in hand with "moments" or is tied to alienation from the natural world. He states:

Putting aside the continuing objection that we cannot establish arbitrary and artificial limits concerning objectivity, this definition approaches what the American Indian might accept regarding individual, were it not for the idea that the individual, while nature's thinking part, necessarily must be involved in the transformation of nature and thereby gain entrance into society. Transformation is a wholly Western idea, linked to the notion of Man's initial dominance over other life forms, and suspect in that no direction for the transformation is given (even within the evolutionary process, were it regarded valid). The human role respecting the world is thus left open to prophetic interpretations which can be seized with intense fanaticism. Transformation, in fact, is one of the innovations suggested by Hebrew prophets to describe the events of the last days and in effect degrades and destroys any value inherent within nature as we presently find it (Churchill,1970,121).

Weber concludes his essay on religion by posing the question:

How could the ultimate goal of self-control and intense and concentrated 'meditation' or lifelong literary study which they insisted on preserving as the highest good against outside disturbances reach 'perfection', when its fundamental basis was that of 'emptying'? He cites, Confucian 'detachment' Hindu emptying' and Taoist Wu Wei. Weber also states that the essence of their peculiar sense that the goal is nothing the journey is everything and that journey was in the direction of emptying (Runciman,1987,200,201).

Weber has implicit ethically-grounded assumptions about rationality.

In the last analysis Weber argues that their peculiar sense hindered greatly the ability of Asians to develop economically and rationally in this world. This clearly illustrates the "emotional and irrational" behaviour of Asians, rather than the Asians reacting to an imperialist threat of Europeans. The constant focus on Asian irrationality implies Weber's intent to discredit their society. Like the "primitives" of the West, Asians are steeped in a natural world with natural leaders, all of which constituted an inability to develop. The "ideal" types Weber uses are based on ethnocentric assumptions, since, in the end, Weber uses modern Western society as the yardstick by which to measure other societies.

Weber further argued that the retention of traditional structures, such as ancestral worship and ties to ancestral

land, inhibited any introduction of taxes or innovation (or exploitation?), since it was ultimately the Elders who made such decisions. This is reminiscent of Durkheim's mechanical society, which consists of a "collective conscious" or Marx's "sheep-like consciousness." In any case, all three thinkers certainly see traditionality as repressive, if not regressive.

Weber argues that:

The immense power of these kinship groups, with their strictly patriarchal leadership was responsible for the much discussed Chinese democracy. But it was only an expression, first, of the abolition of feudal estates secondly, of the extent of patrimonial bureaucratic administration, and thirdly of the pervasiveness and omnipotence of the patriarchal kinship groups, and it has absolutely nothing to do with 'modern democracy'. **The lack of laws in the sense of rational structure,** was not conducive to free development of bourgeois business **or the growth of the bourgeois of the western type** (Runciman, 1987, 321).

The most fundamental premise of Weber's "ideal type" or "rational man" is to use Western society as a yardstick by which to measure the "progress" of other societies. His identifying Asian peoples' inability to "develop" can only be based on an implicit notion of evolution. His association of "primitive" or "traditional" society with the affective character is prevalent throughout his work. Of rational man he writes:

For him the realization meant renunciation a departure from an age of full and beautiful humanity, which can no more be repeated in the course of our cultural development..In Baxters' view the care for external goods should lie on the shoulders of the saint like a cloak, which can be thrown aside at any moment, but fate decreed

that the cloak should become an iron cage  
(Weber,1933,181).

Again, we can see the moment which separates *man*, as if alienation is the requirement for "man" to enter into a progressive state. I wonder why Weber would assume "man" is developing, and this development leads to this prison-like existence. This is peculiar thinking to Natives. Weber furthers this notion with the following prediction:

For the last stage of this cultural development, it might truly be said...Specialist without spirit, sensualist without heart, this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved  
(Weber,1943,182).

While Weber appears to have tried very hard to not make any value-judgments they are instilled in his work on Non-Western peoples. It is for this reason that Western social science is very entrenched in its own cultural belief system, and unable to treat other realities with scientific objectivity. When forced to recognize other cultures, Weber, like Marx, failed to use his genius to make the mental leap necessary for appreciation of their inherent value. Instead, Weber merely enlisted Asian/primitive societies as a means to an end.



### Summary

In summary this chapter has illustrated the limitations of the "three great thinkers" due to certain assumptions they held which were derived from ethnocentric notions. The role evolutionary doctrine played in their theories, which are the basis of sociological theorizing, vary in degree. But they do continue a definite line of thought in the Western world-view: the notion of the European creating the most advanced or developed society in the world.

Even in Marx's appreciation of oppression he set up a double standard for the White proletariat and the brown "primitive miner," Black slave or Asian subordinate. Somehow these theorists ignored reality and created theories that upheld only the theorist's culture rather than a scientific tradition of inquiry. Or as Berkhofer argues, they continued the tradition of using Indians as a counter-image of themselves. The notion of social evolution is steeped in the substructure of Western science.

The Weberian myth of value-free science fell short of its goal given the great limitation of the framework built by Weber and his colleagues. Like Marx and Durkheim, Weber put Western society at the "right" end of the scale and all others at the "wrong" end. Other cultures were seen as somehow lacking the necessary conditions and therefore failed to

develop, rather than as people fighting to maintain autonomy in the face of outside European forces. Because of the limitations of western science, other cultures' contributions to intellectual thought, innovations, unique structures, etc. were obscured by the blinkers of ethnocentrism. To begin from the premise that "others" are not as developed as Euro-North Americans, and then to ask why, is not value-free science! Until science can work on premises that will not place one culture on top of another, it will prove unable to escape ethnocentrism.

It is true that Marxists stop being Marxists when dealing with Non-Whites, and Weberians are limited to their rational and ideal types. As for Durkheimians, they are truly lost in a mythical world, one without humans, only cultivated White scientists. In the last analysis, there is a gulf between Western thinking and Natives. What is needed is a discourse between Natives and Non-Natives. What Natives have to offer the Non-Native is valuable to the understanding of nature and the role of humans in preserving that natural world. The following section is a step in bridging what has been up to now a gulf of conflict.

## THE NATIVE PERSPECTIVE AND THE NON-NATIVE

The previous section outlined the ethnocentric assumptions Euro-North American theorists implicitly or explicitly held about "primitive" society. This section will address what a Native perspective is, what assumptions we have about ourselves and the culture happening around us.

What is a Native perspective? Or better yet, is there such a perspective that is valid in the cross-cultural sense? I argue that there is. It is important to keep in mind that Native people are more similar to each other than they are to Non-Natives. The notion is based on values which construct a world-view. Those values have a spiritual base which universally connects us to "our mother" the earth. Whether Hopi, Sioux, Cree or Mohawk, we share a common set of values and assumptions. They are those values that so many Non-Natives have termed "primitive" or "natural." Western assumptions are clearly a barrier to Native students, as is pointed out by Sioux scholar Vine Deloria:

One of the most painful experiences for American Indian students is to come into conflict with teachings of science which purports to explain phenomena already explained by tribal knowledge and tradition. The assumption of Western educational systems is that the information dispensed by colleges is always correct, and the beliefs or teachings of the tribe is always wrong. Rarely is the case. The teachings of the tribe are almost always more complete, but they are oriented toward a far greater understanding of reality than scientific knowledge. And precise tribal knowledge almost always has

a better predictability factor than does modern science, which generally operates in a sophisticated tautologies that seek to confirm pre-existing identities (Deloria, 1986, 76).

The first assumption in the Native perspective is that Western science has a double standard, one standard for Euro-North American culture and another for tribal peoples. This assumption has been clearly illustrated in the previous two sections. The second assumption of the Native perspective is that Native people have a wealth of knowledge that is just as valid as Non-Native knowledge. In fact when it comes to researching our own people we have a far greater appreciation of that knowledge and therefore can see what many *Non-Natives* overlook. Paula Gunn Allen, a Pueblo/Sioux scholar of American Indian Studies, supports the latter claim. She states in *The Sacred Hoop*,

My method is somewhat western and somewhat Indian. I draw from each, and in the end I often wind up with a reasonably accurate picture of truth. And in that context I would caution readers and students of American Indian life and culture to remember Indian America does not in any sense function in the same ways or from the same assumptions that western systems do. Unless and until that fact is clearly acknowledged, it is virtually impossible to make much sense out of the voluminous materials available concerning American Indians (Gunn Allen, 1986, 7).

One of the most fundamental aspects of a Native perspective is the knowledge that all living things are connected; if the connection between human and land is severed all living things will come to an end. If you destroy the land

you ultimately destroy all life-forms. According to Pam  
Colorado in American Indian Science:

Because American Indian cultures are so ancient, and the stories so old, there is almost no human experience or learning which has not been recorded in those stories. Moreover, they are tied so intricately with motion, relations and a sense of collapsed time, that there is a spiritual essence to them which people often describe as timeless (Colorado, 1989, 42).

A fundamental in the Native perspective is to collapse time, or maintain the connections of the past, present and future. This connection functions to connect humans to time and land. Anthropologist Harvey Feit explains this clearly in, *Hunting and the Quest for Power: The James Bay Cree and Whiteman in the Twentieth Century*:

The quest for power is a metaphor the Cree might use for the life as a hunter....The concepts of the wind persons mediate and link several series of ideas that serve to order Cree world in space and time....'Power' is a relationship in thought and action among many beings, whereby potentiality becomes actuality. Hunting is an occasion of power in this sense, and the expression of this is gifts, with many givers...The Cree have a distinct system of rights and responsibilities concerning land, resources, community, and social relations - a system of land and resources tenure, and of self-governance...The land and animals are God's creation, and, to the extent that humans use or control them, they do so as part of a broad social community united by reciprocal obligations (Feit, 1986, 182).

In most Native societies the oral tradition perpetuates the idea that the land is not ours to own, but rather to take care of for the future generation as have our ancestors. The close relationship with the past and present condensed in ordered

social relations illustrates land is far more important than human life in itself. Just as important, without land Natives are without a self, or life. Western science often diagnosed illnesses such as alienation, inability to adjust, etc., when Natives respond with social problems to the loss of their way of life. Few take into account the profound loss Natives feel when their entire world, spiritual, physical, emotional, moral and economic is destroyed for "development's sake." Russell Means, a Sioux scholar, states:

In terms of despiritualization of the universe, the mental process works so that it becomes virtuous to destroy the planet. Terms like "progress" and "development" are used as cover words here the way "victory" and freedom" are used to justify butchery in the dehumanization process...Most important here, perhaps, is the fact that Europeans feel no sense of loss in all of this. After all, their philosophers have despiritualized reality, so there is no satisfaction (for them) to be gained in simply observing the wonder of a mountain or a lake or a people in being. No satisfaction is measured in terms of gaining material... (Churchill 1970, 21).

Indeed not only do Natives feel their immediate needs pushed aside but the "power" is stolen. The failure to ensure the protection of the land and future is fully felt by Native communities. Therefore, another fundamental theme of the Native perspective is connection with, and protection of, the land, and the relation with time and space. The ability to secure the right to land is manifested in the security of self. Power is manifested in the way of life, not control in

the direct sense but in the indirect sense of self-governance.

Resistance is not grounded in the Western sense of "consciousness," but in the traditional sense of self. Unlike the Western scientific concept of "false consciousness" or collective consciousness, traditional Native consciousness is intricately linked with time, space and self. And this, in turn, is linked to power, spirituality and self-governance. Natives are aware of their position very early in life. Resistance is as simple as understanding that what Whites teach is their story, such as Columbus discovering America, while we learn early that their story is not ours.

Elders often plant the seeds of resistance. In many cases grandmothers and mothers nurture this resistance. Gunn Allen elaborates:

Through all the centuries of war and death and cultural and psychic destruction have endured the women who raise the children and tend the fires, who pass along tales and the traditions, who weep and bury the dead, who are dead, and who never forget...We survive war and conquest; we survive colonization, acculturation, assimilation; we survive beatings, rape, starvation, mutilation, sterilization, abandonment, neglect, death of our children, our loved ones, destruction of our land, our homes, our past and our future. We survive, and we do more than survive. We bond, we care, we fight, we teach, we nurse, we bear, we feed, we earn, we laugh, we love, we hang in there, no matter what (Gunn Allen, 1986, 50, 190,).

Elders not only reproduce and redefine reality as Natives see it, they encourage resistance. In virtually all Native literature Elders are referred to as a source of strength and

wisdom. However, that strength is utilized to resist the Euro-centric world-view. An example would be drawn from my own grandmother Nigu:ya. She entrenched in me the notion that White people lie, because all thieves lie. When I told her I learned at school that Indians were savages and that a Spaniard discovered us she laughed and said:

"No, no they turn the truth inside out. We discovered these lost starving sick men. So we fed them, healed them and gave them some food. But they were savages and when they had enough strength they killed us and stole our food and land. What you are learning is how well the Whiteman lies, keep learning and that is how you will win."

The nurturing of resistance is not just outright counter-stories, but elaborate myths and ceremonies. No doubt in these myths and ceremonies lies our consciousness. The directions and actions Natives often take are guided by myths and ceremonies. As one Lubicon Elder said to me during a ceremony, "It is this right here that the Whites fear most, the young emerge strong and willing to die." A Native perspective calls upon the affective character Western intellectuals decried. Emotions are important, one of the most important human qualities we have. Western science attempts to dehumanize the study of humans by posing as sterile, objective fact-gatherers. Denying emotion is denying reality. The subjectivity of the Native perspective enhances rather than distorts. The ability to "place publicly" the spiritual



aspects prevents the claim of objectivity from displacement. In other words, Natives are forthright about their particular beliefs and customs; there is no need to distort reality in order to support an argument. The stories of our oral culture provide the definitions of the discourse, the "maps of meaning" that allow us to share the same set of references and connotations. There are metaphors in particular instances and those are not to be confused with metaphysics. To apply Eurocentric objectivity would distort and confuse the knowledge with spirituality and spirituality with knowledge. Gunn Allen points out the importance of Native American views:

In fact, in the view of the traditionalist, rejection of one's culture - one's traditions, language, people - is the result of the colonial oppression and is hardly to be applauded. They believe that the roots of oppression are to be found in the loss of tradition and memory because that loss is always accompanied by a loss of positive sense of self. In short Indians think it is important to remember, while Americans believe it is important to forget....The traditionalist view can have significant impact if it is expanded to mean that the sources of social, political, and philosophical thought in the Americas is to be recognized and honoured....(Gunn Allen, 1989,210).

Indeed the knowledge passed on is easily transformed into science or political action, all supported by our philosophy. But the Non-Natives utilized this knowledge to advance their own cause. For example, the Iroquois Confederacy served as a model for the United States (Weatherford, 1987,46).

Resistance is part and parcel with intellectual capabilities. Like school textbooks, we understand these theorists have made **our story their story**. It would be contradictory for Native scholars to ignore how Euro-North American theorists translated our philosophy into their theories when they know where the knowledge was discovered and then distorted to fit the Euro-centric world-view. A lengthy quote from Eric Wolf in *Europe and the People Without History*, illustrates the premise Natives understand and agree with. Wolf states:

Yet the concept of the autonomous, self-regulating and self-justifying society and culture has trapped anthropology inside the bounds of its own definitions. Within the halls of science, the encompass of observation and thought has narrowed, while outside the inhabitants of the world are increasingly caught up in the continent-wide and global change. Indeed, has there ever been a time when the human populations have existed in independence of larger encompassing relationships, unaffected by larger fields of force? Just as sociologists pursue the will-o-wisp of social order and integration in the world of upheaval and change, so anthropologists look for pristine replicas of the precapitalist, preindustrial, past in the sinks and margins of the capitalist, industrial world. But Europeans would have never encountered one another, bloody fact, as Europeans reached out to seize the resource and populations of the other continents. Thus it has been rightly said that anthropology is an offspring of imperialism. Without imperialism there would be no anthropologist, but there would also be no Dene, Baluba, or Malay fisherman to be studied. The tacit anthropological supposition that people like these are a people without a history amounts to an erasure of 500 years of confrontation, killing, resurrection, and accommodation. If sociology operates within its mythology of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, anthropology all too frequently operates with its mythology of the pristine primitive. Both perpetrate

fictionalities that deny facts of ongoing relationships and involvements (Wolf, 1982,18).

Wolf highlights the inherent contradictions within the structures and context of Western social science. The Native perspective attempts to expose the contradictions in Western thought and in this case, the reproduction and reinforcement of Western facts as they are collected by the media. It is important to understand where Native people are coming from as well as how they respond and relate to Non-Natives. The Non-Native and Native are inextricably bound by shared realities and by resistance. It is not just a question of resistance, physically or theoretically, but factually. Natives embrace facts and share them with Non-Natives; Non-Natives, in turn, redefine the situation and context in order to translate those facts into their own order, their own story, which relegate the Native point of view to a marginal role.

By marginalizing the Native view, Non-Natives relieve the threat of exposure of that order, which rests on the active suppression of the Native view or reality. The "tradition" of excluding the Native from "dominant" discourse, or including them only on White terms, allows the mythology of development, progress and the naturalization of destruction to be re-produced, and promotes consent from the public. This thesis will focus on who are the primary definers in the

production of facts, or news, in a contemporary conflict situation. The Native perspective will be compared to that of the Non-Native in order to illustrate the differences in their "stories." The following chapter details the methodology. The Native perspective will be discussed as it relates to all aspects of this thesis.

Patty Wind, a thirteen-year-old student at the Red School House, wrote this poem:

I want to be free  
Fly with you my brother  
I want the experience to live like you live  
To be free, not for the white man to shoot at  
like they did to our ancestors and brothers  
and sisters  
Carry me off  
Go now, my brother fly  
into what's still yours  
Hurry my brother  
before they discover what's yours  
and claim that too

(Weyler, 1982, 280)

Spread the word of your religion,  
Convert the whole world if you can  
Kill and slaughter those who oppose you  
Its worth it if you save one man.  
Take the land to build your churches,  
A sin to tax the house of God  
Take a child while she is supple,  
Spoil the mind and spare the rod.  
Go and tell the savage Native  
That he must be Christianized.  
Tell him, end his heathen worship  
And you will make him civilized.  
Shove your gospel, force your values,  
Down her throat until its raw,  
And after she is crippled,  
Turn your back and lock the door.  
Like an ever circling vulture,

You descend upon your prey,  
Then you pick the soul to pieces  
And you watch while it decays.  
Missionaries, missionaries, go leave us alone.  
Take your white God to your white man,  
We've a god of our own.

By Floyd Westerman  
Churchill, 18, 1970

I am the Redman

I am the Redman  
Son of the forest, mountain and lake  
What use have I of the asphalt  
What use have I of the brick and concrete  
What use have I of the automobile  
Think you these gifts divine  
That I should be grateful.

I am the Redman  
Son of the tree, hill and stream  
What use have I of china and crystal  
What use have I of money  
Think you these heaven sent  
That I should be eager to accept.

I am the Redman  
Son of earth, water and sky  
What use have I of silk and velvet  
What use have I of nylon and plastic  
What use have I of your religion  
Think you these be holy and sacred  
That I should kneel in awe.

I am the Redman  
I look at you White brother  
And I ask you  
Save not me from sin and evil  
Save yourself

By Duke Redbird  
(Waubageshig, 1970, 61)

**CHAPTER 2**  
**METHODOLOGY**

## METHODOLOGY

This section of the thesis will outline what methods were utilized to gather data and analyze information. The focus will be on why I decided to assemble the sequence of chapters the way I did. The sociological theory critique was designed to demonstrate the bias that exists in "Western thought," and second to demonstrate how those biases are associated with, and interrelated with, the "White Man's Indian." Thirdly, it was necessary to build a basic Native perspective to demonstrate the differences in Western assumptions and Native assumptions; and how those assumptions affect definitions of reality.

In addition, it is important to have empirical evidence to demonstrate how the bias, difference in perspective and realities operate in the real world. The Lubicon interviews, reported in Chapter 3, were gathered so a "point of comparison" would be established. The comparison with Non-Native definitions of the situation is by media content analysis in Chapters 4 and 5. This chapter will outline the quantitative and qualitative methods used to accomplish my objectives.

Essentially there are two methods used, data gathering and data analysis. I will outline the data gathering first and the data analysis second. The Native perspective influenced the methodology substantially, more so in the data gathering. I will discuss how the Native perspective altered the method

in the field research. The quantitative section will focus on a descriptive account of the field research undertaken in Little Buffalo, Alberta. Also the participatory observation field work strengths and weaknesses will be discussed briefly. The context in which the research was gathered will include how the Native perspective affected the participant observation.

The aspect of the data analysis includes coding and categorizing the Lubicon interviews as well as the media's coverage of a specific event. The content analysis will be discussed at this point and its strengths and weaknesses. A brief description of the methods used in the research data will be discussed.



## DATA GATHERING

Audre Lorde states in *Methods from the Margins*:

Traditionally,...it is members of oppressed groups who are expected to stretch out and bridge the gap between actualities of our lives and the consciousness of our oppressor. For in order to survive [we]...have always had to be watchers, to become familiar with the language and manners of the oppressor, even sometimes adopting them for some illusion of protection (Lorde, 1984,114) .

The dilemma immediately staring me in the face is, am I a Mohawk or an academic? I have yet to find the answer. Conveying Native ideas to Non-Natives stretches one to the breaking point. I could simply state that I did participatory research in Little Buffalo, Alberta, but that was not entirely the case. The context this research was conducted in is important to the overall thesis. The Native perspective runs deep in the veins of this study, subjectivity in this case is high. Lorde expresses best the "role" I played as a researcher and as a Mohawk; that is, to be a bridge and translator between the Lubicon world and the academic world, and no doubt I will inevitably lose something important in that process. What the Elders have informed me is, "You must make the White understand because you have been trained to understand how they think, you walk among them. Translate for us." The responsibility weighs heavily. What is in this thesis is an attempt to translate and serve as a bridge between two worlds, two ways of existing, and those two entities are often in conflict.

I went to Little Buffalo to find out the Lubicon "side," and held open-ended interviews with politically active Lubicon people and Elders. In a whirlwind "tour," from October 17 to the 21, 1989, I jotted down notes while observing their schools, homes and land. Each interview was recorded on both video tape and cassettes. The interviews lasted approximately two hours each. At the end of the four days there was a total of eleven interviews. The people interviewed were "active" in the Lubicon struggle for land. There were nine Lubicon men, one Lubicon woman and a Non-Native educator. In just four days, they had given me enough information that I could feel secure about what the Lubicon definitions of their situation were.

In most cases, four days in an isolated Native community would barely merit a researcher the right to state they have enough. But, I must admit, I went there to get a "feel" of the Lubicon, not necessarily facts. When my family arrived in the community there was a sense that they had been prepared and were waiting for this. Normally that would not be a good thing, but in this case it was an excellent context. What I am getting at is, from a Native perspective, we were connected. Somehow our appearance on their doorstep was a good sign to them and they opened up to us. The unspoken bargain was, I would serve as a bridge between the Lubicon and Iroquois Confederacy.

The problems traditionally discussed when a sociologist or anthropologist does field research, such as "going Native," does not help my particular dilemma. I went to Little Buffalo after having researched their land claim. The research consisted of gathering data collected by Terry Kelly, Lubicon advisor. Ms. Kelly graciously sent box loads of information she has documented over the last seven years. For a year I sifted through these boxes, which contained news articles, House of Commons minutes, letters from supporters to the government, letters to the Lubicon from the government and letters from the Lubicon to the government. After the "literature review" of the Lubicon land claim I was left with a great feeling of disbelief. There were two basic things that I could not come to terms with. The first was, how could the government and corporations get away with what they were, in 1990? The second was, how much longer could this chief and his people continue to fight this battle? It was at this time I decided field research was mandatory, I had to find out if all of this was for real.

When we arrived in Little Buffalo, October 17, I was not sure what I was doing there. I had no training in field research, but I did have lifetime experience as a Native person, and a confused one at that. It did not take long for my husband Rodney and I to "make friends" with some of the people there. The Lubicons were quiet by nature, at least compared to us Mohawks. Noreen, the band receptionist, was the

first person we came across, she knew that we were coming. When we were introduced to the chief, Bernard Ominayak, he seemed pleased that Mohawks had travelled so far to hear their story. That night, we talked politics and decided to do some "visiting" the next day. The next morning we met up with the band councillors and Bernard. Steve Nosky would be called a "key informant." He was our translator and travel guide. I asked him if we could visit some Elders, especially Edward Laboucon. In our "bush travel" we met up with other Lubicons, and made more friends. We joked, told stories about the Mohawks and listened to what the Lubicons had to say. The interviews took place in the bush, on long rides in trucks, in homes and in the band office. I kept my recorder with me at all times, flicking it on when the topic of history, politics and the blockade were brought up by either myself, my husband or the friend we were with at the time.

I explained to them at different times that I was there to get their story, whatever they thought their story was, and I would print it as is. I also informed them that I was not an expert at anything, but I did go to the university. Some of the Lubicon asked questions about the specifics of my research; others did not. Each friend knew that I was tape-recording; I told them I had a real bad memory and needed the stupid thing to remind me of their words. I also told them that whatever I wrote would be sent to them and if they did not like it they should tell me. They all laughed at that

prospect, and I knew why; but they seemed to appreciate the fact that I respected them enough to do that. There were no boundaries drawn up in this field research, no limits to what I could see, hear or not see and hear; as a Native I knew they trusted me. There were many things I saw that are not in this thesis. I was informed it should go into a book. There is a collaboration in the research-it is as much Lubicon as it is mine.

The method of participant observation according to Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna in *Experience, Research, Social Change, Methods From the Margins* (1989) is:

...participant observation is a flexible method and allows for the combination of some survey methods...with actual participation and direct observation by the researcher. The researcher uses what is meaningful and relevant, and incorporates impressions and reflections as part of the data. The researcher assumes the role of linch-pin between the data and data explanations of that data. The main draw-back to this method is the sheer volume of data that can be collected and then must be analyzed (Kirby and McKenna, 1989, 81).

The method of participant observation best describes my experience in Little Buffalo. The "main draw-back" was not present because I collected just enough data, not less and not more than was needed to analyze the Lubicon definitions of the situation. The combination of interviewing and documentary analysis was sufficient for my particular objectives.

The interviews were coded by themes. The themes were established by content analysis. A content analysis is a focus on "seeing patterns and categories that emerge...the iden-

tification of an idea, event, theme or common property (Kirby and McKenna, 1989, 139)." The content of the interview data could then be compared to that of the media's coverage. It is at this point that the analysis begins.

## DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis element of this research takes form in the content analysis. The content analysis of the Lubicon interviews were coded by themes. The themes of the research were measured by the amount of times a certain "issue" was referred to or discussed. So, if several of the Lubicon interviewed brought up the issue of the government attempts to "get rid of us," the theme was defined as genocide. Themes were measured by frequency. If the Lubicon brought up a theme several times, it was coded. The intention is to then compare the themes of the Lubicon with that of Native and Non-Native media.

The media content analysis is designed to demonstrate the difference/similarity between the Lubicon definition of the situation and the media's representation of it. The newspapers chosen are *The Edmonton Journal*, *The Globe and Mail* and *the Windspeaker*. *The Edmonton Journal* was picked because it is a large daily metropolitan newspaper in Alberta. *The Globe and Mail* was chosen because it is the only national newspaper in Canada. The Windspeaker is a good sample because it is a Native-operated Alberta weekly newspaper. The time frame in a content analysis is crucial. However, for this study it could not be as historical or as diverse as I would have liked. Rather, for practical purposes a specific event was chosen, the Lubicon blockade in October of 1988. *The*

*Edmonton Journal* time frame is Oct. 1 - 30 1988, the time during which the blockade was in effect. The time frame was the same for *The Globe and Mail*. However the time frame was expanded for the *Windspeaker* because it is a weekly newspaper so, the time period for it is from Oct. 1 - November 11, 1988. The Lubicon content analysis is then compared with the content analysis of *The Edmonton Journal*, *The Globe and Mail* and the *Windspeaker*. The three newspapers will be cross-compared for themes, primary, secondary definers and missing voices.

The problems with the content analysis were in coding and measuring the frequency. Indeed, perhaps the themes I saw emerge would be different than those identified by another researcher. As well, the method for measuring the frequency of the themes was simplistic. The coding, definitions and frequency measure are discussed at length in the respectively appropriate chapters. According to Babbie a content analysis is:

...a social research method appropriate for studying human communications. Besides being used to study communications processes, it may be used to study other aspects of behaviour. Units of communication, such as words, paragraphs and books, are the usual units of analysis...Manifest content refers to directly visible, objectively identifiable characteristics of a communication, such as specific words in a book...Latent content analysis refers to meanings contained within communications. The determination of latent content requires judgments on the part of the researcher... (Babbie, 1986, 295).



In the Lubicon content analysis, manifest and latent content were used. However in the media analysis only manifest content was used. The themes were then ranked in terms of their prominence.

The contextualization of the media content is important. The context is more than just the "angle" the news stories take. According to Graham Knight:

By attempting to realize the immediacy in the temporal sense, news accounts play down the question of historical connectedness and development...The effect of this dovetails with that of the immediacy and actuality, reinforcing the tendency to de-contextualize (Knight,1988,32).

The contextualization or de-contextualization of the Lubicon situation by the media plays a pivotal role in analyzing the difference in the latent content.

In summary, methods used to gather the information in this research are document review, participant research, content analysis of Lubicon interviews and media representation. The logic behind the methods is:

- 1) To establish the difference between a Western perspective and a Native perspective. And to define and categorize those differences.
- 2) To find out what the Lubicon definitions were of their situation and the blockade.
- 3) To analyze and categorize themes and patterns in the Lubicon data.

- 4) To review all available documents that are concerned with the history of the Lubicon land claim.
- 5) To undertake a content analysis of the Native media and compare those findings with the Lubicon.
- 6) To undertake a content analysis of dominant newspapers' coverage of the Lubicon land claim and blockade.
- 7) Compare the *Windspeaker* findings with those of the Non-Native media and cross-compare the content analyses to illustrate the differences and similarities.
- 8) Lastly, to summarize the findings.

CHAPTER 3  
LAST STAND OF THE LUBICON  
THE LUBICON VOICE

I sit  
on a  
man's back  
choking him  
and making  
him carry  
me and yet assure myself and  
others that I am sorry for him  
and wish to lighten his load by  
all possible means - except by  
getting off his back

(Leo Tolstoy, What Then Must We Do?.  
1886, quoted from "Indian Self-government  
in Canada", House of Commons, Keith Penner, 1983, 3)

My first objective in this chapter is the most crucial aspect of the thesis; that is, to understand who the Lubicon are. By gaining insight into the Lubicon way of life we will find out how the Lubicon perceive their situation. In later chapters I will contrast their perceptions with the images presented by the media. A brief overview of the Lubicon struggle will "set the stage." This will be followed by the interviews with Lubicon people which were gathered during field research in Little Buffalo in October 1989. This will allow the Lubicon to speak for themselves, and quotes from interviews will be given at length. A description of my observations in Little Buffalo and an introduction to each Lubicon interviewee will follow. The basis for selecting the people and their specific quotes was based on the significant

topics this thesis addresses, which are resistance, representation and politics.

My second objective is to understand Lubicon history. This section will provide a documented history of the Lubicon land claim. The sources used are largely drawn from two unpublished works. The Fulton Discussion Paper(1985) is one of the most comprehensive documents on the Lubicon and their land claim. The Hon. Davie Fulton was contracted by the federal government in 1985 to negotiate the Lubicon land claim. He conducted interviews with all parties involved and researched the history of the land claim for nearly a year. The second source is a 150-page research paper entitled, The Lubicon of Northern Alberta, 'The Confrontation by Chief Bernard Ominayak and (Lubicon Advisor) Fred Lennerson. This piece of work was undertaken in 1988 for purpose of publication in the Assembly of First Nations book, Drum Beat, Anger and Renewal (1989) edited by Boyce Richardson. It was not published, according to the AFN, because of the length of the work. Boyce Richardson ended up writing the chapter on the Lubicon in Drum Beat, but used The Lubicon of Northern Alberta, as a main source. However, the latter is far more informative, and sophisticated, than the former. To date, existing literature on the Lubicon is scarce given their geographically isolated territory and existence.

If we end up with this so called development and we all get our two-acre lots, then we sell them and end up moving to High Prairie or Edmonton, and my family ends up on welfare, you might as well shoot me. Because I will

have lost all dignity; I will have lost all pride; I will have lost what it is that makes me a man (Ominayak, 1984, May 18, Alberta Hansard).

The Lubicon Cree are a hunting society in northern Alberta. They have traditionally lived around Lubicon Lake, while hunting and trapping within a seventy mile radius. Their contact with outsiders was minimal until mid-century. It was not until 1950 that a mission was set up in Little Buffalo to educate Lubicon children. Because of the mission, families settled around Little Buffalo so their young could learn English. Today the community's first language is Cree; however, the forty and under age group are bilingual (Ominayak and Lennerson, 1988,1,3).

Hunting and trapping are no longer viable due to the encroachment of oil and logging activity on their traditional territory. When the only road to Little Buffalo was completed in the late seventies, logging and oil activity quickly moved in. There are over 400 oil wells within 15 miles of the Lubicon settlement. The once self-sufficient Cree band jumped from 5% welfare to 95%. Their main food source is moose, which has declined 90% from 219 in 1978 to 19 in 1988. The annual income from trapping is down 90%, from \$5,000 to \$400. In 1987, one tenth of the community contracted tuberculosis (Richardson,1989,239).

The number of Lubicon according to the Lubicon is approximately 400. Due to the Lubicon's isolated territory they were missed by Indian agents in 1899 who were registering

Indians and promising them goods and services. The Lubicon heard of Indian agents entering into Treaty 8 and sent messengers to the Whitefish Lake band to express their interest in setting up a reserve. The Lubicon's messengers were registered with the Whitefish Lake band and sent home. In 1939 C.P. Schmidt, the Alberta Inspector of Indian Agents, was sent to examine their claim. He resolved that the Lubicon Cree are a separate band and recommended a reservation between Lubicon Lake and Little Buffalo. They calculated that at 128 acres times 127 people, the band was entitled to about 27 square miles. In 1940 when an aerial survey took place, the reserve boundaries were drawn up on a map. A shortage of surveyors, stemming from the war, stalled any formal land survey being undertaken. The Lubicon have waited over fifty years for recognition, and a reserve (Ominayak and Lennerson, 1988,5-11).

In 1981 the provincial government declared Little Buffalo a provincial hamlet under the Land Tenure Program. Accordingly, Little Buffalo was divided up into two-acre plots which were then offered to Lubicons for a dollar. If the Lubicon had accepted the two-acre plots they would have lost all rights as registered Indians under the Indian Act. From 1981, court battles between the province, the Lubicon and the federal government have ensued (Richardson, 1989,250-3).

In October of 1988, the Lubicon withdrew from all court proceedings and blockaded all roads into their traditional

territory. The Lubicon then declared themselves to be a sovereign Nation. Twenty-seven people were jailed. On October 22, 1988 a deal was struck with the provincial premier, Donald Getty, called the Grimshaw Accord. The premier agreed to a 246 square kilometre reserve, conditional upon federal government concurrence. But talks collapsed between the federal government and the Lubicon (Richardson,1988,229,264). Anthropologist Joan Ryan summarized the situation in the documentary by Ed Bianchi Our Land Our Life(1988): "The institutionalized racism in this country has allowed for the systematic destruction of a small group of people."

In December of 1989, the Lubicon had the oil companies shut down wells operating in their territory. Chief Ominayak designed a "Treaty Alliance of North American Aboriginal Nations." The alliance is a treaty of defense against a common enemy, the government. To date there are over 50 First Nation signatories. The Lubicon still have no deal, but this small band of Cree have turned a page in North American history with their innovative pro-active Treaty Alliance.



FIELD RESEARCH, LITTLE BUFFALO, ALBERTA  
OCTOBER 17-21, 1989

The focus of the field research section is the Lubicon account of their history, their political viewpoint and the blockade they initiated. The people interviewed have been significantly involved in the political aspect of their struggle.

In October of 1989 my husband Rodney, myself and two daughters, Amber and Ashley set out on a trip to Little Buffalo, Alberta. On one hand it was a family event and on the other hand field research for my M.A. thesis. My husband, Rodney, was prepared to assist me in any way possible and in this respect he played a significant role in the field research. Rodney's outgoing nature would break the ice with the Lubicon men. However, when it came to organizing or interviews I would step in and take over.

Previous contact with the Lubicon had been limited to one meeting with the chief. A month prior to the trip I asked Bernard Ominayak if I could carry out some research in his community for my thesis, and he agreed. Chief Ominayak instructed me to meet him in the band office on October 17, at 3:00. From there he would make all the necessary arrangements for my interviews and a tour of the settlement.

## "THE ARRIVAL"

My family was quite tired after the four day journey, but anxious to settle in. We arrived in Peace River at 1:00 clock, October 17, 1989. We checked into a small motel and phoned the band informing them of our arrival. The band gave us the directions and told us to look for a big aluminum building, across from which is the band office.

As we turned onto the desolate road that led to Little Buffalo, we realized just how isolated the Lubicon were. After half an hour on this road, we encountered seven large bulldozers, moving about in every direction, and small fires on each side of the road. As we came closer, it became apparent there was road construction going on. We were signalled to move slowly through the maze of machinery which was about two miles long. The slashing and burning all around us with bulldozers carving up the land brought the reality of destruction close to home. My five year old Ashley turned to me and asked, "Why are they burning all the trees?" I responded, "To make the roads wider so all the trucks can come through." She frowned and asked, "Is that what Bernard wants to stop?" I said "yes."

We arrived at 3:00 in the afternoon. The settlement was quite small. So small in fact we drove right by it. The band council was a four-room structure with no running water and little equipment. All together there were four desks, with

four phones, one photocopying machine, a fax machine, and bare bulbs hanging from the ceiling. Right across from the band office was the band-run co-op store. Inside the co-op there was little food, no meats or vegetables and little junk food; mostly supplies such as canned foods, baby formula, flour, sugar, milk, pop and cigarettes. There was one gas pump in front of the store and to the right there was an outhouse. This was the extent of their village.

We were informed by band employee Noreen Nosky that the chief was still in the bush. She was not sure when he would be back. At this point we decided to head over to the school to talk to the principal, Mr. Dewar, until the chief came back. Little Buffalo school was about a mile away from the "village." It was an old portable, attached to an even older building. We arranged with the principal to have our daughters visit the classes for the following four days.

Mr. Dewar informed us that 115 children between the ages of 5 and 19 attended Little Buffalo school. Next we toured the school and noted that each class had no more than 15 students. I asked him if they had always taught secondary school here and he replied:

No, when the chief hired me eight years ago, I got rid of all the teachers, bad attitudes, the kids were way behind their expected levels. I recruited teachers I thought liked Indians and living in the North. After a time here I realized the high school kids (attending Peace River High School) weren't getting a fair shake, they weren't being treated very good. Why? Because of prejudice. So I yanked them out a couple of years ago, hired a few more teachers, now they are up to their

expected levels (Mr. Dewar, Oct.17, 1989).

At 4:30 Noreen came to the school and said Bernard was back. We met with Bernard and discussed what we hoped to accomplish during our short stay. I informed Bernard that I wished to speak with him, the councillors and Elders. After I made our initial plans clear, Chief Ominayak said to come back in the morning and he would have a translator and a guide to show us around and do some visiting.

As we were leaving an RCMP officer came into the band office. He asked us who we were, why we were here and how long were we staying. My husband informed him we were Mohawks from Six Nations and that is all he needed to know. Noreen told the officer to stop being so noseey, in a half-hearted joking way. I asked him if he interrogates everyone who comes to Little Buffalo. He laughed and said, "I am a friend of the Lubicons. Our department gives the kids toys at Christmas, we work with the kids. We are here to ensure peace and order. I like to keep up on what is happening in the community." Noreen stood shaking her head. Bernard emerged from his office and said, "What now?" There was an undercurrent of tension as we left Little Buffalo.

The following morning we met as planned at the band office. Bernard had four councillors with him. He said, "Pick what you want, tell them what you want, they're here at your disposal." It was, to say the least, a bit awkward. I informed each one that I wanted interviews and we arranged

times. Then I asked who was the guide and translator. Steve Nosky replied that he was. I asked him if he would show me around and then take me to an Elder. I then asked Bernard for a 4:00 interview.

The youthfulness of the people working for the band seemed unusual. Everyone that we had encountered was between the ages 25-45. Richard Salisbury's Homeland For the Cree addresses the issue of age among Cree band councillors in the James Bay region. He points out the Cree political organization is characterized by Cree values and practicality. He states:

Chiefs had to be bilingual, of course, and thus tended to be somewhat younger than the term chief might be expected to imply, but in general they were individuals who had shown themselves to be effective brokers or intermediaries in dealing with white officials...Other councillors were often elected because of their education and skills in English; band managers are almost invariably young and literate (Salisbury,1986,30).

Steve Nosky, our guide and translator, had been a councillor for two months. He was in his early thirties and was married to Noreen. Steve informed us he had finished high school and went on to become a special constable. Steve also said he resigned, largely due to his disillusionment with the police force and was considered now to be on the other side of the law. Steve took us to Haig Lake, just half an hour from the Little Buffalo settlement. As far as the eye could see the land was completely destroyed by fire. Steve informed us the government clear cutters "accidentally" started the fire

five years ago. He also told us the forestry people ordered them not to try to put it out. The fire burned for seven weeks and decimated their traditional hunting grounds, traplines and cabins. There was no compensation for any lost equipment or housing. Steve said:

We believe the government of Alberta did this on purpose, they destroyed the animal population thus destroying our way of life. Then they went to court and said we no longer pursue a traditional way of life, we are on welfare. They then said, we were a provincial hamlet and would be given the standard two-acre plots, for a dollar. And of course, Alberta would not have to hand over their valued oil-rich lands to us. We can't prove it, but we know this is true (Steve Nosky, October, 18, 1989).

Steve also informed us that there were over four hundred oil wells operating in their traditional territory. He said, "Between the logging and oil activity, most of the moose are gone. Most animal life has been chased out of the area. This is the saddest part." After the depressing tour, we left to look for Edward Laboucon, a Lubicon Elder, who was in the bush hunting. Edward is one of the oldest men in the Lubicon community and also a key advisor to the Lubicon. Edward speaks no English. Steve turned into what I would scarcely call a path. It was muddy and not more than six feet wide. With his four-wheel drive, we ploughed down an array of paths for over two hours searching for Edward. On one of these paths we met up with Peter Caliou, his wife Gladys and their sons.

Gladys is Edward's daughter. Peter and Gladys had an old orange pick-up with bald tires. They said they had been stuck in the mud for two hours. I asked Gladys what would

happen if we hadn't come along? She laughed and said, "Oh we always get stuck and unstuck, no matter." Both Peter and Gladys spoke broken English. They said if we pushed them out they promised to tell Edward where to meet us tomorrow. After an hour or so, Steve suggested he push them with his truck. It was something to see Steve's truck wildly pushing Peter's, as if both would slide into the trees at any time. They laughed hard as Steve's truck pushed Peter's at a high speed. It was at this point I realized this was no crisis, it was their backyard; it was I who was lost, not them.

Before we left my husband tried to offer Steve money for his services. Steve refused, seeming a bit annoyed. I later explained to Rodney the Cree would prefer a gift to money, which is why I bought so many things along the way. To pay Steve would effectively take on a boss status, which the Cree resist due to their "egalitarian" principles. We returned back to the council house around 3:30. Our girls were playing with the young girl who ran the co-op. She had been taking care of my daughters until we arrived. I later found out she was Bernard's eldest daughter.

I interviewed Walter Whitehead next. He was the chief before Bernard. He was not the easiest person to talk to; he sighed a lot and didn't answer many of my questions. The information I did get was he was the chief for five years and in 1974-75 he resigned. In the seventies not much was happening, there was no organized band council. Walter said,

"At this time only 9% of our people were receiving any assistance, mainly the older ones." Walter undertook a census and laid the groundwork for a land claim. The Lubicon along with several other bands joined the Isolated Communities Board. The I.C.B. was set up to get the land claims of the bands in northern Alberta dealt with. He recruited Bernard as a band councillor, and later as a chief.

Walter told me he had lost two teenage children in a car accident several years ago. Staring at the floor, Walter quietly spoke, with pain in his voice:

Six Lubicon teenagers were on their way home from Peace River and a logging truck pulled out in front of them. The car went up in flames. All six were killed, everyone in this community lost a cousin...sister...nephew...we're all related.....I lost my two kids (Walter Whitehead, Oct.18,1989).

It became clear why Walter was not as friendly as the other Lubicon we had met. His attitude was hard. It seemed as if he thought, "Who are you? You think you can breeze in here like the rest, and because you were here for a few days you know anything?" He never said it but I felt it and understood it. Walters tolerance and dedication inspired me to come back and, more importantly, to be humble.

Chief Ominayak was the easiest to interview. No doubt his experience with outsiders is far greater than any other band member. Ominayak, like so many other Lubicon, is a slightly-built man. He is a very young, looking forty. Like many of his people he is soft-spoken, with a quiet gentleness.



In his modest office the walls are covered with pictures of the Elders and children. There are also drawings and poems by children, most having to do with the blockade and their struggle.

Ominayak apologized for being late the day before. The reason, he said modestly, was due to a fourteen hundred pound moose he had shot the day before. He explained that he kept getting stuck because of the weight of the meat on his truck. I asked him what he does with the meat and he replied, "It gets distributed. The elders get the best parts. Moose is so scarce these days, mostly the old people need it." I learned later that Ominayak is a "really good hunter, always has been." And one infers quickly that his hunting abilities are a large part of the reason he is respected by members of his community. R. Salisbury discusses the role of chief as well. He states:

The roles of chief and councillor did provide some prestige within the village society, even if the Cree, like most northern hunting groups, traditionally had no formal authority positions. The leader of a hunting group had to provide leadership by example, never imposing his will on others since that would offend their sense of individuality and equality, but instead working harder, providing more meat from the hunt, and modestly offering wise advice. The redistribution of surplus food, and presence of numbers in his household as a result of his effectiveness, were signs of being a responsible, highly regarded individual. The band chief who could act in this way was respected - but he had to use the same techniques of persuasion to get village action under his leadership, and never had the power to order others to do his bidding (Salisbury, 1986, 30).

Chief Ominayak fits Salisbury's description of a Cree chief.

In a later interview with Bernard's wife Louise, she described their life together in the following way:

I was young fourteen, he was fifteen, he would come around and help me look after my eight brothers and sisters. My father was gone all the time and my mother ill. So, I had to look after all of them, he took pity on me. Not long after we set out on our own. We had two horses and a tent, and all of my brothers and sisters. He never complained, we were all fed and looked after. Things were hard back then but good. We lived in this tent for a long time. Now we have this house, the band council, that is the other part of my house, I will get it back someday...he doesn't drink; when he was younger a little bit, but now, he opposes drinking...He came in one day ten years ago and said, 'If I am chief and until this land thing is dealt with, I will not really be here anymore. It's up to you, if you want to raise this family alone.' I said, Yes, I'll do it. But it has been hard on us. Now sometimes I am sorry (Louise, December, 12, 1989).

In the two-hour long interview with Chief Ominayak, many things were discussed but only the most relevant segments will be included here. I started by asking how he perceived his role in the community, he said:

Travelling around, like to Europe and all over, is real difficult at times. On one hand the people want me here to solve problems that arise; on the other hand, if I am around too long the Elders say, 'Why aren't you out there? We'll look after this place, you go out there and get people's support'...It is hard at times...Sometimes at night when I am driving to Edmonton by myself and it is three in the morning I wonder if it will ever end, if I am doing the right things...You can't get above your people, think you know more. You get above your people and you are no use to them or yourself...I know the government does not like who I am, with the Treaty of Alliance. They would like to see me out of the picture, so I asked in council if they thought it would be better if I stepped down and let someone else be chief. They said, 'No you must see this to the end.' But, if I thought someone else could take this thing further, I would gladly step down. My family would be happy...(Ominayak, October 18, 1989).

Ominayak is not about to be ousted. According to journalist Geoffry York in The Dispossessed (1989):

[Ominayak] decided to turn the tables on the department by hiring white consultants who were experts on media relations and lobbying. White advisers were now fighting the white bureaucrats. 'We've got to fight fire with fire', the chief says bluntly...Ominayak travelled twice to Europe to gain international support for his cause. In 1983 he won the support of the World Council of Churches, which has provided an annual grant to the Lubicon Indians ever since....Eventually they built a network of support from twenty-three organizations in nine foreign countries. Petitions from cities like Bonn and Berlin arrive regularly at the prime minister's office in Ottawa, urging support for the Lubicon band (York, 1989,255).

No doubt Ominayak has taken the Lubicon land claim from virtual obscurity to the international and national arena. Ominayak gives much credit to Fred Lennerson and James O'Reilly, imaginative strategies. As York notes, Ominayak uses many tactics at many times - court injunctions, protests, and boycotts - to keep the government off balance. The blockade was a very important event for bringing the Lubicon land claim to the attention of Canadians. Chief Ominayak had this to say:

You have to understand the position we are in. The government has screwed us around. They changed laws to ensure they would defeat us. The judges who run the provincial courts are ex-oil corporate men. The federal government, under McKnight (Minister of Indian Affairs), has the Western Diversification portfolio. He has subsidized Daishowa, a large Japanese pulp firm, to the tune of 9.5 million. Another 65 million for roads and infrastructures. The pulp mill's logging activity is to take place entirely on Lubicon land. Not only Daishowa, but Petro-Canada, a government oil company, and 13 logging and oil companies have been given leases. Now you don't have to be to intelligent to realize these people are not operating within any honour or political will. Given that, we tried, we tried the courts to no avail. We worked with their people, like Davie Fulton. The federal government hires this guy to settle the land

dispute. For a year, he investigates all sides. When the Fulton Discussion Paper is finished, they scrap him and it. The federal government did not like his recommendations, which were to settle this 50 year old injustice. So, we know the game and we refuse to go any further, at that time with our backs to the wall...every social ill you can think of. I cannot stand by and watch our community be methodically destroyed by these people. The blockade was to force their hand. The world is watching Canada violate our human rights, we had to move while we are in a condition to do so (Ominayak, Oct.18, 1989).

The "condition" of the Lubicon is crucial to the chief. Much of his concern revolved around the well-being of the people. After spending time with him one becomes aware of the enormous responsibility he carries with him. Phone calls at two in the morning to fix a heater, or aid a stranded vehicle. In the morning a line of Elders in the office, all having needs that must be met. In the middle of this the phone constantly rings, advisors, news media and so on. York observed this as well he states:

Ominayak acknowledges that the struggle has become a grinding marathon. Sometimes he is weary. His burdens are greater than those of most political leaders. He is much more than just a chief to his people. Everyone in the band looks to him to solve their problems. As one of the few band members who is proficient in written English, he is regularly called upon to help decipher manuals and repair broken appliances. During one round of tense negotiations with the government, Ominayak was frequently called away to help with broken furnaces and similar problems in the community (York,1989,257).

It was my thought that he might become resentful about the demands his people were making on him. But that was not the case. Much of his discussions were about ensuring that the people stay involved with the struggle. His concerns were

clear: the people must maintain hope or they will, like so many other desperate Native communities, fall prey to drugs and alcohol. The chief feels the pressure of time running out. In this context he spoke of the Lubicon blockade. I asked Ominayak how he would define the events leading up to the blockade and during it. He responded with:

Well, in the late seventies when they built this all-weather road here, they said, 'Hey we're going to build you poor Indians an all-weather road.' But they went right by us. Then in 1981, they put in hydro. This change, it brought in the oil and logging. Also it brought welfare, and easier access to alcohol. Our people went from self-sufficiency to welfare and alcohol, which goes hand in hand with violence and family breakdown. The Canadian government knows what it is doing. Many aboriginal societies have been destroyed this way. Not long ago we had our first suicide, lost six teenagers to a car accident, and one third of our community had tuberculosis. Many women, they have still-born babies. Most babies born today are sickly, we eat different now. You take all that and it adds up to genocide. The bottom line is the Canadian government wants to get rid of the Indian, especially when you are sitting on millions. So knowing this, we must take all that we have to fight it...the blockade was a combination of these things. My people need to get directly involved or they let go...the blockade helped us in many ways. They knew how much support was out there...we needed that support. You know, fighting day in and day out, it takes a lot out of a people'. We have got to hang in there (Ominayak, Oct. 18, 1989).

I then asked him how he would define the situation he was in.

He replied:

War, there is no doubt about it. They have waged war on our people for generations. There are winners and losers, the cards are stacked in their favour. If a settlement is not reached, we have nothing to live for. This is for our children, not us. So the way we see it, if it comes to bloodshed, so be it. I have had serious threats, but it doesn't bother me. I know these guys, they are restless, it is hard to tell them to be patient. But at this point, we see the government is playing harder than ever. So what we have to do to is consider all the

options available to us, at this time we are running out. There is little left open to us, we have done everything within our power. I sincerely hope we never see the use of weapons here. All we want is to be left alone, get our reserve and get busy. We have to start from scratch. There is so much work to be done. Yet, we sit waiting, planning, second-guessing and running against time (Oct 18, 1989).

We made arrangements for the next day and left. The following morning we took our daughters to school and met up with Steve Nosky. Steve talked about the blockade while we were on our way to find Edward Laboucon. He stated:

As far as I am concerned we are too patient. Sitting around, watching them mess us around. The blockade was really good. It was past due...the young people, I was so proud, I said so in a council meeting. From ages 15-30, they were all there, some went to jail. It was surprising to see them involved. We broke ground with the blockade...the Chief and Getty made a deal, so the province is now committed. The media though, this one guy looked in my truck and saw my gun. Well, I had been hunting. The next day they say we are armed. What a crock. We had elders, women and children out there. I said to this reporter, 'Hey, I was hunting and just stopped in, no one is carrying guns, we leave them home. Don't make something out of this'. But the next day the headlines had we were armed (Oct 19, 1989).

Steve said Edward said he would be there today, he had it all arranged, for sure this time. As we turned down another muddy path, there was red cloth tied to branches. Steve followed the markers and we soon came to a four-way path. Steve said "this must be the spot." We sat waiting for a few minutes. From a distance I could see horses trotting towards us. Edward with his grandsons and daughter, Gladys, and son-in-law Peter, approached with a wagon full of hay.

Within minutes a fire was going and we sat on bails of hay. The middle of the bush had been transformed into their home. Edward was in his late seventies. Edward had accompanied the chief to Europe and other areas to drum up support for the Lubicon. The chief described Edward as one of the important Lubicon advisors, as he is revered as Lubicon historian. There are others, but Edward is willing to spend time with outsiders, while the others are not always thrilled about the prospect.

Edward had brought coffee and I had pastries on hand. I gave him a sweater for his wife and a small soapstone carving, which I informed him would bring him luck. He smiled and responded in Cree, "12 moose?" Steve translated for me and the interview began. I asked Edward about the history of the Lubicon. Edward informed me:

We have been here in this place, according to my grandfather, five generations. Indians were at war, so we moved to this place around Lubicon Lake. There was French here too for a while, they brought diseases with them. When I was a little boy there was many of us, we camped this lake here, the French were around too. They brought with them many illnesses. Half of our people died that summer. I do not want to talk about that though. It is too painful to remember...my mother...my sisters...they died then. They brought war with them too, the French. Whites always want things, they want all that is under this earth, all that is on top. That includes the Indian. They will not rest until everything is destroyed, especially the Indian (Edward, Oct. 19. 1989).

I then asked him to describe today's situation. He said:

Today, things are bad too, only alcohol is killing our people now. Young ones, they don't listen, I tell them and they walk away in disrespect. I stayed with my father all my life, he told me what to do and what not to do. What my father told me was like an instruction book;

because I listened, now I am wiser. This thing with our land, we have been trying to get the government to settle this. We have been waiting since I was a young man. They came, they said, 'Okay, now you will have a reserve. You will get twine, flour, sugar, ammunition and nails for a house.' I have been waiting a long time for these nails. But I think the White they don't know how to speak truthfully, the government. (He laughs.) Why should I wait for this people to tell us we have the land, we are Indians? Lubicons. They put some of our people who went to find out about the supplies on another band list. Of course they don't know what list, they don't speak English. So today, the younger speak English and know now what is going on, and they say we are not Lubicon, we are this and that. Bernard must deal with that. Here, we know who we are and that this is ours (Edward, Oct.19,1989).

After speaking for a while I asked him to tell me what he thinks about the blockade, about what is going on with the government. He said:

Well, we have made some strides. The blockade was good, it got us a deal with the (provincial) people. But, now I don't know, it doesn't look so good. I am becoming worried now, everything seems to be falling apart. The people here, not very good, sick, alcohol, babies, and we need to settle this thing. I am worried about all of it. The blockade did some good, but it harmed us too. We got our hopes up, we celebrated, and now nothing but things worse. The oil, they cropping up everywhere. They chase all the animals away. Hunting is bad too. I haven't caught a moose in a very long time. We were healthy for a while, lots of moose to eat; now only the food in the store and I don't like it (Edward, Oct.19,1989).

Hugh Brody's opening words in Maps and Dreams(1981), "The hunting societies of the world have been sentenced to death", hit home as I watched Edward and his family pull away in their horse-drawn wagon. Edward knew the full scope of their situation, and he was sadly coming to terms with it. Edward, as I understood it, could handle the loss of many people, as painful as that may be. But he lamented more than anything the



loss of a way of life which, to him, was everything.

I met the chief's wife on the second trip to Little Buffalo in December, which was not for research purposes. Louise left quite an impression on me; she's a strong woman. At first she appears to be quiet and shy. I have read a few feature news articles that describe her as such. It does not take long to recognize she is not so shy, she just doesn't want to be bothered by the endless "outsiders" that intrude on her family life. Once the men left she was quite open and articulate. She expressed great anxiety over the changes in her community and to her life since the land claim struggle. She informed me that there are always strangers at her house, advisors, lawyers, journalists, support group leaders, etc. The four-room house already has five children, two babies and a son-in-law and grandchild. She told me she feeds the guests and that is all. I asked her if she didn't like them and she said that wasn't it. She respected them for helping and everything, but she lamented the loss of a "family way of life." No doubt the Ominayaks have little or no privacy. In a conversation after dinner she told me:

My family is originally from Codotte Lake. Now my mother is no longer here, she died, the brothers and sisters we raised are part of the Woodland Cree band, except for the youngest. My father put them up to that. That hurts more than anything. We raised them, looked after them and now they are against us. I don't talk to my father. Things, they have changed so...sometimes I wish my mother was here to tell me what to do... When my boy Lucius was sick he almost died, so many times. The doctors, I don't like them. They don't treat us the same I think. They operated on him and he was almost gone. I took him home, we did things to help him (traditional medicine). Bernard was

away a lot. It was hard on him to be away knowing Lucius was so sick. It was hard on us...I just wish this would end, get back to normal...but I don't even know what normal is anymore, if there is anything like that to get back to (Louise Ominayak, Dec.12,1989).

What is so often overlooked in land claims are the women and the role they play in resistance, politics and community life. Their strength and determination allow the males to carry out their public duties. I asked Louise why women aren't involved in the public offices. She replied:

That is for the men to deal with. I don't like dealing with White people too much. The ones that come here are okay, but I don't like going to Peace River. I went to Edmonton with Bernard once, but so many Whites! I wanted to come home, I left. We mostly like to stay with our own. Let the men deal with all that stuff. They would rather be home too, but they get the dirty work, the work we don't like. We look after things here, so they can do what they have to without worrying to. Much what goes on here. One time, this Woodland Cree guy came here drunk. He knew Bernard was away, (she giggles) but I beat him with a broom. Bernard was really angry when he got back. This guy is nowhere to be found. But I got him good, we all got him with sticks and broom. So we look after things good. At the blockade the women were there, no one had to go get them. They were there, the men you would have to pick them up... (Louise Ominayak, Dec.12, 1989).

Louise shared many of her thoughts with me, which felt nothing less than an honour. She enjoyed my constant teasing, especially when I would tease Bernard or Rodney. Both Bernard and Louise agreed women were smarter than men, which surprised me to an extent. But they also agreed that women could not get along well enough to work together for a long period of time. I asked why, and Louise said:

They [think] things out more [thoroughly] than men, that is why they are smarter. But they have trouble [acting] it out due to quarrelling about little unimportant

things, things men really don't care about, which is why they can do it without so much trouble...women like things to be done their way, like cooking. They get annoyed at other ways, it's like that (Loiuse Ominayak, Dec. 12, 1989).

I arrived at the Ominayaks that evening and a young girl, somewhat distraught, was sitting at the table with Louise. I immediately sensed this was private and joined the children in the living room. After the young girl left Loiuse explained to me the girl was in need of help. She said many of the young people come to her for help with sick babies, drinking problems, family violence or troubled marriages. She explained:

Many things have changed so fast, in such a short time. Sometimes I don't know what to tell these young girls. The sickness is so bad here, I can't always know. And so many young men drink, they get after their wives. Sometimes if Bernard is here he has to go out and help, break up the drinking and fighting. Now they get drugs, he really hates that. He got a guy here once with drugs, went right to his house and got after him. I tell the young women to try to keep it together, not give up, the next guy might be worse, the children need a family. So many young women are giving their babies to the grandparents so they can drink. All of this since the road into here, but I listen to them, try to do whatever...but I think everything is upside down... everything is turned around (Louise Ominayak, Dec. 12, 1989).

It did not take long to learn Loiuse was carrying the burden as well. The Lubicon struggle has torn her extended family apart, taken her partner from her and thrust her into a "female chief" role. She too is expected to meet the needs of the people in the community. The notion of choice is resoundingly missing, yet so is resentment. The loss of a way of life is tragic. Hanging onto what is left, and at the same

time struggling for a future is traumatic. The quiet anguish Louise lives in is like nothing I can ever comprehend. Watching and listening to Louise was like a mirror of my history, looking at what my grandmother must have lived through. Perhaps this is why I enjoyed making her laugh, her laughter assured me in some way that things would be alright. Louise has her own sense of humour. I once asked her if she takes the kids swimming. She answered, "Nooo, I have a hard enough time keeping up with them on the ground!" One of the most memorable things she said to me is, "We [Native] women are strong, we have [endurance]. That is why Natives have [survived], that is why the Lubicon will win."

Our story is a story of human beings  
Our story is a story of struggle  
Our story is a story of injustice  
Our story is a story of peace time genocide  
Our history is a part of Canada's history  
Our future is a part of Canada's future

(Chief Jean-Maurice Matchewan, Drum Beat, 1989, 228)

## DOCUMENTATION OF THE LUBICON LAND CLAIM

To put the Lubicon statements into their historical context it is important to examine the documentation which exists on the Lubicon land claim. In 1985, the federal government hired the Hon. Davie Fulton to study the land claim from all sides for nearly a year. According to the background paper entitled Lubicon of Northern Alberta (Ominayak and Lennerson, 1989):

On Friday, December 6th, 1985, Mr. Fulton delivered the first draft on his discussion paper, which basically affirmed the existence of our rights, confirmed the nature of circumstances to which we were being subjected...On [December] 10, 1985, Provincial Native Affairs Minister Milt Pahl called a major press conference...he stated "Mr. Fulton has done a good job in crystallizing the issues, but events have now gone beyond Fulton. From the Provincial point of view Mr. Fulton's job is now done, his involvement is over. The Province plans no further meetings with Mr. Fulton (Ominayak and Lennerson 1989:21,22).

The Fulton investigation was not the first inquiry to be shelved when recommendations were found to be in favour of the Lubicon. In 1939 an Indian Affairs official visited the Lubicon. This was after 20 years of the Lubicon requesting such a visit. At this time the officials established a list, and calculated reserve size (Ominayak and Lennerson 1989,30).

In 1942 an official from the Department of Indian Affairs, Malcolm McCrimmon, unilaterally removed many Indians in northern Alberta from the lists of recognized, registered bands (ibid). McCrimmon decided that the only people entitled

to be registered Indians with treaty rights were those that signed Treaty 8 in 1899 (Lennerson and Ominayak, 1989, 4). The cut-off date was arbitrarily assigned as 1912. McCrimmon wrote:

If my recommendation is approved by the minister, the number of Indians remaining on the membership list (at Lubicon Lake) hardly warrant the establishment of a reserve at this point (Ominayak and Lennerson, 1989, 4).

McCrimmon's actions caused a mild uproar in northern Alberta. The Department of Indian Affairs appointed a judge named McKeen to review the removals. McKeen stated:

Your instructions to me... say that the facts are relatively simple and will not require any argument to those who are protesting against removals... This may be the opinion of the Department but it is not mine, after reading the Indian Act and Treaty 8, then the book 'Treaty of Canada with the Indians' by Morris, the Domestic Relations Act of Alberta and the Criminal Code... Mr. McCrimmon has... followed the (McCrimmon authored) principles governing ineligibility... signed by Deputy Minister Charles Campbell... however... with all due respect... I cannot concur (with the removals) when I study Treaty 8 and previous commitments made by various commissioners appointed by Canada and acting for Canada (Ominayak and Lennerson, 1989, 5).

Like the Fulton report, the recommendations were ignored and promptly shelved. It was not until 1952 that the land question came up again. A letter from the Technical Division of Provincial Lands and Forests to the Department of Indian Affairs stated:

...there are considerable inquiries regarding the minerals in the (Lubicon) area... and request to establish a mission... we are anxious to clear our records of this provisional reserve (set aside in 1939) if the land is not required by the Indians (Ominayak and Lennerson, 1989, 5).

The two governments corresponded until it was decided the Lubicon area should be moved to another site. A letter from the Alberta Regional Supervisor of Indian Affairs to the local Indian agent read in part:

...There are so many inquiries from oil companies to explore the area it has become embarrassing to state that it could not be entered. The situation existed when our Branch was advised that unless the Department gave a definite answer before the end of the 1953 the Provincial authorities were disposed to cancel the reservation and return it to Crown lands which could be explored....keep in mind that the mineral rights may be much more valuable than anything else...If this block of land at Lubicon Lake were given up, then it is very unlikely that mineral rights would be made available [to them]...(Ominayak and Lennerson,1989,5).

Again, decisions about the fate of the Lubicon were determined without Lubicon participation. The result of such negotiations between the provincial and federal "Indian" and "forestry" officials was decided by the Departmental Superintendent of Reserves and Trust:

...consult the appropriate files and advise whether action taken by the Department to officially establish (the Lubicon Lake Band) as a band, for at this time any such action appears short sighted, and if this group was never established as an official band, it will serve our purpose very well...(Ominayak and Lennerson,1989,9).

Years passed and the Lubicon issue was again shelved by Indian Affairs and the matter resolved without Lubicon knowledge. McCrimmon's destruction of the band membership list was only the beginning. Unknown to the Lubicon, they were now part of the Whitefish Lake band, or enfranchised, or just "wiped off" the books. It was not until 1971, with the construction of an all-weather road, that the Lubicon were

immediately threatened. The Lubicon contacted the Indian Association of Alberta who, on their behalf, contacted the federal government (Richardson,1989,243).

A caveat was filed at this time for the Lubicon but was refused by the province. The Lubicon then took the province to court for failing to obey provincial laws, but it was turned down by the courts (Ominayak and Lennerson,1989,11). According to Chief Ominayak, this was about the time he became involved. He said:

I was on this Isolated Community Board, which fell apart after we started filing caveats, due to a freeze in its funding. Anyhow, I worked at the gas station at Codotte lake. I would call Fred Lennerson, whom I watched work on the I.C.B., he was good. So when I got paid I would get all kinds of change and call him, asking for him to help us. We had nothing - no money, no nothing - but I bugged him for a whole year, finally he said alright. From there we looked for a lawyer, and James O'Reilly seemed to be our guy. Again, we explained we had nothing, but after some time he agreed too. O'Reilly, he has had trouble too. He moved from firm to firm because his firms would say, 'these people you take on have no money,' but now he is on his own. Anyhow, they finished this all-weather road in 1978 and since then all kinds of oil and logging activity have been taking place. In a very short time we went from isolation to this, our lifestyle has changed dramatically in the last ten years. We thought after the World Council of Churches charged Canada with genocide it might help, but they continue on... (Ominayak,Oct.1989).

Regarding Canada's responsibility for the situation of the Lubicon the, Fulton Discussion Paper states:

...The matter would have been disposed of, and the Band would be settled therein and enjoying all the benefits and revenues there from had the agreement been carried out. The fact that it was not is, on the basis of all the evidence I have seen, is entirely the responsibility of Canada. Clearly the Alberta government remained ready for years to carry out it's obligation under that agreement and the Resources Transfer Agreement....I see it as



entirely the fault of Canada that the matter has not been disposed of on the basis of the agreement of 1940...(Fulton,1985,7).

The number of Lubicon has been a major issue to the provincial government and the federal government. At one point the province was claiming the Lubicon do not exist at all. The federal government argues the Lubicon number less than two hundred. The band's position regarding this issue is that there are around 500 Lubicon people. According to the Fulton Discussion Paper (1985) the Lubicon people number about 400. Fulton states:

The recent discussions with Band representatives have clarified the basis on which this figure is submitted...In brief, this is what the genealogical studies referred to earlier support the conclusion that the membership was a large and growing one, as high as 2,500-3,000 by 1918, when it was decimated by a flu epidemic of 1918-19, which is known to have wiped out up to 90% of the communities in the area (Fulton,1985,54).

Fulton recommended another independent genealogical study be undertaken. The Lubicon argue they should determine their band membership.

Regarding development in the area, an article in The Globe and Mail Report on Business Magazine, November, 1989 entitled, "The Great Forest Sell-off" 1989 gives a comprehensive outline of just what is involved, economically, in the Lubicon land claim. There are connections as chief Ominayak points out, between the people involved in politics and the law. The article presents some evidence for this argument. It reported:

Pulp and paper mills came calling from Japan, the United

States and Canada, and within 16 months Alberta quietly leased public timberlands almost the size of Great Britain. The biggest land rush since the opening in the west ended in December, 1988, before most Canadians knew it began...For a government saddled with a debt of \$8 billion, it adds up to a private capital investment of \$3.5 billion plus \$1.5 billion in pulp taxes and tree royalties over the next twenty years..what was once regarded as a patch of weeds, has become a resource of great value...But what seems to be a sound economic program to wean the province off oil has unravelled into a messy political debate spanning issues as troublesome as "sustainable development", the Greenhouse effect and Japanese imperialism...While citizens groups now demand public hearings on the projects, environmentalist charge that Alberta's forestry industry initiative parallels Brazil's economic experiments.

Diashowa's mill on Peace River received 75 million in government aid...Alberta may however, resemble Brazil and southeast Asia in the economic benefits it reaps from Japanese logging...90% of the pulp mulched in Alberta will go abroad...when Diashowa's executives asked the government about speaking to the Lubicon Indians, a combative band of Cree seeking a 50-year old land claim to parts of 'the same forest', the Japanese wanted...they were told not to [meet with the Lubicon]. That doing so 'would jeopardize delicate negotiations.

(Andrew Nikiforuk and Ed Struzik, Globe and Mail Business Report Magazine, 1989, 56-9).

It was also reported that Diashowa was not pleased with public protest against their company. Not long after, Premier Donald Getty was told to settle the real estate "'problem" or Diashowa would cancel (Ibid.).

On October 6, 1988, the Lubicon Cree formally withdrew legal proceedings before the Canadian courts. On October 15, 1988, the Lubicon Cree established blockades on the roads leading to their traditional territory. On October 20th, 1988, scores of heavily armed RCMP backed by attack dogs, and helicopters dismantled the blockade. Twenty-seven people were arrested and jailed. Walter Whitehead, lawyer James O'Reilly

and advisor Fred Lennerson were among those jailed. Two days later, after the release of those jailed, Ominayak and Getty struck a deal, now known as the Grimshaw Accord (Ominayak and Lennerson, 1989). No doubt the Lubicon are aware of the amount of "black gold" within Lubicon lands. They also see the interconnectedness between the politicians, justice system and economics. Chief Ominayak explained it to me this way:

From our point of view, the people involved in development are as tightly knit as the Lubicon. You have judges that rule against us, that are ex-oil companies' head lawyers now judging our case. You have an Indian Affairs Minister, Bill McKnight, with a portfolio to diversify the west, meaning, giving money to companies like Husky, and Diashowa. Legally they call this conflict of interest. But, we see them as bedfellows. When you look at the actual people involved here, you see they are intertwined, they are protecting their livelihood, protecting each other and so on...So when we go for a court injunction to stop development and it gets tossed by Judge Moore, ex-lawyer for a large oil-company, we aren't surprised. But then when the province seeks an injunction to tear down the blockade, it takes minutes to get. That is why I don't see it, as Whites vs Indians. These people screwed Albertans, that's why our case has the support it does. But, at the same time, we recognize if we don't unite, aboriginals across the board will be wiped every which way. This (Treaty Alliance) has got the government's attention. Confrontations will be stepped up no doubt, they have been all across Canada. We are not alone in fighting big corporations, and government. Unless we force the 'enemy' to recognize our fundamental rights, we will be in for more of the same (Ominayak, Oct. 21, 1989).

The federal government was in a position to settle the land claim. A take-it-or-leave-it offer was made by Indian Affairs officials. The federal government was not prepared to have the Lubicon determine band membership. Chief Ominayak's position is that the federal government should:

...simply agree to use the same band membership criteria

as those used a couple of months earlier in an "agreement in principle" signed by the Dene/Metis of the Northwest Territories; namely, Canadian citizenship, lineal descent, residency and community acceptance...(Ominayak and Lennerson, 1988, 61).

The Prime Minister met with Chief Ominayak in Edmonton on Nov. 4, 1988. Brian Mulroney promised a quick settlement. Negotiations between the federal government and Lubicon persisted for months, band membership and other issues were not solved. By the end of January the Lubicon withdrew from negotiations. February 10th, two weeks after the collapse of negotiations, the federal government held meetings with Natives and Non-Natives in communities around Little Buffalo. According to Ominayak:

They told these individuals that current Lubicon leadership was up for re-election in the fall and offered to provide them with technical, legal, financial and other types of advice and assistance...They told reporters 'if they don't like the chief they can vote him out'...We called an early election...The so-called dissident group neither ran candidates nor participated in the election. Lubicon leadership was unopposed and re-elected unanimously...(Ominayak and Lennerson, 1988, 81).

Within five months a dissident band was given official status by the federal government. The government-created Woodland Cree band was given federal monies to operate. Native groups that had waited 60 years for band status, with every study imaginable undertaken to prove their distinctness, cried out in opposition to such a move. National Chief George Erasmus called this a barbaric move by the federal government, an act of "apartheid." "When the Indian government of any Nation is disliked by the federal government, the federal government

creates a new one, this is unacceptable..."(Windspeaker, National Chief, G. Erasmus Sept.21,1989). Now Lubicon families are torn apart. The government utilized the successful "divide and conquer" tactic by enticing the Bill C-31 families as well as five Lubicon dissidents to sign papers constituting a new band. According to Lubicon Elder Albert Whitehead:

The government officials went to the people who have problems with alcohol and money problems. They promised these people money fast if they signed these papers. Those who make up the Woodland Cree, they're outsiders, never grew up here. There are only a few Lubicons'. I know who they are...since they were knee-high, taught them to hunt, gave their families meat, if we didn't they would've of starved. If I ever get that stupid, I'll hire a boy to shoot me (Albert Whitehead, Dec.12, 1989).

The government has divided the community to a small extent. The longer the land claim drags on, the higher the chance the Woodland Cree become a more powerful weapon against the Lubicon struggle. Ominayak stated:

The creation of the Woodland Cree has to be the lowest the government will go to win. They have smooth-talked these people into believing we do not have their interest at heart. They also told them they would receive a quick settlement, leaving us in the dust. They hired lawyers for the Woodland Cree, gave them some funds to operate as a band, and have succeeded in breaking up some families. We tried to talk to the Woodlanders, we told them the government is using them, that they will end up with nothing. And we told them when that happens we will not take them back. But I have to feel sorry for them, they are not of the strongest character, many have known alcohol problems. They are victimizing victims. It makes me sick (Ominayak, Oct.19, 1989).

As of December, 1989, the Lubicon forced oil companies to shut down their wells unless they paid the Lubicon for leases. As of Oct. 1, 1990 the wells are still shut down. The

Lubicon have no reserve, no settlement. As I revise this thesis, I should add, the Lubicon situation has degenerated. In a phone conversation with Bernard, he told me the Japanese paper and pulp company has informed them they will move into Lubicon territory Nov. 1st, 1990.

## ANALYSIS

In order to analyze the Lubicon data, I propose to examine what themes emerged from the Lubicon statements, and to make a comparison of Lubicon themes with those of the Native news coverage of the events. A dominant Native perspective emerges which will then be compared with the Non-Native news coverage in the following chapter.

The analysis will be based on a frequency scale. A frequency scale in simplified terms means how often items occur. The following are themes/items which prevailed in interviews with the Lubicon. They are grouped into three categories. The first is "oppression." Oppression is defined as the aggressive repression by the government of the Lubicon people. The second is "self-assertion" which is defined as the Lubicon what is theirs and how they must struggle to resist the oppression. The third is "oppressive support." This is defined as the dominant culture's value system that supports the oppression of aboriginal people.

### "OPPRESSION"

1) The most consistent theme was land ownership. All Lubicon interviewed felt the land was theirs and that without the land they could not survive as a people. Peter Caliou said:

Well, it is ours. I mean how can they think it is theirs? We know it is ours, it will always be ours. Without it

we are nothing. So we have been here a long time, the White Man only ten years. Surely they will see it is ours and not theirs (Peter Caliou, Oct.18,1989).

Crucial to the worldview of the Lubicon is their land. The fact that the Whites are new to the area, and destroying it at an unprecedented rate, leads them to believe the destruction of land and people is intentional.

2) The second most consistent theme was "intentional genocide." Seven of the ten persons interviewed brought up the issue of "getting rid of us." Each had varying reasons and explanations as to why and how. The women tended not to focus on genocide, but on survival, although I must add it was a subtext of all the conversations. The men, however, were vocal about "being in the way" of the White men. Elder Albert Whitehead said:

If the land goes, so do the Lubicon. They know this; they destroy the land a lot in ten years, they destroyed us a lot too. They want all of it, they want us to disappear. I do what I can, not for me, for my grandchildren, so they have a chance (Albert Whitehead, Dec.12,1989).

Albert went on to discuss the Woodland Cree as part of the government's scheme to wipe out the Lubicon. Because of the Whites aggressive tactics for destroying the land and people, they believe the Whites are "together" on this thing.

3) The third theme is conspiracy. Seven interviewees felt the government and corporations are one in the same. They follow the same set of principles and fraternize with each other to ensure their advantage. A Lubicon Elder, Summer Joe,



said, "The Whites, they help out their own kind. I'm sure they talk, to win, just as you're here with your own kind, trying to help." Chief Ominayak said:

They don't fool us. We know they are friends, socialize together. They are related, or in the same camp. They all help each other; so Judge Moore is friends with his ex-boss the oil executive, who is the best friend of Getty. I'm sure they make their fair share of phone calls to each other. The end result is we are locked out of any democratic process (Ominayak, Oct.19,1989).

There was no doubt in my mind that if I had explained Wallace Clements' elitist theories to them, they would have said, "we know that already!"

#### "OPPRESSIVE SUPPORT"

4) The fourth theme is greed. Most Lubicon believe that the government operates in terms of money, rather than laws or democracy or any set of morals. Three Lubicons stated point blank, the governments and corporations are "greed machines." Edward among others said the "Whites will not stop until they have everything on top of the earth and everything underneath..."Ominayak said, "money is their only concern, over land, human, animal and plant life." To the Lubicon this greed seemed to be one new, but very disturbing, fact of life.

5) The fifth theme is power/injustice. "Power" is defined in terms of authority to rule others. Power is used to exploit all those that are less powerful. This theme is built on the others. The Whites have money, and therefore power, to do what

they want, regardless of laws. Elder Edward Laboucon rubbed his fingers together saying, "this is strong medicine, money. They don't follow our creators laws. They make them up as they see it will benefit them. They use it to suck the life out of the Indian." Other Lubicon referred to the way the Whites "'overpowered" them with their laws, "not their courage." They seemed to find little comfort in the fact that many Whites had a sense of justice, but these people have been hurt by their own leaders, because they had no power (Summer Joe, Dec.14,1989).

6) The sixth theme is racism. Most Lubicon interviewed believe that Non-Natives, (government or corporation) do not deal with Indians on equal terms. The reason stems from race rather than class. The younger Lubicon generation felt racism way the key to the governments' ability to exploit Indians. Steve Nosky said, "They use it as another weapon against us, getting local Whites to vent their anger on us rather than them." Walter Whitehead said there was no doubt racism plays a large role in government-Indian relations. Ominayak charged the government utilizes the fact that Indians are not seen as humans by Canadians as a weapon: "Getting away with what they do, what other Canadians would never have to experience in this country at the hands of the government."

## "RESISTANCE"

7) The seventh theme is jurisdiction. A nation must have the inherent right to control what happens in their territory. Five of the ten Lubicon interviewed felt they must have some way to ensure their rights to the land. Steve Nosky said: "If we except government jurisdiction, we would be an island in a wasteland. We have to have a voice in the decisions made about the land and what is done to the land and what is done to the surrounding territory (Steve Nosky, Oct.18,1989)."

8) The eighth theme is "war/conflict." The language used in almost every interview implied directly or indirectly that a war has been going on with Indians consistently over time. This is important because most literature assumes Natives have been passive recipients of colonialism. With the exception of one interviewee, the Lubicons used the words, "war," "fight," "battle" and "struggle" to define their situation with the governments. Not one Lubicon referred to it as "dispute." Ominayak clearly defined it as war, with life and death consequences. Others felt that if they lost, it would be the same as one nation losing a battle to another.

9) The ninth was pride. The Lubicon interviewed stated they felt the blockade and other forms of overt resistance instill pride in the Lubicon people, especially the young. Steve Nosky and Bernard Ominayak said when the people are directly involved they feel more in control of their futures,

which leads to a stronger sense of pride. Ominayak said, "The younger ones saw themselves through supporters eyes; They liked what they saw."

10) The tenth was unity. Several interviewees expressed the need to "hang in there together." Elders mentioned the need for Indians to stick together to fight off the government. Albert Whitehead stated:

If we voice our concerns together, our voice is stronger, we will be heard, if we play our drums together, our drums will be heard across Canada (Albert Whitehead, Dec. 12, 1989).

The idea expressed was: united we stand, divided we fall.

11) The eleventh was "support." The Lubicon recognize they need support by Natives and Non-Natives to win their battle. Half of the Lubicons interviewed felt good about the amount of support they had been able to generate. They said the Canadians were the ones who have the ability to sway the governments, so their support is crucial to winning the battle and survival. The Elders spoke about the number of Non-Natives and Natives who journeyed to their cabins and they thought these people were important to getting out their story.

12) The last was the "human element." The Lubicon tended to personalize the players involved, not only themselves but the oil companies, and politicians. They put a human face to an inhuman situation. This theme went hand in hand with the conspiracy theme. But it was not this way when they described the Natives. They took pity on the oil workers who depended

on their jobs to support their families. They talked about the prime minister as "Brian", a man who has children and should understand their plight. They wondered if the heads of oil companies slept well at night. Most Lubicon did not see the corporations as big, objective bureaucracies. Rather, they personalized the people and players involved in their fight.

These twelve themes are constructed solely from the interviewees. How fixed are these themes in Native discourse? The generality in the Native discourse will be examined in two ways. The first method is a content analysis on Native news coverage of the Lubicon land claim, specifically during the period of the blockade. Secondly, the themes that emerge from the Native news coverage will provide a basis for determining whether the Lubicon themes can be taken a step further to establish a cross-cultural Native perspective. The Native newspaper that will be analyzed is the Windspeaker, a weekly Alberta-based periodical.

CHAPTER 4  
THE LUBICON VOICE AND THE WINDSPEAKER

CHAPTER 4  
A COMPARISON OF  
THE LUBICON VOICE AND THE WINDSPEAKER

This section of the thesis will examine several theorists' explanations of how media are related to ideology and stratification. Then I will turn to an analysis of media representation of real and experienced events, in this case Native coverage of Native events. Native people have been resisting the encroachments on their lands for centuries. The struggle all too often has been, in the past, represented by the Non-Natives. North American Aboriginals are just beginning to write their own history. Natives are representing Native events as, Natives view them, in print media. My objective is to find out in what context Natives view their experiences in order to explain Native events. The question posed is, is there a dominant Native perspective in Canada?

To my knowledge most of the Non-Natives analyzing Natives in the media have overlooked Natives in Native media. The bias of Non-Natives is apparent in their assumptions that Natives in "dominant" media are worthy of study and comparison, but Natives in Native media are unworthy of serious study. Those that are powerful define the events; those that are not in positions of power are the defined. In this sense Natives have been continually defined by Non-Native

politicians and academics alike, and these definitions are perpetrated and reinforced by the media. Natives have had little access to positions of privilege, and ultimately little authority to define themselves or their experiences to society. Therefore this study of Native events by Native news coverage is the first of its kind. There are no references other than the people participating in the event.

This leads to the second objective of this section, which is to find out how Natives define a Native event, including the contextuality of the news coverage on the Lubicon blockade. The parameters set by the Windspeaker involve the meaning of events as they relate to a wider perspective. Benjamin Singer's study on Canadian Natives in the dominant media found the context to play a powerful role. Natives were predominantly in a marginalized context of deviancy, abnormality and conflict. Due to stereotypes of the Indian as drunken, immoral or as a beggar established by the "dominant" society, this was no surprise. Media is bound to dominant ideology. Western society "created" the Indian stereotype which feeds off fiction and distorts fact. It is, however, highly unlikely that a Native newspaper would operate in such a marginalized context. Natives are not going to demean themselves, but rather, will represent their experiences as they see them. There are criteria used to build a certain context which are determined by the selection of facts that accompany a story.



## MEDIA ANALYSIS

Three theorists will be referred to in this section. Anthropologist John Price has studied and classified Native media in Canada, in Native Studies (1979). My study will incorporate his classifications to give some background on Native media. Sociologist Graham Knight's Stratified News: Media, Sources and the Politics of Representation (1988) will be utilized when analyzing the media. And Benjamin Singer's study of dominant representation of Natives in print media, Minorities and the Media: A Content Analysis of Native Canadians in the Daily Press (1988), will also be a resource.

The Windspeaker is a weekly Alberta-based newspaper, partially funded by the government. It is staffed and operated by Native people, none of whom are Lubicon. The Windspeaker is catalogued as a Canadian periodical. The time period covered by this analysis is from Sept. 30 to November 11, 1988. The reason for selecting this time frame is the Windspeaker's weekly publication. There are five issues in this time frame that will be analyzed.

According to John Price, the Windspeaker would be classified as an alternative newspaper. An identifiable group of people are served by the Windspeaker, namely Natives. While representation of the Lubicon blockade will be from a Native perspective, that of the Windspeaker, this does not assume a generic Native perspective. The Lubicon are one of many Native

groups in Alberta and Canada. Native newspapers have been known to differ in their opinions and approaches. In many cases the source of funding Native newspapers receive can influence their political parameters. Price stated in Native Studies, that funding for Native-operated newspapers traditionally came from two sources, church and state, which affected the content (Price,1979,85). Price argued there are also regional differences that affect their content and perspective. Price noted that western Canadian Native organizations tended to be the most radical, militant and vocal. This is due to their aggressive subjugation by the government (Price,1979,87). The southern/eastern Native organizations tended to be integrationist-oriented. The northern Native groups leaned towards a more conciliatory approach. Price's study illustrated markedly different perspectives due to regional history and funding sources. Price tended to overlook the cultural variable in his assessment of Native perspectives.

The Windspeaker would likely fall into the more vocal and aggressive category. However, the Windspeaker relies on government funding to keep it in operation. Graham Knight notes in Stratified News: Media, sources and the Politics of Representation:

In theory, representations, whether they take the form of language or images, are open to different interpretations...In practice representations are circumscribed by the factors which structure their message, such as those that speak and the sequence they

speak, the language in which the events and participants are defined (Knight,1988,15).

I will argue that Natives do have varying opinions and perspectives but, as with their Non-Native counterparts, a "dominant" Native perspective exists. Native representations of Native experience are significantly more similar to each other than to Non-Native representation of Native experience. The focus of the content analysis is to ask, how is the Lubicon blockade represented and explained in the Windspeaker? To answer this question several things will be analyzed including the contextualization used in the news coverage on the Lubicon blockade. The analysis of the Windspeaker involves examining the meanings, and the facts, as they relate to the Lubicon perspective, and dominant news coverage.

According to Knight's study, stratification of news coverage mirrors the hierarchy of society. The language used to define the discourse is decided by the most powerful in society. The layering of the powerful to the powerless in media can be seen in the media's primary, secondary and missing sources. The contextualization is related to the "stratification of news coverage." The structure of news has two important facets, language and sources (Knight, 1988,18). Language transforms contradiction into all-encompassing binary terms, such as in the official discourse of institutions. A current example would be the federal government labelling the Mohawks "terrorists" or "thugs" and the army as "excellent

peacekeepers." The effect of this dichotomy is to privilege one pole over the other (Knight,1988,18). However, in order to achieve the desired effect, the news media must place the government as a primary authoritative source.

The sources play a significant role in the stratification of media. According to Knight there are three major players. The "authority", or the people with credentials who also have easiest access to media, are the primary players. Primary players are calm, rational and are effective problem solvers. The supporting role is the "subject", or secondary source, they are the "reacting" players, providing various reactions to the primary definers. In the Oka case, the Warriors were often the reacting players; the media would wait for their reactions to the primary definers, the government. Secondary definers are usually presented as emotional, angry and frustrated. This reinforces their representation as irrational, unimportant and weak, incapable of rational discourse (Knight,1988,19). Secondary definers are never represented as problem solvers, people with solutions, they are the problem to be solved.

The third parties are the missing voices, whose points of view are excluded by the media. Again, the Oka situation is a good illustration. The missing voices were the hundreds of Mohawk residents/refugees holed up in hotels in Dorval, or fleeing to Six Nations. Missing voices are often missing for one of two reasons: They are powerful and do not want to be

associated with the events (the Mayor of Oka, Minister of Indian Affairs Prime Minister); or conversely they are powerless and do not get represented (Mohawk residents /refugees).

The content analysis will utilize several mechanisms defined by Ben Singer. The frequency of a theme will serve to rank the importance of topics. For example, the Lubicon interviews are the unit of analysis in Chapter Four. The material interviews were coded and classified. They were then ranked in terms of how frequently an item, such as conflict, greed and racism was referred to. The Lubicon data have been ranked in terms of frequency, but not in terms of prominence. Prominence is specific to newspapers. Some indicators of prominence are the key words in the headlines, since headlines are read most often (Singer, 1989, 122). Prominence, according to Singer, is found in the location of the story, the headlines and pictures. Also important is how much space is devoted to a particular story and whether is it front or back page. The categories are not exclusive. One story may include two themes, with two primary definers. For example, a story with "government" in the headline may include two angles, the oil company's (primary) and government official's (primary) with comments by oil workers (secondary) and Lubicon people (secondary).

The analysis of the Windspeaker will not be as critical as the analysis of dominant media. The reason is that the

dominant media have positioned themselves as the "objective" news gatherers who give all sides to an event, they call it "balanced coverage" (Knight, 1988,12). And the dominant media reach far more people and therefore are more powerful than alternative media. This does not take away from the importance of Native communications. Native media are very important because they bridge the gap between Native and Non-Native media. The inaccessibility of views which are not dominant lends even greater importance to Native print media.

#### CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE WINDSPEAKER

Between September 30th and November 11th, 1988, five editions of the Windspeaker were published. In the five editions, 21 stories were on the Lubicon: fifteen were entirely dedicated to the blockade. Seven dealt partly with the events leading up to the blockade, or the blockade itself; six stories involved the land claim, court rulings or detailed accounts of the Lubicon struggle, four dealt with Lubicon supporters; two with the details of negotiations; and two reported the governments' thoughts about the threat of a blockade.

Out of the 21 articles, nine were on the front page. As well there were 21 pictures, including the Oct. 28th edition which ran a full two-page spread with seven

accompanying photos. Eighteen of the photographs were of Lubicon people or supporters. The rest were of RCMP officials, Donald Getty and Bill McKnight. The most prominent articles concerned the people manning the blockades. The following table illustrates the number of articles dedicated to the Lubicon and their prominence in the Windspeaker. Prominence is determined by the amount of coverage. If there were only five issues, but 21 articles, then they ran an average of 4.2 articles for every issue. There is also a breakdown of articles on the blockade and articles that received front page coverage. Fifteen articles, or 76 % of the total coverage on the Lubicon, were specifically on the blockade. The Lubicon articles received front page space in almost half of the combined coverage or (42%). The amount of pictures accompanying Lubicon articles is 21. Due to an October 21, special edition on the blockade, the amount of 100% is skewed. The Oct. 21st special edition had seven full page pictures. So, not every article on the Lubicons had accompanying photos. Table 1, the prominence table, illustrates these figures.

TABLE 1. PROMINENCE RANKING

WINDSPEAKER, SEPTEMBER 30TH TO NOVEMBER 11TH, TOTAL 5 ISSUES

	(Number)	(Percentage)
Number of articles on Lubicon	21	4.2 per issue
Number of articles on blockade	15	76%
Number of pictures accompanying story on the Lubicons	21	100%
Articles on the front page	9	42%
<b>Total</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100</b>

One can infer from Table 1 that the Windspeaker gave the Lubicon story a high level of prominence. The next step is to find out who the primary players were in the Windspeaker's news coverage of the Lubicon. Table 2 illustrates the "definers" used in the Windspeaker's news coverage. Sources will refer to the primary definers. Primary definers were measured by the "placement" and "space" given to involved actors. For example, were the Lubicon spokespeople placed as the primary sources of information? Were they in the headlines, at the beginning of the article and allotted at least five lines? Secondary definers were measured by the placement of their interviews and space. Again, were the Lubicons at the end of the article, reacting to the government? Did the



Lubicon spokespeople receive less than five lines? Who are the "missing voices"? The oil-companies are interested and affected parties - are they represented at all? Table 2 illustrates the Windspeaker's primary and secondary definers and missing voices.

TABLE 2, DEFINING SOURCES, Windspeaker

Definers	Government		Lubicon	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Primary definers/article	6/21	28%	15/21	71%
Secondary definers/article	11/21	52%	3/21	14%
Missing Voices,		oil company employees		

Of the 21 Windspeaker articles on the Lubicon blockade, the Lubicon are placed as primary definers in 15 of the articles. The Lubicon spokespeople were in the headlines, they had at least five opening sentences, setting the tone and defining the articles news story. For example, for a front page article in the Oct. 21st edition the headline reads, "Rebels with a Cause dig in at Lubicon." The story begins with:

Hector Whitehead and Johnny Seesequon throw another log on the fire in the middle of "no man"s land" one kilometre outside the boundaries of the Lubicon Lake Nation. Two youngsters are part of the Lubicon Nation"s "front guard" and take turns manning the border stations the band erected when they asserted their jurisdiction

Sat. Oct. 15....But Hector and Johnny don't see their role as rebellious, they say they are protecting their land. And they're not the only ones...Billy Two Rivers expressed his support for his brothers saying the Lubicon should take back their land without asking...

The article placed the Lubicons and their supporters as the primary definers, the RCMP were placed in a reactionary, secondary role. The government were primary definers in six of the 21 articles. Again, their role as primary definers came after the blockade was forcibly taken down. Most of these articles addressed Premier Getty and his proposed Grimshaw Accord. An example would be Nov. 4th's edition. The headline read, "Secret meeting in Calgary, Negotiators talk over Lubicon deal." The article starts out stating:

Federal and provincial negotiators met in Calgary this week to work out the details of the land transfer Premier Getty promised the Lubicon Nation on Oct. 22...

The article included quotes from the Minister of Indian Affairs, Bill Mcknight, and his assistant, Ken Colby. It is important to note in the Windspeaker's coverage the constant use of the word "Nation" when referring to the Lubicon. We will see if this is the case with the dominant media's coverage of the Lubicon. The obvious missing voice were the oil company workers and spokespeople.

The next phase of the content analysis is to examine the correlation of Lubicon themes with those of the Windspeaker's. The themes have been ranked according to frequency in interviews and newspaper coverage. The number of Lubicon people interviewed, ten, is divided by the number of

people who frequently mentioned certain themes. The themes have already been coded and classified in the previous chapter. For example, if every Lubicon interviewed brought up the item "conflict," then 10/10 would mean 100% mentioned conflict as a central theme. The measure of occurrence of a theme in an interview was noted if it occurred frequently. If in a sixty-minute interview a theme was referred to at least 10 times, then it was considered to have occurred "frequently".

Conversely, in the Windspeaker, if 20 of 21 articles frequently mentioned land claim, the theme "land claim" would be rated at 95%. The measure of frequency would be one article dedicating at least half of its space to the theme "land claim." The correlation will be ranked either similar or dissimilar. Any theme occurring above 60% of the time in both the interviews and the Windspeaker is similar, anything below it is dissimilar. Table 3 combines the frequency of interviews and in the Windspeaker. Table 3 also illustrates how similar the representation of the Lubicon struggle/blockade is to that of the Lubicon voice.

TABLE 3, COMPARISON OF THEMES

Similar themes	Lubicon 10		<u>Windspeaker</u> 21	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Land Ownership	10/10	100%	20/21	95%
Conflict	7/10	70%	19/21	90%
Injustice	7/10	70%	18/21	86%
Human element	10/10	100%	16/21	76%
Jurisdiction	8/10	80%	17/21	81%
Support/unity	6/10	60%	16/21	76%
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>		<b>21</b>	

As Table 3 illustrates, the themes that emerged from both the Lubicon discourse and the Windspeaker are land ownership, conflict, injustice, human element, jurisdiction, and support and unity. With regard to "land claim," an example would be an Oct. 21st article "Lubicons still in land claim limbo." headline. The article states:

Negotiations are stalled between Alberta government officials and Lubicon nation Chief Bernard Ominayak. The two sides do not appear close to an agreement as both parties begin to dig in their heels over what size a Cree Indian reserve should encompass...According to Treaty 8 signed in 1899, every member is entitled to 128 acres of land...calculates into a reserve of 95 square miles.

Almost every article in the Windspeaker refers to the land claim itself. The theme "conflict" was prevalent through most

of the Lubicon coverage. An example would be an Oct. 28th article, "Barricades torn down by RCMP, Lubicon supporters jailed," which states:

Six days after road blocks were first erected in Little Buffalo, the Lubicons finally forced renewal of negotiations with Premier Getty over the disputed land claim....The day before, on Oct 20, RCMP moved into Lubicon territory and began arresting anyone manning the barricades...During the raid armed police officers arrested several Lubicons as well as lawyer James O'Reilly...

Jurisdiction was included in most of the land claim articles. "Jurisdiction" is defined as: having control over the land claimed by the Lubicons. Alongside the themes "land claim," "jurisdiction" and "conflict" is "justice." The theme "justice" went hand in hand with the latter themes. An example would be an Oct. 21st article headline, "Sense of Justice unites Natives behind Lubicon." It states:

The provincial government's tactics used this week at Little Buffalo are not harming the Lubicon Nation's fight for a fair and just land claims settlement...The question isn't just over a 236 square km reserve anymore, its a matter of principle.

The theme "human element" is evident in several Windspeaker articles. A good example is an Oct. 21st article, "Teapot eager to trap, but waits." The article states:

The early morning air is crisp in Little Buffalo and the leaves and grass are coated with frost...Winter is on its way and the change of season is urging one trapper to the bush. Joseph Laboucon, whose nickname is "Teapot", is anxious to check his traps. But, he feels drawn to stay at the community to lend support at the blockades. "We've come this far, we can't back off now", says Teapot. "There's nothing to be afraid of because we're doing the right thing".

In over half of the Lubicon coverage, a human theme is presented in this manner, as in the land claim theme (See quote from "Rebels with a Cause" on page 125).

The last two themes, "support and unity," went together in the Windspeaker's coverage of the Lubicon. An example would be an Oct. 21st article titled, "Natives unite at blockade." It states:

Rose Auger jumped in her vehicle in Faust early Monday morning with one thing in mind - to help protect the "traditional ways" of the Cree...Auger is not alone. Native leaders are beginning to unite...they took turns speaking to the media in a crowded community hall.

An Oct. 28 article's focus is entirely on support. The headline reads, "Supporters camp out on legislature steps."

It states:

About 300 supporters of the Lubicon gathered at the steps of the legislature on Friday, Oct. 21 to show their solidarity and rally support for the Lubicon...Some supporters slept overnight on the steps and remained there until Oct. 22 when they heard the Lubicon chief and Premier Getty had reached a land deal agreement.

The Windspeaker's other coverage was often similar in topics and tone. Some of the themes are not always explicit but implicit in the articles. The coverage maintains a humanizing context, one of support and understanding.

Some of the findings in the content analysis are obvious, such as "land claim" and "conflict." On the other hand, there are some surprising themes, such as "human element", "support" and "jurisdiction." One of the most notable aspects of the Windspeaker's coverage is the focus on

the Lubicons involved in the struggle. The photos of children, Elders eating together and people praying portrayed the Lubicons in a very human fashion. It broke down any notion of militant angry Natives, and instilled instead an image of people working together to achieve a desired goal. This is positive promotion of the blockade, which went hand in hand with support, unity, pride and nationalism. The message was, most definitely, united we stand, divided we fall.

The dissimilarities between the Windspeaker coverage and the Lubicon voice are varied. Table 4 illustrates some themes that were not covered by the Windspeaker.

TABLE 4, DISSIMILARITY

Dissimilar themes	Lubicon		<u>Windspeaker</u>	
	N	%	N	%
Pride	3/10	30%	14/21	67%
Nationalism	0/10	0%	10/21	48%
Racism	4/10	40%	0/21	0%
Greed	3/10	30%	0/21	0%
Genocide	7/10	70%	2/21	9%
Conspiracy	7/10	70%	0/21	0%
Total		10		21

Genocide was a prominent theme in the Lubicon material. However, it was barely an issue addressed in the Windspeaker. The stonewalling by the two levels of government were described in terms of conspiracy. Again the Windspeaker never addressed the issue. Racism is another theme the Lubicon defined as a theme in their struggle, but the Windspeaker did not refer to racism in the Lubicon articles. Greed was a factor to the Lubicons regarding their situation; again this is an item the Windspeaker did not address. Conversely, the Windspeaker focused on the themes, pride and nationalism in much of the Lubicon coverage. The Windspeaker had supporter's views in several articles, all supporters addressed the need for Native nationalism, and pride. One might explain this disparity in terms of contextuality. The Windspeaker may not have built themes of racism, greed or genocide in these particular articles, but many Natives would assume that racism, genocide and greed are consistent factors in government/corporate dealings with Natives. However, this cannot be proven in this thesis. As for the Windspeaker's focus on nationalism/pride, I would argue the Windspeaker would be in a position to promote nationalism and pride as a Native medium with a national readership addressing a wide Native audience. Whereas the Lubicon people are not in a position to publicly promote pride and nationalism, they are in a position to promote their land claim nationally.

The Windspeaker coverage can be best understood in



terms of the categorization of the Lubicon themes, "oppression," "oppression support" and "resistance." The Windspeaker did not present stories on oppression or oppression support. The Windspeaker contextualized the Lubicon blockade in terms of resistance. While I am not trying to explain away their dissimilar themes, it is logical to speculate that Native newspapers do not need to cover oppression - they live it. What is of more significance is the resistance to oppression. A Native newspaper that focused on oppression and how oppression is supported would be rather depressing. We know racism exists, as do genocide, greed, etc. What we need as Native people are examples of how to fight it! In this respect, the coverage of the Lubicon blockade by the Windspeaker was subtextually and contextually similar to the Lubicon voice.

In conclusion, the Windspeaker's coverage thematically and contextually was similar to the views expressed by the Lubicon. Given the similarity in attention to specific items and sources, a conclusion of an emerging Native perspective may be made. The Windspeaker captures the spirit of Native peoples' position and perspectives. The Windspeaker also presents a Native struggle within the context of knowing "the maps of meaning" Natives share, such as using the term "Lubicon Nation." The Windspeaker covers the event within a Native resistance perspective. The facts they chose to include or exclude were based on Native values, consistent with

Lubicon values (with a few exceptions). The Windspeaker was able to provide representation similar to that of the Lubicon through their use of Lubicons and Lubicon supporters as primary definers. The people with the credentials in this case were Native leaders, people and Elders, not necessarily government officials. Rather, in most cases the government officials were placed in a secondary role, especially during the blockade. The Windspeaker placed Getty as primary definer after he negotiated an acceptable agreement with Chief Ominayak. The government representatives were primary definers only when they had something of value to offer, like an agreement. The missing voices are the oil companies. It is not known whether the Windspeaker chose to ignore their views or if they refused to make statements to the Windspeaker.

The next chapter will examine the media's role in conflict situations. Theorist Noam Chomsky's work will be discussed as well as a content analysis of the dominant media's coverage of the Lubicon blockade. I will be applying the same methodology to The Edmonton Journal and The Globe and Mail's coverage of the Lubicon land claim and their blockade.

CHAPTER 5

MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS OF EDMONTON JOURNAL, THE GLOBE AND  
MAIL AND COMPARISON WITH THE WINDSPEAKER

## INTRODUCTION

This section of the thesis has three objectives. The first is to discuss prominent theorist Noam Chomsky's studies of media. The second is to analyze the dominant news coverage Lubicon blockade. The third objective is to compare the findings with that of the newspaper, the Windspeaker. The findings will illustrate the discrepancies in the dominant newscoverage with that of the Windspeaker. The theorist selected will explain why such discrepancies exist.

The theorists utilized to explain how "dominant" media operate are Noam Chomsky and G.Knight. Noam Chomsky's propaganda model will be reviewed. Chomsky's work will be used significantly throughout this chapter. A discussion of why certain aspects of Mr. Chomsky's work are not applicable and to a Native perspective will be outlined.

A framework will be built by borrowing from Chomsky and Dr. Knight. A portion of this framework will draw from previous research the author has undertaken on Natives in dominant media. The themes that have been emerged from past research will be applied to the news coverage of the Lubicon blockade. The content analysis will include two daily mainstream dominant newspapers. One is the national newspaper,

The Globe and Mail and the other is the Alberta-based Edmonton Journal. The time frame will be from Oct. 1st to Oct. 31, 1988. The analysis will follow the same methodology as the previous content analysis.

The last section will compare the findings of the two dominant newspapers' news coverage with that of the Windspeaker. The findings will be analyzed in terms of Chomsky's "worthy/unworthy" victim theory and the themes established by the author's previous research.

## THEORY

The reason Noam Chomsky is so prominent in this particular work stems from his study on media coverage of 'indigenous peoples'. Whether it be South or Central Americans, he condemns White America for the blatant disregard for non-white humans. Viewed by many as a champion of human rights, Chomsky's focus is on how the media are interrelated with the government. The government as a definer of reality will be incorporated with Knight's stratified model. Chomsky states that there are "brazen propagandists in media and academia," but the norm is:

... obedience, adoption of uncritical attitudes, taking the easy path to self-deception...there is a selective process in the academic professions and journalism. That is, people who are independent minded and cannot be trusted to be obedient don't make it, by and large. They're often filtered out along the way (Chomsky,1987,37).

The author disagrees with Chomsky's claim that if one is an academic or journalist they have "assimilated" into the conservative forces. Rather, I would argue that the 'system' has a history of being inaccessible to a majority of the population, including Natives, women and minority groups in general. The male Anglo-dominated institutions in the West have produced traditions of information dissemination that are biased. Whether it be from academia or journalism, the representation of reality has been inherently from within the cultural values of Anglo males. On the surface Noam Chomsky's

work on the media's coverage of Central America, Israel, Viet Nam, and the Middle East appear to be "liberal," and this is where it is important that he has dared to include the "real world," as he calls it, in his work on media coverage. His graphic depictions of tortured Central Americans, women and their children is his calling card on the 'real world.' He indicts the media as accomplices for their failure to acknowledge the 'newsworthiness' of these "unworthy victims." Chomsky charges American media in all its forms of communication with calculated, deliberate malice. And intent to conceal the real world in which it is engulfed.

The stand I take in this thesis is that government propaganda exists but the media is not just a tool of the state. Ideology is a consciously and unconsciously culturally filtered view. The worth of people and issues is related to cultural values. For example Canada's valuing of patriarchy, material accumulation and individual attainment all influence and bias understanding of who and what is of value. It is important to note where my argument in the thesis departs from Chomsky's. Yes, there are the worthy and unworthy, but the government does not dictate to the media what is of worth; societal values shape our views. In this case, Natives have never been of high value to the Western world, as we saw in the first chapter. And there are contradictions in values. Values aren't necessarily harmonious and homogeneous; they are often in conflict and contradiction. A good example is the Oka stand-

off. While Canada is considered by Canadians and other countries as tolerant and peace-loving, it contradicted its own image and values during the Oka stand-off. The news flashing images of rock-throwing Whites and soldiers throwing Native women to the ground changed Canadians' perceptions about themselves. The Oka situation raised awareness of Native issues in Canada, something journalists like Geoffry York had been attempting to do for years. In this sense media have played a significant role in raising awareness of the Native plight in the general public. Chomsky's studies of media were restricted to American coverage of third world conflict. The U.S. as a super-power, with great investments in the third world, is the fundamental difference from Chomsky's studies and mine. His is American/third world, mine is Canadian/domestic coverage. For this reason there are similarities and differences. Chomsky's belief that the government control media stems from his third world analysis of media, which is different in two respects. One, Chomsky's studies are concerned with American political/economic involvement in third-world countries and how American media cover those events. Two, he highlights the power struggles between left-right organizations and how the American coverage is biased towards the right. The difference is somewhat obvious; I am concerned with Canadian coverage of a domestic event that has a long history of North American tradition. Secondly, the left-right bias is not as important as the White - Indian bias. Therefore, I am not arguing against



Chomsky, I am borrowing certain aspects of Chomsky's work, as is in keeping with the Native perspective.

## PROPAGANDA MODEL DISCUSSION

What one is immediately struck by when reviewing Chomsky's work is the vast array of global events he covers to demonstrate how state terror operates. Chomsky raises a valid question: "why doesn't anybody know [this]?" Chomsky argues:

Why such efforts to conceal the real history with fables about the awesome nobility of our intentions, flawed only by blunders arising from naivete and simpleminded goodness, which is unique in history?..there has been quite an effort to construct a purified history of war, to conceal and repress...(Chomsky,1987,49).

Chomsky supports Edward Bernay's point that scholars are assigned managerial roles, including the role of ideological managers in the "engineering of consent." And they are accorded a position of privilege by society. James Peck, editor of The Chomsky Reader (1987), emphasizes Bernay's point. He states:

It is only reasonable to expect that the harsh facts about social and political life will be mystified, guarded, enshrouded in complexity if they threaten the faith. In every society groups will emerge to disguise the obvious, to obfuscate the workings of power, to spin a web of mystification...the caste of propagandists prefer to think of themselves as educator's, religious leaders, often as fervent apostles of truths which place them in conflict with the state. Chomsky suggests, look at what the "influential" critics do not challenge. There the extent to which they are submissive and obedient to the state can be expected to reveal itself (Chomsky,1987,xii).

The focus of this section is an analysis of what the media do not challenge with regards to Native land claims; and what assumptions are imbedded in the representations of Native struggles.

In Edward Herman's & Noam Chomsky's *Manufacturing Consent* (1988), the "propaganda model" is outlined. The first assumption is that the media constitute a system of communication that ultimately "inculcate individuals with values, beliefs and codes of behaviour...to fulfil this role [it] requires systematic propaganda (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, 1)." It is more difficult to see perceive propaganda system in a free society where there is no official formal censorship.

Chomsky outlines the "five filters of systematized propaganda." They are as follows:

- 1) Size and concentrated ownership.
- 2) Advertising as media's main source of profit.
- 3) Reliance of media on government provided experts.
- 4) The "flak" tactic used by government, shareholders etc.
- 5) The "anticommunism" national religion is a control mechanism (Chomsky, 1988, 2).

Chomsky argues that by the time the facts have been processed through the five filters a cleansed version is printed. Systematized propaganda begets ideology. Chomsky illustrates this in his chapter on "Worthy and Unworthy Victims." He argues the U.S. media's definitions of worth are political in the extreme. Chomsky states:

While this differential treatment occurs on a large scale, the media, intellectuals, and public are able to remain unconscious of the fact and maintain a high moral and self-righteous tone. This is evidence of an extremely effective propaganda system (Chomsky, 1988, 37).

As an example of the "differential treatment" we will examine how dominant media presents the Lubicon "victims," or if they even perceive the Lubicons as victims. Chomsky demonstrates the worthy/unworthy victims framework by analyzing American news coverage of mass murder in El Salvador in comparison with coverage of a single murder of a priest in Poland. His analysis of the New York Times, Time and Newsweek are:

In fact, none of the extremely prominent victims of murder in Latin America, including Archbishop Romero and the four American church-women, received anywhere near the attention accorded Popieluszko...the quality of treatment of worthy and unworthy victims differ sharply. While the coverage of the worthy victim was generous with gory details and quoted expressions of outrage and demands for justice, the coverage of unworthy victims was low-keyed, designed to keep the lid on emotions and evoking regretful and philosophical generalities....[there were] ten front-page articles on Popeiluszko...[the unworthy were] without a single denunciation for the murderers of the unworthy victims (Herman & Chomsky, 1988,39).

Chomsky highlights U.S. propaganda themes of "democracy and freedom" which bias the amount of coverage each received. Chomsky further argues, "worthy victims are covered thoroughly, humanized, editorialized, serve as symbols of injustice, worthy of top level investigation, conclusion and follow-up. Unworthy victims receive none of the above coverage, the event is objectively reported (Herman & Chomsky,1988,38)."

The analysis of the Lubicon blockade will include the worthy/unworthy distinction by considering whether the coverage was thorough, humanized, editorialized, whether the Lubicon served as symbols of injustice. This will then be compared to the Windspeaker's findings.The filters Chomsky speaks of are

important in understanding how dominant media are subject to more constraints than partisan papers would be. The most important filter for this thesis is the government as definer. By allowing the government to define the situation, the press is subject to "government propaganda." As illustrated in the previous chapter, the primary definer played a significant role in contextualizing the blockade. Chomsky ignores the role of secondary definer. However, this analysis will include G. Knight's role of secondary definers and missing voices to illustrate how the dominant media assign roles of privilege, thus conforming to propaganda.

I will argue the media criteria for selecting facts and contextualizing stories are manifestations of a male Anglo-dominated ideology. This brings to bear the critical materialist approach to media and the framework.

## THE CRITICAL-MATERIALIST PERSPECTIVE

Marx argues that those in power produce and define the social reality. To shroud conflict in society one must demystify the real world by displacing reality. In this sense the function of ideology is to contain or manage the contradiction of reality. Ideology operates within structures, even scientific ones. It manifests itself in various forms, political, religious, educational and cultural. In demystifying the "real" into the "apparent" those in power can maintain conflict. An example is Canadian Natives. Canadians generally believed Natives are on welfare, because they are lazy, and welfare pays for them to drink alcohol. They don't pay taxes, therefore they are a burden to society, they are of no value. This "fact" was created and maintained by those in power, until the contradictions became too obvious to hide. The gaps in ideology stem from the contradictions which also function to allow saliency. The powerless use the gaps or contradictions as a weapon against the powerful (Knight, notes, June, 1989). For example, Natives in Canada exposed the similarities of apartheid and the Indian Act. A young Chief Stevenson invited the South African ambassador to visit the Peguis reserve. The end result was Canada's hypocritical "fight against apartheid" being exposed, and the message was, look in your own backyard before you criticize others. Natives have become adept in manipulating these contradictions to win public support and

raise awareness.

In this sense ideology is not a fixed static entity, it is dynamic and historical. There is no doubt that those who own the means of production control, shape and "dominate" ideology; but there is also no doubt that those in power are dependent on the powerless for maintaining the structure. It is the powerless uniting, women's groups, minorities, labour unions and Natives working together, to expose the problems, and then demand change.

It is therefore crucial for ideology to accommodate the powerless and slowly ideology changes. The constant reproduction of reality is a constant re-definition. There in lie the hegemony and the limits of the hegemony of ideology. The alternative views are marginalized, but also manage to stimulate change. Ideology has accommodated what had begun as marginal and alternative views and ended as acceptable in dominate ideology. Those in the arena of power set the discourse of a conflict. In Canada those in positions of power are most often Non-Native and tied to an ideology which is steeped in a Euro-Canadian cultural structure.

Past research on the topic of Natives in dominant media have illustrated that there does exist a uniform bias. The bias may not be entirely from propaganda, as Chomsky would argue. Again, I argue propaganda exists, but less so in a "domestic" situation. Media are not arms of the state in Canada. Media reflect the dominant cultural values and re-enforces those

values through implicit assumptions. The powerless have actively utilized the media to change those perceptions and images the powerful previously created. This task has not been an easy one because of the ingrained mechanisms of bias traditional to Western representational patterns of the "White Man's Indian." From previous studies I have established what themes consistently emerge from Non-Native news coverage on Natives. They are as follows:

1) Abstraction/objectification: The Indian is not presented as a real human, but rather as a prop to promote a contemporary idea or value. An example of abstraction is environmentalists using Indian imagery to protect the environment, "mother earth."

Objectification is a state having a sports team such as the "Washington Redskins." Can you imagine the Washington Jews against the Los Angeles Niggers? No. It would be unacceptable to society, but the Edmonton Eskimos is (Russell Means, Jesse Jackson Show, 1990).

2) Binary/polarization: This creates a safe dichotomy with which to manipulate. An example is the noble savage vs the ignoble drunk. By polarizing the Indian into an either/or category there is little room for the Native person in reality. An example of this is the northern pristine hunter and an urban Indian on welfare.

3) Universalization: This mechanism is utilized to establish a "universal," which works to depersonalize the person or



situation. Berkhofer stated that the "plains feathered Indian is the generic, universal Indian." The universal situation is, Indians are poor and alcoholics.

4) Naturalization: This mechanism has its base in universalization. The event is a natural event, not man-made. This is tied into manifest destiny or survival of the fittest. It assumes development and progress are the natural evolution of civilization. The idea promoted is "the Indian should just get off the land and come into the city and work like the rest of us (Notes, Knight)."

5) Dehumanization: This mechanism is crucial to repressing interest, sympathy or understanding. The dehumanization of Natives is commonplace in Western representation. In past research I found "western" movies to consistently present the Indian as a "buck" or "squaw". The stoic Indian seldom spoke and often grunted. They never cried, laughed or loved. They did murder, rape and scalp. Contemporary media dehumanize less explicitly. An example would be the murdered Ojibway leader J.J. Harper. The media never showed his wife or children in mourning, or at any other time. But when an officer committed suicide during J.J.'s inquiry, they went to the officer's neighbourhood showing his home, they interviewed his children and wife. They also interviewed his boss. All, of course, expressed real human emotions and showed their sense of loss (Notes, Knight, 1988).

6) Justification: This mechanism is an obvious tactic in news dissemination. One must justify genocide or other forms of destruction to the larger population. In most cases justification is used to manufacture consent. Western movies often played a role in justifying the slaughter of Indians. A recent example is the Oka stand-off. The army came out with a video tape stating the Warriors had "tons of weapons"; the army's brute force was then justified.

The content analysis will focus on how the dominant media contextualize the blockade. The themes that emerge from the coverage will be used to illustrate how the blockade was contextualized. The themes will be analyzed in terms of frequency - the number of times themes were used in a given article. In addition to ranking the most repetitive themes, the coverage will be examined to see whom the media attributed as the primary and secondary sources. A table of primary and secondary definers will then be constructed. From the table there should be a clear picture of the amount of coverage the blockade had, and in what context the coverage was put and by whom.

## CONTENT ANALYSIS

The first newspaper to be examined is The Globe and Mail. Often The Globe and Mail sets the agenda for important news topics. The first step was to find out how many articles there were on the Lubicon, and their prominence. Prominence will be measured by how many of the articles are on the front page, how many were accompanied by photos and what size the articles were. I will be examining the primary and secondary definers. The primary definers are the sources used to define the situation. Secondary definers are the sources that react to the primary definers. The missing voices will be noted. Missing voices are those parties involved in the story, but whose views are not present in the articles. The categories are not exclusive; articles may have two primary definers and two secondary definers, etc.

Table 1. Prominence

Globe & Mail Oct.1 - Oct 30.	No.	Percent
No. of articles on Lubicon per issue	22 =	73%
No. of articles on Blockade Front page articles	12 =	54%
No. of pictures accompanying art.	2 =	9%
Cartoon	1 =	5%
Editorials	5 =	23%
Total	22 =	73%

For primary/secondary and missing voices, check Chapter 5, pg. 118.

Table 2, Primary/Secondary Definers

Globe & Mail, Oct.1 - 30, 1988 /	Number & percent out of 22 articles	
	Number	Percent
Primary definers - Government	18/22	81%
Primary definers - Native	0/22	0%
Primary definers - Oil Companies	4/22	18%
Secondary definers - Government	0/22	0%
Secondary definers - Native	16/22	72%
Secondary definers - Oil	4/22	18%
Missing voices - Lubicon people	0/22	0%
<b>Total 22</b>	<b>22 =</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 1 illustrates that over a 30 day period, a total of 22 articles on the Lubicon were in The Globe and Mail. That is less than one article per issue. Out of the 22 articles, 54% were on the actual blockade itself. Eighteen percent of the articles were on the oil companies' loss of revenue and their intentions. Only 9% of all Lubicon coverage made it to the front page and 9% of the coverage was accompanied by photographs. The two photographs were of Chief Bernard Ominayak. There was one cartoon accompanying an editorial. It was a drawing of two feathered Indians shooting arrows at Indian Affairs officials.

The primary definers were by and large the federal and provincial government. Primary definers were identified

if they were in the headlines, spoke first in the article and dominated at least the first two paragraphs. An example would be an Oct. 25, article titled, "Lubicon accord boosts Getty's political stock." It states:

The agreement reached Saturday on the size of a reserve for the Lubicon Lake Indian band was a victory for Premier Donald Getty's quiet, homey, shirtsleeve style of government. After three years of unfavourable comparisons with his dynamic predecessor, Peter Lougheed, the settlement Mr. Getty reached with the Cree band is clearly his own (Globe & Mail, 1988, A,5).

The governments, federal and provincial, were the major sources of information on the Lubicon blockade/land claim. The Lubicon or Native people were not primary sources in any of the articles. Oil companies played a significant role as primary definers in these reports on the Lubicon blockade. In fact, two articles dealt with nothing other than what effect the blockade would have on the oil companies. Oil companies spokespersons and employees received 18% coverage as primary definers. One article had two paragraphs on workers who would suffer loss of pay because of the blockade.

The government was not a secondary definer at all. Lubicon spokespersons were secondary definers in 72% of the coverage. Most of the articles were small in size; the largest article was 1/4 of a page, and that was an editorial comment by Tony Hall, an academic. Ninety percent of all the coverage was no more than 1/10 of a page. The headlines were largely about the legality of the land claim and blockade. Examples are "Frustrated Lubicon turn backs on courts" (Oct,7,1988).

and "Ottawa seeks the right to proceed in case over Lubicon land claim" (Oct.20,1988). The frequency of themes is determined by the amount of time the theme is significantly addressed. "Significance" is determined when there are two or more paragraphs that deal with nothing other than the specific themes. The themes that appear most frequently throughout the 22 articles are illustrated in Table 3. The percentage is calculated by taking the number of articles, 22, and dividing this into the number of times a significant theme occurred. For example, if in eleven of the twenty-two articles economics is significantly addressed, (two or more paragraphs), then economics is a theme in 50% of the Lubicon coverage. The definitions of each theme that emerged from The Globe & Mail content follow Table 3.

Table 3/ Ranking themes

Globe and Mail Themes:		Percentage
Economics		50%
Law and Order		45%
Lubicon Frustration		36%
Land 'Dispute'		36%
Getty as Savour		31%
Ottawa's Indian Affairs		27%
Negotiations		22%
Court Rulings		22%
Support for Lubicon		9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>N=22</b>	<b>100%</b>

Economics is defined to include discussion of the material value of the land, resources, and compensation. In 50% of all the articles on the Lubicons, monetary considerations were given attention. Some articles focused on the amount of money offered to the Lubicon. Other articles focused on the amount of money the Lubicon used to pursue their land claim (which was \$1.5 million dollars). Attention was also given to the revenue that would be lost by the oil companies if the blockade continued. Money was the most prominent and consistent theme in the coverage.

The articles in The Globe and Mail also dealt significantly with the question of law and order. There were several articles that focused specifically on the "law." The law theme is defined as Lubicons breaking the law by refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Alberta government. It is not concerned with Lubicon rights. Prior to the blockade there was speculation about what actions the government would take if the Lubicon did set up a blockade. The primary definers were the provincial spokespeople, federal spokespeople and the RCMP. An example would be "RCMP warn to steer clear of Little Buffalo", (Oct 16, 1988). The article consisted of RCMP officers defining what could happen at Little Buffalo if the Lubicon "get violent."

Another theme was the Lubicon frustration over settling the land claim. The theme "frustration" would be defined as Natives waiting for bureaucratic administration. The reason

for the blockade (according to the Globe) was that the Lubicon are "fed up with legal wrangling." The frustrating "dispute" in the news coverage is solved by a third government party, Premier Donald Getty. Getty received coverage before the blockade; an Oct. 14, 1988 headline reads, "Lubicon blockade draws warning from Getty." The articles consisted of Getty stating he would not negotiate with the Lubicon while they were breaking the law. After the blockade, articles concerned Getty's actions to settle the land claim because, "Lubicons are Albertans too." Thirty-one percent of the coverage consisted of Getty and his actions to prevent the blockade or swing a deal for the Lubicon.

Attention was given to the theme of the land dispute. The land dispute is defined as a disagreement between Ottawa and Natives as to what compensation should be given to the Lubicon for the land they claim is theirs. The idea of dispute denotes the "last stand" philosophy expressed in the special of Windspeaker devoted to the Lubicon's blockade. The mediators in the event are Indian Affairs officials. This was a theme Indian Affairs played significantly throughout the Lubicon coverage. An example of this would be, "Mcknight dismayed over Lubicon actions." The primary spokesperson for Ottawa's Indian Affairs is Ken Colby, who was a primary definer in 40% of the "Indian Affairs" articles. Mr. Colby works out of Edmonton and is a public relations consultant. He is not an official negotiator. He has had no official



involvement with the Lubicon negotiations. His involvement was limited to keeping on top of current Lubicon negotiations, and distributing press releases on behalf of the Ministry of Indian Affairs (Lubicon advisor, Terry Kelly, Edmonton interview, Oct.22,1988). Ken Colby is directly quoted in 13 of the 22 articles on the Lubicon. The majority of his quotes deal with the amount of money the Lubicon have been offered by the government. He is cited as discussing everything from band membership to accepting the court's rulings. An example is an Oct.23 article entitled "Getty, Lubicons in historic agreement." It states:

Ken Colby, Indian Affairs spokes-person called the deal a major breakthrough. "We're pleased", he said from his home in Calgary... "The land is the big thing, but there are a number of things to consider", Colby said. "If the deal is these 95 sq. miles (245 sq.km), make it a reserve and that's all there is to it, that could be done quickly", he said. "But if they want hundreds of millions of dollars, which they were demanding a week ago, it may take a bit longer (Globe & Mail, 1988).

(To my knowledge, the Lubicon have consistently asked for a one-time settlement of \$176 million, less than 1% of the revenue that has come off their land.)

Negotiations are a prominent theme in the news coverage. The theme "negotiations" is defined as lawyers for the government and Lubicon discussing past strategies to bring the land claim to an end. Twenty-two percent of the coverage was concerned with what the past, current and future agreements were. The term "negotiation" went hand in hand with court rulings. Twenty-two percent of the articles were devoted to

covering the court rulings on the Lubicon land claim. The judge ruling on the Lubicon land claim is directly quoted in six articles. An example would be an Oct 21, 1988 issue which states, "Judge decides to hear Lubicon reserve case despite Lubicon boycott," although Judge Moore made clear "I don't think much of Lubicon actions." Another example is an Oct. 22, 1988 article in which Justice Moore states, "I'm at a loss to understand them [Lubicon]...". The court's rulings are covered in depth and Judge Moore is the primary expert in the Lubicon land claim case.

The last theme is support for the Lubicon. Two articles focused on the support Natives gave the Lubicon. Support would be defined as those that are in solidarity with the Lubicon blockade. One small article is devoted to the road blockade put up by Six Nation people to show their solidarity for the Lubicon blockade. Another Oct. 29 editorial discusses how Natives feel Ominayak is a hero; it states, "Quiet Persistence Hallmark New Hero." The majority of the coverage appeared to give all sides coverage - the government, Natives and oil companies. As we will see, the contextualization weighs heavily on what message the medium gives.

## CONTEXTUALIZATION

According to Chomsky propaganda exists when the government is a primary definer. The mainstream coverage on the Lubicon was extensively defined by the government. In the majority of those cases the spokesperson was Ken Colby, a public relations consultant working for the federal government, who is not an Indian Affairs bureaucrat or a provincial politician; Colby's "title" is Minister of Indian Affairs Assistant. Just how is he assisting Bill McKnight? Furthermore, Chomsky argues that worthy and unworthy victims are important indicators of propaganda. The measurement of worthy victims, according to Chomsky, is by thoroughness, humanization, editorials, symbols of injustice, top level investigation, and follow-up. The Lubicon are not represented as victims in any of the news articles. Rather, they are parties to a "dispute" over land. No statistics are gathered on Lubicon poverty, health or standard of living. Davie Fulton's recommendations (outlined in the Lubicon voice chapter) are not referred to at any time in the negotiations or court ruling themes. Therefore, they are not covered thoroughly. The only Lubicon person given space in the coverage is Chief Ominayak and he is put in the context of being a politician. No articles "humanize" the Lubicon people or their plight. The only personal account of a secondary player is in an Oct. 10, 1988 article on an employee of the

oil companies who will take a loss in pay and "doesn't have a choice in the matter."

The editorials on the blockade are, by and large, sympathetic to the Lubicon blockade. They consist of opposition leaders condemning the Mulroney government for not handling the land "dispute." One article by Tony Hall warns that Natives will continue to engage in confrontation tactics to get their land claims settled. One editorial piece is a letter to the editor by Chief Ominayak. The letter asks The Globe and Mail to correct "facts" given to them by Ken Colby. There are no articles which portray the Lubicons as symbols of injustice. Tony Hall's editorial is along those lines, but fails to point out the government as the antagonist. And lastly, there is immediate follow-up to the Getty deal, but no long-term follow-up. In short The Globe & Mail's coverage only appears to be objective, listening to all sides.

According to Chomsky's criteria for propaganda, The Globe and Mail falls within the realm of propagandizing. It fails to represent the Lubicon as a primary definer and fails to humanize the Lubicon. The Lubicon are not represented as victims, either worthy or unworthy. The only "worthy victim" represented is the oil company.

The Alberta-based The Edmonton Journal will be analyzed in the next section. The Edmonton Journal is a large daily newspaper. Edmonton is approximately six hours from Little Buffalo. The content analysis of The Edmonton Journal will

utilize the same methodology as that of The Globe and Mail. The time period covered is from Oct.1 to Oct.30, 1988. The prominence table shows the amount of coverage, and the following table shows who are the primary and secondary definers are, as well as the missing voices.

Articles on Lubicon	47		1.5 (per issue)
No. of articles on blockade	24		51%
Front page coverage	9		19%
Pictures	8		17%
Cartoons	1		2%
Editorials	7		14%
Total	47	=	100%

As the prominence table illustrates, there were on average 1.5 articles per issue. There were a total of 47 articles on the Lubicon land claim; 51% of the 47 were on the blockade. Only 19% ended up on the front page of the newspaper. A scarce 17% were accompanied by photographs. Of this 17%; only 9% were of Lubicon people. There were pictures of Getty, the blockade location, oil companies and the RCMP officers taking the blockade down. The one cartoon consisted of two Indians laying flat on the ground with the blockade on top of them and a government-controlled steamroller machine in the background. The cartoon caption read, "Is this what they mean by smoothing things over?"

Table 5 will show whether the government were primary or secondary definers in the Lubicon coverage. Missing voices will also be shown and each will be discussed. The categories are not exclusive - there may be two or more primary/secondary definers.

Table 5, Primary/Secondary definers

Oct.1 - Oct. 30, 47 articles/	N=47	Percents
Primary definers government	22/47	46%
Primary definers Native	12/47	25%
Primary definers oil companies	6/47	12%
Secondary definers government	7/47	14%
Secondary definers Native	24/47	51%
Secondary definers oil companies	13/47	27%
Missing voices = none	-	-
Editorials	6/47	12%

The government was the primary definer 47% of the time - almost half. The federal government spokespeople were Minister of Indian Affairs, Bill McKnight, and Indian Affairs spokesperson Ken Colby. The provincial spokespeople were Attorney General Ken Rostad and Premier Donald Getty. The federal and provincial government spokespeople prior to the blockade blamed each other for the impasse on settlement of the Lubicon land claim. The Oct. 6th headline read "Fingers pointed in Lubicon impasse." The article said Attorney General Ken Rostad "blamed Ottawa on Wednesday for prolonging the Lubicon land dispute...Federal spokes-man Ken Colby accused Alberta Tuesday of dragging its feet." By the time the

blockade went up on Oct. 17, a headline read "Lubicon issue in Getty's lap." After the blockade one headline stated, "Chief praises Getty's 'great courage'." Weeks after Getty and Ominayak negotiated an agreement known as the Grimshaw Accord, the headlines went back to, "Ottawa's Stand unjust, Lubicons Say." In the majority of these articles the Lubicon spokespeople remained secondary.

The Lubicon were primary definers in 25% of the coverage. The vast majority of articles that used the Lubicon as primary definers appeared while the blockade was up. Only then did the Lubicon receive front and centre stage. Examples are an Oct.18 article "Lubicon chief ready to talk" or "Lubicons set to blockade their 'Nation'."

The oil companies were, surprisingly, primary definers in 12% of the Lubicon coverage. Six articles dealt with how the oil companies are affected by the "land dispute." In the six articles the oil company spokespeople were the only definers of the situation. The government or Lubicon were absent. Rather, oil company employees were the secondary voices. An example would be an Oct. 15th article headline that reads, "Firms abandon oil well before blockade begins."

The secondary definers were Lubicon spokespeople and supporters 51% of the time. There were 11 articles dedicated to covering the amount of support the Lubicon received from church, labour and Native organizations. For example, the Oct. 8th headline read, "Christians support Lubicon blockade." In

most cases Lubicon lawyer James O'Reilly or Chief Ominayak would respond to federal or provincial claims.

The oil companies as secondary definers followed the Lubicon role closely with 27%. There were several articles which covered how the oil companies are reacting to the blockade. Many oil representatives would be interviewed. An Oct. 22 headline read, "Oil rigs silent as firms await Lubicon talks." In this article an oil employee states, "This land dispute is really making it difficult to keep body and soul together". This is an important framing of the Lubicon land claim. The victims are the Canadian working class men who will not be able to put dinner on the table because of the Indians.

In most of these articles the oil companies are "interested parties" or victims. Editorials made up 14% of the Lubicon coverage. All editorials consisted of sympathetic calls for justice by the editors, or letters by citizens calling for justice. Most articles referred to the government as the antagonist and often used South Africa for an analogy. Examples would be an Oct.3rd editorial headline that reads, "Lubicons' plight is Ottawa's shame," and an Oct. 11th headline that reads, "A tragedy unfolds."

The themes of The Edmonton Journal are varied. Table 6 illustrates the rank of the most frequent themes. The frequency of themes is measured in the same manner as The Globe & Mail themes were. Because The Edmonton Journal had more articles on the Lubicon than the Windspeaker and The



Globe & Mail, there were more themes that emerged from the coverage.

\_\_\_\_\_Table 6, Frequency of Themes\_\_\_\_\_

Edmonton Journal Themes /47 articles No. Percentage N=47

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Land Dispute	34	72%
Compensation/economics	32	68%
Lubicon Frustration	20	42%
Ottawa's Indian Affairs	17	36%
Getty as Saviour	16	34%
Support for Lubicon	13	27%
History of Lubicon Land Claim	12	25%
Justice	11	23%
Negotiations	8	17%
Law and Order	7	14%
Oil Companies	6	12%

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"Land dispute" was the most significant item addressed in the coverage of the Lubicon. The land dispute theme received 72% coverage. "Land dispute" is defined as a disagreement between Ottawa, Alberta and the Lubicons as to what the Lubicon were entitled to. Again the dispute theme connotes the 'Last Stand' idea. The "compensation/economics" follows hand in hand with the land dispute theme with 68% coverage. Compensation would be defined as the amount of money the governments is willing to offer vs. the amount of money the Lubicon feel they are entitled to. Economics would be defined as the monetary considerations of all parties - oil companies, federal, provincial and band governments. They are separated in The Edmonton Journal because the themes emerged separately in this coverage, whereas they did not in The Globe

and Mail.

The theme "frustrated Lubicons" occurs in 42% of the coverage. The theme would be defined as Lubicons frustrated with bureaucratic stalling tactics by the federal and provincial governments. An example would be the Oct. 14th headline that reads, "Lubicon have had enough." The "Getty as Saviour" theme received 34% of the Lubicon coverage. "Getty as Saviour" is be defined as Getty playing the good-guy to help Lubicons while the federal government officials are the bad guys. Examples would be the Oct. 6th headline which reads, "Chief invites Getty to settle land dispute." Or the Oct. 20th headline which reads, "Getty faces Community plea to end the Lubicon impasse." And an Oct. 23 headline reads, "Getty, Lubicons in historic agreement." In all of these articles Getty is the primary definer and the "good-guy."

Support of the Lubicon land claim and blockade received 27% attention. The support theme is defined as Natives and Non-Natives voicing or showing their support of the Lubicon. An example would be an Oct. 22 article, "Offers of support pour in to Little Buffalo." The article states, "Friends of the Lubicon, a coalition of political, religious, environmental, Native, university, labour and community groups set up a symbolic blockade...". There were 13 articles that dealt with nothing other than the support for the Lubicon.

"History of the Lubicon land claim" is defined as an overview of what has led up to the blockade. The history theme

received 25% attention in the Lubicon coverage. An Oct. 14 article states, "Gov't behaviour shameful." In 12 articles the history of the Lubicon land claim is outlined, while the current events are covered. The theme "court rulings" is combined with "history" because they emerged as such. "Justice" is defined as articles that call for justice. In 23% of the Lubicon coverage, justice calls were in editorials. Examples would be the latter article and an Oct. 19th editorial with a headline that reads, "Can we blame them?" The letter to the editor states, "Trade oil for gold and you have a situation remarkably like the one in South Africa." Every letter to the editor regarding the Lubicon is in favour of a settlement.

Negotiations were covered 17% of the time. Negotiations are defined as current bit by bit information on the status of negotiations between the Lubicon and the governments. An example would be an Oct. 27th headline which reads, "Lubicon settlement far from complete." An Oct. 5th headline reads, "Lubicon still awaiting Alta. choice of mediator." Law and order received 14% coverage. "Law and order" would be defined as articles dealing with the RCMP commentaries or the Lubicon "breaking laws." Examples would be, "Steer clear of Lubicons, RCMP warns," and an Oct. 21st headline which reads, "RCMP raid on Lubicons shakes MP." In these articles there is a discussion of how Alberta laws must be upheld by all citizens. In all of these articles the RCMP are the primary definers of the

law. The Lubicon are portrayed as people who are breaking Canadian law. The oil company "theme" is defined as the third party involved in the Lubicon land claim. The oil companies received 12% of the Lubicon land claim coverage. Examples would be an Oct. 17th headline that reads, "After panicky stampede: deathly quiet in oil camps." Another article headline reads, "Firms abandon oil well before blockade begins"(Oct. 15.1988). The oil companies are portrayed as bystanders to a land dispute.

#### CONTEXTUALIZATION

The context in which the land claim and blockade news coverage is placed appears objective. The coverage of the Lubicon is diverse. The amount of coverage is relatively high, but the Lubicon are not always the "story." Rather, the courts, politicians and oil companies play significant roles in the Lubicon coverage. According to Chomsky's claim that propaganda exists when the government is the primary definer, in the case of The Edmonton Journal news coverage, the federal government defines the situation almost half of the time, and oil companies a quarter of the time. Thus, most of the time it is the governments and corporations who are the primary definers. The spokespeople for the federal government are mainly Ken Colby, who is quoted in 17 of the 22 articles where the governments are primary definers, and Mr.McKnight,

Minister of Indian Affairs, who is the second most-quoted federal spokesperson. For the provincial government the most quoted are Premier Donald Getty and Attorney General Ken Rosted.

The Lubicon are primary definers only a quarter of the time. In most cases where the Lubicon are primary definers it is in the "immediate context," not the long term. The immediate context is underscored by The Edmonton Journal's focus on the "reactionary" blockade. They tended to highlight the sensationalism of a rebellious act. Therefore it was contextualized as an emotional, not a rational, act. Primary definers are usually presented as the authoritative problem solvers. They are rational and put forth rational proposals. In the case of the Lubicon, they are the "problem" to be solved. In this sense they are primary definers in the superficial text. The Lubicons may have defined the problem, but, are not presented as a people who have well thought-out proposals which the government has rejected. Theirs is not the "official" definition of the situation but the radical definition of the situation, and therefore in this context the Lubicon do not carry the same weight as the politicians. The politicians are the rational unemotional actors who will solve the dispute, much like a father settling a dispute between siblings; the context is patronizing.

Chomsky argues that worthy victims receive thoroughness, humanization, editorials, symbols of injustice,

and follow-up coverage. In The Edmonton Journal's coverage, there is thoroughness with regards to the courts, proceedings, federal and provincial involvement but a lack of it in the Lubicon definition of the situation. There are no statistics presented about Lubicon health, poverty, and quality of life, environmental concerns and loss of way of life. Most of the statistics are about compensation and monetary issues. The history the paper gives on the land claim is confined to the reserve the Lubicon were promised in 1940, and how it never came about. The role of the government is minimized. Facts about the amount of oil revenue and the provincial government's revenue are excluded. For example, none of the articles mention how the Lubicon arrived at the "compensation package" they did. There is no mention of how their community will be moved from Little Buffalo to Lubicon Lake where roads, schools, housing and business will have to be built from scratch. There is also no mention that compensation money would not go to individuals but towards building a community. According to the Lubicon spokespeople these facts were made available to the press but were not utilized.

The humanization of the Lubicon is minimal. There are no "human angle" stories in the blockade coverage. There are a few quotations in the 47 articles from Lubicon people expressing their situation. But there are more quotes from the oil company employees regarding how they have been victimized by the Lubicon blockade. One example is the Oct. 22 article

that quoted a young rigger who states, "This land dispute is really making it difficult to keep body and soul together." Another is from a woman who owns a bush motel that empties during the blockade. In the Oct. 15th issue she states, "I've got no choice. This is my livelihood. I've asked for police protection and I want them inside the gates." This is typical "western genre": the Indians might attack the lone white women in the bush, the Mounties should come and protect her. This sensationalistic context, which implies that the Lubicon are threatening violence, is designed to incite a public panic. One could argue that these Non-Natives are portrayed as the victims, not the Lubicon. The oil company employee received more humanization than did the Lubicon.

The editorials are the extreme end of The Edmonton Journal's coverage. All seven editorials were in favour of the Lubicons. The language was often strong, and against the government. The two editorials by the newspaper called for the government to settle the land claim. The language was not as strong as the letters to the editors by citizens. In the editorials by the citizens the Lubicon were symbols of injustice. The raid on the Lubicon blockade was perceived by these writers as unjust. There were two articles that dealt with the question of the extensive use of force, for example an Oct. 22 headline read, "UN asked to investigate police raid on roadblocks." The use of force by the provincial government is not brought into question, rather the "amount" is.

In the case of The Edmonton Journal the coverage fails to acknowledge the Lubicons as worthy victims. The coverage does not thoroughly explore the historical reasons for to the blockade, nor does it attempt to humanize the Lubicon. However, it does present sympathetic editorials and follow-up. The next section will compare The Globe and Mail with that of The Edmonton Journal and Windspeaker.

### COMPARISON

In the previous section I examined how a Native-owned newspaper covered the Lubicon land claim and blockade in five weekly issues. I also illustrated how its definition of the situation was very similar to that of Lubicon Elders and political leaders. The probable cause for the similarity is due to the Windspeaker allowing the Lubicon people and politicians to be the primary definers. The primary definers determine what is in the news articles to a large extent. The 'dominant media' tended to allow the government and oil companies the position as primary definers. The following table compares the Windspeaker's primary definers to that of The Globe & Mail and The Edmonton Journal. The table's categories are not exclusive, they may have two or more primary/secondary definers.



Table 7 Prominence Ranking

	(1) <u>Windspeaker</u>	(2) Globe and Mail	(3) Edmonton Journal
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No. of articles on the Lubicon, per issue	4.2%	73%	1.5%
(Proportion of) No. of articles on the blockade per issue	76%	54%	51%
(Proportion of) Articles on the Lubicon that received front page space	42%	9%	19%
(Proportion of) of photos accompanying each article	100%	9%	17%
(Percentaged) Cartoons	0%	5%	2%
(Proportional) Primary definers in articles - Natives	95%	0%	25%
Primary definers in articles - Government	28%	81%	47%
Primary definers in articles - Oil Companies	0%	18%	12%
(Proportional) Secondary definers in articles - Native	76%	72%	51%
Secondary definers in articles - Government	85%	0%	14%
Secondary definers in articles - Oil Companies	0%	18%	27%
Missing voices.	Oil Co.	Lubicon people	none

As we can see, the Windspeaker gave the Lubicon almost three times as much coverage per issue as the dominant media. The Windspeaker also gave the "story" more prominence than did the dominant media ("front page," "photos" would account for

prominence). The most significant difference is in the coverage is the primary definers. The Windspeaker positioned the Lubicon as primary definers 95% of the time. The Globe & Mail did not do so in any article. The Edmonton Journal positioned the Lubicon 25% of the time as primary definers. The Globe & Mail relied mostly on governments and corporations to define the situation. The Lubicon spokespeople were in a reactionary position. The Edmonton Journal is the most evenly spread, giving the three parties a significant position as primary definers. However, The Edmonton Journal tended to position the government as official primary definers almost half of the time and corporations a fourth of the time. As stated earlier, The Edmonton Journal allowed the Lubicon to be primary definers during the blockade itself, since they were in the "driver's seat" so to speak, but they positioned the Lubicon as desperate "radical definers."

The government was a secondary definer 85% of the time in the Windspeaker. However The Globe & Mail did not position the government as secondary definers at all, and The Edmonton Journal only in 14% of the articles. The oil companies played a role as secondary definer in The Globe & Mail 18% of the time and The Edmonton Journal 27%. The Windspeaker ignored the oil companies' statements all together.

The role of primary and secondary definers, and missing voices is reflected in the outcome of themes. The following

table illustrates what themes emerged from each newspaper's coverage.

\_\_\_\_\_Table 8/Rank Order of Themes in 3 Newspapers\_\_\_\_\_

<u>Windspeaker</u>	GLOBE AND MAIL	EDMONTON JOURNAL
1)Land Ownership	Economics	Land Dispute
2)Conflict	Law and Order	Compensation
3)Injustice	Frustration	Frustration
4)Human element	Land Dispute	Indian Affairs
5)Support	Getty as Saviour	Getty as Saviour
6)Jurisdiction	Indian Affairs	Support
7)United	Negotiations	History
8)Pride	Court Rulings	Justice
9)Native National	Support For Lubicon	Law and Order
10)Court Rulings		Oil companies

As we can see from the table, there are few common themes between the Windspeaker and the dominant media, because the definitions of the themes differ significantly. For example, number one is land ownership or land dispute. The Windspeaker assumes the land is the Lubicons', The Edmonton Journal assumes it is up for debate. The Globe & Mail views land in terms of the resources or economics. The Windspeaker views conflict in terms of a "fight," whereas The Globe & Mail defined it in terms of law and order - the Lubicon were

breaking the law. The Edmonton Journal placed law and order low on the thematic frequency scale but the bottom line is that The Edmonton Journal defined it in terms of breaking the law as well. Injustice has no role as a theme in The Globe & Mail, rather the Lubicon were 'just frustrated over bureaucracy'. The Edmonton Journal also treated the situation as "frustration," although the editorials treated the situation as unjust. The frustration was seen as a question of administration rather than of the loss of way of life or of poverty. The dominant media tended to cover only the public sphere of frustration rather than the private suffering of the Lubicon. The human element played significantly throughout the Windspeaker's coverage of the blockade and land claim. Many photos and statements by ordinary Lubicon and Natives were given prominent space. The coverage explored how the land claim and blockade affected the Lubicon. Description of poverty, health and social ills were given at length. In The Globe & Mail there was no human element at all, except for Donald Getty, who was treated as the hero in a few of the stories, although one story did include how Natives view Chief Ominayak as a hero. In The Edmonton Journal there was very little human element coverage, but they did present several oil company workers and one Lubicon hunter.

Indian Affairs was given significant prominence in both The Globe & Mail and The Edmonton Journal, but both saw the blockade as an Indian problem, therefore as Indian Affairs'

responsibility. However, the Windspeaker contextualized Indian Affairs as the antagonist, part of the reason a conflict exists. The government was viewed as the cause of the problem. Support is the fifth theme on the Windspeaker thematic scale. Support is defined as the many Natives and Non-Natives who understood the situation and decided to act upon it. The amount of support led to the Windspeaker's themes of unity, pride and native nationalism. The theme "support" in the dominant media had a different contextualization. Stories in The Globe & Mail consisted of other Natives displaying solidarity through civil disobedience. There was no discussion of unity, pride or nationalism. The Edmonton Journal focused on the Non-Native support the Lubicon received. They interviewed church, labour and opposition party leaders rather than Native groups or individuals. The dominant media tended to cover the court rulings, negotiations or the justice system's stand on the Lubicon situation. The close attention to dominant institutions went hand in hand with their positioning as primary definers. Most often the information came from spokespeople like Ken Colby, Bill McKnight or Judge Moore. The idea of genocide did not come into play in the dominant media. In the Windspeaker genocide was defined in terms of destruction of a small group of people. The editorials in The Edmonton Journal has touched upon this idea, but leaned towards unjust practices, such as apartheid.

In summary, it is evident that there is a large dis-

crepancy between the national newspaper, The Globe & Mail and the Windspeaker. The Edmonton Journal has the more liberal coverage but it is more similar in context to The Globe & Mail than to the Windspeaker. What does this tell us?

According to Chomsky propaganda works in varying ways. If we examine the dominant medias coverage in terms of worthy/unworthy we can see the differences. The Globe & Mail does not thoroughly cover the Lubicon land claim or blockade. Nor does it editorialize, humanize, symbolize or follow-up on the Lubicon. Chomsky also argues propaganda is discovered when the primary definers are government. The Globe & Mail use government and corporation as the primary definers. Using Chomsky's criteria the Globe & Mail propagandize for the government. This is not to say that The Globe & Mail is one big propaganda machine. My argument is that The Globe & Mail is a national 'high brow' newspaper. I would argue The Globe & Mail propagandizes for the government by depending on the government for the primary definitions of the Lubicon situation. The Globe & Mail cover economics, political conflicts and the justice system. The reliance on dominant 'institutions' for information and the contextualization by "official - experts" promotes the governments explanation over the Lubicon situation.

At the same time, The Edmonton Journal is 'less high brow' and this is illustrated in the coverage. The Edmonton Journal does not thoroughly cover the story, leaving out for

example, facts about what conditions led to the Lubicon blockade it does editorialize on the Lubicon situation, through it does not humanize the Lubicon people and their plight. It does, through editorials, allow the Lubicon to serve as symbols of injustice. And it covers stories on top level investigation and follow-up. In this sense The Edmonton Journal weakly portrays the Lubicon as worthy victims. As stated earlier, it's coverage is more similar to the Globe & Mail than to the Windspeaker. If compared to the Windspeaker, The Edmonton Journal's coverage of the Lubicon definitions of their situation is very weak.

If I analyze the dominant media's coverage of the Lubicon in terms of the themes constructed by the author, it might explain the fundamental differences between Native and Non-Native coverage. The dominant media's failure to humanize the Lubicon is an example of the process of objectification and de-humanization. The Lubicon are indeed 'symbols' of an oppressed minority. And the Lubicon are somewhat noble in their attempt to fight the all powerful government and corporation. The Lubicon may receive such coverage in Alberta because Albertans have been known to dislike the federal governments 'interference'. I think The Edmonton Journal identifies the Lubicon 'problem' with Albertans problems with the east. Berkhofer's concept that 'Whites use Indians as counter-images of themselves,' may explain why their approach is different from the Globe and Mail's. The Lubicon are

somewhat objectified to serve as symbols of injustice. The Edmonton Journal does not humanize the Lubicon. Rather, they remained concerned with the 'underdog' role the Lubicon are in. Which may explain how dominant society justifies oppression, the message is, the government has screwed us all at one time, we would love to see them get it back. Also, it tends to naturalize the whole process as inevitable. There is no questioning about the oil and logging activity destroying a cherished way of life, only what compensation will they get?

There is little understanding of the loss of relative autonomy, power and the Lubicon cannot be compensated for that, rather, it is portrayed as a fair exchange. This is not to say the message is malicious, it is culture at work. The tradition in the Western world is to observe destruction to the Indian, condemn it, then use it as a symbol, what Berkhofer calls symbols of regional injustice. The Edmonton Journal is following a long tradition of the West.

The Windspeaker positions the Lubicon as symbols of injustice, but as humans not props. Their Last Stand context promotes a positive approach to a negative situation. There is less objectification, dichotimization or de-humanization. The process is not naturalized, it is man made mostly by the government. There is a universal approach to it, the Lubicon serve as symbols of government oppression. The many supporters and editorials discussed their Nations history or problems as they are connected to the Lubicon experience. The message is,



we lost many battles but we are standing together to make sure history is not repeated. In this sense the Lubicon served as symbols of hope as much as symbols of injustice.

The media, it can be said, are subject to control at given times, but they also work within a cultural framework. The journalist who attempts to expose cannot be lumped with the journalist who attempts to conceal. There is diversity and there is conformity, neither is a fixed entity. The real issues that are raised are that, ethnocentrism is prevalent and it is important to recognize a systematic bias. The grey area between conformity and diversity is what Chomsky and myself cannot assume as a constant given. The uses of conspiracy, propaganda or racism by intellectuals and media are varied and diverse. There is no doubt that those in power use the latter mechanisms against the powerless when the situation calls for it. But it does not systematically control all media or intellectual life all the time.

Chomsky's propaganda 'filter's' are extremely useful in 'exposing' how the media and ideology work for those in power. The Native perspective allows one to understand that 'themes' about non whites are constant and unconscious throughout European and North American history. The critical-materialist perspective explains why the latter work in the way it does. There are other mitigating factors which can reveal mystification that must be taken into consideration, such as culture, ideology, ethnocentrism, racism, regionalism, and history. The

Lubicon reality is not presented within the terms and discourse of the Lubicon. Rather, the Lubicon are presented in a Non-Native framework, the issues of value to the dominant society, development, loss of revenue, jobs are highlighted while the Lubicon losses are 'unimportant'. The victims are white, oil company worker, bush hotel owner's and oil companies. The body and soul of the coverage is not Lubicon or even Native.

The media worked within it's own framework, it's own values and traditional assumptions, the coverage was ultimately Canadian. The government and corporations attempt to "engineer consent", but do not dictate what the coverage specifically is, they don't need to, they have "oppressive support", in their favour. The question Chomsky raises, 'why doesn't anybody know this?' Could be answered in this case, because those that directly or indirectly oppress others don't want to know.

## CHAPTER 6

## CONCLUSION

There were three major objectives in this thesis. The first objective was to illustrate the fundamental differences between the "Western thought" and the Native perspective. I used Berkhofer's concepts of the White Man's Indian to demonstrate how European and North American thinkers distorted their representations and conceptualizations of the Indian to promote their particular ideologies. The representation of the Indian was often structured by the cultural values of the Non-Native. The result was a tradition or pattern of distortion and ingrained bias about the Indian. This bias is produced and reproduced by the dominant North American society. The "tradition" of the White Man's Indian influenced social scientists. The connection between theorist and media becomes cleared at this point.

I illustrated how sociologists, in particular, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, were ethnocentric in their assumptions about "primitive" peoples, and how their bias towards development, industrialization and progress ultimately put modern civilized man at the right end of the imaginary evolutionary line and Indians and their societies at the wrong end. Their bias consciously or unconsciously ingrained the notion that primitives or tribal societies were doomed by virtue of their "inabilities."

The Native perspective is presented in order to outline fundamental differences between "Native thinking" and "Western thinking". Those differences are imbedded in the values Native people have about the land, human relationships and culture. The oppression of the land by colonizers is as real as the oppression of the First peoples. That is at the heart of the Native perspective.

The second major objective was to give as much information about the Lubicon and their definitions of the situation as possible. The lengthy interviews allowed the Lubicon voice to be heard and their values to be understood. The themes that emerged from the entire corpus of the Lubicon interviews were defined and categorized. As well, the Lubicon voice served as a point of comparison for the content analysis of the native and Non-Native media. The Lubicon voice was analyzed in order to show what issues they thought were important and what issues the media covered.

The third major objective was to analyze how the Lubicon definitions of the situation compared with those of the Native media's coverage. The findings in Chapter Four illustrated that the Windspeaker's definitions of the situation are similar to the Lubicons. The fact that the Windspeaker positioned the Lubicon as primary definers greatly influenced the content and context of their coverage of the land claim and blockade. The Windspeaker coverage was prominent and extensive. The themes of land claim, conflict, support and unity were similar to those of the Lubicon.

The Windspeaker humanized and positively supported the Lubicon actions. The coverage was affected by their desire to promote pride and nationalism, which were some of the themes that were dissimilar from those of the Lubicon. Greed, racism and genocide were themes that did not correspond with those of the Windspeaker. I argued that the reason for this could be the time period of the coverage and assumptions about those themes that are latent in nature. As native people, those issues are implicit in our world view; we take racism as a known, genocide as a historical fact and greed as a "law" the government and corporation live by. The government's role as secondary definer demonstrated the Windspeaker's "distrust" of their institutions and of the validity of their definitions. The missing voices were the oil companies. I argued that themes of pride and nationalism arose in the Windspeaker and not the Lubicon interviews because the native newspaper with its wide Native readership, was in a position to promote these themes, while the Lubicon were not. There should be more studies done in this area, covering a longer period of time. with cross-comparisons of different Native media.

The next step was to analyze how the Non-native news media covered the Lubicon land claim and the blockade. The Globe and Mail was chosen because it is Canada's only national newspaper. The Globe and Mail proved to have the most conservative coverage. The themes that emerged were economic in nature, grounded in dominant institutions such as law and order and court rulings, and favoured the governments definitions of the situation. The context

was "the Indian problem" having to be solved once again by the "big White father." There was no humanization of the Lubicon or attempt to let the Lubicons define their situation. This can be explained by The Globe and Mail's positioning the government and corporations as primary definers. The Lubicon were always secondary definers. The missing voices were the Lubicons. Chomsky's argument that propaganda exists when the media rely on the government for information is seen in the case of The Globe and Mail, which tended to use only government explanations. Again, The Globe and Mail did not position the Lubicon as "victims". There was no reference to their social or economic conditions, the Lubicon simply had a dispute with the provincial and federal governments over land.

The Edmonton Journal's coverage was the most extensive and diverse. The Edmonton journal positioned the government as primary definer in the majority of the coverage. The Lubicon were positioned as primary definers in a quarter of the coverage and the oil companies in a fifth of the coverage. The Edmonton Journal themes were economics, law and order, Lubicon frustration, land dispute, Getty as saviour and, at the bottom, support for the Lubicon. The context was sensationalistic in nature. The fact that the oil company employees were presented as "victims" and the Lubicon were implied to be threatening violence demonstrated a bias of the newspaper. The Lubicon were not humanized or portrayed victims. Letters to the editor of The Edmonton Journal were very sympathetic to the Lubicon struggle, but anger over government "deceit and greed" was just as prominent, which led to the

conclusion that the context was really that of rooting for the underdog, not necessarily one of sympathy for the Lubicon. The Edmonton Journal's use of the Lubicon to make a point about their feelings towards the governments falls into the tradition of "using the Indian to promote a specific ideology." This is evidenced by their objectification, naturalization and dehumanization of the Lubicon. There was little effort to understand how the Lubicon were losing a cherished way of life, and how no amount of compensation would change that fact.

The comparison between the Windspeaker, The Globe and Mail and The Edmonton Journal illustrated two important concepts. One, that primary definers in news determine the content and the bias of a news-story. Secondly, media do manufacture consent. In the case of the Windspeaker, the manufactured consent was support for resistance. The dominant media manufactured consent for development and progress, which is seen as natural and inevitable. The Lubicon way of life must be sacrificed for the sake of progress and the "dispute" is simply over who owns the land and the amount of compensation. There was no concern in the themes of "law and order," "justice" or "court rulings" for aboriginal rights, human rights or "land rights." The bias of theorists who study societies, including early sociologists, has been successfully maintained into the late 20th century.

The "mechanisms" identifies - abstraction/objectification, binary/polarization, universalization, naturalization, dehumanization and justification - were all present in the dominant



media's coverage of the Lubicon blockade in varying degrees. Each paper utilized one or another mechanism to re-produce existing biases and assumptions about the White Man's Indian. In the end, I conclude that the concepts of the White Man's Indian are alive and well in this decade, and that the Euro-North American biases about the Indians from marxist to the journalistic, have been maintained. Perhaps the consciousness of modern 'man' has yet to experience the "necessary moments" that Marx wrote of.

The Native perspective has a contribution to make in consciousness-raising. By identifying the "real-problem," which is the human relationship to the land and each other, there is a chance that the gaps that have long festered conflict between "us and them" can begin to close. Until this moment occurs, Japanese companies will be given millions by Canadian governments to exploit and ultimately destroy Canadian resources and people. And Mayors who own shares in golf-clubs will have the power to call in armed Canadians to slaughter people. Prime Ministers will continue to state on national television that our demands are "bizarre." Ken Colbys will be paid thousands by the Canadian government to create propaganda campaign like "greed not need" to undermine Lubicons. All to ensure the legacies of development and progress, oppression genocide and racism, are handed down to all our children.

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