WHOSE FACE ANYWAY?
IMAGES OF FIRST NATIONS PROTEST AND RESISTANCE IN
KAHNAWAKE AND KANESATAKE, KANEN'KEHAKA TERRITORY 1990;
A STUDY IN THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF VOICE AND IMAGE

by

George H. Doyle-Bedwell

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
September, 1998

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ABSTRACT

Many images are presented in the mass media coverage of an event. In the case of print media, those images are found both in print and in photographs. I argue that, following the ideas presented by Berger and Luckmann (1966) and Herman and Chomsky (1988), the images are neither made by nor are they representative of the persons being reported on. This is especially true of images of First Nations protest. Although other writers, Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993) for example, have presented a similar theme, never, has this topic been written from a perspective that honours a mixed blood Mi'kmaw perspective while exploring the subject in a Canadian context. Furthermore, I use personal experience methods in the design and writing of this thesis in conjunction with my mixed blood Mi'kmaw voice. That combination means that my thesis is also a personal story. Therefore, I wrote it in a story-telling manner.

I compared the images via a content analysis design, both in text and photograph, of the resistance to colonial oppression by the Kanien'kehaka (Mohawk) at Kahnawake and Kanesatake (commonly known as the 'Oka Crisis') in the Summer of 1990 as presented in the Micmac News, Windspeaker, and Maclean's magazine. My research was designed as a case study, therefore, it provides an understanding in depth rather than in breadth.

My results support the Berger and Luckmann and Herman and Chomsky theses, that there was a definite difference in the reporting of content and cultural context in the three periodicals. Furthermore, the Maclean's coverage presented a stereotypically violent image of First Nations people. The Micmac News and Windspeaker expressed information from a personal experience perspective as would be expected from First Nations Traditions.

Since the Maclean's images represent stereotypical views of First Nations people, I suggest, following Baylor and Miller, that those images act as a detrimental agent in First Nations and EuroCanadian relations. Stereotypical images, after Miller (1993) and Seigal (1989), may, if internalized (as I did) have a detrimental effect on health. Therefore, I invite future researchers to explore the role of media images as an issue of First Nations peoples' health.
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my Creator, to my Mother Earth, to my partner Patricia Doyle-Bedwell, to our son Mike, to our children who died during the writing of this thesis: Jessica, Brian, and Amy, and to our extended family, especially our parents.
For love, peace, hope, and the knowledge of who we are.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As the path of writing this thesis took many years to wander, there are many people to thank.

First and most primarily I acknowledge my Creator, Kisulk, in gratitude for my life and the Mekwe’k Awt (Red Road), Wela’lin.

I need to thank my family not only for their patience, emotional support, and 'pep talks', but also numerous financial contributions. They are: my partner Patricia Doyle-Bedwell, my step-son Mike Doyle, my two daughters, Jessica and Amy, and one son, Brian, who crossed to the Spirit World during the writing of this thesis, my mother Ruth Bedwell, my father Dr. Stephen Bedwell, my mother-in-law Mrs. Harriet Doyle, my sister-in-law Helen Doyle, my nieces and nephews especially Joshua Doyle, my adopted brothers David Gehue, Basil Johnson, Bert Knockwood, and Glenn Knockwood, my adopted sister in law Melissa, my adopted nieces Miranda and Logan, my adopted uncles Harris Richardson and Doug Knockwood, and my adopted auntie Jeannette Porrier.

Many thanks to the various Elders who have aided me in this journey: Nte’pitem aqq Professor Patricia Doyle-Bedwell, Professor Patricia Monture-Angus, Dennis Angus, Henry Lickers, nmis Philippa Pictou, Terri Sabatis, Peggy Thayer, Judge Mary Ellen Turpel, Kinap aqq nsis David Gehue, Dr. Marie Battiste, Dr. Sakej Henderson, nklamuksis Doug Knockwood, nmis Carol Knockwood, nsukwis Rose Morris, nsukwis Isabel Knockwood, nukumij Amy Arthur, niskamij Harold Arthur, Auntie Jeannette Porrier, Jackie MacQueen, David Porter, Misel Joe, Judy White, Clarence, Charlie Labrador, and many others. I need to especially to acknowledge two Elders who crossed into the Spirit World while I was writing this thesis, but without whom I would never have finished: nsukwis Cathy Knockwood and nklamuksis Harris Richardson.

I wish to thank my Mi’kmaw language instructors: Gabe Marshall, Basil Johnson, Lisa Metallic, Clara Prosper, David Gehue, J.J. Dennis, Dennis Nevins, Bernie Francis, T’ma Young, Delores Paul, Darrel Morris, Doug Knockwood, Rose Morris, and Noel Knockwood. As well as every Mi’kmawis’in speaker that I have ever listened to, especially the Free Spirit Singers and George Paul.

I owe a huge debt of thanks to my committee, in its various forms. First to my thesis co-supervisor, Dr. Marian Binkley, for the work on proposals; for allowing me to come to this process in my own way (with enough rope to hang myself); and encouraging me to keep going. To Dr. Fay Cohen, thesis co-supervisor, for her reading of numerous drafts, editorial advice, concern for my work, insightful
discussions, and numerous reassurances that I could finish this work. I will always be grateful. Also my thanks to Dr. Cohen for numerous visits, tea/coffee, wonderful discussions and the opportunity to meet people over feasts and for knowing some of my heroes. To Dr. Don Clairmont for accepting this reading assignment graciously. My thanks to those who were on my committee when my topic was going a different direction, Dr. Peter Clark and Dr. Herb Gamberg. I wish to thank Patricia Doyle-Bedwell and Henry Lickers for their reading of my drafts and their insightful suggestions. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Victor Thiessen, Dr. Richard Apostle, and Dr. Jerome Barkow for their intellectual teachings.

I need to thank my Ninpo students, especially Chris Hubley, Mark Dixon, Jeff Lackie, Kent Hodges, M.J. Patterson, and my teacher Edward Brown for their consistent belief that one day I would finish 'that thing', if just so I could finally focus on teaching.

I want to thank the kids that I sang and drummed with, you taught me more than you'll ever know. Here are but a few: David Easton, Jimmie Prosper, Candice Prosper, Natasha Prosper, Chantel Robinson, Jeremy Thomas, Karen Pictou, Amber Mae Colp, Frances Palliser, Andrea Mahar, Bert and Glenn Knockwood, Miller, Mac, Will, and many others.

I wish to thank the academic community for accepting me into its ranks; although academic work has been used to harm First Nations people, it still provides wonderful tools to learning.

I am indebted to my partner Patricia Doyle-Bedwell for discussions on the 'or' versus 'and' in relation to cultural identity; to discussions with Patricia Monture-Angus and Marie Battiste; and to the works of Janice Acoose, Patricia Monture-Angus, and Anne Wilson Schaef.

Lastly, I wish to thank the Mi'kmaw Nationimouw, and our people for their resistance and tenacity.

Thanking people by name is often a difficult process, as I know that I will miss someone. For that I alone am responsible. Any mistakes and / or omissions are due to my very human shortcomings and not by malice. For those I miss, I ask your forgiveness.

All in all I wish to say: Welalioq Msit No'kuma
PREFACE

This thesis took an enormous amount of time and large amounts of emotional effort to complete. It represents a journey through myself. It is the outward expression of an inner journey to understand who I am in relation to my ancestry (Scottish, English, and Mi'kmaq) and in relation to a serious academic discourse which honours my diversity. The writing of my thesis provided me with a mirror to some of my own assumptions and stereotypical thinking. In wrestling out of the webs of my own denial, delusion, and wishful thinking I came to see how constrained, fundamental, and fragile the views of my science were. I know now why others silence those who suggest something out of the proscribed view of the world, because I silenced those aspects of myself which challenged my own status quo. I am not saying that my research is in someway Earth shattering or paradigm crushing to anyone other than myself.

What I am attempting to do in this thesis is to present the milestones of this journey through myself, as a social actor, with a certain set of cultural biases, as I attempted to understand media views of the 'Oka Crisis' while writing this thesis in a story telling fashion which honours my Mi'kmaq relations. Those images were of people with whom I share a genetic and cultural link (on both sides of the barricades). I found the process of writing this work both liberating and humiliating. I had to admit, that as a mixed blood person coming home to First Nations country, I had believed many of the stereotypes and media images. I had come to believe in the "Imaginary Indian" (Francis, 1992). It was the process of trying to analyze the images presented to me in the media, and subsequently discussing my feelings with my partner Patricia, that I discovered (with many well placed questions from Patti), much to my chagrin, that I partially missed the boat -- just enough to get really wet. So my thesis provided the catalyst not only to polish my sociological skills but also grow as a person. What follows is the road map and story of my journey.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Many authors have written about the image of First Nations people in a North American context (for example see: Berghofer, 1979; Bordewich, 1996, Crosby, 1991; and Francis, 1992). Most of the authors that have written about images of First Nations people did not write from an explicit First Nations perspective. This academic state-of-affairs has changed in recent years with the publication of material on image written by First Nations authors employing an explicit First Nations perspective (for example see: Acoose, 1995; Anderson, 1997; and Monture-Angus, 1995).

Many authors wrote about the resistance of the Kanien'kehaka at Kahnawake and Kanesatake in the summer of 1990, which is commonly known as the 'Oka Crisis,' who like their counterparts writing on First Nations image, did not write from

1 "Kanien'kakhaka is a Mohawk word that means 'People of the Flint', it refers to all Mohawk people. Actually the word Mohawk is a derogatory word given to us from the English in the seventeenth century. Our people prefer to be recognized and referred to as Kanien'kehaha." (from the Kahnawake World Wide Web page, entitled, "Kahnawake Kanien'keha:ka Culture", on Monday, October 20, 1997).

2 Although I would prefer to call the 'Oka Crisis' the 'resistance of the Kanien'kehaka at Kahnawake and Kanesatake', I will bow to the use of the term 'Oka Crisis' for reasons of readability. I will, however, keep the term within single quotation marks throughout my thesis.
an explicit First Nations perspective (for example see: Hornung, 1991; MacLaine et al., 1990; and York and Pindera, 1991). Within a short period of time, First Nations authors were producing material on the 'Oka Crisis' from the 'inside' (for example see: Alfred, 1995; Cross and Sévigny, 1994; Goodleaf, 1995; and Obomsawin, 1993).

The First Nations authors who wrote concerning both subject matters -- image and the 'Oka Crisis' -- did so from a perspective that honoured their experience as First Nations people (see especially: Acoose, 1995; Anderson, 1997; and Monture-Angus, 1995). I am also writing from a perspective which honours my experience as a mixed blood Mi'kmaq person. Further my thesis concerns both subject matters -- images of First Nations people during the 'Oka Crisis' -- as expressed in news journals. In my thesis I will approach the subject from five interconnected avenues, which I will illustrate by using a First Nations teaching tool -- the Medicine Wheel. The use of the Medicine Wheel is certainly not my innovation as my Mi'kmaq Elders have used this tool from time immemorial. Currently many First Nations authors and educators use the Medicine Wheel as a tool for explanation (for example see Graveline, 1998:14,16,33,49,55,70,78,161, 200,216; Morisseau, 1998:11,15,30,47,101; and Willier cited in Young et al, 1989/1992:24). Figure One below illustrates my approach.

3 I use this term as an umbrella term for newspapers and news magazines.

4 I capitalize the term 'Medicine Wheel' out of respect, as this is also a sacred representation of Mi'kmaq traditional faith.

5 The term 'Elder(s)' will be capitalized out of respect.
1. Voice
2. Comparison I
   Media Sources
3. Comparison II
   Image Results
5. Individual Voices

Figure One: Research Process & Destinations

The Medicine Wheel in Figure One is 'read' in clockwise fashion, beginning in the center and then to the East, South, West, North, and back to the center. In these directions, along with the Earth and Heavens, prayers are offered during ceremonies as was taught by Kluskap to the very first Mi'kmaq (Battiste, in Henderson, 1997:13-16). In terms of my research in this thesis the Medicine Wheel in Figure One illustrates my processes and objectives that I wish to explore. First, my voice, as a mixed blood Mi'kmaq person is the starting and ending place of my discussion. It informs my choices of theory and method, subject matter and discussions.
Sociological scholars have been discussing the role of identity and voice in science for at least three decades (for example, see Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991).

However, First Nations, feminists, and other minority scholars have argued the necessity of hearing their voices, in order to provide knowledge which would be otherwise silenced. Patricia Monture-Angus makes her voice clearly heard on this issue:

In my culture [Kanien'kehaka], not speaking from the "me" is a violation. The only true knowledge that I can have is that which is learned from what I have experienced. For First Nations, the rule is that all knowledge is what we have learned about the self (Monture-Angus, 1995:45 bracketed addition mine).

What I am doing is speaking from my experience as a mixed blood Mi'kmag person whose life has very much been effected by the very images I am choosing to study. I will discuss the notion of voice briefly below, I cover voice in more depth in Chapter Five.

The second process and objective on the Medicine Wheel involves a comparison of three news journals regarding their depictions of the 'Oka Crisis'. The Micmac News, Windspeaker, and Maclean's provide the raw materials of this research. I argue that there will be a difference in reporting between these news journals. I suggest that Maclean's magazine provides images which are stereotypical and therefore detrimental to First Nations people. Other researchers, especially, Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993), have analyzed and categorized images of First Nations people, engaged in resistance, in news journals. A comparison between their
findings and mine comprises the third process and objective of my research. This second comparison -- comparison II -- occupies the South portion of the Medicine Wheel.

The fourth process and objective of my research involves a discussion of the similarities and differences between my research and that of Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993), juxtaposed upon my voice as an mixed blood First Nations person. I argue that my perspective reveals material which neither Baylor or Miller found. That discussion leads to my fifth and final process and objective, which is a discussion of an author's voice and individual cultural perspective. I will also discuss the effect stereotypical images have had on me and I will explore some directions for future research. In sum, the overall objective of my research is to provide an exploration of media representations of the 'Oka Crisis' as compared to other authors' work on media images of First Nations resistance, supported and informed from a specific and individual cultural perspective.

THESIS DESIGN

As I stated above, I will examine and compare published material from Maclean's, Windspeaker, and the Micmac News concerning the 'Oka' crisis in the summer of 1990. I will use a code sheet modified from Steuter (1987) as my measuring devise. I will use secondary sources to indicate the effect image has on community and individuals affected. I will use personal experience methods as well
as my mixed blood Mi'kmaw voice as the foundation for my research. I will be writing this thesis in a story-telling format which honours my Mi'kmaq relations.

I will lay out the discussion in the following manner: First, I begin with Chapter One entitled 'An Introduction to the Research Questions, Thesis Design, Key Concepts (Image, Resistance, Voice), Topic Choice, Rules of Engagement, and Aboriginal Terms'. In this chapter I lay the ground work for the discussion of the portrayal of First Nations persons in media. In the Second Chapter, I offer a review of the academic literature to set the context for this thesis within the broader spectrum of sociology, anthropology, and environmental studies based on nine major landmarks. The third chapter, entitled 'History and First Nations Context', provides the context of the crisis in Kanien'kehaka Territory in order to keep the resistance from being seen as an isolated incident. Next a discussion of theoretical and methodological considerations used in this thesis will be offered. They are the 'so what' and 'how' of my research and they will be the focus of Chapters Four and Five. Chapter Six, entitled 'The World of Image' provides a discussion of the results of the comparison of media sources. In Chapter Seven I present my concluding remarks and I examine the implications of my study for future research.

**KEY CONCEPTS**

**Image**

Many sociological studies concern media images and news construction. To
explain the process of how the media presents information to the populace, Herman and Chomsky furnish "[a] propaganda model" in their book entitled Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:2). Herman and Chomsky (1988) state that information in news is constructed to fit the market. They argue that what becomes news results from direct or indirect control by those in economic control. Their model states that the very nature of the power structure of mass media censors information not in keeping with their interests.

In the Canadian context, this power structure has historically excluded First Nations people.

The historical image of First Nations people has been generally been portrayed within the dominant culture's view (Berkhofer, 1978; Bordewich, 1996; Crosby, 1991; and Francis, 1992). Therefore the information on First Nations people must also be the matter of propaganda, even in the name of ethnography.

Francis (1992) states the following in reference to Edward Curtis:

If the camera never lies, neither does it tell the whole truth. Critics praised the authenticity of Curtis's photographs. People admired the way they showed Indians "as the really were." But in fact, the photographs were carefully posed renderings designed to convey a particular view of the Indian. Curtis equipped his subjects with props -- wigs, for example, and items of clothing -- and doctored the photographs to eliminate evidence of White culture. He was trying to present Indians as they existed before the White Man came. Like most non-Natives of his day, Curtis believed in a timeless Indian past where nothing much really changed. His photographs were tiny time machines intended to take the viewer back before history began into a romantic world of a technologically primitive people. Any evidence of contact with White culture contaminated this image and Curtis worked to eliminate it. Native people as they actually lived did not interest him
because in his eyes they were no longer Indians. Only in his photographs might one find the real Indian, which is to say, the Imaginary Indian (Francis, 1992:41).  

Further support for the presentation of propagandist images of First Nations people is provided by Singer, in his article entitled "Minorities and the Media: A Content Analysis of Native Canadians in the Daily Press:"

The image of the Indian based on the news items is apt to be that of an individual whose relationships to Canadian society are essentially mediated by dependence on government and by presumably aggressive land claims. The second major image component presented is that of conflict-deviance; only one fifth of the time is the Indian portrayed other than in these situations. Furthermore, these two major categories are also emphasized through front-page treatment. The image of the Eskimo (Inuit) is 'milder' (Singer 1982:357).

Singer, whose mandate centred on media image, proposes many questions for future research; for example, "How often do these images correspond to some 'reality

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6 The term 'Indian' refers to persons registered under the Indian Act in Canada. I use the term First Nations to encompass all members of the various Nations and Confederacies whose ancestors inhabited Turtle Island (North and South America) prior to the coming of European persons. This definition of First Nations includes Indian Act status, Indian Act non-status, Metis, and Inuit persons. The term 'first' in First Nations reflects and acknowledges the political primacy of said people worldwide. My heart-felt thanks to my partner Patricia Doyle-Bedwell, B.A., LL.B, for insights on this point. 'Indian' is a term that I will not use in a public, especially academic, forum. It is common knowledge that we as First Nations People use 'Indian' in reference to ourselves when in our own company. I feel it is an in-group term. As a term applied to us by outsiders it refers to Columbus' accidental landfall and therefore, I deem it racist. I therefore formally protest the use of 'Indian' in citations from Euro-Canadian and Euro-American authors. However, for the sake of readability, I will make my protest known here, once, for all the incidences of the use of 'Indian'. Thus, I will not the use '[sic]' after each incidence of the term 'Indian' as would be academically appropriate, however cumbersome.
parameter' for such minorities" (Singer 1982:357). The images Singer provides us reflect commonly held stereotypes and here his study adds support to the Herman and Chomsky propaganda model being discussed.

First Nations persons are not the only ones presented in the media in stereotypical fashion. Sexton and Haberman's conclusions in their article entitled "Women in Magazine Advertisements" showed, "[t]he overall results would appear to corroborate feminist charges that the images of women reflected in ads are quite narrow" (Sexton and Haberman 1974:45). Despite its datedness, this study showed the stereotypical images of women.

Both the Singer, and the Sexton and Haberman studies discuss the use of stereotypes by the mass media. The inaccurate images found in stereotypical portrayals show the effect of social creation and social modification. Further, according to Herman and Chomsky's thesis (1988), these images serve the propagandist ends of the agency that contrived them. Vestergaard and Schroder in their book on advertising, state: "the propagandist cannot create new needs but only retard or accelerate existing trends" (Brown 1963:77 cf. Vestergaard and Schroder 1985:10). In other words, stereotypical representations of people remain entrenched in Canadian popular culture. Crosby goes on to suggest that the image of First Nations people in media -- "the Imaginary Indian" -- not only remains entrenched in Canadian society but is essential to that society (Crosby 1991:267). She states:

As I continued studying the Euro-Canadian interaction with First Nations people, both in the visual arts and in literature, I saw a
composite, singular "Imaginary Indian" who functioned as peripheral
but necessary component of Europe's history in North America -- the
negative space of the 'positive' force of colonialist hegemony.
Together, the 'Indian' and the Euro-Canadian made up a fictive but
nevertheless documented historical whole. Each time I looked at an
image or a text with the Imaginary Indian component, the same theme
recurred with insistence: Western historicizing posits indigenous
peoples as illusory; historically, they are inscribed to stand as the West's
opposite, imaged and constructed so as to stress their great need to be
saved through colonization and civilization. ... The colonization of
images in order to create a new Canadian mythology is parasitic,
requiring that the first-order meanings within native communities be

Since these stereotypes are part of Canadian reality, they must also be a part of
Canadian identity. Berger and Luckmann, in their ground breaking treatise on the
social construction of reality, lend support to my argument when they state:

Identity is, of course, a key element of subjective reality and, like all
subjective reality, stands in a dialectical relationship with society.
Identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is
maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations. The social
processes involved in both the formation and maintenance of identity
are determined by the social structure. Conversely, the identities
produced by the interplay of organism, individual consciousness and
social structure react upon the given social structure, maintaining it,
modifying it, or even reshaping it. Societies have histories in the
course of which specific identities emerge; these histories are, however,
made by men [sic] with specific identities (Berger and Luckmann,

Resistance

Resistance as a human response to oppression, comes in many forms and
expressions all within various cultural contexts. Sometimes for First Nations persons,
who have had to face daily oppression for the last five hundred and six years,
"getting out of bed in the morning is an act of resistance" (Patricia Doyle-Bedwell, 1998). However, resistance may take a more pointed form with the oppressed being "ready to take up arms against his [sic] oppressor" (Bono, 1985). Indeed, when the mayor of the town of Oka, Québec, decided to accept the plans for an expansion of a golf course into an area held sacred by the Kanien'kehaka, the Kanien'kehaka continued a process of resistance begun some two hundred and seventy years earlier (Obomsawin, 1993). The town of Oka borders the Kanien'kehaka community of Kanesatake and the Pines. The Pines are of special importance to the Kanien'kahaka. Ellen Gabriel, a Kanesatake Kanien'kahaka, states:

The fight was about the Pines and the forest land. Will the Québécois and their town have it for a bigger golf course or will we have it? To us, the Pines are sacred, a cemetery of our ancestors. The town and the members of the golf club have said they want that land to expand from nine to 18 holes. There are more plans for a resort, which means further shearing our land to provide access to the river (Gabriel in Hornung, 1991:116).

Dan David states further that "[o]ur great-grandfathers planted these trees by hand" (Dan David in York and Pindera, 1991:10). Despite the two hundred and seventy years of conflict over the Pines, the Kanien'kehaka of Kanesatake continued their resistance, over the latest incursions into their territory, by staging a demonstration in Oka (Hornung, 1991). When their protest fell on deaf ears, they then practised 'civil disobedience' by blocking a dirt road to the Pines. Only when police shot at the protestors did they take up arms against their oppressor (Hornung, 1991).

Given that the images of First Nations people in mass media are stereotypical,
and that economics drive the creation of news, then an 'uprising' in Oka would certainly draw the media attention (after Herman and Chomsky, 1988). It did. Since the 'Oka Crisis' was covered so widely in the media, it becomes a very important research subject. Dan David states the news image construction process below:

The summer began as the "Shoot-out at the Oka Corral," as one British newspaper called it, with the Mohawks portrayed as the righteous victims of a brutal raid by the police. Slowly, as the weeks dragged by, the story evolved into a cowboys and Indians "movie-of-the-night." Finally, the story turned into one of good guys and bad guys, "peace officers" and "terrorists." You just knew the Mohawks would end up wearing black hats in the end (Dan David in York and Pindera, 1991:12).

**Voice Part One**

All creative work, whether art or text, is written from a certain perspective, out of a certain place and cultural milieu -- in other words, it is written or formed from a certain specific voice (Berger and Luckmann 1966/1991). My work is no different. The question of what voice I use needs elucidation. However, it is beyond the scope of an introductory chapter to delve into the deep end of the debate on voice. Therefore I will simply introduce my voice at this time.

I come from three different and culturally distinct peoples: the Scottish (Highland Celts actually), the English (southern shore), and the Mi'kmaq. I was not fully cognizant of my 'Indianness', for various reasons, until the summer of 1990 -- the summer of the 'Oka Crisis'. As a result of my 'fuzzy' cognition of my Mi'kmaq heritage I was raised in and conceived of myself as a EuroCanadian. The events of
1990 changed all that. I dove head first not only into Sweat Lodges but into First Nations life. For the first time in my life I have been on the receiving end of the racist stick and for the first time in my life I experienced economic disadvantage (albeit with a significant safety net). I have also been embroiled in the politics of race, culture, and appropriation first hand. Even though these events are important to me (and sometimes deeply painful and life-altering) illustrating them here does raise the inevitable, critical, sociological, battle cry -- "so what?" I can just imagine comments like 'does he really think that due to some Mi'kmaq blood, a little pain, relatively little experience in First Nations life, coming from White privilege, he can write from a First Nations perspective?' My answer is 'yes,' with some qualifications.

I am writing and informing this thesis from a perspective of a mixed blood Mi'kmaq person. I am also EuroCanadian. Being a First Nations person does not alter that. I am writing from the middle, a middle which is informed by my First Nations ancestry and personal experience. To answer the 'so what' battle cry, I am writing from a perspective which is mine, although informed predominantly by women who have gone before me (see Acoose, 1995; Anderson, 1997; Doyle-Bedwell, 1993; Monture-Angus, 1995; and Schaef, 1981/1985).

I am also writing from a First Nations perspective which challenges the almost monolithic view that all of my people come from one set of socio-economic circumstances -- poverty and oppression. I am not saying that my people have not or do not suffer economic and social discrimination, they do to this day, and alot of
First Nations writers have indeed suffered in this manner (Monture-Angus, 1995). I am saying that economic disadvantage is not all to being a First Nations person. I am challenging the view that in order to have a First Nations voice you fit a certain set socio-economic conditions. My people do not need to be oppressed (Anderson, 1997:40). If First Nations writers have to fit certain socio-economic criteria, then the voices of the 'lost children' (mixed bloods and those children adopted by non-First Nations families) will be silenced. I do, however, place two loosely held criteria on First Nations voice -- namely, bloodline and connection to the various communities. That connection is lived experience. Patricia Monture-Angus states clearly the role of personal experience in First Nations world view:

...the role experience plays in qualifying individuals is different in my culture. A personal example is that I have frequently been referred to as a "prison expert." It is always necessary for me to qualify this statement, as I am an academic expert only. My knowledge comes from books and volunteer experience within the criminal justice system. Within my culture, this does not make me an expert. I have never spent any time in jail as a prisoner and I cannot speak to that experience (Monture-Angus, 1995:30).

In other words, you must have lived experience of First Nations culture. My First Nations perspective is not only based on a bloodline but of eight years of involvement in the Mi'kmaq community.

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7 Children who were adopted out of their communities are very special. In my mind, they are First Nations people, even though they may have no current connection to the community. For instance, you do not stop being a Canadian citizen when you are out of the country. This analogy has some large truck-sized holes in it, however, it does provide some descriptive usefulness.
TOPIC CHOICE

The 'Oka' crisis was the catalyst for my awakening to myself and my identity as a mixed blood Mi'kmaq. As a news 'story' it captivated the imaginations of many people and it presented some First Nations issues to the world stage. The mass media certainly produced metric tonnes of material on that crisis. Thus the media representations of the 'Oka Crisis' satisfies the researcher's constant quest for access to information. I chose to use the media coverage of the 'Oka Crisis' as the subject of my research mostly for two reasons -- it punctuated my return home to the Mi'kmaq Nation and it satisfies the researcher's need for access to sociologically relevant information. However, I chose this topic for additional reasons.

Although the 'Oka Crisis' involved primarily the Kanien'kehaka, some Mi'kmaq were also present with the Warriors (York and Pindera, 1991:214). One of whom I had met on several occasions, primarily through my partner Patricia, but also at his defense fund raiser. I knew him as Tom Paul. I knew he was a great singer, but I did not know him well. Even though I did not know him well, he kept weaving in and out of my life -- he was at the gathering where I first attended the Sweat Lodge and it is from a recording of him singing that I first began to learn the songs of my Mi'kmaq ancestry. However, it was not until I began the research for this thesis that I realized his contribution to First Nations resistance. York and Pindera described him as follows:
Nine Micmacs arrived at Kahnawake on July 15, and the next day four of them went to Kanesatake. Among them was Tom Paul, a forty-eight-year-old pipecarrier—a spiritual leader—and a veteran of Indian protests and confrontations at Wounded Knee [1973], Ganienkeh, Raquette Point, and Restigouche. ... On his first day in Kanesatake, Tom Paul stood at the main barricade, his waist-length black hair in two long braids, a fierce expression on his scarred face, refusing to identify himself to reporters except by his Micmac name—Mestaghuptaasit Kitpu, or Spotted Eagle. Gradually, he became less fearsome as his quirky but easygoing personality emerged (York and Pindera, 1991:214).

He became kind of a hero to me. I unfortunately did not get to know him better, he passed away in Montreal awaiting his trial regarding his involvement in the 'Oka Crisis'. As was the case with my Grandfather, who passed away before my First Nations fuzzy cognition left me, I missed my chance to get to know their worlds better. Therefore, I want to know more about the events and media presentations of the events in Kanien'kehaka territory as a way of knowing my peoples' struggles and values. In other words, I chose this topic to find out more of what people like my Grandfather and Tom Paul stood for.

My fourth reason for choosing this topic hinges on my participation in the martial arts for the past twenty years. I am a warrior. As a First Nations person, I am also an First Nations warrior. However, I am not a member of any established Warrior Society. In Maclean's magazine, at least, the Warriors were the ones in central focus. The images of the Warriors at Kahnawake and Kanesatake impacted

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8 Micmac should be spelled Mi'kmaq or Mi'kmaw depending the status of the object (singular or plural). I protest the improper spelling, here, for future references.
on me and my burgeoning First Nations self-realization dramatically. I want to understand the Warriors' images and how their voice has been coloured through their interaction of the mainstream media.

When I came home to the Mi'kmaq world I did not know 'how to be Indian'. I came to this world in an EuroCanadian way -- the way I was raised. I thought in terms of 'or' rather than 'and'. Some Elders said I was 'Indian'; I somehow believed that changed my upbringing and moved my English and Scottish ancestry to a lessor place -- as would be expected by a person coming from what Anne Wilson Schaef calls "The White Male System" (Schaef, 1981/1985:2 and 12). I confused the feeling of 'home' with the feeling of exclusivity.

Thus, unfortunately, I internalized some of the common First Nations stereotypes as legitimate 'Indianness'. I am not happy to admit this as it clearly lays forth my naivete. Even further, when the reality of the lives of my First Nations sisters and brothers showed itself I still relied on the stereotypical 'knowledge' that I had, even though I had received Teaching from Elders. Therefore, the last reason that I chose the images of the 'Oka Crisis' to study, was, initially, an almost unconscious decision -- because of my attraction to Warriors and the image that was presented.

However, in the process of writing this thesis and the accompanying self-analysis I realized that I had internalized some racist\(^9\) images. These images provided

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\(^9\) Although I would have said that the images I held were positive, for example the "Noble Savage" (Francis, 1992:7), they are in fact two dimensional and not in keeping with the reality experienced by my ancestors. I am not saying, however, that my Mi'kmaq ancestors did not have deep ecological understandings
the mirror to confront and then come to terms with some of my colonialism. Thus in the final hour, my last reason for choosing the images of the 'Oka Crisis' is to inform others of my process of decolonization in the hopes that others will be able to self-identify their colonialism and heal from it.

**RULES OF ENGAGEMENT**

Although the phrase 'rules of engagement' rests usually in heavily armoured hands of the military, it adds a needed edge to my thesis. The rules of engagement lay out the terms of combat, for example, "you'll do this and we'll do that." Given that my thesis concerns the images produced about an act of resistance which involved the police, the military, and a Warrior Society, I thought I would lay forth the 'do's' and 'do not's' of my diction. I will capitalize Warrior Society and Warriors as these are names used for a specific organization. I will do the same for First Nations, Band Council, Provincial Government, EuroCanadian, English, French, for example. I will capitalize names of ceremonies or cultural teachings as well, such as Sweat Lodge or Medicine Wheel. I will capitalize territorial names such as Canada,

nor adequate biological science, because they did. I am saying, like Francis (1992), that the 'Noble Savage' is not a First Nations image, it is one imposed on us and thus is stereotypical. See the above text for a discussion of stereotypes and racism.

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10 My thanks to Dr. Don Clairmont who reviewed an earlier draft of this thesis and pointed out that I did not use my diction with consistency. Therefore I felt a section dedicated to the explicit elucidation of my diction would be appropriate. The phrase 'rules of engagement' was intended as a small piece of ironic humour, in a thesis that, for me at least, was very difficult to write.
Wabanaki, for instance, in order to show respect both to First Nations people and EuroCanadians. I will not capitalize non-specific terms like native or white. I will continue to refer to the 'Oka Crisis' in single quotes. I use single quotes to refer to terms that are in contention, such as 'Indian' or 'Indianness' and terms that have another preferred form like the 'Oka Crisis' for the resistance of the Kanien'kehaka at Kahnawake and Kanesatake.

The last term I wish to discuss is the term Elder. This is a very special term to First Nations people. Being an Elder involves lived experience (Monture-Angus, 1995:30). Knudtson and Suzuki (1992) define Elder as:

> It tends to honor as its most esteemed elders those individuals who have experienced a profound and compassionate reconciliation of outer- and inner-directed knowledge, rather than virtually anyone who has made material achievement or simply survived to chronological old age (Knudtson and Suzuki, 1992:15).

Knudtson and Suzuki (1992) apply this term also to non-First Nations Elders in the scientific community as well. Since I am a mixed blood Mi'kmaw person who is trying to live according to our ancient Mi'kmaw traditions, I too will extend the term Elder to all persons with lived experience which has been profoundly reconciled.

The concept of Elder that I use is similar to the concept of 'sensei' in the Japanese language. Hadamitzky and Spahn, (1979/1991:78) in their book entitled, Kanji and Kana: A Handbook and Dictionary of the Japanese Writing System, define sensei as teacher. However, the authors also provide the literal translation of "sen ... earlier" and "sei ... life; ... be alive" (Hadamitzky and Spahn, 1979/1991:78 & 77
respectively). In this sense, the word 'sensei' implies one who has lived experience.

A NOTE ON THE USE OF FIRST NATIONS TERMS

The terms that I use in reference to ideas, people, and material in First Nations country need to be defined here. Terms like 'Indian,' 'Aboriginal,' and 'First Nations' have already been defined. However, the terms for a person's First Nation, or places will be listed in the language that the people themselves use. For instance, the 'People of Flint' call themselves Kanien'kahaka, as opposed to Mohawk. The term Haundenosaunee refers to the 'Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy.' I will define, in a footnote, the First Nations terms when they first appear in my text. I do this in order to facilitate readability. Now I will introduce the position of this thesis within the sociological literature.
Chapter Two: Literature Review -- The 'Where' of Research

The literature review allows for research to be located within a certain intellectual landscape. Since this thesis discusses matters involving culture and societal structures, it lies somewhere in the 'forbidden territory' between the disciplines of sociology and social anthropology. To further confound the issue, the images which I am exploring concern the resistance to the appropriation of land and its resources by First Nations people. Therefore this thesis also broadly fits into the interdisciplinary approach of environmental studies.

In essence and in brief, my thesis is concerned with the relationships of the social production of image in news reports of First Nations persons in protest, as told from a mixed blood First Nations person's perspective writing within the genre of the social and environmental sciences. There is no other work exactly like this that currently exists. However, my work is certainly not alone in the landscape. I could not have arrived where I am without the landmarks of previous workers to show me the way. Some landscapes, however, are more lush than others.

My work is located in a landscape with only eight major landmarks: methodological demarcation (including feminist and First Nations methods), environmental studies, media studies, social constructionism, cultural appropriation, native studies, identity issues (including work on gender), the work of Miller (1993), and the work of Baylor, (1996). A ninth landmark, First Nations health issues, will be
discussed as a direction for future research in Chapter Seven, after a brief introduction here.

Although there are nine landmarks (with the ninth in the distance), they are not completely separate. The landmarks (to stretch the geography analogy to the limit) are more like mountain peaks in the same range rather than separate mountain ranges. In other words, even though I will discuss each intellectual grouping under its own heading, the groupings in fact contain considerable overlap with each other.

**METHODOLOGICAL DEMARCATION**

I have included this topic, even though it is much more thoroughly covered in Chapter Five, to illustrate the common methodological ground which other studies, in the sections below, have used. Although, my topic could be written from a quantitative standpoint, by surveying a larger number of media sources, I chose to bring a qualitative design to bear. The general method that I used to examine the *Micmac News, Windspeaker,* and *Maclean's* was content analysis. Therefore, my work fits into the world of qualitative, case studies employing content analyses. Babbie (1973/1989), whose introductory methods text is a standard in sociological research provided my introduction to content analysis (Babbie, 1973/1989:393-310). Krippendorff (1980) provides definitions which I will discuss later. Erin Steuter's M.A. thesis provided a magazine image coding design (Steuter 1987). Weber (1990) provides a caution to doing content analysis:
There is no simple right way to do content analysis. Instead, investigators must judge what methods are most appropriate for their substantive problems (Weber, 1990:13).

However, for a more specialized analysis of content analysis and qualitative methods, which led to a better understanding of where in the content analyses landscape my thesis fits, I turned to Sage Publications', 1994, qualitative method reader entitled, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Manning and Cullum-Swan (1994) provided a historical overview of content analysis which further reinforced my choice of its use. The authors cautioned that the researcher must pay attention to the context from which the material is taken and analyzed (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 1994:464).

In the manner of context vigilance, I chose to use what Clandinin and Connelly (1994:413) call "Personal Experience Methods." They define 'personal experience methods' in the following manner:

*We see personal experience methods as a way to permit researchers to enter into and participate with the social world in ways that allow the possibility of transformations and growth. Personal experience methods offers all of us, not only we as chapter authors, but you as reader, the opportunity to create a middle ground where there is a conversation among people with different life experiences. Personal experience methods inevitably are relationship methods (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994:425).*

This definition aligns my thesis directly with personal experience methods.

The authors discuss primarily text analysis, however, I was also interested in the photographs used by my media sources (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994). I, therefore, explored Harper's work on visual methods (Harper, 1994). He states:
V[isual] sociology is primarily a subfield of qualitative sociology -- the recording, analysis, and communication of social life through photographs, film, and video. Visual sociology is related to visual ethnography as it developed in anthropology, and to documentary photography, which has existed largely outside the university (Harper, 1994:403).

Camphausen's popular cultural work (1997) on body art would be an example of new visual studies. Camphausen divides his work into seven sections each one dedicated to different aspects of body adornment, from body painting and tattooing to piercing rather intimate parts of the human body (Camphausen, 1997). His work simply illustrates body adornment in photographs with relatively little text so that the reader readily views what is discussed in print.

My use of my voice, as introduced in the previous chapter, mirrors the use of personal voice in feminist analysis. My introduction to feminist research came from Kirby and McKenna's ground-breaking feminist methodology text (Kirby and McKenna, 1989). The authors stress self-analysis as the beginning of research as well as throughout the research process. My experience mirrors their instructions on methodology. My self-analysis was a result of my thesis writing process and via the teachings of my Mi'kmaq Elders regarding self knowledge. In other words I began with an analysis of my self (as my Elders teach), however that analysis was certainly broadened by the thesis writing process itself. Thus the methodological demarcations of my study may be summed up in the following manner: Personal qualitative methods, using text and visual content analysis, written from my perspective as a
mixed blood Mi'kmaw person, in a Mi'kmaw story-telling manner.

ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

Environmental studies is a broad and far reaching discipline or disciplines. It is entirely out of the scope of my thesis to engage in a lengthy discussion of the rise of environmentalism, however some discussion is warranted. Paehlke's (1989) Environmentalism and the Future of Progressive Politics, which discusses the development of environmentalism and Zimmerman, et al.'s (1992) text entitled, Environmental Philosophy: From Animal Rights to Radical Ecology, which covers subjects such as animal rights, environmental ethics, and social ecology, provide good introductions to the histories and philosophies of the environmental movement. However, since my thesis does focus on the resistance to the appropriation of land -- namely the expansion of a golf course onto a Kanien'kehaka burial ground (after Hornung, 1991) -- I must introduce some environmental material.

The material I wish to introduce comes from the middle ground between sociology and environmental studies -- namely environmental sociology. William Catton and Riley Dunlap first introduced the concept of 'Environmental Sociology' in 1978, in an article entitled, "Environmental Sociology: A New Paradigm" (Catton and Dunlap, 1978). The authors argued that most social analyses and sociological schools of thought have "... fundamental anthropocentrism underlying all of them" (Catton and Dunlap, 1978:42). The authors further suggest a paradigm to combat
this anthropocentrism based on ecological principles about the nature of humanity (Catton and Dunlap, 1978). Oddly enough, those ecological principles (for instance the view that humans are one animal among many and not the animal) are ones that First Nations Elders have been teaching since time immemorial. A work of social science that was based on ecological principles (such as the Medicine Wheel teachings and the teachings of Natural Law) would certainly fit into Catton and Dunlap's "...'New Environmental Paradigm' or NEP ... " (Catton and Dunlap, 1978:45).

Shapcott's 1989 study entitled, "Environmental Impact Assessment and Resource Management, A Haida Case Study: Implications for Native People of the North", provides an example of another genre of environmental research in the social sciences -- First Nations people in relation to 'Western' environmental practise (Shapcott, 1989). He states:

Native people have much to teach the culture which created environmental impact assessment about how it could be transformed into a more meaningful process for everything affected by impact evaluation -- not the least of which is the environment (Shapcott, 1989.:79).

I argue that 'much to teach' also includes studies involving the use of a First Nations voice to frame the argument. Furthermore, a study which involved discussions of land appropriation by EuroCanadians from First Nations people would also fit into this latter category. I have previously written in this area of cultural relations to land in my honours thesis, entitled "The Phenomenology of the Land: Two Views of the
Land Claim Issue Between the First Nations and the Canadian Nation" (Bedwell, 1991a). In sum, my work fits into both the environmental sociology and First Nations and EuroCanadian land interaction materials.

**MEDIA STUDIES**

As a discussion of media work, my thesis uses the work of Herman and Chomsky (1988), who suggest that news is constructed via market factors. Other scholars have been interested in the social construction of image in mass media. For example, Erin Steuter (1987) explored the construction of terrorism in print media. It is from Erin Steuter's methods that I gained the coding sheet, albeit in a modified form, for my analysis of media images. Lynn L. Langille (1994) offers an analysis of Mi'kmaq women as depicted in the *Micmac News*. She states:

*My analysis of *Micmac News* indicates that the survival of the Mi'kmaq is articulated by women around the amendment of the sexually discriminatory clauses of the *Indian Act*, in terms which reflect the ideology of "traditional motherhood". Women who have been excluded from their communities address their exclusion in terms of both biological and cultural continuity of the Mi'kmaq nation. They have used their roles as mothers and teachers to promote their inclusion in their communities and in political and economic processes within their communities (Langille, 1994:100).*

Lisus and Ericson (1995:1) wrote about the effect of media presentations (television) on the perception of historically accurate information about the Holocaust as presented in "the Simon Wiesenthal Center's newly built Beit Hashoah Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles." Although the influence of television information is
beyond the scope of my thesis, these authors did suggest that the manner of presentation of information on the Holocaust controlled the level in which that information was received by the museum viewers.

More specifically, these authors found that the information provided an emotional lesson, which in presenting such a lesson modified certain historical facts, which were not able to be perceived due to the manner of the presentation (Lisus and Ericson, 1995). In other words, the television media used to instruct the museum viewers about the Holocaust, controlled the message received by the viewers (Lisus and Ericson, 1995). Lisus and Ericson's findings mirrored what Herman and Chomsky stated above -- media information is controlled by the sender.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

Berger and Luckmann's (1966/1991) thesis on social constructionism states that the understandings of everyday life are socially constructed. This socially constructed world is taken for granted by the persons who live it. Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) provide the basis for understanding the differences in culture between First Nations people and EuroCanadian people. Many authors have followed a similar thesis path in the discussion of various societal phenomena. For example, Hansen's (1991) study on social constructionism and the environment follows a social constructionist frame. He states, "[i]t is to a larger constructivist framework, and the conceptualization of the media therein, that we must turn for a
more holistic view of media roles in the construction of social problems" (Hansen, 1991:454). I attempt to use a similar social constructionist framework in my thesis to understand the realities behind the possible differences in media coverage of the 'Oka Crisis'.

CULTURAL APPROPRIATION

Cultural appropriation, the usurping of one culture's values, materials, ideas, for instance, by another culture, is a vile process. It makes me very uncomfortable. However it is a topic which I must cover in this thesis. I reviewed the current and recent literature not for historical depth but for breadth in the debate. Four articles provided this breadth: two papers centered on First Nations people (Howes, 1995 and Nyoongah, 1998); one paper focused on cultural appropriation in the Black community (Robinson, 1998); and finally one paper focused on the cultural appropriation of suffering (Kleinman and Kleinman, 1996).

The Howes paper was intended as an exploration of legal avenues of remedy for cultural appropriation in the Hopi context (Howes, 1995). He provides many examples of cultural appropriation including an incident where Marvel Comics published a comic book based on certain aspects of Hopi religious life which were greatly trivialized and taken out of context -- he called it "The Marvel Comics debacle" (Howes, 1995:136). Moreover, the Howes paper defines cultural appropriation in the following way:
The Marvel Comics debacle highlights two of the most serious threats to cultural survival posed by cultural appropriation. One is the dilution of tradition, or undermining of a culture's world view, which results from misconstructions entering into and becoming part of the tradition (for example, the idea that masks are for purposes of disguise, not revelation). The other is the dissemination of tradition, or loss of control over the public transmission of culturally sensitive information. The Hopi are particularly concerned about the dissemination issue, because of the way it affects the very constitution of their society (Howes, 1995:136).

The definition of cultural appropriation given by Howe is very useful as it reminds me to avoid cultural appropriation in my self-analysis process. First, since I am writing from my lived experience, which is what our Elders request of us, I am not diluting tradition -- this is a strength of personal experience methods. Second, I have been given explicit permission to discuss information which is culturally sensitive (for instance my listing of some of the Natural Laws in Chapter Four). This permission comes not only from being Mi'kmaw but also from the teacher, Kinap David Gehue, who gave those teachings to me. Therefore, I am not removing control of cultural transmission from my people.

The second article on cultural appropriation of First Nations' ideas, deals with the experience of an Australian Aboriginal woman writer and her struggles to have her material published in the voice she wrote it in (Nyoongah, 1998). Nyoongah states:

When power relations privilege this race/gender/class menu of subjective sorts, Aboriginal women's prose is read inevitably into the very invisibility that Ginibi [the Australian Aboriginal woman writer] has resisted and combated. It matters little that most of her oral
testimony, speeches and historical documents were removed by the University of Queensland Press (UQP) from *My Bundjalung People* (Nyoongah, 1998:35 bracketed additions mine).

Although on the surface this appears to be discussion of censorship rather than cultural appropriation, the removal of her material constitutes the first and second parts of cultural appropriation as cited above (Howes, 1995).

In the third paper on cultural appropriation, "Blaxploitation and the Misrepresentation of Liberation," Robinson (1998) discusses the representations of Black peoples' liberation in Blaxploitation films. He states:

On the one hand, this imagined Angela extended the life of the Black-action movie. More importantly, as the gun-toting impersonation displaced the original, it also served to rupture the transmission of Black radical thought. Between them, Blaxploitation and the Bad Black Woman narratives installed into the popular culture a race-encoded critique of American society and resistance as it drew its first and later audiences further away from the reality of the liberation movement. Historical ambiguities and structural contradictions were engulfed, leaving behind an ideological apparatus ill-equipped to deal with research-based historical activity, to invite trans-racial resistance, or to reckon with state tyranny in Africa or the Caribbean or domestic manifestations of Black fascism (Robinson, 1998:11-12).

As in Howes (1995) definition of cultural appropriation -- cultural transmission is interrupted.

The last article on cultural appropriation concerns the use and possible misuse of the images of suffering (Kleinman and Kleinman, 1996). The authors discuss a photograph of a starving young girl and a vulture in which the photographer did nothing to aid the girl in order to get the photograph. They argue that this behavior
is indicative of the 'health industry' (Kleinman and Kleinman, 1996). They state:

We are shown close-ups of limbs blown off by mortars and landmines. In low intensity warfare directed at terrorizing populations, people are not just killed; they are hacked into pieces, blown up, torn apart, burned, and broken. And all the details are dramatically displayed for us. Thus the cultural capital of trauma victims -- their wounds, their scars, their tragedy -- is appropriated by the same popular codes through which physical and sexual violence are commodified, sold in the cinema, marketed as pornography, and used by tabloids and novelists to attract readers (Kleinman and Kleinman, 1996:10-11).

Cultural appropriation is akin to violence and the definition provided by Howes (1995) is illustrated in the material that I have reviewed here.

NATIVE STUDIES

Of all the various landmarks that I have presented, with the exception of methodological demarcation, native studies would have to be the largest and most diverse. Moreover, the material that I review for this landmark readily overlaps with other sections, including identity, Baylor (1996), and Miller (1993). In particular, this section and the next flow into each other. This section considers two types of material: first, material which presents First Nations knowledge -- stories, works told from a First Nations perspective, and material or cognitive knowledge -- and second material dedicated to First Nations images in media and popular culture.

I must place my work with other First Nations stories because I am using my mixed blood Mi'kmaw voice and personal experience methods, my thesis is a story, albeit one told within the genre of the social sciences. First Nations stories, argues
Vine Deloria, Jr. (1995:81-107), provide a frame from which to begin academic discourse. Anthologies and collections of First Nations stories are far too numerous to mention all of them here, so I will focus on just a few. In the Mi'kmaq context, one of the best collections (outside of our Elders of course) from EuroCanadian authors is Wallis and Wallis' (1955), *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada*. They have an entire section dedicated to Mi'kmaq stories and traditions including a bibliography listing other written sources (Wallis and Wallis, 1955:317-493). Several other Mi'kmaq story anthologies have been published by authors from a EuroCanadian background, for instance see Robertson (1969/1973), Whitehead (1988), and Whitehead and McGee (1989/1992). Robertson's work provides some material which was not later presented by Whitehead (1988) or Whitehead and McGee (1989/1992). These collections are wonderful, in as much as they preserve stories which, for the most part, are not found elsewhere.

However, I would very much like to see these collections retold by our Mi'kmaq Elders. Recently, our Elders, in collaboration with EuroCanadians and alone, have been publishing anthologies of Mi'kmaq stories and editing our anthologies, for instance see Rose Knockwood-Morris (1996) and Rita Joe and Lesley Choyce (1997). Rose Knockwood-Morris, illustrates the principle of self knowledge in a small book detailing stories from her life (1996). Joe and Choyce edit a volume of literature written by Mi'kmaq people (1997).

Other First Nations storytellers have produced works containing their stories
with illustrations by First Nations artists, for instance, see Basil Johnston and David Johnson (1995a and 1995b). Basil Johnston is a trailblazer as an Anishanaabae person telling stories from an Anishanaabae perspective, he was producing works on stories at least as early as 1978 (Johnston, 1978/1989). One aspect of First Nations' storytelling, is that the stories are told from the experience of the storyteller. This includes the stories of Creation as the storyteller had to learn and experience those Creation stories in order to tell them. However, when our Elders relate teachings, in my experience and as cited above, they speak from their lived experience. I am writing from my experience using personal experience methods and I am writing using my voice. Therefore, I am writing a Mi'kmaw story. Thus, as a story containing my experience as a mixed blood Mi'kmaw person, my work fits into the continuum of stories told from a First Nations' perspective.

Recently, many works, by First Nations authors and authors of European descent, have been published on several topical subjects. Mander (1991), Peat (1994), and Diamond, et al. (1994), have all written on the cognitive contributions by First Nations people. Mander (1991) writes about the effect of technology and 'Western' thinking on First Nations people. Diamond, et al. (1994), wrote from another perspective in their text about First Nations musical instruments and traditions. They ensured that the words of their informants were printed verbatim (Diamond, et al., 1994). I found this book to be very useful in presenting instruments, traditions, and history which was not readily available elsewhere. In
1991, the International Indigenous Commission released a paper on First Nations' Traditional knowledge. This paper was the first in my academic career which suggested that the so-called 'hunter gatherer' lifestyle of many First Nations was a matter of cultural choice (International Indigenous Commission, 1991). All of these works attempt to honour the voice of First Nations people. The use of a First Nations voice and the telling of stories which involve self-knowledge through lived experience are models for my work here.

First Nations protest has been of keen interest to researchers for many years, for instance, see Ponting and Gibbins (1981) for their discussion on the effect on EuroCanadian communities from First Nations protests. Among authors of European descent who have chronicled recent acts of resistance by First Nations people are Switlo, (1997) on the Gustafsen Lake resistance; Brand, (1978/1993) on the life of Anna Mae Aquash; and Goldstick, (1987) on the effect of Uranium mining on Wollaston Lake. There have been some chronicles of First Nations resistance written by First Nations and European descendant authors in collaboration, for example Whaley and Bresette's, (1994) *Walleye Warriors*, and Cross and Sévigny's, (1994) *Lasagna: The Man Behind the Mask*.

Many recent books on First Nations resistance have been written entirely from a First Nations perspective. For instance, Knockwood (1992/1994) has documented life in the Indian Residential School in Nova Scotia; Goodleaf (1995) has described Kanien'kehaka resistance; and Alfred (1995) has explored the development native
nationalism in Kahnawake. This thesis, as an examination of the images of Kanien'kehaka in the summer of 1990, fits into the landscape of First Nations stories of protest with a connection to other First Nations authors due to my mixed blood Mi'kmaw voice.

The last segment of native studies that I wish to introduce is on the subject of First Nations popular and often stereotypical images. Again, the material can be divided upon the cultural perspectives from which the authors originate. Four excellent works concerning the image of First Nations people in popular culture have been written by authors of European descent. The first is Berkhofer, Jr.'s (1978) *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, which chronicles the development of stereotypes of First Nations people dating from the time of Columbus' arrival on Turtle Island. He states:

> What began as reality for the European ended as image and stereotype for Whites, and what began as an image alien to Native Americans became a reality for them (Berkhofer, Jr., 1978:195).

includes some material on famous, but fake First Nations people, who fit the stereotypical image and thus were not denied (Francis, 1992:109-143). He states in his conclusion:

In the jargon of the day, Canadians are conflicted in their attitudes toward Indians. And we will continue to be so long as the Indian remains imaginary. Non-Native Canadians can hardly hope to work out a successful relationship with Native people who exist largely in fantasy. Chief Thunderthud did not prepare us to be equal partners with Native people. The fantasies we told ourselves about the Indian are not really adequate to the task of understanding the reality of Native people. The distance between the two, between fantasy and reality, is the distance between Indian and Native. It is also the distance non-Native Canadians must travel before we can come to terms with the imaginary Indian, which means coming to terms with ourselves as North Americans (Francis, 1992:224 emphasis mine).

The need for understanding First Nations reality, as Francis emphasises above, underscores the importance of exploring First Nations voices.

IDENTITY

This is the last major intellectual landmark of the landscape which shelters my thesis. I will discuss this segment as I have the last ones, by demarcating material in relation to its author's cultural perspectives. Anne Wilson Schaefer's (1981/1985) book entitled Women's Reality: An Emerging Female System in White Male Society, provided me with the understanding of the 'or' segment of my 'and' versus 'or' equation, even though her book was not about First Nations identity. Angela Gilliam (1998) writes a report concerning the identity and image of Black people in Brazil
and their relationship to the economy. She states:

As Brazilian blacks seek ways to reinvent individual and collective identities, they increasingly confront the establishment of 'experts' on black life, the 'negrologists'. These gatekeepers to academe hold fast to power, thus black people are kept marginalized from the possibility of producing alternative analyses of Brazilian society (Gilliam, 1998:63).

Again, cultural oppression occurs by refusing 'minority' authors access to publication in academic journals.

Henry Giroux (1997) wrote an article about the construction of the ethnicity of being white. He argued that adherence to 'whiteness' stops white students from actively informing themselves in the deconstruction of racism and that this malady will be remedied only when they come to see being white as yet another ethnic group (Giroux, 1997). This paper also helped to inform my 'and' versus 'or' equation.

Many authors have written on First Nations peoples' identity, for instance Crosby (1991), on the Imaginary Indian in art; Davis (1993), on First Nations protest of mascots; Banks (1993), on sports team names and mascots; Castile (1996), on the role of the market in First Nations life; and Lerch and Bullers (1996), on pow wow culture. Those First Nations writers who write from their experience about identity have informed my thesis, for example, Doyle-Bedwell, 1993; Monture-Angus, 1995; Acoose, 1995; and Graveline, 1998. An exciting new work, from a mixed blood First Nations perspective is provided by Kim Anderson (1997), who is wrote about the creation of First Nations' women's identity. All of these authors provided me with the direction to write about my experience and understand my identity.
PIVOTAL STUDIES OF FIRST NATIONS PEOPLES AND THE MEDIA

Two studies provided the mirror with which to compare my results -- they were the works of Miller (1993) and Baylor (1996).

The Work of Miller, 1993


Many Indian people there have expressed unease towards the local newspapers and have suggested that the papers have damaged relations between Indian and non-Indian people over a long period, but especially during a treaty-related battle over salmon fishing which led to the so-called Boldt decision (U.S. v. Washington, 384 F. Supp. 312, 1974) (Miller, 1993:75 citation and italics in original).

In other words, he attempted to analyze the effect the news media has played in ethnic relations in the Northwest, including a First Nations perception of damaged relations.

Miller provides a quite lengthy discussion of the U.S. v. Washington decision as a backdrop for his media analysis of events in the Skagit Valley, Washington State (Miller, 1993:76-79).\(^\text{11}\) He states, "[t]he Boldt decision in 1974 ended almost a

\(^{11}\) Dr. Fay Cohen clarified, in a personal communication, the nature of the US. v. Washington case. I would not be able to fully understand this event without
A century of illegal obstruction by Washington State of treaty-based Indian access to salmon fishing, a resource central to Coast Salish Indian identity, spiritual life, and livelihood" (Miller, 1993:76). The federal court affirmed the validity of the treaties and ruled that the First Nations which were recognized by the state (Treaty Tribes) had the right to an opportunity to catch fifty percent of the fish destined for their traditional off-reservation fishing sites. This change in the allocation of the fishery brought strong reactions from non-First Nations communities. As Miller states:

The relatively powerlessness of the Indian communities left non-Indians unprepared for the sudden turn of events brought about by the Boldt decision, and the shocked white community reacted immediately. Non-Indians, who had long since come to regard the salmon harvest as virtually their own, were suddenly faced with the possible prospect of being forced out of the fishing industry or facing large reductions in their catch. Hostility became so serious that Indians armed their fish camps after enduring attacks on themselves and their equipment (Miller, 1993:77).

The U.S. v. Washington decision (the 'Boldt decision') certainly would provide fuel to a fire begun on racial difference, misunderstanding, and prejudice. The decision not only affected First Nations relations with whites but also with the 'landless Indians' (Miller, 1993:78). Miller states, "[a]lthough the decision is of great benefit to the recognized tribes, it led to the complete severing of relationships between the federal government and the landless tribes and to the elimination of landless tribes from the salmon harvest" (Miller, 1993:78).

Please see, Fay G. Cohen's, (1986) book Treaties on Trial: The Continuing Controversy Over Northwest Indian Fishing Rights, for more information on this case and the events surrounding it.
Miller analyzed newspaper information on First Nations people in an area where whites, 'landless Indians', and reservation 'Indians' lived. In Miller's words "[t]his study, therefore, is concerned with reporting in the areas where the most heated battles over resources take place" (Miller, 1993:79). He used "... thematic analysis ..." to investigate the content of articles concerning First Nations people in the Concrete Herald and the Skagit Valley Herald starting in 1914 and 1911 respectively (Miller, 1993:79). He states that "[b]oth newspapers devoted only the front page to hard news for decades, reserving other pages for sports, gossip, advertising, comics, and other categories, so the great majority of articles about Indians are from the front page" (Miller, 1993:79). Miller divided his news sources' articles into six "... dominant ... theme[s] and grouped by period" and:

In the case of the Skagit Valley Herald, the six themes are as follows: (1) lore, which includes discussions of precontact Indian technology, stories, legends, and pioneer accounts, with an implicit assumption that Indian life as so depicted is now gone; (2) Indian antisocial actions that involve arrests, drinking, and arrests (these articles may imply an anti-Indian sentiment); (3) politics, including treaty rights, especially fishing, hunting, and land claims, and Indian political organizations; (4) civic affairs, including white interventions on behalf of Indians, such as the construction of hospitals, schools, roads, or the bestowal of awards on Indians as Indians; (5) obituaries; and (6) other, a residual category. The analysis of the Concrete Herald employs the same categories, except that the civic theme did not arise (Miller, 1993:80).

Miller provides several examples of reporting illustrative of the six themes from many different years -- 1915, 1927, 1937, 1946, and 1974 (Miller, 1993:80-81). Miller further divides the study into five chronological periods, from 1911-1971 (Miller,
In summary, Miller used two newspapers, with issues dating from early in this century until the present, and placed articles concerning First Nations people into six categories. He then further divided the time span into five periods to clarify analysis.

Miller noted that during times of tension over resources or politics between First Nations people and EuroAmerican people, the newspapers increased their reporting on First Nations people (Miller, 1993:82). Miller hypothesizes that this trend "... is unlikely to be due to chance" (Miller, 1993:82). Further he argued that the best test of his hypothesis would be "... of the immediate pre-1961 (1959-60) reporting and the reporting of 1961-62, since serious conflict continues in the post-Boldt decision years (1974 onward)" (Miller, 1993:82-83). The results of his analysis provided support for his hypothesis (Miller, 1993:83-88).

Miller found that the Skagit Valley Herald reported on local First Nations events in the area prior to 1961, however they did not use terms that First Nations people used to describe those events, for example "... powwow and potlatch..." (Miller, 1993:84). After 1961, in the same journal, the reporters increased their coverage of First Nations events especially those in reference to fisheries issues (Miller, 1993:84). Miller points out that:

Altogether, 84 percent of articles in the years 1961-62 depicted Indians engaged in activities that potentially threatened the welfare of the community ... [o]nly one article addressed any other aspect of the lives Indian people or of Indian tribal government" (Miller, 1993:84).
These articles fit into Miller's 'antisocial' and 'political' categories (Miller, 1993:84).

Miller notes that this trend continued especially during the period following the Boldt decision (Miller, 1993:85).

However, the 'other' category grew in the early eighties (Miller, 1993:85).

Miller also considered the reporting of what he calls "Nonacknowledged Tribes", that is First Nations that do not have federal recognition with the U.S. political system (Miller, 1993:85). He states:

Coverage of the Upper Skagit and Sauk-Suiattle, then, did not seriously begin until after official government recognition. Newspaper coverage reflected the intentions of United States policy in giving attention primarily to Indians with a recognizable political status (and with the associated policymaking, corporate, political capacity), rather than to members of groups who are Indian as a matter of identity and descent (Miller, 1993:86).

In his discussion of the Concrete Herald, Miller notes that the paper "... went through several long periods of little reporting ... [w]hat reporting there was prior to 1961 emphasized obituaries, antisocial actions, and lore (78.6 percent of all articles)"

(Miller, 1993:86). Further, "[f]rom 1961 on, the focus was on treaty rights, especially fishing (66.7 percent)" (Miller, 1993:86). Miller states that "[a]s is the case with Skagit Valley Herald, the early response to open conflict with Indians was a partisan white position" (Miller, 1993:87). He does note that "[a]fter 1977, the tone of the paper slowly shifted, and Upper Skagit views began to be aired" (Miller, 1993:87). Unlike the Skagit Valley Herald's coverage of 'nonacknowledged tribes', which increased after 'official' recognition, the Concrete Herald reported on them due to "... the

In summary, the Skagit Valley Herald and the Concrete Herald interest in First Nations issues increased in response to a perceived threat to their livelihood. In Miller's words "[n]ewspaper reporting in this location helped the interests of the dominant ethnic group and affect public attitudes by providing particular perspectives on the issues" (Miller, 1993:75-76).

Miller also reviewed the relevant literature on minorities and media (Miller, 1993:88-91). He states:

Research indicates that newspaper representations of minority people play a role in the development of both public images and the self-image of minority groups. ... Some tribal members (especially members living off reservation) have internalized a negative impression of tribal life similar to that typically presented by newspapers (Miller, 1993:88-89).

He also discusses research which found that routine activities of minorities was not covered often (Miller, 1993:89). However, this was not always the case. As Miller points out:

Not all newspapers operate to protect entrenched interests, however, nor are they all engaged in similar relationships with the political structure; an example is the Observer, a newspaper published in the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia (Miller, 1993:89).

In conclusion Miller states:

The Skagit county newspapers, whether by conscious policy or not, managed the image of Indian people in a variety of ways, particularly by failing to report routine events, by helping in the usurpation of Indian symbols, and by emphasizing negative and contentious
behavior. ... These newspaper practices left the white community inadequately informed about details of federal Indian-white relations that would have broadened understanding of local events such as the sudden increase of Indian fishing or the establishment of the Upper Skagit and Sauk-Suiattle reservations. ... The "invisible" Indians, particularly those from nonacknowledged tribes who pressed for their treaty rights in the 1960's, surprised the white inhabitants who believed there was little real Indian presence in their area. ... This study suggests that tribal media-management strategies might take into account the long-term imagery of Indian people created by the local media. ... An effort to establish an image of routine Indian life may help mitigate contentious reporting during episodic, treaty-related periods of heightened antagonism and may produce public relations benefits with regard to tribal members living away from the reservation (Miller, 1993:90-91).

Miller's study provides several useful insights. First, the media chooses to report when First Nations events are 'antisocial' or somehow threaten EuroAmerican perceptions of security. Second, routine aspects of First Nations life are not well covered. Third, these images presented by newspapers can effect the self-image of the persons they are supposed to represent. Finally, the first three patterns hamper First Nations and EuroAmerican relations by presenting distorted views of the events in hand.

The Work of Baylor, 1996

Tim Baylor's (1996) article on First Nations protest and media entitled, "Media Framing of Movement Protest: The Case of American Indian Protest" examined the relationship between First Nations peoples' "direct action measures" to voice their concerns and media coverage of those activities (Baylor, 1996:241). More
specifically, Baylor was interested in exploring the effect on how the media attention affected the causes of First Nations people (Baylor, 1996:241-242). He introduces the concepts of "American Indian\textsuperscript{12} social movement organizations (SMOs) ... [and when many SMOs are taken together they] composed the American Indian social movement industry (SMI)" (Baylor, 1996. bracketed addition mine). These are Baylor's social actors upon which the effects of media attention will be measured.

Baylor argues that "[t]he power of the media to shape social events is a fact beyond dispute" (Baylor, 1996:242). Baylor measures the effect of media attention on the American Indian SMI by using the concept of 'frames' as his measuring device (Baylor, 1996:242). He states:

"Frames" represent a set of ideas that interpret, define and give meaning to social and cultural phenomenon. Thus media agents will use frames that are familiar and resonate with both themselves and the public (Baylor, 1996:242).

Baylor argues that "[s]ocial movements and the media are interdependent ... [and] ... [m]any smaller SMOs lack the means to buy directly the service provided by "free" media exposure compared to larger SMOs or interest groups that have enough resources to orchestrate their own media campaign" (Baylor, 1996:242 bracketed addition mine). Moreover he suggests that since American Indian SMOs have little funds and they represent a very small percentage of the population of the United

\textsuperscript{12} I will use Baylor's term American Indian, instead of the nation name or the term First Nations which has been my preference in this thesis, in order to aid readability and avoid unnecessary confusion.
States, they are at the mercy of the media agents' views of them (Baylor, 1996:241-242). In other words the American Indian SMOs have to take what media coverage they get. Baylor also suggests that "... a movement organization must often engage in substantial drama to gain media attention" (Baylor, 1996:243).

Baylor examined an archival source material, from "... evening news segments produced and aired by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) between 1968 - 1979" (Baylor, 1996:243). For inclusion in his study, the news segments had to be "... at least one minute in length, ... [and] ... deal with Indian protest" (Baylor, 1996:244 bracketed additions mine). After an initial viewing of the news segments, Baylor constructed his analysis around five media frames: "Militant, Stereotype, Treaty Rights, Civil Rights, and Factionalism" (Baylor, 1996:244). Since more than one frame could (and did) occur in each news broadcast, and recorded the occurrence(s) of each frame in a specific news broadcast; he states, however, that "... it was always clear that one frame is dominant" (Baylor, 1996:244). Baylor and an unnamed colleague reviewed the news broadcasts and independently assigned the various frames to the news casts (Baylor, 1996:244). By comparing their results, Baylor and his colleague found "a 97% rate of agreement" which lends validity to Baylor's five categories and the assigning process (Baylor, 1996:244).

Baylor found that:

The Militant frame clearly dominated the nightly news segments. The operationalized Militant frame included any segment that labelled

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13 Please note that I will follow Baylor's lead in capitalizing these categories.
Indian protesters as "militant" or where the focus was on violence and the breakdown of law and order (Baylor, 1996:244).

The frames occurred in the following descending order: Militant, Civil Rights, Stereotype, Fractionalism, and Treaty Rights (Baylor, 1996:244). The first four frames were each used over forty percent of the time whereas the Treaty Rights was used only seventeen percent of the time (Baylor, 1996:244). The Stereotype frame illustrated commonly held and romanticized images of First Nations people. Fractionalism frame illustrated divisions among the American Indian SMOs (Baylor, 1996:245). The Civil Rights frame illustrated the actual grievances of the American Indian SMOs, and the Treaty Rights frame illustrated the reasons for the 'direct action' used by the American Indian SMOs (Baylor, 1996:245).

Baylor primarily examined the frames individually but he also analyzed how they interacted (Baylor, 1996). He argues that the message of the American Indian SMOs was mostly lost to the media due to the interaction between the frames especially the combination of Militant and Stereotype frames (Baylor, 1996:245). Baylor states:

Again the outcome that results from this mix of frames is the probable neglect of serious grievances due to an entanglement with other images. I do not think it is coincidental that 98% of the news segments use either the stereotype or militant frames. Both frames reflect cultural frames commonly recognized by white Americans. On the one hand there is the "noble red man," and the "ruthless savage" on the other. There is no need to invent or explain them to the audience. They are ready made images common to most of the actors, including the reporter and most members of the audience. Most of the images shown by the media were an actual aspect of the movement, and
served important ideological and mobilization functions within the Indian community. The pipe grounded the movement in a spiritual system. Men receiving war paint of brandishing a weapon called on a warrior tradition. However, the media and larger television audience misunderstood these images and failed to grasp their full symbolic and cultural meaning (Baylor, 1996:246).

Baylor explored whether these mixed frame effects are consistent over time, by focusing on the coverage of the American Indian Movement (AIM) (Baylor, 1996:246). AIM employed many 'direct action methods' in their attempt to bring attention to First Nations suffering (Baylor, 1996:246). In this case the Militant and Civil Rights frames remained relatively steady over time; "Militant" was prominent between seventy three percent and one hundred percent of the time; the Stereotype and Treaty Rights frames decreased and the Factionalism Frame increased in use over time (Baylor, 1996:248 Table 2). Baylor states:

The Militant frame is clearly dominant at each stage of AIM's life course. As a result, I argue that there were few, if any, long term advantages gained by AIM and the Indian movement from the visibility provided by the media (Baylor, 1996:248).

Baylor states, "[t]his case study raises some serious questions regarding the efficacy of engaging in direct action protest to gain media attention" (Baylor, 1996:248). Baylor further suggests four effects of using direct action to gain media attention:

First, evidence suggests that the television news media never had any serious intention of trying to understand and fully cover the Indian movement. ... Second, the frames used by the TV news media were those with which they had the most familiarity. ... Third, the frames
used most often by the news media did not necessarily advance the protesters' cause, and often directly hindered it. ... Fourth, significant news coverage is missing (Baylor, 1996:249).

Baylor states that the lack of significant news coverage was caused by the often remote geographical location of the direct action event; government restrictions of the presence of media personnel; the inter-relationships of media personnel; and news coverage competition (Baylor, 1996:250).

Baylor also examines if the American Indian SMOs are responsible for their media difficulties (Baylor, 1996:250). Although American Indian SMOs such as AIM did use the media, Baylor asserts "... that AIM had little control over the media" (Baylor, 1996:251). In the final analysis Baylor states:

This study suggests that violent tactics will not elicit media support. It also suggests that the decision to stage confrontational events to gain media attention is a risky choice. This is especially true for movements who wish to convey a frame that does not already conform to some widespread and beneficial cultural frame (Baylor, 1996:251).

In summation, my thesis rests within clear sight of eight major landmarks on the intellectual landscape. My thesis is a qualitative case study which employs a personal experience method with a text and visual content analysis engine in the nether world between sociology, social anthropology, and environmental studies written in a Mi'kmaw storytelling manner. My thesis shares the landscape with authors who have written about the social construction of the media and cultural appropriation, especially those who have connected First Nations identity and First
Nations issues with media analysis. I am very indebted to all the authors and Elders who have informed my perspective, but I am especially indebted to all the First Nations authors who have written before me. I hope my work is worthy of their contributions.

FIRST NATIONS HEALTH ISSUES

My inclusion of health and healing, in an otherwise social science paper, may seem a little odd. However, First Nations people certainly had their healing traditions and health issues researched. For example, and this list is in no way meant to be complete, see Young et al. (1989/1992) who observe a modern Cree healer; Gaudette et al. (1992) study concerns cancer and ethnicity; Mi'kmawey Communications Consultant Group (1995) provides a First Nations based evaluation of the Atlantic First Nations AIDS Task Force; Ng (1996) reports on First Nations people with disabilities; McLeod et al. (1997) discusses First Nations communities and HIV/AIDS; Waldram, (1997) discusses healing for First Nations people in prisons; and Morrisseau (1998) writes on wholistic First Nations healing from a First Nations perspective. These materials place my future discussion in the context of First Nations health literature. Although many individual papers have been written on First Nations people's health, I found only one book dedicated to a general survey of First Nations health issues in the Canadian context: James B. Waldrum, D. Ann Herring, and T. Kue Young's (1995) Aboriginal Health in Canada: Historical.
Cultural, and Epidemiological Perspectives, which provides a broad overview of First Nations health in Canada. This book offers a good summary of health issues affecting First Nations communities in Canada, including First Nations health prior to European contact; First Nations healing practises; and government health care (Waldrum et al., 1995). Dr. Bernie Siegel, a American oncologist, has bought forward medical evidence for the connections between emotional feeling and immune system response (Siegal, 1989) which I will use in conjunction with some of the works already cited, to suggest future avenues for research (see Chapter Seven).
Chapter Three: History and the First Nations Context

Although the 'Oka Crisis' was chosen as the event from which to analyze media images, my thesis is not about the 'Oka Crisis'. However, an understanding of the 'Oka Crisis' is necessary to bring context to the media images. This chapter provides that context within two sets of information: first, some background reasons for First Nations resistance in general and the resistance of the Kanien'kehaka in the summer of 1990 in particular; second, some knowledge of the actual events during the summer of 1990, in order to illustrate that some significant happenings were not covered in the media, especially by Maclean's magazine.

FIRST NATIONS RESISTANCE: A 500 YEAR OVERVIEW

This overview is in no way complete. First Nations people will often state that their resistance against European encroachment began with the accidental arrival of Columbus in the Caribbean. Berkhofer Jr. indicates that Columbus' view of First Nations people involved both the 'noble' and the 'savage' (Berkhofer, Jr., 1978:4-10). He states that Columbus felt the "... Arawak tribespeople ... as lacking in European accomplishments but pleasant withal" (Berkhofer, Jr., 1978:6). This 'Columbus' image of First Nations people led to:

The basic themes that would dominate so much of White thinking on Native Americans for the next few centuries were well developed in the literature on the Spanish conquest and settlement of the Americas.

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Using the twin criteria of Christianity and "civilization," Spaniards found the Indian wanting in a long list of attributes: letters, laws, government, clothing, arts, trade, agriculture, marriage, morals, metal goods, and above all religion (Berkhofer, Jr., 1978:10).

The European's image, and thus treatment, of First Nations people did not end when Columbus returned to Spain.

Seven years ago I reviewed Francis Jennings (1975) book, entitled, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest, as part of the requirement for this degree. In the report I wrote on this book, I paraphrased and summarized in the following manner:

This most excellent book provides wonderful historical information on the pre-contact First Nations population. Jennings argues that America was not discovered it was contacted, and as a result of this contact America was widowed of huge numbers of the original inhabitants vis-a-vis disease. Further Jennings cites numerous incidences of Colonial governments exploiting Traditional rivalries, and in a lot of cases developing these hostilities, between various First Nations groups, for European gain. His basic theme is that the land was swindled, very consciously, from First Nations peoples (Bedwell, 1991b after Jennings, 1975).

It is clear from these citations that First Nations people, from the very beginning of mass European contact, faced a solidified invasion force.

The colonial governments of the various European powers, which later became the governments of Canada and the United States of America (through acts of parliament and revolution respectively), continued the policy of invasion under the guise of assimilationist policies. One such statute, in Canada, is the Indian Act of
1876, which still governs the lives of First Nations people. Volume Two of the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, entitled Restructuring the Relationship (Part I) states the following about the Indian Act:

There is great variation in how Aboriginal people see themselves as peoples and as nations. The Indian Act and associated government policies have had a significant and, in our view, detrimental impact on their consciousness as nations (Report on the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume Two (Part I), 1996:246).

Volume Two of the Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, entitled Restructuring the Relationship (Part II) states the following in relation to First Nations issues in Canada:

It is nevertheless essential for Canadians to understand that these are not new problems. The basic difficulty — given the change in power relationships between Aboriginal people and other Canadians over the past century or more — has been that, until very recently, governments have either ignored or failed to address the basic issues. Now the time of reckoning has arrived (Report on the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume Two (Part II), 1996:427).

Many incidents and events which are essential to the full understanding of First Nations resistance in North America are beyond the scope of this section.¹⁴

Before I discuss, the Kanien'kehaka resistance, I must introduce some major events in recent First Nations resistance history\(^{15}\) -- Wounded Knee I and Wounded Knee II. Although both acts of resistance at Wounded Knee Creek occurred in South Dakota, in the United States of America, its impact was profoundly felt north of the border. This is one fact many EuroCanadian people do not understand -- to many First Nations people the Canada-U.S.A. border has little meaning.\(^{16}\) In Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, he provides descriptions of the events that lead up to and the massacre itself. He states:

> Had it not been for the sustaining force of the Ghost Dance religion, the Sioux in their grief and anger over the assassination of Sitting Bull might have risen up against the guns of the soldiers. So prevalent was their belief that the white men would soon disappear and that with the next greening of the grass their dead relatives and friends would return, they made no retaliations (Brown, 1970/72:413).

This passage reinforces Brown's view that the Lakota (Sioux) people were in serious conflict with the U.S. government, especially after the Lakota defeated General Custer at the battle of the Little Big Horn (Brown, 1970:263-297). Brown states:

\[ \frac{\text{This passage reinforces Brown's view that the Lakota (Sioux) people were in serious conflict with the U.S. government, especially after the Lakota defeated General Custer at the battle of the Little Big Horn (Brown, 1970:263-297). Brown states}}{\text{15}^{\text{ Although the massacre at Wounded Knee creek (I) occurred in 1890, it is still recent in First Nations country. Remember our Elders count our resistance with the arrival of Columbus. So an event which took place one hundred years ago is relatively new for First Nations resistance in North America.}}

\[ \frac{\text{16}^{\text{ The connections between America and Canada in First Nations thought remain, despite the border. For example see the "Statement of Gkisedtanamoogk for the Peoples and Nations of the WABANAKI" and "Brief History of the WABANAKI Peoples and the International Border", which discusses the imposition of a foreign border in sovereign Wabanaki territory, published to the 'Internet' by Miingignoti-Keteaog (http://brooks.simplenet.com/gkis4.html and gkis5.html (respectively) which I encountered on March 24 1998).}}}{\text{16}^{\text{ The connections between America and Canada in First Nations thought remain, despite the border. For example see the "Statement of Gkisedtanamoogk for the Peoples and Nations of the WABANAKI" and "Brief History of the WABANAKI Peoples and the International Border", which discusses the imposition of a foreign border in sovereign Wabanaki territory, published to the 'Internet' by Miingignoti-Keteaog (http://brooks.simplenet.com/gkis4.html and gkis5.html (respectively) which I encountered on March 24 1998).}}

When the white men in the East heard of the Long Hair's [Custer] defeat, they called it a massacre and went crazy with anger. They wanted to punish all the Indians in the West. Because they could not punish Sitting Bull and the war chiefs, the Great Council in Washington decided to punish the Indians they could find -- those who remained on the reservations and had taken no part in the fighting (Brown, 1970:283 bracketed emphasis mine).

Finally Brown provides a detailed account of the Seventh Calvary's, Custer's unit, massacre of Lakota that they had surrounded:

In the first seconds of violence, the firing of carbines was deafening, filling the air with powder smoke. Among the dying who lay sprawled on the frozen ground was Big Foot. Then there was a brief lull in the rattle of arms, with small groups of Indians and soldiers grappling at close quarters, using knives, clubs, and pistols. As few of the Indians had arms, they soon had to flee, and then the big Hotchkiss guns [like a gatling gun] on the hill opened upon them, firing almost a shell a second, raking the Indian camp, shredding the tepees with flying shrapnel, killing men, women, and children (Brown, 1970:417).

It is important to remember that the Lakota were resisting the acquisition of their lands by the U.S. federal government (Brown, 1970/72).

It was eighty three years later, in 1973, that the American Indian Movement (AIM) took over the town of Wounded Knee in protest (Smith and Warrior, 1996). The American Indian Movement was considered a "new warrior society" (Smith and Warrior, 1996:199). They would defend the people against recurring incidents of violence against them (Smith and Warrior, 1996:199).

The American Indian Movement took over the town of Wounded Knee on February 27th. and held it until May 8th. in the face of U.S. Marshalls, the F.B.I.,
covert help from the U.S. army (for their opponents), and armed Lakota supporters of the local band government (Smith and Warrior, 1996:194-279). More information is available on First Nations protests in Canada and the United States during the seventies, however, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore them.  

The parallels between Wounded Knee II and the 'Oka Crisis' are eerie: from the First Nations communities asking for help from other First Nations people to the military and police presence. Even the media acted in a manner similar to the coverage of the 'Oka Crisis' in Maclean's magazine:

Wounded Knee received more attention during its first week than the entire previous decade of Indian activism combined. Alcatraz and the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] takeover had been the subject of intense local interest in San Francisco and Washington, and sporadic national interest, but neither event had completely penetrated the national consciousness (Smith and Warrior, 1996::207).

This material illustrates two important points. First, First Nations people have been involved in resisting colonial forces actively for five hundred years. Second, that the colonial governments act quickly in a similar way -- they call in the army. I have given this overly simplified view of First Nations resistance to set the background for the 'Oka Crisis' and to point out that after five hundred years of resistance and government double-crosses, one's patience may run a little short.

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17 For more information on this era in First Nations history in Canada, see Harper's 1979 book entitled, Following the Red Path: The Native People's Caravan. For an understanding of First Nations history in the American context see Matthiessen's (1980/1992) classic In the Spirit of Crazy Horse, for more information on the events at Wounded Knee II.
Having provided the background, I will now introduce a brief history of the events at Kanesatake and Kahnawake during the summer of 1990.

**FIRST NATIONS RESISTANCE: THE KANIENT'KEHAKA AT 'OKA'**

I feel the quote that follows aptly introduces the history of resistance of the Kanien'kehaka at Kanesatake. Volume Two of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, entitled *Restructuring the Relationship* (Part II) states the following in relation to the struggle of the Kanien'kehaka at Oka:

> The confrontation at Kanesatake (Oka) was much more than a trivial dispute over the location of a golf course. Like most Aboriginal communities, the Mohawk people of Kanesatake were seeking to secure their land base. In this particular instance, the interests of the neighbouring municipality of Oka became caught up in a three-way dispute between the Kanesatake community, Canada and Quebec over title to the land. That dispute, which dates to the early eighteenth century (See Volume 1, Chapter 7), remains unresolved (Report on the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, Volume Two (Part II), 1996:425).

In Alanis Obomsawin's 1993 documentary entitled *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*, she states that the Kanien'kehaka have been fighting to retain territory, in what is now known as Oka, Québec, ever since the Roman Catholic church declared their possession of the land some two hundred and seventy years ago.

The 1990 resistance at 'Oka' began some time before the community barricaded a road in the disputed territory (Hornung, 1991:278-288). Since

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18 Although York and Pindera provide an equally good, and perhaps better account of the events surrounding the 'Oka Crisis', I will exclusively use Hornung's
September 1989 the Kanien'kehaka at Kanesatake made clear their protest over the expansion of the golf course in a peaceful and 'legal' manner (Homung, 1991:280). The community of Kanesatake, with help from the Warrior Society in Akwesasne, "protest[ed the] golf course expansion by mounting a barricade on a dirt path leading to the burial ground" (Homung, 1991:281 bracketed addition and bolded emphasis are mine). The town of Oka filed injunctions with the Québec court system in an attempt to force the Kanien'kehaka to leave their barricade (Homung, 1991:282-284). The courts allowed the town of Oka's injunction to have the Kanien'kehaka barricades removed and the Sûreté du Québec enforced that order (Homung, 1991:284). On:

**July 11, 1990:** More than 100 Sûreté du Québec officers attack the Kanesatake barricade. Armed Warriors open fire and the police shoot back. As Cpl. Marcel dies on the way to the hospital, unaffiliated Mohawk militants seize the Mercier Bridge and threaten to blow it up if the police launch another attack on Mohawks. To protect themselves, the Mohawks barricade Highway 3 in Oka and 138, 221, and 132 in Kahnawake. Federal Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Tom Siden declines to get involved (Homung, 1991:284).

In his text, Hornung also states that the Sûreté du Québec fired first: "The advancing officers opened fire as the Mohawk radios crackled with instructions to shoot back over the heads of the policemen" (Homung, 1991:199). Obornsawin (1993) and York and Pindera (1991) confirm this fact. To paraphrase Hornung, both sides dug in for a long siege, the police were eventually replaced by the

Chronology of events to finish my introduction to the history of the resistance at 'Oka' due to its consistency and readability (after Hornung,1991:278-288).
Canadian Army; the Army applied advancing and strangle-hold techniques in an attempt to force the Warriors to leave (Hornung, 1991:199-277). The police and the army, at various times, stopped the entry of food and medicine to those behind the barricades even though this was (and is) a violation of civil rights (Hornung, 1991:199-277). The EuroCanadian residents around the embattled communities protested against the Kanien'kehaka, including burning effigies of 'Indians' and stoning a caravan of predominantly women, children, and elderly Kanien'kehaka, while the police stood by and did nothing to stop the injuries from occurring (Hornung, 1991:199-277). Meanwhile, the Kanien'kehaka were trying to negotiate a peaceful settlement and win recognition of their rights (Hornung, 1991:199-277). The Québec and Canadian governments, due to internal miscommunications, policy, and outright dislike of the Kanien'kehaka broke promises in the process of negotiations -- which caused the Kanien'kehaka to leave the 'table' more than once (Hornung, 1991:199-277). In the end, on "September 26, 1990: Mohawks left the treatment center. Their escape plan fails and troops herd them into buses for transport into Farnham military base" (Hornung, 1991:288 emphasis in original).19

Although Hornung provides a detailed chronology of the events of the 'Oka Crisis', he is still writing as an outsider to the Kanien'kehaka resistance and to the town of Oka. The text, Nation to Nation: Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Future of

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19 MacLaine and Baxendale (1990); Hornung (1991); York and Pindera (1991); Cross and Sévigny (1994); Goodleaf (1995); and Alfred (1995), are excellent sources for further reading into the events of the summer of 1990.
Canada (1992), edited by Diane Engelstad and John Bird, provides a forum for First Nations and non-native voices to be heard -- two of those voices were directly involved in the Kanien'kehaka resistance and one was a citizen of the town of Oka.

Lois Cape, a citizen of the town of Oka, in her discussion on why she stayed in Oka during the crisis, states:

Personally, I could not turn my back on my home and go off to live in another town with only the media to rely on for news. We spent a lot of time with newspeople of all types during the summer. And it became very clear that stories are not always told in the way they actually happen. There are certainly those that are accurate, but there are also those that are exaggerated and those that show a large amount of "artistic licence." What peace of mind would there be in moving away and never knowing what was really happening? We also felt that those who stayed were playing an important role in keeping an eye on the occupying forces. If we turned tail and ran for our own comfort and convenience, we would have been leaving them a clear field to commit whatever acts of aggression and destruction they were ordered to, without the eyes, ears and cameras of the public on them. But honesty was really the main factor. How could you live with yourself if you knew you had accepted sell-out money, a government bribe to get out of the way? The governments wanted no witnesses to the final scene of this conflict, but they forgot that not everyone's values are for sale (Cape, 1992:217).

I find that this passage, written by a non-Kanien'kehaka, makes clear that the concern of the possibility of violence to the Kanien'kehaka by the Canadian Government was known to non-natives as well as to the Kanien'kehaka.

Ellen Gabriel, a Longhouse woman and one of the principle negotiators for the Kanien'kehaka at the 'Oka Crisis' states:

It is difficult to know where to begin the story of the so-called Oka Crisis, especially since so many who do not even know the true story
have claimed to be able to explain why those events took place. I suppose one could write an epic novel on the subject, but I suspect that will not happen: the truth is hard to swallow for most Canadians (Gabriel, 1992:165).

Ellen Gabriel reinforces the position of the resistance of her Kanien'kehaka people, like the resistance of my Mi'kmaq people, has been ongoing and increasing since contact with Europeans five hundred and six years ago, especially in the era of Indian Act band council governments (Gabriel, 1992:165-167). She speaks from the reality of Kanien'kehaka sovereignty (Gabriel, 1992:165-167). Ellen Gabriel states that many Kanien'kehaka were tired of being excluding from band council decisions regarding their land which "... led many of us to the conclusion that the only way to stop the illegal development of our land was to take matters into our own hands" (Gabriel, 1992:167). She further states:

During the period that led up to the police raid of July 11, those of us who watched over our Pines were harassed by a vigilante group known as Les Citoyens d'Oka, and by the Sûreté du Québec. These events usually took place at night, often when the barricade was being guarded mainly by women. For example, one night, several men dressed in black came and tried to take our banner down. When we caught them in the act, they ran away across the golf course, within clear sight of where the SQ patrol cars were parked to keep us under surveillance. Yet the SQ did nothing about the incident (Gabriel, 1992:167-168).

From what Gabriel recounts, the Kanien'kehaka felt that more direct resistance to the encroachment on their lands was necessary and that the EuroCanadian response to their assertion of their rights was racial violence, which was ignored by Québec law
enforcement personnel.

She also provides some balance and context to the presence of the Warrior society which the mainstream media seems to have levelled so much attention on. She states:

I must also stress that the Kanesatake blockade was never a "Warrior" blockade. Everyone was asked to unite, including the members of the Warrior Society and those who opposed them. The Warriors were allowed to fly their flag, however, just as the Micmacs were. The press took off with the notion that we were all members of the Warrior Society. The Longhouse people in Kanesatake established the initial barricade on the access road, and since we are citizens of the Kanien'kehaha nation, this was an issue for all the people of the nation, not just the Warrior Society (Gabriel, 1992:169).

Gabriel discusses the police raid on her people which began the 'media' attention on the Kanien'kehaha resistance at Kanesatake and she documents some mainstream politicians' desire for an army presence from the beginning of the 'standoff' (Gabriel, 1992:171). These events underscore her disdain for Canadian 'justice', she states:

Justice in Canada is non-existent at the present time in the story of the "Oka Crisis." The real criminals and terrorists who held guns and canons to Kanien'kehaha women, children and men have been rewarded with public accolades from Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and others. Meanwhile, our people went to trial. What is apparent to us is the government of Canada has no intention of honouring our treaties. Instead we continue to struggle with tokenism in the new "Reformed Constitution," although our rights have already been, and still are, entrenched in the treaties, in our own laws and in international law. Unfortunately, Canada respects international law only when it does not apply to itself (Gabriel, 1992:172).

Ellen Gabriel states what many First Nations people have felt for centuries -- we will
not get a fair deal in relation to the Federal or Provincial Governments.

Loran Thompson, who was also active in the resistance of the Kanien'kehaka at Kanesatake, discusses the role of the armed resistance and warriorship (Thompson, 1992). He states:

We have been taken for suckers long enough. You put up the flag of truce and try to talk peace and they massacre you. But it's never going to happen to us again without us putting up a defence. As a nation we have decided we are going to fight for our rights. Only when others on the opposite side to us have taken out their arms have ours come out. Our rights are not going to be given to us on a silver platter. We have to fight for them (Thompson, 1992:174).

It is clear that the five hundred and six year resistance is wearing thin on some of the current generations of First Nations people. Some of those people become warriors.

Thompson states:

The word "warrior" has been put upon our people by history. Some of us have been willing to accept it, and to refer to ourselves as Warriors, because it is a word that non-Indian people understand. But it is really a mistranslation. Our word is Rotiskarekethe, which means "the people who are burdened with preserving of protecting our peace." Rotiskarekethe includes both men and women. We have an understanding that we are a nation of people, and we agree with the covenant in the United Nations that says no one nation is allowed to oppress another. Canada is oppressing the Indian nations in a gross way (Thompson, 1992:175).

This certainly shows a different side to the common stereotype of the warrior -- the 'savage'.

Thompson gives more depth to the concept of 'warrior' from the Kanien'kehaka point of view, by stating "[i]f you are a traditional person aware of
your spiritual and political obligations, and you are performing your duties, then you are always prepared to go home -- because you are fulfilling the obligations put on your shoulders by your Creator" (Thompson, 1992:178).

The material presented in the Nation to Nation: Aboriginal Sovereignty and the Future of Canada text provides needed perspectives from the inside, regarding the events in the summer of 1990. It is very important to note that the Kanien'kehaka were operating, as stated by Kanien'kehaka people, in defence of their sovereignty -- their right to decide what is to be done to their land. They were not acting in a 'terrorist' manner in order to apply their demands. The Kanien'kehaka were simply defending what is theirs.

In this brief overview, I have attempted to show the events of the resistance of the summer of 1990, in order to provide the reader with some context to view the images later discussed. The Kanien'kehaka have a right to the recognition of their rights and grievances. However, given the five hundred years of resistance and the treacherous dealings with various governments, it is little wonder people react in a more assertive manner -- including using firearms.
Chapter Four: Theoretical Considerations: The 'So What' of Research

The theoretical and methodological sections are important fare in sociological work -- especially in theses. My thesis does vary in this regard. Also, as in other sociological discourses my 'theory' will be discussed in relation to my research processes and objectives (see Figure One, Chapter One). Sociological literature, like any scientific discourse, abounds with definitions and demarcations of its terms of reference. Ritzer, in his work entitled, Contemporary Sociological Theory, introduces and defines social theory in the following manner:

Although there are many definitions of the term sociological theory, this book is based on the simple idea that a sociological theory is a wide-ranging system of ideas that deals with the centrally important issues of social life (Ritzer, 1983/1988:4).

He goes on to paraphrase Faia, (1986:134):

This definition is in stark contrast to the formal, "scientific" definitions that often are used in theory texts. A formal definition might be that a theory is a set of inter-related propositions that allow for the systematization of knowledge, explanation and prediction of social life, and generation of new research hypotheses (Faia, 1986:134 as cited in Ritzer, 1983/1988:4).

Using the above definitions, I suggest that social theory attempts to explain the reality of the persons under study. In other words, social theory concerns knowing -- it is a theory of knowledge -- even if the theory is only 'known' in an academic sense.
Knowing, of course, means the understanding of reality or some part thereof. Berger and Luckmann in their 1966 work on the sociology of knowledge, discuss theory as follows:

Compared to the reality of everyday life, other realities appear as finite provinces of meaning, enclaves within the paramount reality marked by circumscribed meanings and modes of experience. The paramount reality envelops them on all sides, as it were, and consciousness always returns to the paramount reality as from an excursion. This is evident from the illustrations already given, as in the reality of dreams or that of theoretical thought (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991:39).

Therefore, a discussion of different views of reality, as constrained in language and culture, must precede any discussion of theoretical perspectives used in the process of learning about the images of First Nations persons in resistance.

The definitions given above are from a certain cultural perspective and are bound in the language in which they are written. This is an obvious but vital fact. The communication of human reality is language bound. Since the voice that I speak from also incorporates a viewpoint originally based in Mi’kmawi’isin20 (no matter how distantly based), my understanding and use of theory will not be the same as one without such a connection.

I did not grow up speaking Mi’kmawi’isin; however, the effects (roots) of First Nations cultures and languages are not easy to remove. Faye Jean Graveline makes this point explicitly, "[w]e must honour the fact that, throughout the ordeals of five centuries of colonization, some Elders remained certain of the strength of their

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20 Mi’kmawi’isin means Mi’kmaq Language in English.
Traditional worldview" (Graveme, 1998:44). Also, I am very active, currently, in regaining my people's language as well as being active in the cultural activities of my people. So what I lacked growing up, in terms of overt Mi'kmaq culture, I am learning now. Sakej Henderson agrees, by stating:

Mikmaw worldview, language and modes of inferences about reality are not similar to the diverse European worldviews, languages and modes of inferences which are based on a process orientation rather than an object orientation. Additionally, the overarching issue in the justification of European writings about the Aboriginal past is the contamination of Eurocentric diffusion, the worldview of the colonist (Henderson, 1997:21).

Therefore, since theory is an attempt to explain reality, which is then communicated in a manner via culturally specific language and perspective, any discussion of theory from a background other than that of the dominant culture needs to be explored thoroughly. I will not be discussing my use of voice in all its details until Chapter Five, however I must elucidate the interrelationship between theory and voice.

Patricia Monture-Angus states:

In the way of the First Nations, I am too young to be the teacher. I am still struggling to learn. Most of the wise people I know do not have university degrees. Wisdom comes from what we do with our life experiences. *Wisdom is about how we make our life experiences work for us, after we have worked to understand what the experiences mean. True wisdom requires much self-reflection.* It is in this way that First Nations recognize and credential people (Monture-Angus, 1995:77 emphasis mine).

Diamond et al., in their discussion of ways of knowing in the context of First Nations musical traditions, further cite that:
Mohawk linguist David Maracle stated that all these terms [Kanien'kehaka words of knowing] imply direct experience or first-hand knowledge. To know means, then, that you use or have personally experienced something" (Diamond et al., 1994:8 bracketed addition and emphasis mine).


She states:

While reading the case and writing this comment, I constantly had to work through feelings of anger, sadness, abuse, frustration, and hurt. These feelings were not only about the oppression I felt in solidarity with the Gitskan and Wet'suwet'en peoples, but also about the experience of oppression I face as a Mi'kmaq woman (Doyle-Bedwell, 1993:194).

Doyle-Bedwell spoke from her perspective of reality in order to frame her discussion of the case. I will do the same. I will speak from my perspective as a mixed blood First Mi'kmaw man. As I illustrated earlier in Chapter Two, if I do not use my voice I run the risk of having it appropriated (Nyoongah, 1998 and Robinson, 1998).

I need to add a cautionary note here. There is not a singular monolithic First Nations experience or voice. Some First Nations authors share similar stories and share similar life experiences, but that does not constitute a monolithic Aboriginal voice and thus a monolithic First Nations 'theory'. For instance, I cannot speak from the same 'place' as Monture-Angus, Doyle-Bedwell, or any other First Nations writer, unless my own experience is the same as theirs, which it is not. If I attempted to do that I would be taking their stories as my own -- I would be taking some else's pain
(Monture-Angus, 1995:20). I will not do that.

Fyre Jean Graveline states: "[i]n order to declare a 'Native perspective,' we must resist hegemonic Western perspectives and embrace our subjectivities as rooted in pre-colonial Traditional worldviews" (Graveline, 1998:44). I too look to my First Nations past in order to give principle and direction to my life. My adopted brother, David Gehue, who is also a Mi'kmaw Kinap,21 told me of what he calls the "Eight Natural Laws," I remember them as follows:

First, that we need to **Listen** to the inner directions given by the Creator; second, that we need to **Accept** those directions; third, that we must take **Responsibility** for our actions and inner directions; fourth, that we need to **Respect** ourselves and others in their life and inner directions; fifth, that we must act in an **Honest** manner; sixth, that we **Share** what we have; seventh, that we must **Care** for one another; and eighth, that **all Life has Spirit**. (After Gehue, 1996 personal communication emphasis mine).

These Natural Laws inform my actions and life. For instance, as with academic standards, I must be as honest in my representations as I can be. However, for me, the Creator is the founding principle of all knowledge. Therefore my locus of original knowledge differs dramatically from the usual academic discourse.

My world is based on a relationship with the Creator -- Kisulk in Mi'kmawis'in. This relationship is not based on blind faith but on lived experience, as our traditions demand. Those traditions are alive in our Mi'kmaq Elders, Mi'kmawi'sin, Mi'kmaq

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21 Kinap means "name for a spiritual leader who is physically and mentally strong. This term originated from the people who made wampum beads from the shells with their bare hands" (Henderson, 1997:118).
ceremonies, and in our stories. I am guided by the stories, both ancient and new to explain my life and seek insights into the world. I am what we call in Mi'kmaq Country as a Traditionalist. This means that my starting point involves the unshakable view in First Nations Sovereignty. As I mentioned above, I look to my traditions and Elders to give guidance and understanding in my life. My traditionalist life-way informs me that the events in Kanien'kehaka Territory during the summer of 1990 are framed in terms of five hundred years of resistance by First Nations persons to colonial invasion. That does not mean I condone violence or rejoice in injuries and pain -- I do not. I simply believe that the Kanien'kehaka have a Creator given right to support their sovereignty.

Perhaps a Québécois writer would start from a different position. Berger and Luckmann would suggest that the Québécois writer and I come from different realities (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991). However, not all of my perspectives on the images of the 'Oka Crisis' made themselves consciously known. Part of my perspective is based on gut reaction.

I must explicitly state that I am not writing from the same place of oppression as other First Nations writers have (see Acoose, 1995; Doyle-Bedwell, 1993;

\[22\] Many non-Mi'kmaq academics recorded our stories, however, the subtleties of Mi'kmaq tribal consciousness became lost during their translation -- as do all works translated from one language to another. Doug Knockwood, a Mi'kmaw Elder from Shubenacadie (Indian Brook Reserve), advised me to begin my study of our stories with the English translations. He further advised me that our Mi'kmaq Elders would be the people to help me understand those stories in a Mi'kmaq way (Knockwood, 1994 personal communication).

My life experience includes a large amount of my life time in the education system of the dominant culture. Patricia Monture-Angus states:

I do not want you to think for a minute by my saying, it is not the degrees that are important, that I am saying, "Oh, formal education including university education is not important." That is not what I am saying. Education is very, very important. It is a tool. It is a skill. Education is a way of looking at things (Monture-Angus, 1995:78).

I will use four of the theoretical perspectives that my sociological education has given me as tools in the focus of my investigation of the images of the 'Oka Crisis.'

However, I must discuss the end to which I hope that my research will be used.

Patricia Monture-Angus illustrates a point which I very much agree with:

The fact that I teach law is not the important thing. My job as a law teacher just makes it a little bit easier to do what my real work is and that work is with my people (Monture-Angus, 1995:77).

Obviously I do not teach law, however, I want my work to aid my people. I simply wish that my thesis on the images of the 'Oka Crisis' will aid my people in understanding how image interacts in their life and find their expression of their voices to talk about those images.

I use four 'sociological tools' to focus my inquiry. These tools are used in symphony with each one fitting into the circle after the previous one is used.

Therefore I will discuss them in the order I plan to use them.
THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

Berger and Luckmann wrote The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge in 1966. I found the ideas presented by the authors to be absolutely radical -- their work dramatically altered the way I saw the world. They suggest that a persons' reality has been constructed via the societal processes of socialization (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991). This process of social construction effects the social actor's biology, 'subjective world' as well as the 'objective world' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991). The authors state:

... the same body of knowledge is transmitted to the next generation. It is learned as objective truth in the course of socialization and thus internalized as subjective reality. This reality in turn has power to shape the individual. It will produce a specific type of person, namely the hunter, whose identity and biography as a hunter have meaning only in a universe constituted by the aforementioned body of knowledge as a whole (say, in a hunter's society) or in part (say, in our own society, in which hunters come together in a sub-universe of their own). In other words, no part of the institutionalization of hunting can exist without the particular knowledge that has been socially produced and objectivated with reference to this activity. To hunt and to be a hunter imply existence in a social world defined and controlled by this body of knowledge. Mutatis mutandis, the same applies to any area of institutionalized conduct (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991:84-85).

The social construction of reality provides support to the magnitude in difference of worldview between First Nations People and EuroCanadians. Other academic theoretical perspectives only underscore the various aspects of culture. Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) stress the differences in reality. They state: "It is important to keep in mind that the objectivity of the institutional world, however massive it may
appear to the individual, is a humanly produced, constructed objectivity" (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991:78).

Berger and Luckmann's thesis suggests that when 'realities' meet, conflict erupts. They state:

The appearance of an alternative symbolic universe poses a threat because its very existence demonstrates empirically that one's own universe is less than inevitable. ... It is important to stress that the conceptual machineries of universe-maintenance are themselves products of social activity, as are all forms of legitimation, and can only rarely be understood apart from the other activities of the collectivity in question (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991:126).

Berger and Luckmann's theory provides the theoretical underpinnings for the differences in worldview between the Kanien'kehaka and EuroCanadians. It underscores the traditions of our Elders in the requirement to speak from our own experience.

Berger and Luckmann suggest reality is individual, and that a threat occurs when individual realities meet (op. cit.). They state:

The conceptual machineries that maintain symbolic universes always entail the systematization of cognitive and normative legitimations, which were already present in the society in a more naïve mode, and which crystallized in the symbolic universe in question (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991:127).

However, other than suggesting the existence of threat and the legitimations necessary to restore their reality, Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) do not offer a discussion regarding the effects of unequal power dynamics on the legitimation
In terms of the Images of the 'Oka Crisis', what happens when the powerful proliferate the media with images which can be seen to define 'the other', when that 'other' does not have the same access? The answer is beyond Berger and Luckmann's (1966/1991) treatise. However, their theory lays the groundwork for understanding individual and cultural differences between people.

**POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MEDIA**

Herman and Chomsky (1988) in their book entitled, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, argue that what gets reported as news is based on the views of the owners of the particular news media -- it is propaganda. They state:

> 'The mass media serve as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behavior that will integrated them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfill this role requires systematic propaganda" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:1).

Herman and Chomsky use a multitude of examples to support their propaganda model, the essence of which is as follows:

The essential ingredients of our propaganda model, or set of news "filters" fall under the following headings: (1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; (2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; (3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts" funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; (4) "flak" as a means of
disciplining the media; and (5) "anticommunism" as a national religion and control mechanism (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:2).

It is common knowledge that First Nations people do not have access to the economic power positions in Canadian society. Also, even though the 'other-presented' image may work to the benefit of those people imaged, the image is still not of their making. In a reverse or trickster way (after Graveline, 1998) the locus of media economic power outside of First Nations hands, lends support to Herman and Chomsky's thesis -- filter one.

Hornung cites Kanien'kehaka L. David Jacobs concerning his feelings about the media portrayal of the Warriors in Akwesasne:

As the Sûreté du Québec and New York State Police tightened their grip on Akwesasne, the predominantly white press portrayed the Warriors as unwilling to compromise; however, this view merely strengthened their support among Mohawks throughout northern New York and Canada. "The media was one of their best weapons," says pro-gaming tribal Chief L. David Jacobs. "Every day, the papers and the television stations were filled with stories and pictures of Warriors, bold and dramatic. Their high profile captured the imagination of our territory. While I had to deal with reality and negotiate with bureaucrats, the Warriors could become the stuff of mythology -- self-made legends in their own time. You could see them every morning, noon, and night. Just turn on the tube and pick up a paper" (Hornung, 1991:181).

Melot, in his discussion on nineteenth-century body image, states:

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23 Akwesasne is a Kanien'kehaka Community whose territory crosses the imposed borders of Ontario and Provence du Québec in Canada and New York State in the United States of America. Just prior to the events at 'Oka' in Canada, Akwesasne endured its own crises involving many Kanien'kehaka interests including the Warrior Society (Hornung, 1991).
Of course, whatever happens, the photographed body is a represented body. The interest of this book lies in its demonstration that the reality displayed by photography is not that of the body, but of the models assigned to the body in the context of the photographic process (Melot, 1987:75).

Melot's argument mirrors that of Herman and Chomsky (1988). To paraphrase these two sets of authors, the news and the image is constructed.

I contend that the images portrayed in the media about First Nations People fit the model which Herman and Chomsky (1988) provide. If Herman and Chomsky's thesis is correct, then we will definitely see a difference in images of the same crisis, depending on which party owns the media presenting the image.

Herman and Chomsky state:

In sum, a propaganda approach to media coverage suggests a systematic and highly political dichotomization in news coverage based on serviceability to important domestic power interests. This should be observable in dichotomized choices of story and in the volume and quality of coverage (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:35).

THE NATURE OF IDENTITY

Identity is a difficult and convoluted subject. It has been the subject of sociological inquiries from at least the late fifties (Ritzer, 1983/1988). Identity studies in anthropology began in the forties (Bohannan and Glazer, 1973). Four sources inform my understanding of identity: First, the teachings of my Mi'kmaq Elders, as already discussed, especially in regard to speaking from my experience; second, the
social construction thesis presented by Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991), also
already discussed: third, the discussion of the "White Male System" by Schaef
(1981/1985); and last, the views of First Nation identities as voiced by Acoose
(1995), Anderson (1997), and Monture-Angus (1995). The last two of sets of
authors provide the theoretical foundation of my 'and' versus 'or' equation. I will
now introduce this theoretical foundation.

I was keenly unable to accept all of myself in terms of the diversity of my
cultural legacies. I believed that I could only be 'Indian' or 'White' and 'Indian' meant
only registration under the Indian Act.24 I have come to realize that this 'or' view is a
product of what Anne Wilson Schaef calls the "White Male System" (Schaef,
1981/1985:2). She illustrates four myths of the 'White Male System', one of which "...
is that the White Male System knows and understands everything" (Schaef,
1981/1985:9). Schaef states:

Living according to these myths can mean living in ignorance. For example, the only way to maintain the myth of knowing and
understanding everything is to ignore a whole universe of other
information. When one clings to the myth of innate superiority, one
must constantly overlook the virtues and abilities of others. [...] Nevertheless, the mere thought that these myths might not be truisms
terrifies White Male System persons. I have seen proof of this over and
over again. Once, when I was lecturing on this subject to a group to
professional men and women, I noticed one of the men becoming
increasingly agitated. When he could sit still no longer (he started
pacing back and forth at the far end of the room), I finally stopped and
asked him to tell us what he was experiencing. [...] "If what you are

24 Vine Deloria, Jr., discusses the state controlled version of Indianness in the
American context, in his 1984 book entitled, The Nations Within: The Past and
Future of American Indian Sovereignty.
saying is true," he said, "then I am nothing but a piece of shit." [...] "I don't think I was implying that," I answered. [...] "Can you tell us more?" [...] "Well," he went on--and these were his exact words--"if I'm not innately superior and I don't know and understand everything, then I'm nothing but a piece of shit, just like the rest of you!" (Schaef. 1981/1985:11-12 emphasis in original, bracketed material indicated my variation from the original paragraph structure and not missing text).

Schaef clearly illustrates the 'or' perspective. With respect to identity, in my experience I had to be either 'Indian' or 'White'. The 'and' part of the equation came as a result of reading three First Nations authors, Kim Anderson, Janice Acoose, Patricia Monture-Angus, and long discussions with my partner Patricia Doyle-Bedwell. Monture-Angus states: "The ways of First Nations cannot be understood or explained at a glance [...] [a]nd [...] these ways are not the same as the ways known to the dominant society" (Monture-Angus. 1995:31). I find this statement very important to the idea of the cultural differences between First Nations people and EuroCanadians -- the cultures, and thus the realities, of these two groups of people are different. From Schaef's citation differences are seen by the 'White Male System' to be dangerous. She states:

In the White Male System, differences are seen as threats. In the Female System, differences are seen as opportunities for growth. When differences are labelled dangerous or harmful, it becomes essential to train everyone to think and act in similar ways. Thus, our educational system is oriented toward the "average" child. Any young person who is found to be "above" or "below" average must be made to fit the mold. Anyone who insists on her (or his) right to be different must be done away with, either literally or figuratively (Schaef, 1981/1985:144).
Monture-Angus' very simple, but deeply profound, statement led the way to understand the equally profound statements of Janice Acoose. Acoose, in discussing how her registration as a status Indian divided her from her Métis ancestors (the effect of 'or' politics), states:

... the legal process which transformed me into a treaty Indian is rooted in the colonial strategy for the disempowerment of Indigenous peoples. As such, it disconnected me from my mother's history and stole my right to assume a part of my identity through my mother's lineage, as it did so many other female children before me (Acoose, 1995:22).

Kim Anderson (1997) in her work on First Nations women's identity, started her thesis from her mixed blood perspective. Monture-Angus and Acoose's words along with discussion with my partner Patricia Doyle-Bedwell, and my own experience led me to an understanding of the 'and' world. The 'and' world is a First Nations world which honours diversity. Acoose demonstrates this in a passage in which she is discussing her childhood:

Yes, I learned to read and write, but as a young child in the formative developmental years, I was also victimized by the strategic efforts of the catholic church and federal governments, whose policies of christianization and civilization encouraged me to reject my cultures, languages, history, and ancestors. During the early years in schools, I did not have the intellectual or political faculties to understand how the process of substituting the colonizer's language for my own two languages, or how the nun's punishment of others for speaking their languages would affect our Indigenousness because my parents, not unlike many other Indigenous parents, were already coerced into believing that teaching me my languages would be detrimental to civilization and christianization (Acoose, 1995:27 emphasis mine).
In this passage she clearly states the use of the 'and' portion of the equation by the use of plurals in describing her identity. That concept is foreign to the 'White Male System.'

So it is through my experience, the social construction of reality, and the illustration of the 'and' versus 'or' equation that I speak of identity. In other words, identity is something which is socially created and, as such, if an image presents a view of First Nations resistance which is characterized by only one perspective ('or') then that image has been created in keeping with the myths of the dominant 'White Male System.' That image would then be stereotypical in nature.

Like Monture-Angus and Acoose, Adams warns First Nations people of what he calls:

Cultural Imperialism is one of the most oppressive forms of colonization. It is a form of policy and activity by the colonizer to subjugate Indian and Metis peoples ever deeper into colonization. It manipulates our people into distorted and deceptive cultural activities that serve to obscure political awareness and action. The lack of counter-consciousness for political transformation keeps indigenous culture in a state of fakery and mockery (Adams, 1995:133).

I must be careful not to incorporate cultural imperialism into my perspective. I am sure, however, that it exists in my worldview. The only way to examine the presence or absence of internalized cultural imperialism is by speaking from my experience and examining that voice. This long discussion on identity provides the last theoretical construction of my thesis -- due to my voice, I will see cultural material from a perspective that is different from that of other researchers with other voices.
SUMMATION

In sum then, the 'theory' that I use in this thesis begins and ends with my experience. My thesis is an example of a mixed blood Mi'kmaw perspective and it involves a of blending Euro-Canadian and First Nations points of view. On top of my perspective, I will use the theses of Berger and Luckmann to explain cultural differences between Euro-Canadian and First Nations people. I will further employ the work of Herman and Chomsky as well as Melot to anticipate differences in media representations among the three news journals. In other words my theory will identify two trends in my results. First, there will be a difference in reporting between the Micmac News, Windspeaker, and Maclean's. Second, my voice will enable me to illustrate material that was unavailable to other workers.
Chapter Five:  Methodological Considerations: The 'How' of Research

QUALITATIVE METHODS

The frame in which I wish to study the images of the 'Oka Crisis' resides within the genre of qualitative methodology. This genre is further qualified by the source of my study subject -- photographic and textual images in print news media. Manning and Cullum-Swan caution me by stating:

In many aspects, the debate over the use of documents in social science concerns validity, reliability, representativeness, and generalizability of findings drawn from textual evidence. Ironically, the question of which methodology is superior for interpreting words, rather than numbers, has not been debated. ... The dominance of quantitative methods has resulted in an underdeveloped theory of qualitative textual analysis and heavy reliance on literary criticism, linguistics, computer science, and cognitive psychology for models for assessing the quality of documents (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 1994:463).

Therefore, an understanding of qualitative design in text analysis is needed. Janesick defines and measures the differences between qualitative and quantitative methods in the following way:

They [qualitative researchers] study a social setting to understand the meaning of participants' lives in the participants' own terms. I mention this to contrast it to the quantitative paradigm, which is perfectly comfortable with aggregating larger numbers of people without communicating with them face to face (Janesick, 1994:210).

I am not suggesting that quantitative methods are inferior to qualitative methods. I
do feel, however, that the two methods provide two different tools to investigate two very different sets of questions. Janesick agrees, by stating, "[s]o the questions of the qualitative researcher are quite different from those of the quantitative researcher" (Janesick, 1994:210). Janesick further argues:

...the qualitative researcher begins with a similar question: do I want to know in this study? This is a critical beginning point. Regardless of point of view, we construct and frame a question for inquiry (Janesick, 1994:210).

Therefore, as a beginning to my discussion on methods, I must restate my 'research question'. However, I must state that I do not feel that I am attempting to answer a question; rather I am attempting to tell a story which has five parts (see Figure One, Chapter One).

First and last, I am attempting to illustrate and discuss the 'Oka Crisis' from my perspective and written in the storytelling manner of my Mi'kmaq relations. I hope to illustrate that by speaking from my perspective some information will be revealed that would not be available to other writers with other voices. Second, I am interested in the differences between the three media sources, one owned and operated by EuroCanadians and two operated by First Nations people, in the depiction and reporting of the 'Oka Crisis'. Third, I will compare and contrast my results with the work of Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993). Fourth, I want to explore information from my own perspectives which differs from those of Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993). The first part of my research question is answered in the not so simple act of writing
this thesis story in a manner which honours my Mi'kmaq relations. However, I will discuss, in detail, that notion of voice below. But first I will focus on the second, third, and fourth parts of my research story.

**CONTENT ANALYSIS**

In order to examine the images of resistance of 1990, I must select the appropriate tool from the sociological and anthropological tool chest which allows for analysis within the bounds of my 'theoretical' perspective. The tool which I will use is content analysis suitably modified to capture both visual and textual images. Babbie (1989:292) in his tried and true textbook on methodology, states that content analysis provides a powerful tool to gather media information. Weber, even though he was writing in a series on quantitative methods, defines content analysis as follows:

> Content Analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. These inferences are about the sender(s) of the message, the message itself, or the audience of the message. The rules of this inferential process vary with the theoretical and substantive interests of the investigator ... Content analysis can be used for many purposes. The following list points out a few notable examples (adapted from Berelson, 1952): ... compare media or "levels" of communication ... (Weber, 1990:9).

It is clear from the above citation that content analysis is applicable to the research story that I am attempting to write. However, the last definition that I present offers a discussion of the parameters of the content analysis tool. Krippendorff defines
content analysis as follows:

We define: [...] **Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context.** [...] As a research technique, content analysis involves specialized procedures for processing scientific data. Like all research techniques, its purpose is to provide knowledge, new insights, a representation of "facts," amid a practical guide to action. It is a tool. [...] Any instrument of science is expected to be reliable. More specifically, when other researchers, at different points in time and perhaps under different circumstances, apply the same technique to the same data, the results must be the same. This is the requirement of a content analysis to be *replicable* (Krippendorff, 1980:21 the bracketed material represents my variation from the paragraph structure in the original and not missing text).

Before I discuss the notions of reliability and replicability of my study I must introduce a caution regarding content analysis presented to me by Manning and Cullum-Swan. They state:

... content analysis has been unable to capture the context within which a written text has meaning ... Levinson (1983) defines context as a matter of pragmatics, "what the reader brings to" the utterance or, in this case, the text (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 1994:464).

It is the context between three sets of texts that I am attempting to analyze. Here, however, the 'what the reader brings to the text' is explicit as described earlier. In other words, my perspective is simultaneously known and provides the background to measurement of the message or content of the news articles. Later, I will return to the concepts of replicability (Krippendorff, 1980 cited above), reliability, and validity (Babbie, 1973/1989).

The content analysis that I wish to pursue must be framed within what
Clandinin and Connelly (1993:413) call "Personal Experience Methods." They argue that personal methods focus on social experiences in which the author leads the reader to understand those experiences. They further point out that "[w]hat is taken to be experience is a function of the observer's interest" (Clandinin and Connelly, 1993:416). Given that caution, which mirrors what I have stated earlier, they provide an overview of the dynamics of the personal methods:

To summarize, methods for the study of personal experience are simultaneously focused in four directions: inward and outward, backward and forward. By inward we mean the internal conditions of feelings, hopes, aesthetic reactions, moral dispositions, and so on. By outward we mean existential conditions, that is, the environment or what E. M. Bruner (1986) calls reality. By backward and forward we are referring to temporality, past, present, and future. To experience an experience is to experience it simultaneously in these four ways and to ask questions pointing each way (Clandinin and Connelly, 1993:417).

One problem occurs in directing my research in the manner expressed above. My research cannot directly or indirectly capture the inward dimension of the individual writers and photographers. Therefore I must use their work -- text and photographs -- which are the subject matter of my analysis. The last three parameters will be met as my design allowed me to examine texts and video which provide documentary evidence of the 'Oka Crisis' and my design follows the depiction of the 'Oka Crisis' over time.

The authors also provide a glimpse of what can be accomplished by using personal experience methods. They suggest that a middle space of understanding,
between subject and researcher can be created by the research process which can lead to individual and social change (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994:425). As I discussed previously, in Chapter One, the process of this research has in fact changed me by forcing me to examine my own viewpoints and stereotypes. Moreover, since my research subjects are text and photographs -- images -- the middle space of understanding is within my consciousness.

Personal experience methods along with my voice, allow my thesis to be told as a story -- a Mi'kmaw story. As I have discussed before, Mi'kmaw stories are based on the personal experience of the storyteller. Personal experience methods also require the input of the writer's personal experience. My voice and my experience have informed my topic choice and my analysis direction. In the Mi'kmaw world the sharing of those experiences is a story. Therefore I am writing this thesis as a story, based on my experience and told in my voice, in an attempt to honour not only my Mi'kmaw relations but also my academic ones as well. Personal experience methods form part of this storyroad. Now I will introduce the actual design of my research.

**RESEARCH DESIGN**

In order to understand the images of the resistance of 1990, I must select the sources for those images. This is not an easy task. The basic manner in which I wish to examine the images in *Maclean's*, *Windspeaker*, and the *Micmac News* uses content analysis in a form modified from Steuter (1987) which I will discuss in depth.
The reasons that I chose the news sources that I did are as follows. First, the images under study must be presented from a First Nations source and from a EuroCanadian source. The *Micmac News* is a First Nations run and published newspaper (Langille, 1994:16). Unfortunately, it is only published monthly and only one issue covered the 'Oka Crisis.' Therefore I must consult another First Nations news journal. *Windspeaker* fits the bill. On its cover, *Windspeaker* defines itself as "North America's No.1 Native Bi-weekly Newspaper" (*Windspeaker*, 1990, 8(10):1). As such it is like *Maclean's* which bills itself as "Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine" (*Maclean's*, 1990, 103(31):1) and is owned and operated by EuroCanadians -- specifically Conrad Black (Barlow and Winter, 1997). Many difficulties arose in the actual sampling of the *Micmac News*, *Windspeaker*, and *Maclean's*. The *Micmac News* only publishes monthly, and during the 'heat' of the crisis (August) they did not publish an issue. Fortunately, the last issue available to me was the September 1990 issue. *Windspeaker* and *Maclean's* provided enough material to study.

Second, the news sources must provide photographs as well as text; all three do. Third, in order to satisfy the criteria presented by Herman and Chomsky, the funding sources must be clear for the materials used. The *Micmac News*, although run through government grants, is published by a First Nations organization -- "the Native Communications Society" (Langille, 1994:13). I consider the *Micmac News*, at least some distance from government sources, at least politically. *Windspeaker* "...
is published by the Aboriginal Multi-Media Society of Alberta (AMMSA) each Friday\textsuperscript{25} to provide information primarily to Native people of northern Alberta. Windspeaker was established in 1983 and is politically independent" (Windspeaker, 1990, 7(51):4). Maclean's on the other hand relies on subscription costs and large numbers of advertisers. Although, the Micmac News and Windspeaker have advertisements and subscription revenues, the newspapers are not as elaborate, nor I assume, as costly as Maclean's to print. Moreover, the advertisements in the Micmac News and Windspeaker do not seem as numerous nor elaborate as those found in Maclean's. Last, all sources do in fact cover the 'Oka Crisis'.

Two problem areas arose in the use of these sources. First, Maclean's is published weekly whereas the Micmac News is monthly and Windspeaker is published bi-weekly. However, since my thesis is a case study and I am not attempting a quantitative design based on statistical significance, this disparity can be ignored. Second, all of the Micmac News and Windspeaker material and most of the Maclean's material was available to me only on 35mm microfiche. Furthermore, the articles that contained 'Oka Crisis' material were copied from the microfiche, in a black and white format, in order to be studied. Therefore, an analysis of the colour and some of the detail provided by the photographs was not possible. Despite the disparities between the Micmac News, Windspeaker, and Maclean's they do provide relatively comparable sources for images of the 'Oka Crisis' as presented from two

\textsuperscript{25} I find the phrase 'each Friday' to be problematic, as Windspeaker is bi-weekly. I assume it is published once in a two week period on a Friday.
culturally different perspectives -- First Nations and EuroCanadian respectively.

I examined the source materials starting in March of 1990 and ending in September of 1990. These dates were chosen based on the time when the first barricades went up blocking the path to the pines and ending with exodus of the treatment centre -- March 10 to September 26 (Homung, 1991:281-288).

I used a code scheme (modified from Steuter, 1987) to examine Maclean's, the Micmac News, and Windspeaker, for images of First Nations resistance, in both text and photograph, as my content analysis engine. The code sheet is presented below in Figure Two. The results of the photographic analysis will be presented in tabular form. The texts of the news articles will be examined for each news journal as part of the main discussion in the next chapter entitled 'The World of Image.'

Thematic analysis of headlines and captions (after Miller, 1993) as well as crude word counts of the terms 'Warrior' and 'Mohawk' plus their modifiers will be presented in tabular form in an attempt to illustrate the differences in reporting and therefore biases of the news journals. I will be comparing my results with those of Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993).

**RESEARCH QUALITY**

Three measures of research quality are important to my study: Reproducibility, Reliability, and Validity (the former one from Krippendorff (1980) and the latter two from Babbie (1973/1989) as cited above).
**Figure Two: Code Scheme for Visual and Textual Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Content and Rational</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date of Magazine:</td>
<td>For record keeping purposes and to illustrate story content changes over time (after Baylor, 1996).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page:</td>
<td>To record relative importance of the story. I assume if the story is a Cover story it is more important that a backpage editorial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographic Image:</td>
<td>Who is depicted and what is depicted. Categories include: Warriors, Pro Warrior First Nations Supporters, Other, EuroCanadian Protest against Warriors. Relative differences between the newsjournals illustrates journal biases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caption or Headline:</td>
<td>What is said, for example Warriors are Terrorists provides a reasonably clear bias against the Warrior society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text Content:</td>
<td>Is the text repetitious between issues, are the same words used (I will be using crude word counts). This illustrates biases. Specifically I will be looking for incidence of the term Warrior and its descriptor if any as measure of attitude. For example, if the Warriors are listed as militant or violent, I argue this indicates bias against them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All data in Figure Two have been modified from Steuter 1987:37 Figure 1.

In terms of replicability, my study will only be reproducible by a researcher with same background and perspective as myself. This is not to say that the counts of the photographic type and content are not reproducible by anyone using the same categories -- they are. I am saying that the whole endeavour of my research is based
on my perspective, as I have already demonstrated.

Babbie defines reliability as "[i]n the abstract, reliability is a matter of whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object, would yield the same result each time" (Babbie, 1973/1989:121). He further provides several methods of accessing reliability of the measure (Babbie, 1973/1989:121-124). The one which I will use will be based on comparable previous studies. As Babbie states: "[a]nother way to handle the problem of reliability in getting information from people is to use measures that have proven their reliability in previous research" (Babbie, 1973/1989:123). Baylor's (1996) frame analysis and Miller's (1993) thematic analysis will be compared to the trends that become apparent in my research.

Last, Babbie defines validity in the following way: "[i]n conventional usage, the term validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration" (Babbie, 1973/1989:124). As Babbie, himself, asserts there is no actual way of being one hundred percent sure. However, Babbie provides several options for assessing validity (Babbie, 1973/1989:124-125). He states, "... construct validity is based on the way a measure relates to other variables within a system of theoretical relationships" (Babbie, 1973/1989:125). Further, if my results yield insights that are consistent with the results obtained by Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993), in terms of the categories used and images analyzed, then that comparison will function as a positive assessment of the validity as well as reliability of my analysis.
VOICE AND BIASES

Voice Part Two

I will begin with a discussion of the importance of voice in research. I first began to understand the concept of voice as introduced by feminist scholars. Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna (1989) wrote a how-to introductory text to feminist research in which they introduce the importance of voice in the following manner:

A theme that you will find throughout this book is that of the construction of knowledge as a political process. The fact that universities and research institutes are still largely the domain of white, middle and upper class males can be perceived as a clear manifestation of inequality. However, what may be less obvious is the way choice of research areas, research "rules of the road," and control of research methodology and funding help to construct and legitimate their power and maintain current social relations. The institutionalization of the research process has, in effect, put a monopoly on the creation of certain kinds of knowledge. Demystifying the research process is a way of challenging this monopoly (Kirby and McKenna, 1989:27).

They further state, "[e]nsure that the voice of the researcher is present and accounted for in the entire research process, including the final report" (Kirby and McKenna, 1989:162). Morris states, "[v]oice is a concept familiar both in grammar and in poetics. It is often said that writing well means finding one's own voice" (Morris, 1996:26). As I have illustrated, the concept of voice is essential to conducting good research. Anderson (1997), in writing on First Nations women's identity, begins from her own mixed blood perspective to frame her analysis. Her ancestry is very much like mine: English, Scottish, and First Nations (Anderson, 1997:38). I will explore
this avenue in my story below.

Different voices tell different stories. Those stories need to be told despite the fact that people from the dominant EuroCanadian culture may not understand something different without assigning those stories to a lower hierarchical position (Schaef, 1981/1985). At worst the dominant culture may demand those different voices to change. For example, Gilliam writing about Brazilian mulata identity illustrates the lengths these women were willing to go to mold to the 'expected norms':

The mixed race woman's social value rests in her identification with sexualized depictions of her life and body. Most Brazilian women can adjust their phenotypes -- especially their hair -- to fulfill the requirements of mulata identity (Gilliam, 1998:64).

Other authors report similar findings -- Giroux (1997) in the ethnicity of whiteness and Nyoongah (1998) with an Australian Aboriginal woman writer. Therefore, the need for specific voice especially one that is different from other research, especially one which was historically silenced is vital to social change in academic discourse.

I will continue with a story, which I believe is absolutely essential to understanding of this report. I was born to what appeared to everyone a nice EuroCanadian upper middle class home, to two medically trained parents. My known heritage, at that time, was historically English, with a strong input from the Scots.

I grew up, thanks to my father's father, my dad, my mom, my mother's father
and my maternal uncles, with a love of the outdoors -- of 'wilderness'. I wanted to be an environmentalist 'when I grew up' (or a doctor or martial arts teacher).

Furthermore, I did connect the love of nature with certain 'ancient peoples' -- the Celts, the Druids, and of course, 'Indians' (although this is in fact a stereotype).

There was little talk of First Nations persons except in the past tense or in terse commentary on current events. There were, however, shadowy references, innuendoes, and whispers that my blood pool included some 'Indians' in the deep end. The whispers spoke of Beotuks from Newfoundland. But, for the most part, I grew up with the "Imaginary Indian" (Crosby 1991:267). I did know, however, that I did not fit in. To EuroCanadian readers this may seem quite normal, as many of my friends, whose ancestral background is entirely EuroCanadian, also felt like they never fit in.

I didn't like the talk of my parent's peers with regard to the many cognitive boxes of European life -- money, the environment, for instance. The ideas of my parents' upper middle class peers involved looking down on others and feeling like oppression was the fault of the oppressed.

My understanding of my identity changed radically in the summer of 1990.

26 I use the terms 'Indian' and 'Indianness' in terms not of Indian Act 'Indians' but rather in colloquial terms.

27 I mean this is stereotypical in two ways. First, First Nations people did and do live on the land and possess legitimate and extensive ecological knowledge, however, not all First Nations persons choose to live in the ancestral way. Second, the view of the Indian on the land forces First Nations people to live in a past based on an image which is not ours (see Francis, 1992).
That summer, during the media onslaught of the 'Oka Crisis', the whispers of my 'Indian' ancestors began screaming. That summer I began seeing the woman to whom I am now married, I began a relationship with my step-son, I attended my first Sweat Lodge ceremony, I was being given Kanien'kehaka and Cree Traditional Teachings by Patricia Monture-Angus, and I found out that my mother's father was half Mi'kmaq. That made me Mi'kmaq too. I then remembered my Grandfather telling me this when I was young. I had known this all along, but it was pushed away.

I had come home, I began to accept my 'Mi'kmaqness' and I was honoured by recognition of my 'Indianness' by some First Nations people. I had opened the one box that my family was reluctant, due to the effects of oppression and racism, to let me look in. My world changed. Yet, I had to remove from myself the internalized colonialism (Patricia Monture-Angus, 1995) of the "Imaginary Indian" (Crosby 1991:267) -- my own internalized stereotypes of First Nations people.

I am what Patricia Monture-Angus calls a Spotted Blood person, a person with mixed First Nations and EuroCanadian ancestry. However, given that I consider myself a First Nations person, and that I am of mixed ancestry, how do I use my

28 Just as the Métis people are First Nations people. However, I resist and protest strongly to being labelled Métis or métis. Métis is the national name of people who historically lived in Manitoba and Saskatchewan of mixed French and Cree ancestry. The term 'metis' is currently in vogue in First Nations circles as a term for mixed blood people. I am a mixed blooded person, whose ancestry is neither Cree nor French. To me being considered Métis (in either case form) is insulting to the Métis Nation as I am not historically connected to them. Having said that, I am Mi'kmaq, English, and Scottish -- Not Mi'kmaq, English, or Scottish. Please see
voice to frame the discussion of images of First Nations people in news media, in the context of an academic report? My Mi'kmaw Elders and other First Nations Elders are clear in saying that I need to speak from my experience. That is the only real option I have.

In the context of discussing this issue of voice with a professor he offered that I would certainly not be writing from "an aboriginal perspective." I assume that I was not to write from "an aboriginal perspective" because I don't 'look Indian' and did not grow up with full knowledge of my ancestry. To write from an "aboriginal perspective" assumes that there is only one monolithic First Nations' perspective. In assuming the monolithic voice -- the cognitive box containing all of being aboriginal -- I will participate in the further silencing and therefore the oppression of my Mi'kmak people (Monture-Angus 1995). I will not do that.

I will write from who I am -- a mixed blood Mi'kmaw who came 'home' after a childhood and early adulthood living in the EuroCanadian way. I do not and I cannot speak for anyone other than myself. Therefore my voice, as a mixed blood Mi'kmaw provides a perspective which will aid in understanding the media images.

Some researchers would consider my perspective as bias. I argue, after Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991), that all knowledge including scientific knowledge is socially constructed -- it comes from a certain social perspective. My research is informed by the nature of my mixed-blood 'Mi'kmawness' and the

Chapter Four: Theoretical Considerations -- The 'So-What' of Research for a discussion of 'and' versus 'or'.
theoretical views that I included in my research story. However, that does not mean that the results framed in my perspective are any less valid than any other social writer's. Babbie cautions me to be wary of biases in the data sources (Babbie, 1973/1989:321). He says:

... you need always be wary of bias in your data sources. If all your data on the development are taken from the movement itself, you are unlikely to gain a well-rounded view of it (Babbie, 1973/1989:321).

This bias is kept in check, as I am not only comparing three news journals but then comparing my results with the findings of Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993).

SUMMATION

In summary, my methodological approach to the images presented in the Micmac News, Windspeaker, and Maclean's relies on a content analysis engine derived from Baylor (1996), Miller (1993), and Steuter (1987) and based on my personal experience given my biases as explicitly stated. My results will be compared to the works of Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993). I am cautioned by Clandinin and Connelly in that "[e]xperience is messy, and so is experiential research" (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994:417). No matter the 'messiness' of experiential research it is the researchers job to provide as clean a view as possible. Janesick states "[q]ualitative research depends on the presentation of solid descriptive data, so that the researcher leads the reader to an understanding of the meaning of the experience under study" (Janesick, 1994:215). Now on to the world of image.
Chapter Six:  Results -- The World of Image

The results of my enquiry into images of First Nations people in mass media were quite numerous and diverse. In order to discuss the results in a meaningful way an illustrative organization needs to be devised. I chose to illustrate my research findings in the following order: first, the texts of each news source will be discussed; second, various tables representing cover photographs, photographs, headlines, and word counts will be presented; and third, I will compare my results with the works of Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993).

NEWS SOURCES

The Micmac News

Only one issue contained discussions of the 'Oka Crisis' -- July 1990. Although the July 1990 issue provided a cover story on the standoff at Oka only three articles concerned the crisis. The first two are written by the same author, Brian Douglas, and the last by Clifford Paul. No photographs of the Warriors were published in this issue and all articles focused on the Mi'kmaq relationships to the

29 I cite the articles in the following manner: author(s), news source, date, volume(number):page. I did this for two reasons: first, the full citation provides a chronological context within the study period (March to September 1990), as the reader clearly knows when the article was written and second, the full citation makes comparisons between news sources easier.
Kanien'kehaka and our similar struggles. The cover banner read "Joining the Mohawk Protest: MICMACS ON HUNGER STRIKE: Ottawa denounced over Oka standoff" (Micmac News, July 1990, 20(7):1). However they primarily focused on the support Mi'kmaq were providing to our Kanien'kehaka sisters and brothers. The editorial page (page 2) gives an overview of First Nations unrest in Canada and only four paragraphs out of twenty were dedicated to a description of the events to that date at Kahnawake and Kanesatake (Douglas, Micmac News, July 1990a, 20(7):2).

The rest of the first article used the resistance at Oka, to describe First Nations' unrest in Canada (Douglas, Micmac News, July 1990a, 20(7):2). The second article, also one page, with two photographs, explains Mi'kmaq support of the resistance in 'Oka' (Douglas, Micmac News, July 1990b, 20(7):3).

The third article (with one picture) also discusses the Mi'kmaq support of the Kanien'kehaka (Paul, Micmac News, July 1990. 20(7):4). Not one of the articles described the Kanien'kehaka as Warriors or militants. A sample of the language used in the articles is as follows:

A communique to the Mohawk nation from Micmac Grand Chief Donald Marshall said that he was saddened that the "Quebec government continues to devalue your lands, your interest, and expectations. The rhetoric of freedom so freely voiced in Quebec is no substitute for your self-determination." [...] Marshall affirmed their ancient alliance with the Mohawks vowing not to sit back and merely watch the struggle over territory that "has been checker-boarded with diverse settlers over the past century" (Douglas, Micmac News, July 1990b, 20(7):3 bracketed material indicates a modification of original paragraph structure not a loss of text).
In the September issue of the Micmac News, the struggle at 'Oka' is mentioned in relation to the funding cuts faced by the Micmac News (Douglas, Micmac News, September 1990c, 20(9):2). In the July issue, the articles found farther from the cover (for example page 4) were concerned less with platforming and airing grievances and more concerned with Mi'kmaq relations to the Kanien'kehaka.

In summary the image presented in the Micmac News of the 'Oka Crisis' is one of support, solidarity, and a platform to air Mi'kmaq grievances. They did not emphasize the Warrior society the way Maclean's does. The writers at the Micmac News provided information to their readers based on two traditional aspects of Mi'kmaq culture: first, to speak only about one's own person experience and second, the honouring of relations, in this case with the Kanien'kehaka. This observation comes from my voice.

Windspeaker

The images provided by Windspeaker mirrored very much the images provided by the Micmac News. Windspeaker's reporters write about the events at Kahnawake and Kanesatake in the summer of 1990 to expose and to elaborate on the various Western First Nations' land claims. Windspeaker's main focus is on the Western First Nations, as I cited above. In other words the writers or editor at Windspeaker write about others in relationship to themselves -- their own experience. Windspeaker covers much of the same events as Maclean's, however, they write in a
very different way, one which honours First Nations people.

The first mention of violence in Kanien'kehaka territory occurred with a story on the deaths in Akwesasne in the May 11 issue. At the same time, *Maclean's* covered this incident (Morrow, *Windspeaker* May 11 1990, 8(4):2). The first article in *Windspeaker* to explicitly cover the 'Oka Crisis' was Woodward and Morrow's, "The Oka Standoff: Alberta Indians Back Mohawks" (*Windspeaker* July 20 1990, 8(9):1,3). Like the *Micmac News*, the writers spoke briefly about the 'Oka Crisis' as a foundation to talk about local First Nations people. I argue, as informed from my perspective, that they are writing from their own experience.\(^3\) In the same article, Woodward and Morrow list the historical basis of the Kanien'kehaka resistance (Woodward and Morrow, *Windspeaker* July 20 1990, 8(9):3).

The August 3rd. issue of *Windspeaker* contained the most articles on the 'Oka Crisis' of all issues surveyed (*Windspeaker*, August 3 1990, 8(10)). Most of the articles were written by a staff reporter, Dana Wagg, and a correspondent, Rudy Haugeneder. However, they mostly referred to other First Nations peoples' support of the Kanien'kehaka. In terms of references to the Warriors, Dana Wagg writes, "I badly wanted to get behind police lines to meet the Warriors, to see if they were the fierce characters they were being make out to be ... They weren't" (Wagg,

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\(^3\) I have no way of knowing if all the reporters from *Windspeaker* are First Nations people, who are fully cognizant of tradition teachings. However, I believe that, like *Maclean's* and the *Micmac News*, *Windspeaker's* editorial decisions are made as to the content of the articles (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). It is that editorial decision that I argue is from a First Nations perspective.
Winbaker, August 3 1990a, 8(10):11. She also reported on the frustrations and worries of a Kanien'kehaka businesswoman about loss of business and being shunned by her former white neighbours (Wagg, *Windspeaker*, August 3 1990b, 8(10):12). Dana Wagg wrote about the feelings of a Warrior in an article entitled "So I Look Like a Murderer?" Asks Mohawk" (Wagg, *Windspeaker*, August 3 1990c, 8(10):16). She also wrote about a EuroCanadian man who was injured by police tear gas (Wagg, *Windspeaker*, August 3 1990f, 8(10):18).

Dana Wagg also discussed police brutality to the Kanien'kehaka in an article in which she states:

In the most recent incident about seven Kanesatake Indians were taken to a barn last week, where they were beaten and tortured, charged Don Martin of Kahnawake in an interview from the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) office in Ottawa ... "We have been documenting all human rights' violations." ... A spokesman for the Surete du Quebec laughed at charges that Mohawks had been tortured by police. "The police never torture anybody," said Const. Richard Bourdon... (Wagg, *Windspeaker*, August 31, 1990g, 8(12):3).

During the 'Oka Crisis' other First Nations people were staging their own forms of resistance. One such resistance was Milton Born With A Tooth's diversion of the Old Man River in Alberta in order to return water to the Peigan Nation (Woodward, *Windspeaker*, September 14 1990, 8(13):1-2). The *Windspeaker* cover story stated, "He held before him a letter from Mohawk Warriors he received after travelling to Montreal looking for support for his Lonefighters Society" (Woodward, *Windspeaker*, September 14 1990, 8(13):1). This illustrates perfectly the 'speaking from experience' teaching I was discussing above. The writer linked the 'Oka Crisis' to a local (Alberta)

The emphasis on personal, or local, experience by Windspeaker reporters is modified when the subject matter affects other First Nations people as in Dana Wagg’s articles in the August 3rd. Windspeaker or Haugeneder’s article entitled “Wild Brawl Greets Oka Surrender” (Haugeneder, Windspeaker, September 28 1990d, 8(14):1). He describes the violence the Kanien’kehaka were subjected to as they surrendered, however not as a platform for other resistances (Haugeneder, Windspeaker, September 28 1990d, 8(14):1). I argue that the harsh treatment of one group of First Nations people becomes the experience of most First Nations people.

Although most articles in Windspeaker could be said to be pro-Kanien’kehaka, the paper allowed space for those who did not agree with that notion. Not all readers of Windspeaker agreed with the position of the Kanien’kehaka Warrior society. In a letter to the editor, the authors state:

We are five girls; three of us are Indian. We are 16 to 18 years old and feel we have something to say as we are the future of Canada. ... The warriors are not a good representation of Native people because they are the renegades left over from the Vietnam War. They’re trigger-happy people looking for a war somewhere (Chalifaux, et al., Windspeaker, August 31 1990, 8(12):5).

Last, I note that Windspeaker ran an article on the Kanien’kehaka disengagement during the actual time frame of the disengagement -- at the end of September.
Maclean's

The illustration of First Nations images in Maclean's magazine was quite different from that of the images presented in Micmac News and Windspeaker. Most of the articles written on the 'Oka Crisis' were part of sections, for example the Canada or Cover sections. The articles in Maclean's, depicting the 'Oka Crisis' were written by different lead authors, especially the first articles in the section. However, there was a finite pool from which the authors took turns writing the lead. In other words, there were roughly six or seven different authors, but they rotated lead authorship with each other, in many collaborations. This rotation of lead authorship, as well as smaller solo articles (placed later in the sections), gave the illusion of many different authors and thus many different perspectives. Indeed, this is an illusion.

The first mention in Maclean's of the Warrior society or violence in Kanien'kehaka Territory came in the Canada section of the magazine on May 7 1990. However this was not about the 'Oka Crisis' (although it had already begun); it was about violence on the Akwesasne Reserve. This article, entitled "Gunfire and Gambling: Violence Explodes on a Mohawk Reserve," was written by Chris Wood, E. Kaye Fulton, and Hilary MacKenzie. This is also the first time the terms such as "Mohawk Warriors, the heavily armed supporters of six casinos ... the militant Mohawk nationalists" appear (Wood, et al., Maclean's, May 7 1990, 103(19):22).

The next article ran a week later, also in the Canada section, entitled "Tribal

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31 I have no way of knowing for sure whether some of the Maclean's reporters were First Nations people -- none self-identified either.
Warfare: Fighting Between Mohawk For And Against Gambling Claims Two Lives On A Bitterly Divided Reserve," written by Peeter Kopvillem and Greg W. Taylor (Maclean's, May 14 1990, 103(20):14). They describe the Kanien'kehaka as "the Mohawk Warrior Society, a pro-gambling organization and self-styled protector of Mohawk sovereignty ... many of them members of the militant Warriors..." (Kopvillem and Taylor, Maclean's, May 14 1990, 103(20):14). These two articles, although written by two sets of different authors still use the same descriptive terms in reference to the Warriors.

These May articles in Maclean's also set the stage for the later coverage of the 'Oka Crisis.' According to Hormung, the Sûreté du Québec attacked the barricades at Kanesatake on the 11th. of July 1990 (Hormung, 1991:284). Maclean's, however, does not report on the 'Oka Crisis' until the 23 July 1990. The lead story, in the July 23 1990 Maclean's issue, included a cover photograph of a masked Warrior holding his rifle over his head while he stood on an overturned police car (Maclean's, July 23 1990, 103(30)). The images of Warriors with guns and standoffs between soldiers and Kanien'kehaka became the mainstream media's new stereotype for the 'Oka Crisis'.

Maclean's presents forty one articles (including Editorials, Covers, Canada Section, Business, Letters, for example, excluding the two articles above) until the 24th. of September when I ended my examination (actually Maclean's ends its immediate coverage of the 'Oka Crisis' on the 8th. of October in a Special Report
One interesting phenomena occurs. No history sympathetic to the Kanien'kehaka is written in *Maclean's* until later in the resistance when the Canadian armed forces are called in. The first article to cover Kanien'kehaka history was included in the *Cover* section, written by Brian Bergman with Ann McLaughlin and Bruce Wallace, and was entitled "A Legacy of Defiance: The Mohawks Revive a Martial Past" (*Maclean's*, July 23 1990, 103(30):20). It was not very sympathetic to the Kanien'kehaka. The authors refer to the Warriors as "[t]he self-styled defenders of Mohawk sovereignty" (Bergman, et al., *Maclean's*, July 23 1990, 103(30):21). The next time history is presented is in the September 10, 1990 *Cover* section story (*Maclean's*, September 10 1990, 103(37):18). This article written by Nancy Wood and is entitled "Clashing Views of Sovereignty" (Wood, *Maclean's*, September 10 1990, 103(37):18). The word 'Warrior' does not appear in Wood's short article (Wood, *Maclean's*, September 10 1990, 103(37):18). I argue that the difference between the first 'history' article, which viewed the Kanien'kahaka as only Warriors, and the second 'history' article, which viewed the Kanien'kehaka as people, is due to the media impression that the Kanien'kehaka resistance would soon be over -- due to the presence of the Canadian armed forces. In other words, the Kanien'kehaka could be seen as people with a legitimate claim only when their 'threat' was removed -- when Canada 'won' and the Kanien'kehaka 'lose.' Since the Kanien'kehaka are losing, so the *Maclean's* logic seem to go, then it becomes acceptable to see the
Kanien'kehaka as people, people of the past -- a stereotype (after Francis, 1992).

I would like to illustrate some more examples of the reporting in the Maclean's September 10th. issue. First, this issue's cover presents the incredibly famous 'standoff' photograph between a young Canadian soldier and a young Kanien'kehaka Warrior. The authors described the incident in the following way: "[t]hey stood eyeball to eyeball in tense confrontation, the masked Mohawk Warrior and the young soldier from the celebrated Canadian regiment" (Came et al., Maclean's September 10 1990, 103(37):16). Second, Barbara Amiel wrote an article entitled, "The Gun Barrel Created This Land." She states:

Unlike the relatively advanced Indians in South America, North American Indians for the most part were simply a hunting and gathering culture. The Indians dealt with us as if we were simply another larger tribe. The peace pipe was smoked in the belief that each of us would hunt in their bit of land. We went along with this view (Amiel, Maclean's, September 10 1990, 103(37):11).

She continues pondering the question of how to deal with the Kanien'kehaka resistance, and states:

The question is, how do you handle the matter now? I truly do no know what to say to a people who consider some or all of the laws of the land inapplicable to them. Nor do I want to see men or women massacred, although it seems to me that a really strong show of force now is the only way to keep casualties down to a minimum. One of the worst mistakes, in my view, incidentally, was allowing the UN human rights observers to look into this affair. The matter has no international dimension in which human rights have been even threatened, let alone broken (Amiel, Maclean's, September 10 1990, 103(37):11).

She states there are no human rights violations in the treatment of the Kanien'kehaka
by the police and the Canadian government even though in this same issue of

Maclean's Barry Came, et al. state:

Such emotion was also evident among non-natives when anti-Mohawk demonstrators hurled rocks at a passing caravan of cars and trucks carrying Mohawk women, children and elderly attempting to flee the anticipated army assault on the Kahnawake reserve ... The attack was widely condemned, and the image of young, muscular men in T-shirts and shorts pelting the vehicles with huge chunks of debris may well remain etched in the national consciousness (Barry Came, et al., Maclean's, September 10 1990, 103(37):19).

She is either unaware of the human rights violations toward the Kanien'kehaka or the work of authors writing in the same issue or she does not choose to acknowledge them.

Third, in the few articles dedicated to the ongoing protests against the Kanien'kehaka, which Hornung (1991) illustrates as happening almost constantly during the whole resistance at 'Oka,' Bruce Wallace portrayed the anti-Kanien'kehaka violence in the following way, "[b]ut, at times, the release deteriorated into an ugly display of violence and racial hatred" (Wallace, Maclean's, September 10 1990, 103(37):20). The language here is clearly not as critical of the anti-Kanien'kehaka protestors as it is of the Kanien'kehaka Warriors -- the Warriors are militant, the crowd needs a release.

Fourth, in an article entitled, "Cool and Collected: A Patient General Takes Charge at Oka," the author, E. Kaye Fulton, describes General De Chastelain's mandate at 'Oka' and provides a short biography on him (Maclean's, September 10
1990, 103(37):24). The author obviously admires De Chastelain. She states, "[i]n a careful explanation of the military's role in quelling the Warriors with minimum force, de Chastelain revealed the steely soldier's colors that admirers say is characteristic of his style" (Fulton, *Maclean's*, September 10 1990, 103(37):24). The language the author uses suggests that the Kanien'kehaka are violent and reactive, while the general and the army are rational and peace loving. The Canadian army, as peacekeepers, will make it all better. This article really stands out from the other articles written on the 'Oka Crisis' in this issue. This article seems sterile in a series of articles that depict Warriors, land, and barricades.

Last, in the Business Watch section, Peter C. Newman states: "[t]he trouble with Indians is that they insist on acting like Indians. That means the rest of us who judge their behaviour by our standards can't even begin to appreciate their motives or comprehend their tactics" (Newman, *Maclean's*, September 10 1990, 103(37):46). What exactly is he saying? The social construction of reality theory as presented by Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) would support Newman's argument. First Nations people and First Nations history are not understood by *Maclean's* magazine writers.

I would like to offer an illustration of the *Maclean's* coverage of the EuroCanadians protest against the Kanien'kehaka. In an article entitled, "Dangerous Standoff: Native Militancy Increases in the Second Week of a Tense Showdown Between Police and Mohawks," a photograph was included depicting the burning of
a 'Mohawk Effigy' (Taylor et al., Maclean's, July 30 1990, 103(31):12). I argue that the title of the article does not match the photograph. The title refers to Kanien'kehaka militancy and the photograph shows a burning Kanien'kehaka effigy -- I argue that the photograph illustrates EuroCanadian militancy not Kanien'kehaka militancy. From one perspective the title blames the Kanien'kehaka for the violence against them by the EuroCanadian public. The authors state: "... facing heavily armed Mohawk Indians across barricades in a tense standoff ... the frustrated local residents began burning effigies last week -- first of Indians, then of Québec Premier Robert Bourassa" (Taylor et al., Maclean's, July 30 1990, 103(31):12). The text supports my hypothesis that the Kanien'kehaka are being blamed for racially motivated violence against them. It is important to note that, although the EuroCanadian protestors burned an effigy\textsuperscript{32} of Bourassa, the authors did not show a picture of it.

Another example of Maclean's coverage of the EuroCanadian protest against the Kanien'kehaka comes in an article entitled "Barricades of Hate: Tensions Mount Over the Mohawk Blockades" (Burke, Maclean's, August 13 1990, 103(33):18). In reporting on EuroCanadian stresses related to the Kanien'kehaka barricades, the author still refers to the Kanien'kehaka as "... militant Warrior Society ... Militant Warriors ... the heavily armed Mohawk" (Burke, Maclean's, August 13 1990,\textsuperscript{32} Note the singular effigy of Bourassa as opposed to the plural effigies of Indians. I am not saying that burning effigies of any one is acceptable, just that the EuroCanadians burned more Kanien'kehaka effigies than Premier Bourassa ones.

\textsuperscript{32} Note the singular effigy of Bourassa as opposed to the plural effigies of Indians. I am not saying that burning effigies of any one is acceptable, just that the EuroCanadians burned more Kanien'kehaka effigies than Premier Bourassa ones.
Oka residents, meanwhile, met to discuss a federal government plan to deal with the disputed land at the heart of the conflict -- 66 acres that the Mohawks claim as their own but that the town council wants to use to expand its municipal golf course and enlarge a housing development. Ottawa's proposal: that it pay $3.8 million to Oka -- on top of another $1.4 million paid to a private French developer for another section of the disputed land -- then turn the area over to the Mohawks. But Oka residents vetoed that proposal, saying that no negotiations could take place until the Indians disarmed and left their barricades. Declared Oka councillor Réjean Larocque: "The people are just fed up with the attitude of the Mohawks. If you lived here you would understand the frustrations" (Burke, *Maclean's*, August 13 1990, 103(33):18 emphasis mine).

Burke's choice of language is sympathetic to the EuroCanadian and not to the Kanien'kehaka. For instance he does not mention that the Kanien'kehaka barricades went up to protect a Kanien'kehaka burial ground in the first place. It seems that Burke wants the reader to believe that the Kanien'kehaka are just 'resisting progress.'

Furthermore, in the quotation, the speaker makes a distinction between 'people' and 'Mohawks.' This demonstrates a view which, under the correct circumstances, could lead to effigy burning. The speaker's logic follows this path -- if the Kanien'kehaka are not people then it is acceptable to treat them in a non-human manner. That 'logic' could produce violence. It is clear that the authors in *Maclean's*, perhaps not unconsciously, favour the EuroCanadians, in their frustrations, over the resistance of the Kanien'kehaka.

Finally, Taylor, et al., in *Maclean's*, July 30th. issue wrote about the sympathy blockades and demonstrations around the country, including "... Nova Scotia, where
30 Indians staged a symbolic hunger strike" (Taylor, et al., 1990b, Maclean's, July 30 1990, 103(31):14). Here, Maclean's reported the kind of material that was prominently featured in the Micmac News and Windspeaker -- First Nations support for the Kanien'kehaka. However, one story does not significantly alter the overall manner in which Maclean's reported the events of the summer of 1990, which portrays the Kanien'kehaka as violent militants. This ignores the resistance of the Kanien'kehaka to two hundred and seventy years of colonial oppression.

NEWS SOURCE COMPARISONS

The second level of analysis involves simple tabulations of (and their corresponding percentages) the various types of photographs of the resistance. The tables illustrate a common trend in the comparison between news sources, despite the fact that the data is not statistically meaningful. The results of the article to issue ratio as a measure of relative importance is interesting. Windspeaker outpaced Maclean's almost two to one and the Micmac News simply had too few issues to be meaningful in this comparison. Although the 'Oka Crisis' was played on a national scale, it was still a First Nations news journal that produced the most articles on the 'Crisis'.

Maclean's was very likely to present pictures depicting the Warriors and their supporters, however they were very unlikely to display pictures of the violence against the Kanien'kehaka. For instance, almost nightly protests took place by the
barricades at the Mercier bridge, carried out by local Québécois. These protests only appeared about seven percent of the time in Maclean's. Windspeaker, by contrast, provided just the opposite -- it was more likely to depict police and 'others' than Warriors. The Micmac News was slightly more likely to carry the 'Oka Crisis' as a cover story. The type of cover photograph also illustrates the differences between the Micmac News, Windspeaker, and Maclean's. All of the cover photographs on Maclean's magazine were of the Warrior Society.

In Windspeaker (8(10):1), the Warriors were depicted once on a cover, however they were photographed reading Windspeaker (this photograph does not present an image of ferocity), whereas all the Maclean's photographs clearly depicted their weapons. Furthermore, Windspeaker was more likely than Maclean's to show First Nations people in support of the Kanien'kehaka (see Tables One & Two). The Micmac News cover photograph showed Mi'kmaq people in non-violent support of the Kanien'kehaka.

The word counts also show an interesting pattern. Maclean's and Windspeaker both use the term 'Warrior', however, Maclean's was much more likely to provide a violent modifier -- again this suggests that Maclean's presented the Kanien'kehaka as violent -- perhaps even 'savage'. This trend is mirrored by the use of the term 'Mohawk'.

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33 Please note that Maclean's is printed four times as often as the Micmac News. It is in this spirit that the percentage was created in Table One. It is in no way to be assumed that it is statistically significant.
Table One: Tabular Listing of Cover Photographic Frequencies in Raw and Percentage Form in the Micmac News, Windspeaker, and Maclean's from March to September 1990.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Micmac News #'s (%)</th>
<th>Windspeaker #'s (%)</th>
<th>Maclean's #'s (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Publishing Period</td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>Bi-Weekly</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Articles on the 'Oka Crisis'*</td>
<td>3 (N/A)</td>
<td>51 (N/A)</td>
<td>41 (N/A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Issues Carrying 'Oka Crisis' Articles from March to September 1990</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratio of Articles to Issues (decimal)**</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Cover Stories***</td>
<td>1 (16.7)</td>
<td>7 (43.8)</td>
<td>3 (10.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pictures of the Warrior Society on the Cover</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (14.3)</td>
<td>3 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pictures of First Nations Persons in Support of First Nations Protest on a Cover***</td>
<td>1 (100.0)</td>
<td>2 (28.6)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This includes editorial articles, opinion articles, letters to the editor, and cover stories.

** Calculated as the number of articles on the 'Oka Crisis' divided by the number of issues from March to September 1990 expressed as a decimal. Therefore the higher the number the greater number of articles per issue. This is a measure of relative importance the publishers of the various news sources ascribe to the 'Oka Crisis'. This measure is for trend analysis only as many other factors, when taken together, measure the importance of a story to a news source. For instance factors such as the size of the article, position in the news source, number of total pages of any given issue, editorial decisions and agenda, for example, all measure story importance.

*** Calculated as number of cover stories per total number of issues published.

○ Calculated as number of separate pictures of Warriors per cover.

∞ This includes First Nations Negotiators, National First Nations Leaders, and Other First Nations Protests.
Table Two: Tabular Listing of Non-Cover Photographic Frequencies in Raw and Percentage Form in the *Micmac News*, *Windspeaker*, and *Maclean's* from March to September 1990.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Micmac News #s (%)</th>
<th>Windspeaker #s (%)</th>
<th>Maclean's #s (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pictures of the Warrior Society (Excluding Covers)*</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>3 (13.0)</td>
<td>21 (32.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pictures of First Nations Persons in Support of First Nations Protest**</td>
<td>3 (100.0)</td>
<td>3 (13.0)</td>
<td>12 (18.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pictures of Police or Military***</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>7 (30.4)</td>
<td>9 (13.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pictures of Empty Barricades*</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>2 (8.7)</td>
<td>2 (3.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Pictures of EuroCanadian Protestors Against the Kanien'kehaka***</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>1 (4.4)</td>
<td>5 (7.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Other Pictures***</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>7 (30.4)</td>
<td>16 (24.6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Picture Totals**  
3 (100.0)  
23 (99.9)  
65 (100.0)

* Calculated as number of pictures of Kanien'kehaka Warriors per total number of pictures excluding all cover photographs.

** Calculated as number of pictures of First Nations people in support of the Kanien'kehaka resistance per total number of pictures excluding all cover photographs. The photographs must contain direct references to the 1990 Kanien'kehaka resistance, for instance placards saying 'get off Mohawk land'.

*** Calculated as number of pictures of police or military per total number of pictures excluding all cover photographs.

° Calculated as number of pictures of empty barricades (Kanien'kehaka or police/military) per total number of pictures excluding all cover photographs.

∞ Calculated as number of pictures of EuroCanadian protestors against the Kanien'kehaka per total number of pictures excluding all cover photographs.

∞∞ This includes National Canadian Leaders, First Nations People not in support of the Warriors or just general photographs of First Nations people.
Table Three: ROUGH COUNTS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE TERM 'WARRIOR' WITH COUNTS AND PERCENTAGES FOR MODIFYING PHRASE IN THE THREE NEWS SOURCES FROM ARTICLES, HEADLINES, AND CAPTIONS.

| News Sources | Term 'Warrrior' Counts All Variants | Nation Modifier Counts* #(% | Positive Modifier Counts** #(% | Violence Modifier Counts *** #(% | Derogatory Modifier Counts* #(%
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Micmac News</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windspeaker</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10 (17.2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (6.9)</td>
<td>2 (3.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maclean's</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>35 (17.3)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>55 (27.2)</td>
<td>5 (2.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This includes phrases like Mohawk Nation, Kanesatake, for example.
** This includes phrases like Heroes, Deserve Respect, for example.
*** This includes phrases like Heavily Armed, Militant, Barricade, for example.
○ This includes phrases like Terrorist, Thugs, Renegades, for example.

Table Four: ROUGH COUNTS AND PERCENTAGES OF THE TERM 'MOHAWK' WITH COUNTS AND PERCENTAGES FOR MODIFYING PHRASE IN THE THREE NEWS SOURCES FROM ARTICLES, HEADLINES, AND CAPTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Sources</th>
<th>Term 'Mohawk' Counts All Variants</th>
<th>Nation Modifier Counts* #(%</th>
<th>Positive Modifier Counts** #(%</th>
<th>Violence Modifier Counts *** #(%</th>
<th>Derogatory Modifier Counts* #(%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Micmac News</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3 (7.9)</td>
<td>2 (5.3)</td>
<td>4 (10.5)</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windspeaker</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>26 (14.6)</td>
<td>5 (2.8)</td>
<td>12 (6.7)</td>
<td>1 (0.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maclean's</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>36 (9.1)</td>
<td>67 (16.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This includes phrases like Nation, Kahnawake, Kanesatake, for example.
** This includes phrases like Heroes, Deserve Respect, for example.
*** This includes phrases like Heavily Armed, Militant, Barricade, for example.
○ This includes phrases like Terrorist, Thugs, Renegades, for example.

Note: I hand counted words in Tables Three and Four. I am certain there could be errors, thus, these tables are to illustrate trends, not exact counts.
Table Five: SUMMARY OF HEADLINE THEMATIC ANALYSIS USING TEN CODE CATEGORIES FOR ALL THREE NEWS SOURCES INCLUDING LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thematic Analysis Code Categories</th>
<th>Micmac News #(%)</th>
<th>Windspeaker #(%)</th>
<th>Maclean's #(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Warrior [PW]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (13.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Warrior [AW]</td>
<td>1 (20.0)</td>
<td>2 (3.8)</td>
<td>3 (5.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence [VI]</td>
<td>2 (40.0)</td>
<td>12 (23.1)</td>
<td>31 (57.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Nations Support of the Kanien'kehaka Resistance [FS]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (9.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EuroCanadian Support of the Kanien'kehaka Resistance [ES]</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1.9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other First Nations Blockades and Demonstrations [OB]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (9.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty Issues [TR]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condemnation of Canada from Either First Nations or EuroCanadians [CC]</td>
<td>1 (20.0)</td>
<td>7 (13.5)</td>
<td>6 (11.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oka and Kanien'kehaka History and Information [OI]</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (5.8)</td>
<td>4 (7.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other [OT]</td>
<td>1 (10.0)</td>
<td>10 (19.2)</td>
<td>10 (18.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>5 (100.0)</td>
<td>52 (100.0)</td>
<td>54 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Windmeaket, was about twice as likely to use the term 'Mohawk' as Maclean's, however Maclean's was about twice as likely to use violent modifiers as Windspeaker when talking about 'Mohawks.' These findings certainly suggest that the Maclean's writers illustrate the Kanien'kehaka as violent.

I used Miller's thematic analysis to analyze the headlines, captions, and titles used in the news source (Miller, 1993:79-80). The thematic analysis categories (TAC) were based on my perception of the theme presented by the headline, title, and/or caption. Since I used the same analysis tool for all news journals, the bias remains constant. 34 The results of my thematic analysis are similar to results of my word count and photographic analysis discussed above. Maclean's is twice as likely to use a violent theme in its headlines or captions to introduce an article or issue, than Windspeaker is. Further, Maclean's tends to discuss and illustrate the Kanien'kehaka as violent. The image of the 'savage Indian' is certainly a common stereotype found in EuroCanadian culture (after Francis, 1992). However, the Warriors during the 'Oka Crisis' certainly existed and certainly used their perceived fierce image to their advantage, as Hornung illustrates:

The Mohawk militants understood that the ability to intimidate was their best weapon. Having carefully cultivated the image of fierce men willing to die for their cause, they knew that it was relatively easy to scare the police, who were not trained to fight wars (1991:233).

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34 Appendix One contains all the headlines I used with the TAC listed for each so the reader can test their interpretations with mine. The thematic analysis categories are stated in Table Five above.
However, as Hornung also discusses there were many more images that could have been presented, for instance routine life of the Kanien'kehaka (Hornung, 1991 and as shown by Windspeaker and the Micmac News). Maclean's reporting reinforced already existing stereotypes of First Nations people. I argue that since other information was available about the Kanien'kehaka resistance and Maclean's mostly presented stereotypical images of the Kanien'kehaka, then Maclean's was not really interested in providing balanced information about the resistance at Oka.

Baylor's (1996) work on media frames for First Nations protest found a similar result. He states:

First, evidence suggests that the television news media never had any serious intention of trying to understand and fully cover the Indian movement. ... Second, the frames [militant, civil rights, etc.] used by the TV news media were those with which they had the most familiarity. ... Third, the frames used most often did not necessarily advance the protesters' cause, and often directly hindered it. ... Fourth, significant news coverage is missing (Baylor, 1996:249 bracketed material comes from earlier in the current Baylor article on page 244).

Baylor's finding is mirrored in Miller's study:

These newspaper practises left the white community inadequately informed about details of federal Indian-white relations that would have broadened understanding of local events such as the sudden increase of Indian Fishing or the establishment of the Upper Skagit and Sauk-Suiattle reservations (Miller, 1993:91).

So far my results have indicated an imagery consistent with that found by Baylor's (1996) and Miller's (1993) findings.

One specific finding requires more indepth discussion -- Barbara Amiel's
(1990) Maclean's article. First, the article written for Maclean's by Barbara Amiel (1990) blatanty illustrates Maclean's bias. As a mixed blood Mi'kmaw, I find Ms. Amiel's comments not only ignorant of our cultural diversity and complexity, but bordering on being clearly condescending. Whatever the reason, her denial of human rights violations is dangerously misleading.

Amiel's comments toward the Kanien'kehaka are in keeping with her discussions concerning other ethnic issues. Barlow and Winter's book, The Big Black Book: The Essential Views of Conrad and Barbara Amiel Black, states that Ms. Amiel Black is very widely read (Barlow and Winter, 1997:5) and is extremely conservative concerning First Nations issues in particular and minority issues in general (Barlow and Winter, 1997:180-184 for First Nations and pages 161-180 for other minorities and page 138 for feminism).

Further Barlow and Winter (1997) state that Ms. Amiel is currently married (since 1992) to Mr. Black -- the owner of Maclean's (Barlow and Winter, 1997:46). The authors illustrate Mr. Black's enormous news empire -- including owning the "Canadian Press" (Barlow and Winter, 1997:6). This suggests that Ms. Amiel Black's perspective would be quite widely distributed. In other words Ms. Amiel Black is widely read and extremely right wing. Since Ms. Amiel Black is biased against First Nations people, and her work is widely distributed, her views could lead to misunderstandings between First Nations people and EuroCanadians. Miller (1993) cites this type of selective reporting as a factor in those misunderstandings.
Even beyond the narrow views which Ms. Amiel Black presented, Maclean's and Micmac News rarely covered the everyday life experiences of the Kanien'kehaka resisters. Miller's (1993) study discusses the importance in viewing what he calls "...routine events ..." (Miller, 1993:91). Windspeaker shows this. The Micmac News does not because they had no reporters in the 'Oka Crisis.' Maclean's lacked adequate depiction of the routine life of the Kanien'kehaka. The infrequent or absence of depictions of routine life leads Maclean's' readers to a stereotypical view of the Kanien'kehaka.

The disparities in comparing presentations of media images of the 'Oka Crisis' are completely consistent with Baylor's (1996) findings that the news media (TV in his case), did not aid the protestor's cause and that important events did not receive media coverage. For example Maclean's did not cover the disengagement of the Kanien'kehaka until the October 8th. issue -- two issues after the end of September. Maclean's depicted the Kanien'kehaka as evil-doers which mirrors Baylor's (1996) findings regarding media attention and movement success. Alternative information was available regarding the 'Oka Crisis' (for example see Hornung, 1991, York and Pindera, 1991, and MacLaine and Baxendale) which Maclean's reporters did not take advantage of -- supporting Baylor (1996) findings regarding information gaps.

35 See the Maclean's articles of Barry Came, October 1 1990, 103(40):18; Anthony Wilson-Smith, et. al., October 8 1990, 103(41):28-30; John Howse, October 8 1990, 103(41):31; Barry Came, October 8 1990, 103(41):32; and Marci McDonald, October 8 1990, 103(41):34.
SUMMATION AND DISCUSSION OF BAYLOR AND MILLER

In summary, the images presented in both text and photograph vary depending on the media source. This finding is consistent with Herman and Chomsky's thesis (1988). The content of the images display yet another central feature of the common stereotype of First Nations people -- The Warrior. In essence, if the Maclean’s material can be taken as a whole, even though different writers from different backgrounds wrote the individual articles, the message presented is more akin to the works of Louis L'amour than news reporting -- Cowboys and Indians. That image is detrimental to the well being of First Nations people (after Miller, 1993).

I am not saying that the Warriors were not there -- they were. I am saying that significant events (such as the Kanien'kehaka negotiations) were not reported in Maclean’s to the same depth or frequency as the Warrior coverage received. Micmac News and Windspeaker, on the other hand, reported on the 'Oka Crisis' as I am trying to write this thesis, in words of our Elders, from our own experience, probably by editorial design. The Micmac News and Windspeaker writers did not comment on the Kanien'kehaka, as such, all the time, rather they usually provided examples of how the Mi'kmaq and the Western Nations were acting in support of the Kanien'kehaka. This finding illustrates the cultural differences between EuroCanadian and Mi'kmaq writers.

My results were similar to and thus compared well to those of Baylor (1996)
and Miller (1993). My categories for photographic images, especially with Maclean's, found similar results to Baylor -- an increased depiction of 'militants' (Baylor, 1996). My data on Maclean's corroborated Miller's finding of the absence of reporting of everyday activities and the presence of such reporting in Windspeaker and the Micmac News. However, neither Baylor (1996) nor Miller (1993) discussed the cultural differences between EuroAmericans (and Canadians) and First Nations people in terms of their different perspectives in reporting nor did they choose First Nations news sources to compare. I did. My perspective as a mixed blood Mi'kmaw provided those insights.
Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Implication for Future Research

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis has been a journey through myself and my understandings of my world. I have argued that the perspective I wrote from is as valid as any other perspective that has been used to discuss social phenomena. I am a mixed blood Mi'kmaw man, whose centre is located in the ancient teachings of my Mi'kmaq ancestors. That does not mean that I am not also EuroCanadian. I can be a person who is 'and' rather than 'or.' I will not allow the colonial mentality, from either EuroCanadians or First Nations people, to define my voice, I will not be silenced. In doing so I hope to offer an avenue to other First Nations people, whose experience is not shared with the majority of our people, to speak their truth (see Anderson, 1997).

My voice was influenced by the works of many First Nations and EuroCanadian writers alike. They informed my 'theoretical considerations.' I began this process to enquire if there was a difference between the depiction of the Kanien'kehaka in the act of resistance in news media. I chose the 'Oka Crisis' and the resistance of the Kanien'kehaka as the 'news' to explore. I chose the Micmac News, Windspeaker, and Maclean's magazine as my media sources. Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) and Herman and Chomsky (1988) provided the basis for understanding that media presentations were socially constructed -- a theorem that was supported in
my results. The writers from all news sources wrote about the 'Oka Crisis' from their cultural perspectives. The writers from the Micmac News and Windspeaker wrote, as I have tried to write this thesis, from our personal experience -- this is the perspective that our Elders teach is the only one we can really know. Further I wrote this thesis as a story, one which honours my Mi'kmaq relations.

The Maclean's writers reported and presented photographs which upheld common EuroCanadian stereotypes of First Nations people (after Francis, 1992). These stereotypes are hurtful to our people (after Acoose, 1995; Miller, 1993; and Monture-Angus, 1995). Baylor's (1996) work, which discussed media framing of First Nations protest in television media, supported my findings of Maclean's magazine presentations, as did Miller's (1993) article.

INDIVIDUAL VOICE

Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993) provided extensive research with which I was able to compare my results in a meaningful way. However, Baylor and Miller missed some material; material, that I argue is invisible to them, simply as a result of their cultural background. This also means that First Nations people will miss material because of our background. This has to be so or else all humans would be the same. I am not arguing that EuroCanadians cannot write about First Nations people, just that their report will be one view not the view. Berger and Luckmann stated this result years ago (Berger and Luckmann, 1966/1991). My results support this theory.
However, what if the writer comes from more than one culture? Then we get to see some more data that others miss. A mixed blood Mi'kmaw perspective provided insights into what is not available to others from just EuroCanadian or First Nations backgrounds. It is important to note that Baylor (1996) and Miller (1993) were not comparing media sources on cultural grounds. However they did not see the cultural biases of reporting in their study materials either.

The choices which a researcher makes in deciding on a research topic are also culturally bound. Some choices of research material would be overlooked due to cultural ‘realities’. For example, Miller (1993) did not use local First Nations papers or band newsletters to compare reporting styles. There are many potential reasons for this, including the absence of such First Nations papers in Miller's study area. I argue, however, that since it was my mixed blood Mi'kmaw perspective which informed my study design to compare First Nations and EuroCanadian news sources, Baylor and Miller also made research choices based on their perspectives. In other words, my mixed blood Mi'kmaw perspective allowed for research and thus data that would not have been available to other researchers from other perspectives.

I wrote this thesis to offer perspectives, not as some adventure in self-gratification. Other writers left their experience for me to understand and learn from. Our life paths are sacred journeys -- containing spiritual medicine which can help others under the right circumstances. I leave my experience in the hopes that it will provide spiritual medicine for my people in the future. Msit No'kuma, Welalioq.
IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Discussions of First Nations health issues, naturally grow out of my research on identity and media image, due to the gathering work of Dr. Bernie Siegal (1989).

In his introduction to Peace, Love and Healing: Bodymind Communication and the Path to Self-Healing: An Exploration, he states:

Researchers are now studying the relationships among consciousness, psychosocial factors, attitudinal healing, and immune function. Gradually the medical profession, too, is relearning what once it knew so well -- that we cannot understand disease unless we understand the person who has the disease. ... When appearing as a medical expert in a court case relating illness and stress, I was asked, "When did this new theory originate?" My response was, "Hundreds of years ago." Why? Because that was when physicians had little in the way of drug treatments with which to treat their patients -- instead they had to know their patients and the circumstances of their lives in order to heal them. [new paragraph in original] The contribution of life-style and the emotions to the health of the individual was a concept easily accepted centuries ago. Today feelings have to be shown to create chemical alterations in our bodies in order for us to accept them as physiologic. Fortunately, we now have the science to document those changes. [new paragraph in original] Psychologists have shown that the effects of love on the body can be measured: An unloved infant will have retarded bone growth and may even die; a stroked infant grows faster. The effects of peace of mind are measurable too: People who meditated, as well as those who confided traumatic experiences to diaries rather than repressing them, were shown to have enhanced immune function. Love and peace of mind do protect us. They allow us to overcome the problems that life hands us (Siegal, 1989:1-3).

Dr. Siegal states that stress and bad-feeling have real physiological consequences.

Patricia Monture-Angus and Janice Acoose have clearly shown that silencing and stereotypes are emotionally painful (Monture-Angus, 1995:11-25 and Acoose, 1995:17-37). Miller (1993) goes further by citing instances where stereotypical
images get absorbed into First Nations' self identity (Miller, 1993:88). Therefore, I argue, stereotypes and racism which cause the receiver pain and anguish are likely to have very real physiological consequences, such as repressed immune responses, which lead to the acquisition to disease (after Siegal, 1989). This has huge implications for First Nations health, as racism and stereotypical images are certainly widespread. For instance, I have shown that Maclean's magazine, carries stereotypical images of First Nations people and is very selective in its reporting,\textsuperscript{36} and has a Canada wide distribution. Therefore, I am suggesting that these images contribute to the relatively poor health of First Nations people in Canada (after Waldram et al., 1995). I am suggesting that this connection is part of an epidemic affecting First Nations health and after Giroux (1997) effects EuroCanadians as well. Stereotypical thinking and racism have health effects. It is up to future researcher to map these findings, using case studies and survey methods to show the health retarding effects of stereotypes and racism on the First Nations population residing within Canada. Perhaps healing for our people will follow our traditions with properly integrated input from scientific medicine.\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36} More so than Windspeaker and the Micmac News.

APPENDIX ONE: TITLE AND HEADLINE LIST FOR ALL ARTICLES, HAVING 'OKA CRISIS' CONTENT, IN THE MICMAC NEWS, WINDSPEAKER, AND MACLEAN'S., INCLUDING THEMATIC ANALYSIS CATEGORIES [TAC]

The Micmac News -- Monthly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Title/Headline</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Article Type</th>
<th>Page(s) [TAC]</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>July 1990</td>
<td>Micmacs on Hunger Strike: Oka Denounced Over Oka Standoff</td>
<td>Cover Headline</td>
<td>Cover Headline</td>
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<td>July 1990</td>
<td>Dangerous Confrontation</td>
<td>Brian Douglas</td>
<td>Focus/Editorial</td>
<td>2 [VI]</td>
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<td>July 1990</td>
<td>Micmacs Join Mohawk Protest: Cape Breton Natives Go on Hunger Strike</td>
<td>Brian Douglas</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>3 [FS]</td>
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<tr>
<td>July 1990</td>
<td>A Stand of Support: 23 Micmacs on Hunger Strike</td>
<td>Clifford Paul</td>
<td>Article</td>
<td>4 [FS]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1990</td>
<td>Muzzling the Critics</td>
<td>Brian Douglas</td>
<td>Focus/Editorial</td>
<td>2 [OT]</td>
</tr>
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<td>Vol. (#)</td>
<td>Title/Headline</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Article Type</td>
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<td>May 11, 1990</td>
<td>8(4)</td>
<td>Akwesasne Violence Claims Two Lives*</td>
<td>Jeff Morrow</td>
<td>Article</td>
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<td>July 20, 1990</td>
<td>8(9)</td>
<td>The Oka Standoff: Alberta Indians Back Mohawks</td>
<td>Rocky Woodward and Jeff Morrow</td>
<td>Cover Article -- Headline</td>
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<td>July 20, 1990</td>
<td>8(9)</td>
<td>Cowboys and Indians</td>
<td></td>
<td>Editorial -- 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 3, 1990</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Goodstoney Nation Condemns Ottawa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cover Article -- (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 3, 1990</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Demonstration Held at Border Crossing: Bloods Reject Reprisals Against French</td>
<td>Wayne Courchene</td>
<td>Cover Article -- (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 3, 1990</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Mokawk's Shouldn't Disarm: Harper</td>
<td>Rudy Haugeneder</td>
<td>Article</td>
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<td>August 3, 1990</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Who Are the Criminals?</td>
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<td>August 3, 1990</td>
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<td>Violence Sometimes a Matter of Survival</td>
<td>Ed Bantey</td>
<td>Editorial -- 3</td>
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<td>Meech, Oka Only the Tip of the Iceberg</td>
<td>Sharon Turning Robe</td>
<td>Letter to the Editor - 1</td>
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<td>The Mohawk Barricades are Obnoxious</td>
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<td>Willie Littlechild in a No-Win Situation</td>
<td>Sophie E. Maglione</td>
<td>Letter to the Editor</td>
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<td>- 3</td>
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<td>August 3,</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Use of Armed Force Unacceptable</td>
<td>Running Wild</td>
<td>Letter to the Editor</td>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- 4</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 3,</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Responsibility Abdicated</td>
<td>Gordon Robert Dumont</td>
<td>Letter to the Editor</td>
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<td>1990</td>
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<td>- 5</td>
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<td>August 3,</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Mohawks Need Support</td>
<td>Helen L. Cryer</td>
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<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
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<td>- 6</td>
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<td>August 3,</td>
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<td>Native Unrest Widespread in B.C.</td>
<td>Rudy Haugeneder</td>
<td>Across Our Land Article</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>August 3,</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Campbell River the Next Oka?</td>
<td>Rudy Haugeneder</td>
<td>Across Our Land Article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-- 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 3,</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Visiting Oka and Chateauguay Like Stepping Back in Time</td>
<td>Dana Wagg</td>
<td>Standoff In Quebec Article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>August 3,</td>
<td>8(10)</td>
<td>Blockade Brings Many Frustrations to Businesswoman</td>
<td>Dana Wagg</td>
<td>Standoff in Quebec Article</td>
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<td>Standoff in Quebec Article</td>
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<td>Standoff in Quebec Photos by Dana Wagg</td>
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<td>Standoff in Quebec Photo-</td>
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*This article does not contain any references to the 'Oka Crisis', however it is the first article which mentions the Warrior Society within the study time period.*
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Miingignoti-Ketaoeag

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