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**Sustaining Colonialism:
Canadian Print Media and the
Representation of the Mohawk Nation**

by

David A. Ford, B.A.

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies**

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

June 3, 1996

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

"Sustaining Colonialism: Canadian Print Media and
the Representation of the Mohawk Nation"

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the role of print media in helping to sustain the inequalities in cultural, economic, and political power faced by Indigenous Peoples in Canada. Using a discourse analysis, the thesis examines coverage in *Le Devoir*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Gazette*, and *La Presse* of the 1994 tobacco tax rollback issue involving the Mohawk Nation. The discourse analysis model facilitates a qualitative assessment of the tone and nature of the coverage, the juxtapositions of different themes and ideas, and the contextual embeddedness of news facts. The qualitative data suggests that all four newspapers actively participated in the production of hegemonic discourse which placed the majority of blame for the cigarette trade on Mohawk individuals, stigmatised the entire Mohawk Nation, and trivialised that nation's political position of sovereignty. The manner in which these mainstream newspapers represent the Mohawk Nation suggests continued adherence to colonial ideas and assumptions about Indigenous Peoples.

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It is my hope that this thesis will not, itself, recreate the margins between Canada and Indigenous Nations. The subject of my work is dominant representations and is critical of Canadian society above all. Thankfully, Margaret Horn of Kahnawake has agreed to read my work and ensure, from her unique perspective, that I have explained the issue in a respectful and accurate manner. It is of absolute importance to me that this entire thesis deal with Mohawk issues respectfully and that it will contribute to the growing body of anti-colonial, anti-racist discourse.

I would like to thank my wife, Karen Jorgensen, for her support while I conducted my graduate studies. Karen and our daughter, Melissa, endured a long-distance move, a lack of physical comfort, and, at times, an unbearable graduate student. Their love and support sustained me throughout this period.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Through the production and reproduction of dominant discourse, media coverage in Canada of events relating to Indigenous Peoples -- in this case the 1994 tobacco tax reduction which addressed Mohawk involvement in the cigarette trade -- is an essential component in sustaining a racist, colonial system of dominance. This system of dominance is characterised by the cultural hegemony of Canadians over Indigenous Peoples and is (re)produced by cultural institutions, most notably mass media. Indigenous Peoples engaged in active resistance, therefore, are represented in mainstream media in such a manner as to suggest that they threaten the status quo privileging the dominant society. This effectively initiates and sustains the control functions within the dominant society and thus tends to weaken such resistance. The political actions of those engaged in active resistance to an oppressive social system become trivialised, criminalised, or otherwise discredited when translated into public discourse by the mass media.

In this thesis, I will attempt to show that French-language and English-language print media nurtured the position that members of the Mohawk Nation are **criminal deviants** and that quite extraordinary measures can and should be taken to **control** them. By representing the issue in this manner, the press created a "Mohawk problem" -- thus stigmatising the Mohawk Nation as a whole -- out of the political resistance of certain people and had very

specific recommendations for controlling it. While some may contend that involvement in the cigarette trade cannot be labelled political resistance, I argue that any resistance by Indigenous Peoples to the oppression and marginalisation instigated and unaddressed by the dominant society in Canada and by many Canadians at large is political. The actions of certain members of the sovereign Mohawk Nation involved in economic activity can arguably be labelled resistance.

I will use a discourse analysis -- examining the colonial basis of cultural hegemony in the chapters two and three, quantifying the content in chapter four, then qualitatively interpreting the coverage in chapter five -- to analyse the press coverage surrounding the tax reduction. This method has been articulated and employed by various practitioners of media research (notably van Dijk 1991b) to examine the relationship between text and context in the reproduction of race in dominant discourse. It is this context that is so often missing from dominant representations of Indigenous Peoples resulting in partial articulations and inaccurate, incomplete analyses of crucial situations. Failure to contextualise issues serves to strengthen cultural hegemony by discouraging counter-arguments from appearing in media coverage. This method permits me to concentrate on the effects of the coverage as a whole. I am most interested in what ideas and assumptions that I, as a member of Canadian society, was expected to incorporate into my frame of reference for understanding the tobacco tax reduction, particularly regarding the Mohawk Nation, after having read the press coverage.

I am neither a Mohawk nor a journalist and my interest is not in examining the dynamics *within* those communities. Rather, I am interested in how this dominant society, of

which I am a member, views Indigenous Peoples and the role of the press in creating and sustaining these views. I am also not a member of Québec's Distinct Society and I did not wish to make a comparison between anglophone and francophone coverage a major component of the analysis. However, this factor did influence me in choosing the tobacco tax rollback as an example of hegemonic discourse production. Francophone media in Québec were developing a reputation for intolerance towards the Mohawk Nation and I found it particularly interesting to compare anglophone and francophone coverage of an issue affecting that nation, particularly since the crisis at Kanesatake during the summer of 1990. Having had some experience examining media coverage of that difficult period, I wanted to learn if the tone and nature of the more recent coverage had changed. I suggest that mainstream media coverage was problematic in 1990 and that coverage from early 1994 was qualitatively similar, despite obvious differences between defending land rights and engaging in cigarette trading. One final caveat is that the data from the four newspapers on which I base my analysis do not necessarily indicate that the entire mainstream press across Canada would have constructed the issue in the same manner. However, the relative prominence of the papers I used and the differences between their audiences and their markets suggest some opportunity to generalise about the behaviour of the dominant press.

Background of the Event

In early 1994, the governments of Canada, Ontario, and Québec exploited the role of Mohawk participants in the cigarette trade to reduce tobacco taxes and satisfy the thousands of Canadians opposed to high taxes on consumer goods. For many years, Mohawk

individuals had been engaged in the cigarette trade. A price advantage was being exploited because cigarettes manufactured in Canada and then exported to the United States could then be brought duty-free into territory of the Mohawk Nation. Conducting themselves according to treaties made between their Nation and Canada and the United States, Mohawk entrepreneurs proceeded to sell tobacco products untaxed by any Canadian government and obtained considerable market share, notably Canadians of all sorts who chose not to comply with their authorities' tax regimes.

Arguably, the high consumer taxes imposed by governments hoping to benefit from the chemical addiction of thousands of Canadians helped create this situation. And, most certainly, the negligence of Canadians and their authorities in addressing the natural and legal rights of Indigenous Peoples also helped create this situation. And, unfortunately, it seems that the success of Mohawk entrepreneurs attracted the attention of questionable elements of Canadian society, thus contributing to problems in the cigarette trade. Perhaps more at fault for sustaining and escalating an untenable situation, however, are the cigarette-manufacturing firms who continually increased exports to the United States knowing that very little of the product was being consumed in that country.

To regain control of the situation, the government of Québec initiated a proposal to reduce tobacco taxes and eventually convinced the Canadian government to follow suit. After 8 February 1994, the beginning of the new policy, an export tax was also imposed on the manufacturers, and it was announced that police activity, particularly around Mohawk

reservations, would be reinforced. The result was that the price of "legally" sold cigarettes effectively undercut the price of "black market" or "smuggled" cigarettes. On 21 February 1994, the government of Ontario unwillingly coordinated its tobacco tax policy with Ottawa and Québec. Essentially, the majority of Canadians obtained more extensive access to inexpensive cigarettes, cigarette manufacturers retained their markets, governments began collecting less taxes but on an increased number of "legally" sold packages of cigarettes, and the price advantage that Mohawk entrepreneurs had been able to exploit was eliminated.

Despite the complicated involvement of others in creating and sustaining an untenable situation, the press coverage of this issue clearly placed the Mohawk Nation at the forefront. And, with barely any mention of any political and economic justifications for involvement, Mohawk individuals involved in the cigarette trade came to represent a criminally deviant Indigenous Nation whose natural and legal rights were irrelevant. The press, therefore, supported government authorities and corporate interests and fulfilled its role in strengthening and sustaining a colonial relationship between the Mohawk Nation and Canada.

Colonial Margins

There are several reasons for this colonial relationship of dominance. The most obvious and accurate reason is economic greed. The Mohawks involved in the trade had obtained too large a share of the profits. At a more complex level, this is an example of the dominant society in Canada maintaining a colonial system in order to continue legitimating

the inequalities in cultural, political, and economic power faced by Indigenous Nations. I suggest that when Indigenous Nations are portrayed as deviant, unworthy, and not entitled to human dignity, some Canadians may feel more justified in not addressing the above mentioned inequalities.

The term "colonialism" has traditionally applied to the concept of "mother" countries subordinating and merely administering "distant" countries without supplanting the original populations. Canada, however, is predominantly characterised by European institutions and Peoples having supplanted Indigenous Nations. I suggest throughout this thesis, therefore, that Canada is a product of colonialism and may still be characterised as exhibiting colonial attitudes and practices such as continuing to administer Indigenous Nations through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, to exercise fiscal and social control, and to maintain through its cultural institutions a colour-line or racist distinction between Indigenous Peoples and the predominantly white majority.

This unequal relationship has always been actively resisted by the sovereign Mohawk Nation. I do not suggest that there are two well-defined opponents, the dominant, Canadian society and the Mohawk Nation, involved in this situation. There is, of course, much diversity within "Canadian society," especially when factoring in Québec's Distinct Society, and the Mohawk Nation is certainly characterised by division on how it should face its future. I do suggest, however, that the dominant society in Canada - and by this I mean the élite elements within our society such as government, industry, the education system, and the

media -- seen: to use opposition to Indigenous resistance to rally consensus within Canadian society generally. And, as the data I collected suggests, while there is vast diversity in "Canadian society," there is also remarkable uniformity in how various newspapers represent the Mohawk Nation. This fact has influenced my decision to group various French- and English-language newspapers together in order to analyse how "Canadian" newsmakers represent the Mohawk Nation.

I also suggest that, as an outsider, the sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation appears to be a bonding characteristic between the diverse factions of that nation. As well, although I do not suggest any support for the tobacco faction, I do feel that economic policy is an internal matter for the Mohawk Nation. I have attempted to remain neutral on the issue and not suggest that the classic colonial trope of "good European" and "bad Indian" has been reversed. I do feel that relations in Canada between the dominant communities and Indigenous Peoples continue to be hampered by the continuing legacy of colonialism, and that all parties must look beyond their own interpretations of issues such as whose laws and whose territories.

It has been argued elsewhere that Mohawk people represent a rival nationalism for sovereigntists in Québec and there certainly have been some biased and discriminatory remarks in the French-language media seemingly targeting the Mohawk Nation. My analysis attempts to illustrate, however, that the tobacco tax rollback, as an example, is such a powerful rallying force that most "Canadians," despite their diverse interests and allegiances,

find it convincing.

Theory

To begin with, I find Hartley's conception of discourse to be particularly relevant.

Discourses are

the different kinds of *use* to which language is put. To understand a discourse we need to look more closely at the social, historical, and political conditions of its production and consumption, because these 'determinants' will shape what it says, the way it develops, the status it enjoys, the people who use it, the uses to which it is put and so on (Hartley 1982a: 6). [emphasis in original]

Since I use the discourse analysis to examine the *reproduction* of racism in dominant discourse, it is useful to define that term. Reproduction can be defined as "the dialectical interaction between general principles and actual practices that underlie the historical continuity of a social system" (van Dijk 1991b: 33).

In my view, the press chooses to reproduce events, such as the one being examined, by using *ideological representations* of Indigenous Peoples. By this I mean that mainstream newspaper journalists construct stories relating to "Native events" in a manner using ideas and assumptions. Within the context of white dominance and colonialism, these ideas and assumptions are what have traditionally affected Canadians in their political and social interactions with Indigenous Peoples. They are inherent to our culture and have traditionally been employed to "understand" Indigenous Peoples.

I will be using a three-tiered theoretical model to examine the reproduction of colonial and racist ideas about Indigenous Peoples. Van Dijk employs such a model, beginning by examining the societal and institutional "macro-context," then by examining the "micro-context" of news production routines, and, finally, by analysing the reception of news (van Dijk 1991b). Other practitioners have stressed the need to examine production, content, and reception in media studies (Eldridge 1993; Davis 1993) by analysing the specific socio-historical context, formally analysing the actual content, and by interpreting the meaning of symbolic constructions (Davis 1993: 44).

The approach employed here blends ideas of both these models. My three tier model will begin with Chapter Two by theoretically examining the macro-context which is, in my view, the role of media in maintaining white hegemony by defining Indigenous Peoples as deviant. This will include development of the notion that news coverage reconstructs hegemony, the deviance defining nature of media, and the ideological nature of representing the cultural "other." This macro-context serves as the interpretive framework which members of the dominant society will use in processing issues relating to Indigenous Peoples. Chapter Three outlines the sovereignty position of the Mohawk Nation, completing the macro-context and providing at least a glimpse of the interpretive framework employed by Mohawks for understanding the issue.

The second phase of analysis, in Chapter Four, will theoretically outline the role of sources in news production and the nature of selecting and constructing news. This will be

accompanied by a brief examination of content, to illustrate the resulting information arising from news production practices, in which the primary data will be quantitatively analysed.

Chapter Five will focus on the third step of the model, beginning by theoretically outlining the role of reception in the reproduction of colonial attitudes and racism in media coverage. The remainder of the chapter represents the core of this analysis and is comprised of interpretations of the ideas and assumptions used to construct this issue for consumption by Canadian society. The role of this "interpretation" will be to "explicate the connection between the meaning of symbolic constructions and the relations of domination which that meaning serves to sustain" (Davis 1993: 4).

Method

This discourse analysis will focus on four daily journals: *The Globe and Mail*, *The Gazette of Montreal*, *Le Devoir*, and *La Presse*. The time frame will be the first three months of 1994, including in the frame coverage prior to 8 February 1994 when the Quebec government reduced tobacco taxes and the Federal government followed those actions with its own tax reductions, and coverage after 21 February 1994 when the Ontario government decided to coordinate its policy with that of Ottawa and Québec. This time frame has been selected in order to sufficiently examine the discourses leading up to and following these major government decisions. A larger scope would have yielded minimal additional primary data specific to the issue.

The journals under review were selected for specific reasons and, although I would have preferred to base the analysis on more than four papers, I contend that my choices provide for very interesting comparisons and yield a manageable amount of data. Since press ownership is extremely concentrated in Canada, one factor influencing my selection of journals was to have various corporate owners represented. Selections were made that would facilitate comparisons between French-language and English-language coverage. Also, since I contend that images of Mohawk "criminals" appeal to all segments of "Canadian" society, the selected papers generally appeal to different sorts of audiences. Since this issue has particular relevance in Québec, because of geographic proximity and a supposed cultural bias against the Mohawk Nation, journals were selected that were presumably aimed at, or at least available to, Québec audiences.

I chose to examine *Globe and Mail* coverage, since this paper represents the Thompson media empire, has proven agenda-setting capability, and purports to serve a discerning audience country-wide. It is also the newspaper that informed me during this period. Also serving a "high-brow" audience, but in French, is *Le Devoir*. This paper is controlled by a not-for-profit organisation but is principally backed by Pierre Péladeau, founder of media giant Quebecor Inc. *The Gazette* of Montreal, while serving the anglophone audience in Québec, is a Southam paper that generally appeals to a wide readership and whose local coverage would be picked up by affiliates country-wide (Taras 1990). *La Presse* represents a French-language counterpart to *The Gazette*, appealing to a wide readership, and selling itself as "le plus grand quotidien français d'Amérique."

To begin with, I assumed that I would have to outline a newsmodel for each of the cultural communities. In hindsight, I feel that it is not necessary to argue significant differences in how news is made between Canada and Québec. It has been argued that "la presse québécoise" has an editorial tradition unparalleled in Canada, and that Québec journalists are preoccupied with constitutional and language issues (Taras 1990). English-Canadian media is generally viewed to be less rigorous in analysis and more sensational and audience seeking (Ibid). I believe that it is more relevant to differentiate between genres of newspapers and, partly because of the nature of the issue at hand, to view all four journals as being consistent with newsmaking principles in northwest societies generally. By northwestern societies, I specifically mean Western Europe and countries settled predominantly by Europeans such as Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

To begin collecting data, *The Canadian News Index*, its CD ROM service, *Canadian Business and Current Affairs*, and *L'Index de l'Actualité* made my media search relatively simple. I used the English key words: *Native peoples*; *Akwesasne Reserve*; *cigarette smuggling*, *cigarettes*, and *smuggling*; *tobacco*; and, *smoking*. In French, the search terms were: *autochtones*; *industrie du tabac*; *cigarettes*; and *tabagisme*. Then, while actually sifting through the microfilm, I augmented this database by collecting any other articles not included in the indexes. It is not possible to ensure that I obtained every word printed about the tobacco tax reduction. I am confident, however, to have based an analysis on a very comprehensive primary database.

I then began the arduous task of reading every article and recording the headlines, first paragraphs, and significant paragraphs in a database. While reading, I assigned codes for significant themes found in each article. I began with no set notions of what I would find. My list of codes expanded, therefore, as new themes were discovered in the discourses. Once completed, all materials were re-read to ensure consistency in coding. Significant among the codes were, for example, if Mohawks were explicitly linked with "smuggling," if Québec/Mohawk rivalry was mentioned, or if Mohawks were specifically represented in opposition to a Euro-Canadian institution, such as the law. This coding allows me to simply quantify numbers of articles devoted to different themes, peak reporting periods, etc. At the same time, I can easily access the really questionable articles for a qualitative analysis.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I will analyse the coverage of the 1994 rollback of tobacco taxes in four Canadian daily newspapers. The central argument will be that, as an example of how Indigenous Peoples are represented in dominant discourse, the rollback illustrates the role of the press in supporting a colonialist society and its policies. Once again, the actions of certain Mohawk individuals came to represent a criminally deviant Mohawk Nation. This further strengthens the dominant society's notion that such anti-social behaviour nullifies that Nation's natural and legal rights to self-determination. A discourse analytical model will be employed throughout the analysis, highlighting contextual information that is seldom included

in press coverage. Such context, seldom included for a variety of reasons, renders simple "law-and-order" constructions of matters of importance to Indigenous Peoples less feasible. The following chapters will develop and support this line of reasoning.

CHAPTER TWO: MACRO-CONTEXT AND THE DOMINANT INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK

In Canada, as in other northwestern societies, the press strives to convey the impression that it is outside of the power structure of society, that it in fact guards against corruption among society's élites, and that its products are balanced, objective, and merely reflect "facts." This chapter challenges this notion and will begin by examining the ideological nature of news, its links to the control apparatus of the state, and how it explains Indigenous Peoples to the Canadian society generally. Effectively, this provides an overview of the macro-context and the dominant interpretive framework for approaching issues that affect Indigenous Nations.

In our democratic northwestern society, the exercise of power has to be ideological as well as structural. It has been contended that it does not matter in a totalitarian system what the citizenry thinks, only that the state have enough structural power to coerce its people and promote its agenda. In democracies characterised by concentrated wealth, however, the appearance of freedom must be preserved and the agendas of the élite internalised if the status quo is to continue. In other words, the continuity of the social order relies on what the citizenry thinks and power must become ideologically exercised (van Dijk 1991b; Hall 1982). Power, or direct domination, and legitimacy, or domination in the cultural sphere, are twinned (Said 1993).

Hegemony is particularly entrenched when this ideological control has been internalised by subordinate classes of people and their active consent has been obtained (Hall 1982). The fact that so many Mohawk people are engaged in resistance and would not even identify themselves as members of Canadian (or American) society indicates a flaw in the hegemonic control. When such resistance is reported in mass media, this serves to alert the dominant society to increase its efforts at imposing its concept of order. When the media go even further by discrediting the resistance, they are illustrating their particular role in maintaining the order of things. The ideological nature of power in democratic societies inevitably results in news coverage (re)producing hegemonic frameworks for understanding events and signalling any challenges to the status quo.

Media serve to affirm hegemonic principles, promoting the interests of the dominant society (Herman & Chomsky 1988; Hall 1978c; Hartmann & Husband 1974; Ericson *et al.* 1989b; Gitlin 1980). This is not meant to imply a conspiracy or any conscious reasoning at all, but rather that cultural beliefs are employed to construct order based on the needs of the dominant society, particularly industry, government, and other institutions (Ericson *et al.* 1989b). By retaining a common worldview, such that capitalism, Canadian law, and the "objectivity" of the press is pre-eminent, the press is able to fix the premises of discourse, control how events will be interpreted, and ensure the articulation of an élite agenda (Herman & Chomsky 1988). The press defines issues of importance to society at large and the terms and context in which they should be discussed (Hartmann & Husband 1974; Tuchman 1978a). News shapes the political agendas and opinions of its consumers (Tuchman 1978a).

Furthermore, news coverage, due to professional practices and organisational constraints that will be touched upon in a later chapter, inevitably gives preferred readings to certain ideological messages, in other words those most likely to support the status quo and convey dominant view points (Ericson *et al.* 1989a). Mass media specifically function to translate the statements and viewpoints of official sources, or primary definers of norms and problems, into "common sense," or the public idiom. With their powers of selection, construction, and editorialising, the media then also may become primary definers (Hall 1978a). Through this ideological reproduction the media reinforce and help form the consensual view of society and try to implicate the population in dominant values; media strive to shape our feelings of belonging together, despite divergent interests, within the same over-arching society (Hall 1982 & 1978a; Hartmann & Husband 1974; Gitlin 1980; Ericson *et al.* 1987a; Manoff & Schudson 1986a; Romano 1986; Hallin 1986).

Ideologies are not isolated concepts but consist of chains of meanings. Ideologies are also societal and provide individuals with the means for making sense of things around them. They make sense by constructing positions of identification in which we see reflections of ourselves at the centre of discourses. Ideologies are generated, produced, and reproduced in specific settings (Hall 1978a). These settings, or sites, such as mass media, the education system, corporate culture, or the family, become the purveyors of accepted, or dominant, ideology. All signs or symbol systems are ideological since they are entwined with the social practices, including power relations, in which they are produced (Ericson *et al.* 1987a). The power involved with controlling mass communications and an overwhelming identification with corporate culture (or identification with controlling élites), however, make the media, as

institutions, by far the most effective sites for ideological reproduction (Hall 1990).

The tenacity of hegemonic principles is formidable yet inherent to the concept of hegemony is that the frame, or prevailing ideas and attitudes, can shift. The success of hegemony and the continuity of the status quo in fact depend on ensuring that the frame shifts within a range of ideologies acceptable to the dominant society (Chomsky 1989; Ericson *et al.* 1987b). There is inevitably a constant struggle over meaning evident in discourse. This was so during the tax rollback coverage when the Canadian Medical Association actively combatted the government decision. The medical argument was within the range of acceptable ideologies, and thus received noticeable coverage, whereas exercising the rights of the Mohawk Nation was not within that range and, therefore, received practically no coverage. As well, it becomes extremely difficult to sustain alternative constructions, or counter-hegemonic discourses, when cultural institutions have been so successful at transforming dominant definitions into "common sense" (Hall 1982; van Dijk 1987b; Ericson *et al.* 1987a).

Assigning deviance in such a system of dominance becomes an important method for affirming the consensus (Hartley 1982b) and justifying extraordinary counter-measures for social control (Sacco 1992a). Deviance depends on society's reaction, therefore the rule violation must be visible (Sacco 1992a; Ericson *et al.* 1987a). The system of dominance is not just reacting to deviance but is giving it its shape and form. Such treatment also serves to amplify deviant behaviour (Sacco 1992a; Roshier 1973). It is particularly useful to construct crises and to label dissidence criminal in order to activate the control functions of society. Deviance-defining ensures that people will not focus on interests divergent from each other, thus creating false

unity (Hall 1978b; Ericson *et al.* 1987a). In the fractured, dominant society desperate to create unity, the necessity of such a device requires no further explanation.

Labelling political actions as criminal serves an ideological function by provoking and legitimating a coercive reaction from the state that might not otherwise be tolerated (Hall 1978c; Hartley 1982b). Essential to preserving the status quo is to deny publicly the legitimacy of political deviance (Sacco 1992a), something that is particularly relevant when discussing issues of importance to Indigenous Peoples. Such counter-culture actions will not be seen as dissent since any violations of the rule of law are regarded as anti-social and inherently deviant (Hartley 1982b; van Dijk 1987b). In the tax rollback situation, press coverage may have made it unfathomable to members of society at large that the "criminal" actions of the Mohawks could have been justifiable. Conforming to the dominant society's preferred frame of reference, press coverage conveyed the impression that the "law of the land" must apply to everyone uniformly despite inequalities in economic, political, and cultural power.

Labelling members of Indigenous Nations as deviants automatically puts all other descriptive words, such as "victims" or "justified actions," second (Sacco 1992a). In fact, coverage of "ethnic" events often employs terminology that blames the victims (van Dijk 1988). As well, "ethnic events" often do not become newsworthy unless the topics are negative (van Dijk 1987b). Such coverage, furthermore, is characterised by inferred racism in which ethnicity is reinforced as being problematic (Hall 1990; Hartmann & Husband 1974). Minorities and Indigenous Nations are seldom viewed as worthy victims warranting coverage, so, unless the topic can construct Indigenous Peoples in a negative way it will seldom be reported.

Any self-determining attempts by oppressed groups to overcome the status of victim renders them unworthy because they do not adhere to the images held by the dominant society. To many Mohawks and Canadians, Mohawk involvement in the cigarette trade may have suggested a strong effort to overcome economic deprivation. Perhaps in response to this, however, the press adhered to a law-and-order frame of reference. In this example, I suggest that the press relied on stereotypes that it felt the public was more likely to consume. And, as hooks has argued, "[i]ssues of context, form, audience, experience (all of which inform the construction of images) are usually completely submerged when judgements are made solely on the basis of good or bad imagery" (hooks 1990b: 72).

The press provides the ideological framework for understanding "ethnic events" (Hall 1990), often framed in terms of deviance. Many times news coverage is the only means for many members of society to be exposed to marginalised groups. Much of the media coverage about such groups consumed by Canadian society has been formulated by élite groups and institutions (sources) and then re-formulated by the media into "common sense" (van Dijk 1987b). In Canada, this is particularly relevant, especially when one considers the ethnically different and marginalised Indigenous Peoples that have been displaced by the dominant society.

The power relationship that was established between colonising peoples and Indigenous Peoples in this country was largely due to the ideas and images held of primitive societies, especially once Indigenous Nations were displaced from strategic economic and political importance (Wotherspoon n.d.: 9). Although working within a British context, Hartmann and Husband argue that, in Western civilisation, our whole way of thinking about non-European

peoples is influenced by our colonial past and constitutes a predisposition to unfavourable images and beliefs about them (Hartmann & Husband 1974). Arguing that American expansionism, though principally economic, is still based on cultural ideas about the United States, Said provides an argument that, I think, can be applied to Canada (Said 1993). I suggest that an assumed cultural superiority ensures that the dominant society continues to oppress Indigenous Nations. Furthermore, the privileges accorded to members of Canadian society, particularly the dominant members, are threatened when Indigenous Peoples demand reorganisation in the social order.

The modern colonial policies of the Canadian state are reinforced by a long history of representing Indigenous Nations in certain ways. These ideas and assumptions have enabled dominant cultural institutions to represent Indigenous Peoples as unworthy victims, as criminals, and as hindrances to progress. Said contends that:

representations are put to use in the domestic economy of an imperial society...representation as a discursive system involving political choices and political forces, authority in one form or another (in hooks 1990b: 72).

Rather than being portrayed as culturally diverse and accomplished Peoples who are resisting centuries of colonial oppression, dominant representations portray Indigenous Peoples and their actions stereotypically as deviant and unwarranted to attempt to neutralise resistance and ensure continued privilege for non-Natives.

It has been argued that dominant hegemonic discourse is unyielding in its reliance on

stereotypes to describe the "other" (hooks 1990b; Berkhofer 1978a). Fear and misunderstanding of cultures so different from European ones have resulted in very misconstrued images of Indigenous Peoples being introduced by dominant cultural institutions and internalised by society at large. The media's construction of the Mohawk as "smuggler" reflects this tendency.

It is also a persistent practice to conceive of Indigenous Peoples in terms of lawlessness, or not conforming to a Euro-Canadian ideal (Berkhofer 1978a). Also, the fact that many Mohawk people would generally not consider the traders' actions as smuggling is consistent with the persistent theme in European representations portraying Indigenous Peoples not as they see themselves (Berkhofer 1978a). Today, "others" -- in this case Mohawk people -- continue to be primitivised and seen as a "threatening horde, a faceless mass..." (Torgovnik 1990: 18). Mass media is particularly effective at representing alien cultures for the consuming audience, "creating an appetite for hostility and violence against these cultural 'Others'" (Said 1993). Preconceptions of the "primitive other" (read non-European) continue to marr the relationship between Indigenous Peoples and Canadians in general which is reflected in the dominant discourse.

Deep at the root of our collective consciousness is, I believe, an uneasiness derived from establishing our northwestern societies in North America without having developed equitable relationships with its original inhabitants (Deloria 1980: xvi). It is difficult, as some Canadians have realised, to justify our predominant position in, by all standards, a very unequal relationship with Indigenous Nations.

Realising this, dominant cultural institutions strive to reflect back to us the opposite of uneasiness so as to naturalise inequalities and protect the status quo privileging the dominant society. For this reason, I suggest that dominant cultural institutions adopt unfavourable images of Indigenous Peoples to justify "past" wrongs and current inaction to rectify the wrongs. In this way, the dominant press (school, church) partners with the state to sustain colonial policy and attempt to curtail resistance.

Our cultural institutions have constructed "Imaginary Indians" to sell products, promote tourist destinations, amuse us and our children, and, most importantly yet rarely considered, provide us with a connection or sense of authenticity in North America (Deloria 1980; Churchill 1992; hooks 1992; Berkhofer 1978; Francis 1992). Cultural institutions work to ensure this final element, arguably a form of cultural genocide, by aiding the colonisers to assume the identities of the colonised (Memmi 1965). Resistance obviously indicates a weakness in the dominant society's imposition of its interpretive framework, thus signalling the need to re-assert hegemony through, in this example, the press. News-making media are arguably the most successful amongst dominant cultural institutions in promoting the dominant interpretive framework due to the "objectivity," "facticity," and mass consumption of their products.

So, for this analysis, colonialism and racism form two dominant cultural ideologies that have, I suggest, permeated Canadian society at large. It is these ideologies that link the facts of news coverage -- no one refutes that the contents of news is true -- to the ideas and assumptions of Canadians to make the facts understandable to them (Ericson *et al.* 1987a: 31).

Effectively, the dominant interpretive framework concerning issues of importance to Indigenous Peoples continues to be colonial in nature. Furthermore, news coverage has the ideological effect of legitimating the hegemony of the Canadian state over Indigenous Peoples amongst Canadian society at large. It is relevant, therefore, to clarify the level to which the press sustains (or questions) the economic, political, and cultural inequalities in power and, thus, sustains a system of colonial dominance.

CHAPTER THREE: THE SOVEREIGNTY POSITION AS INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK FOR MOHAWKS

The dominant interpretive framework for the tobacco tax rollback, and the frame of reference that Canadians at large were expected to adopt is relatively easy to summarise. Mohawk people were central players in an illegal activity and a return to "law-and-order," an integral element of the "Canadian" identity, was imperative. Interpreting the ideas and assumptions implicit in this statement is decidedly more complicated, though attempted through the body of this work. For many Mohawks, it appears that the issue is not quite so complicated. This is a nation whose internal divisions receive much attention in the mainstream media and the "smuggling" issue was often portrayed by mass media as a bid for violent factions to exert economic and political control within Mohawk communities. Prominent white newsmakers, such as Lise Bissonette in her *Le Devoir* editorials of the period, worked to convince their audiences that the trade was harming the majority of Mohawk people and that a disservice was done to them if Canadian authorities did not end the reign of terror.

From an outside perspective, sovereignty appears to be a central issue in all activities and exercising its inherent sovereignty seems to be a force uniting the different factions of the Mohawk Nation. While the tobacco trade was and is a contentious issue that also divided Mohawk people, I suggest that the sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation was still infringed upon

by Canadian authorities during the tobacco tax rollback.

The summer of 1990, when Canadian authorities explicitly illustrated their position on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, afforded an opportunity for the Kanienkehaka, or Mohawk Nation, to clearly articulate its sovereignty position. The basis for Mohawk sovereignty lies in the *Great Law of Peace*, the *Two Row Wampum*, and in international law.

The *Great Law of Peace* has long acted as a means for social organisation for the Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois Confederacy. It is the constitution for the Confederacy of which Kanienkehaka is a part. According to the sovereignty position held by the Kanienkehaka, it meets the fundamental requirements of nationhood by having a permanent population, a definite territory, a government, and the ability to enter into relations with other nations (Haudenosaunee 1991a). Its constitution defines the "principle objectives of political life," "the main institutions of government," "the division of powers," and "the relationship between governments and the people" (Ibid: 1).

The *Two Row Wampum* was an agreement meant to guide the Haudenosaunee in their dealings with European powers, beginning with the Dutch and continuing to the present. The *Two Row Wampum* principle of non-interference has been followed by the Kanienkehaka and the Haudenosaunee since the intrusion of Europeans into their territories. The agreement binds both parties to respect each others' jurisdiction and sovereignty, dealing with each other as equals (Ibid).

The sovereignty position is further strengthened by Article 7 of the *Declaration of Principles for the Defence of the Indigenous Nations and Peoples of the Western Hemisphere* made at the International Conference Against the Discrimination of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas in Geneva, 1977. The article states:

No state shall assert or claim to exercise any right of jurisdiction over any indigenous nation or group or the territory of such indigenous nation or group unless pursuant to a valid treaty or other agreement freely made with the lawful representatives of the indigenous nation or group concerned. All actions on the part of any state which derogate from the indigenous nation's or group's right to exercise self-determination shall be the proper concern of existing international bodies (Ibid, 4).

As a member of the United Nations, Canada is sworn to uphold the principles of that body which included in its 1948 *Declaration of Human Rights* the right to a nationality and to not be arbitrarily deprived of that nationality. The Haudenosaunee contend that their right to exist is based on "the strongest natural legal right know[n] to humans: the aboriginal right." (Ibid)

The sovereignty position of the Kanienkehaka has been challenged on three notable fronts. The first is that the Mohawks are eighteenth century immigrants to what is now Canadian territory, having left their original homeland in what is now New York State. Second, consistent unity has not been maintained within the Haudenosaunee. Third, economic dependence on the Sulpicians and Jesuits on to the present-day Canadian government nullifies any claim to continual sovereignty from prior to European contact. (Hamori-Torok 1991)

The Kanienkehaka children are taught that the Kanienkehaka Territory has always

included southern Québec and that when Cartier first sailed up the St. Lawrence, it was Mohawk people that he met at Stadacona and Hochelaga (Reid 1981). In support of this argument, even anthropologists have determined that these early people were ethnically Iroquois and could have been absorbed by the Mohawk Nation due to its frequent incursions into the area (Ratelle 1993). It is also well-documented that the Mohawk controlled the St. Lawrence valley fur trade and had established a hunting territory that spanned Lake Nipissing in Ontario and Lake Mistassini in Québec during the first half of the seventeenth century (York & Pindera 1991b). At any rate, it is illogical for two countries largely settled by nineteenth and twentieth century immigrants from other continents to introduce an aboriginality argument to discredit Mohawk land claims and sovereignty.

In addition to this counter-argument, Mohawks find themselves in certain territories within modern Canada due to very specific historical circumstances in which various imperial powers were supported. That duplicity has been employed by the French, the British, Roman Catholic Orders, and the Canadian Government to subsequently deny land rights and further subjugate the Kanienkehaka only supports the Mohawk right to sovereignty (Wright 1992). A case could be made that had it not been for the Mohawk Nation's historical role, perhaps those currently enjoying power and privilege in Canada would not be in this position.

Only in the late seventeenth century, after decades of battling the French, were Mohawks convinced by missionaries promising title to the land to settle at Kanesatake and Kahnawake (York & Pindera 1991a). During the battles between England and France in the eighteenth

century, the Iroquois remained largely neutral and maintained sovereignty. Deciding to assist the British towards the end of the campaign, however, likely swung the balance of power away from the French. Native Peoples, whether they had supported the French or British, were guaranteed to be left in peace on the land they occupied by the *Treaty of Paris* and the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763. Thankfully for British North America, Mohawk territory acted as a buffer during the War of 1812 when American forces were defeated in the defence of Kanienkehaka Territory (York & Pinder 1991b).

Mohawks at Six Nations in present-day southwestern Ontario supported the British during the American Revolution. Later, during the peace negotiations, no provisions were made to protect Haudenosaunee Territory in the new United States. Fearing an incredible loss of traditional territory, Joseph Brant negotiated an agreement with the British to relocate along the Grand River (Ibid: 157).

Despite divisions within Kanienkehaka society, such as the establishment of a second confederacy or the conflict between Traditional and Christian Mohawks, the sovereignty position continues to unite all territories. Kanienkehaka people learn that they have never lost nor negotiated away their rights as a sovereign nation (Haudenosaunee 1991b; Gaspé 1991). Anthropologists, however, have argued that the isolation of Kahnawake, Akwesasne, and Kanesatake from the rest of Kanienkehaka territories, has contributed to an unequal application of the *Great Law of Peace*, that communities in Canada have not been governed by that law, thereby nullifying a major component of the sovereignty position (Hamori-Torok 1991).

In my view, this completely denies a nation and a people the right to evolve and change over time. Again, it is evidence of lingering colonial attitudes to assume that Indigenous Nations have to conform to how they were prior to European contact in order for their claims to merit attention. Furthermore, all of the Mohawk communities located within Canada have always conducted themselves as sovereign territories, the continuous battle against the imposition of the Indian Act providing an example (Blanchard 1980). Increasingly, links are being renewed between the territories throughout Kanienkehaka and the Haudenosaunee. Communities like Kahnawake have formalised commitments to develop closer links with the Confederacy and traditional forms of governance (Kahnawake 1990). Present-day Canada and the United States are far larger than when originally established; both countries' systems of government differ greatly from the founders' intentions; the societies in both countries barely resemble the original founders' societies. Considering the incredible strains imposed upon Indigenous Societies through colonialism, for the modern societies of North America to deny the right of the Kanienkehaka to evolve and change is also illogical.

Finally, colonialism has ravaged all Indigenous Nations by destroying economic infrastructures. As has been argued, Mohawk sovereignty ended when Kanienkehaka accepted French and British "benevolence" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and continues to be overshadowed by dependence on the Canadian welfare state (Hamori-Torok 1991). However, the economic benefits accrued by various colonial powers in illegal possession of Mohawk lands far surpasses any pitiences paid the Kanienkehaka. Any payments made by imperial powers in the past or by present-day Canada, arguably amounts to rent to which Indigenous Peoples are entitled.

During the negotiations to end the crisis at Kanesatake, the Haudenosaunee emphasised the fact that a lack of economic power and the Canadian government's refusal to discuss basic economic issues had contributed to the problems (Haudenosaunee 1991b). Trading in cigarettes also conforms to this argument. Throughout Canada it is recognised that Indigenous communities need sound, sustainable, and culturally-appropriate economic bases. The cigarette trade (and gambling) has been constructed as an irresponsible foundation to renew the Mohawk economy. It is not clear, though, how those Canadians opposed to this kind of economic development expect the Kanienkehaka people to sustain themselves.

Massive industrial pollution of remaining Mohawk territories renders a traditional, sustaining economy presently unviable. Agriculture and animal husbandry are practically impossible and wildlife must be treated as toxic waste. Industrialism and greed have created a "toxic turtle" (Johansen 1993). The perhaps short-sighted actions and policies of the dominant society arguably force Mohawk communities to defend their sovereignty and do whatever it takes to survive, lending credibility to perhaps marginal entrepreneurs who would not otherwise find support at home (Williams 1995). Again, after benefitting from massive industrialism and environmental exploitation, to denounce the business activities of certain Mohawks is inappropriate. If economic dependence can be used to undermine Mohawk sovereignty, then why can it not do the same for Canadian sovereignty vis-à-vis the United States?

Several treaties and acts made by various powers further support the sovereignty position of the Kanienkehaka and the Haudenosaunee and their right to exist without interference. The *Royal Proclamation Act* of 1763, guaranteeing Indigenous rights to land unless formally

surrendered to the Crown, and the *Jay Treaty* of 1776, guaranteeing free passage of Indigenous Peoples and their possessions across the international boundary, are two such documents (Blanchard 1980). The Haudenosaunee has formally stated that Canada's refusal to recognise and follow the spirit of these pre-Confederation documents contributes to current unrest between Canada and the Indigenous Nations (Haudenosaunee 1991b). Colonial powers have sought to subjugate the Haudenosaunee throughout their common history rather than honour the spirit of Treaties made between Nations.

Also forming the interpretive framework of the Kanienkehaka in the tobacco tax rollback situation is how they generally view their relations with Canada. Again, borrowing material arising from the summer of 1990, the Haudenosaunee stated that Canadians are not taught an accurate or comprehensive history of relations between Indigenous Nations and Canada, that this has produced politicians and bureaucrats who lack understanding and analysis of these issues, that there is a pattern of officially denigrating Indigenous rights at all levels of Canadian government and society, and, underlying all of this, that racism "permeates" Canadian society (Ibid). In addition to this, many members of Canadian society seem to believe, according to the Haudenosaunee, that applying the rule of the law is an adequate means to remedy such situations (Ibid).

Kanienkehaka is a sovereign Nation. Its position is supported by the constitution of the Haudenosaunee, the *Great Law of Peace*, the *Two Row Wampum* principle of non-interference, and by international law. The dominant society, particularly the Canadian state, has consistently challenged that sovereignty by failing to recognise pre-Confederation treaties and by fostering

a belief in society at large that the rights of Indigenous Nations are somehow illegitimate. Despite a clear and unwavering position of sovereignty, the dominant society and many ordinary Canadians refuse to acknowledge the inherent rights of the Mohawk Nation.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE MICRO-CONTEXT OF
ORGANISATIONAL CONSTRAINTS AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICES,
AND THE RESULTING NEWS COVERAGE

Above all, news is a social institution that is an ally and legitimator of other institutions, making information available to consumers (Tuchman 1978a). Journalists are employed in society to make sense of social events, including dissent. But it is not enough to report on the manifestations of dissent, they must be assigned a position within society's mental map (Hartley 1982b). The social order must be legitimated and the majority must be assured that any disruptions or threats to the status quo are being contained by society's agents of control. Conflict must be seen to be regulated (Hall 1978c; Hartley 1982b). In performing its control functions, the media inevitably recreate and strengthen unequal societal relationships, continuing to frame issues in a manner that naturalises and legitimates unequal cultural, political, and economic power. Media (re)produce hegemony, cultural and otherwise, of the dominant society, including average Canadians, over Indigenous Nations.

Essential to a critical examination of the role of media in (re)producing hegemony is to outline the micro-context, or the organisational and professional practices employed in creating dominant news coverage. This chapter examines these practices and then quantifies the news relating to the tobacco tax rollback arising out of these practices.

Journalists and news organisations are bombarded with information and face commercial constraints in the amount of labour they can allocate to collect and verify facts essential to news production, and are also constrained by the requirement to supply an audience to corporate advertisers. Certain practices are thus required to produce news that attracts audiences. These practices provide the evidence that news coverage is, in fact, structured, biased, and not merely "reflective" of the world.

In studying hegemonic reproduction, a division appears amongst critical thinkers. Some view sources as pre-eminent in the ideological exercise of power (Sigal 1986; Schudson 1986; Herman & Chomsky 1988; van Dijk 1991a & 1987a). Others emphasise the roles of journalists in selecting and transforming official information as most important in the reproduction of dominant relations in media (Fishman 1980; Gitlin 1980; Tuchman 1978a; Hall 1978a; Hartmann & Husband 1974; Hartley 1982a; Galtung & Ruge 1973). Ericson *et al.* (1989a) tends to recognise the power and importance of both, since they appear to reinforce each other in order to (re)produce hegemony, and I agree.

Sources are generally the public-relations departments of the different arms of the state's control apparatus, such as police, courts, and governments, and of corporate interests who provide information about events to media. This service provided by sources blends well with journalistic practice since the sources are viewed as being independent experts who can provide objective analyses of events (Tuchman 1978a; Herman & Chomsky 1988). The objectivity of sources goes unchallenged because of the authoritative nature of such bureaucratic organisations - they are seen to epitomise what is "normal" and presumed to be accurate -- and the fact that

they share the core values of the dominant society with journalists (Ericson *et al.* 1989a). So, while Mohawk individuals would have been considered incapable of providing an unbiased commentary on the events, the very agents of power acting to control the Mohawk Nation are quoted often without question.

By providing ready access to information, sources thus attempt to control how events will be interpreted and how they themselves will be viewed. Sources have been labelled as "primary definers" or "deviance-defining elite" since their interpretation of events (or groups) amounts to "official information" that is used to determine what behaviour and individuals are threatening to society at large. This information is made available to and accepted as fact by mass media, due to the market constraints that prevent fact verification and the assumed legitimacy of official sources, who then transform the information into public discourse. Because of the journalistic requirement for "objectivity," only another official source can counter what has been claimed by a source (Ericson *et al.* 1989a). Mass media is also required to legitimate and reify social forces in society. Agents of control are quoted and made to appear as if they are controlling any problems (Tuchman 1978b).

Sources are fully cognizant of the commercial constraints placed upon the media which limit the possibility that their versions of "reality" will be countered. Almost without exception, those who attain official source status share similar political, economic, and cultural interests with each other and with mass media thus making it very unlikely anyway that official versions will be rejected or discounted. Just in case, information provided will generally conform to journalists' views, or resonate ideologically, to ensure that it is not questioned or readily

rejected. Once media uncritically accepts and communicates official information then ideological closure has been achieved and the possibility of counter-arguments has been reduced, if not eliminated.

By freely providing information to media, through press conferences or exclusive interviews, sources are able to supply information that supports their agendas and yet limit access to their internal matters. In this scenario, mass media are merely secondary definers of what does not conform to societal consensus. Mass media representations of people who are not members of the dominant majority, have, therefore, most likely been pre-formulated by sources who have vested interests in maintaining relations of dominance.

By seeking to control mass media, however, even sources recognise the power of media. Many are convinced that journalists play a pre-eminent role in sustaining systems of dominance. Those media critics who base their analyses on sources recognise the autonomy of media in selecting which information they will use. There are no guarantees that information will be transformed into public discourse merely because an official source articulated it. Mass media do control communications within society and actively shape the news. They may exercise power by selecting only certain facts, then emphasising and distorting them. By focusing on a few dramatic events, journalists are able to define what constitutes problems for society. Again, the need to attract an audience regulates the introduction of ideologically distant notions by journalists.

News is produced by professionals working within organisations and conforming to institutional practices (Tuchman 1978a). These professional practices are employed to sift through the barrage of information and attempt to attract an audience. News is a result of certain methods employed by newswriters to make sense of events and provide information perceived to be in demand by their target audience. If other methods were used then different knowledge would result (Fishman 1980). Professional practices conform to organisational needs, both complementing each other's reinforcement of the status quo (Tuchman 1978a).

Certain "newsvalues" aid the journalist in defining what is newsworthy, which information will survive the selection process (Galtung & Ruge 1973; Hartmann & Husband 1974; Hartley 1982b). Newsvalues provide an "ideological code" for newswriters to decide what will resonate for consumers, what to transform into news (Hartley 1982b). In order to become news, events must satisfy certain conditions. Events must occur frequently and must surpass thresholds of intensity. Events must have cultural proximity and appear to have unambiguous interpretations. Events should be predictable or even desired for easy reception and registration of newsworthiness. Élite people and elite nations are better able to represent themselves and, therefore, are more newsworthy. Unexpectedness, negativity, and continuity all contribute to newsworthiness. Finally, an event is more likely to register as news if it can be constructed as a consequence of persons or a collectivity rather than as being a structural consequence. (Galtung & Ruge, 1973: 64-6)

The more that events are able to satisfy these criteria, the more likely that the event will be selected as news. Once selected, the same factors that made the event newsworthy will be

emphasised or distorted. Finally, according to Galtung and Ruge, these processes of selection and distortion are replicated at each step in the chain from event to reader (Galtung & Ruge, 1973).

Of course, there is no guarantee that particular news products will be selected by consumers. There is also no guarantee that a selected news product will be consumed uncritically. By describing this model whereby official sources and mass media have enormous power to shape public opinion and agendas, I do not presume that Canadians are naïve or incorporate all official information into their frames of reference. I do suggest, however, that the ideas and values of the dominant society, again the information that the governments, courts, police, and other institutions, would prefer us to believe, are pervasive. And, as I have suggested in a previous chapter, reading an article about a Mohawk "smuggler" may be the only contact many "average Canadians" are ever going to have with a Mohawk person. Also, as I outline in Chapter Five, audiences participate in meaning construction and provide the prevailing cultural climate in which news is produced. Newswriters likely would not select information for transformation into news if they felt that the resulting product would not resonate with their audiences. In other words, I suggest that often times a journalist will uncritically re-formulate information released by an arm of government about an Indigenous issue, then will not include Indigenous views because that would appear biased, and then will present her work to a Canadian audience with a pre-existing, culturally-rooted, colonial frame of reference concerning Indigenous Peoples. Since mass media are such important sources of information, what opportunity will the majority of Canadians have to develop alternative impressions about Indigenous issues?

Quantitative Analysis of Content

Once facts about events have been selected to become news, how are news stories constructed? What themes get emphasised and possibly distorted? I am interested in several things to watch for in content. Much of this will receive attention in the qualitative analysis below, but it does partially explain what I looked for when quantifying the amount of coverage allotted to different themes. For example, how have different papers presented the same events? Are there uniformities in the way Canadian papers present events, particularly comparing the English- and French-language press? (Manoff 1986a) Are there individuals who articulate counter-arguments? (van Dijk 1991b) Are problems personified rather than presented as resulting from structural inequality? Or are individuals blamed? (Hartmann 1974) Are events presented reflexively within political, economic, and cultural contexts, or are they presented indexically outside their contexts? (Tuchman 1978b) While not intending to devote too much space to a quantitative analysis, it is worthwhile to examine the figures.

The data was quantified in several ways: by date; by predominant themes; by genre - article, commentary, or editorial; by location -- front page or deeper; by layout -- full page devoted to the issue or not; and, finally, if the articles appeared so questionable in their assumptions and ideas that they deserved further, qualitative consideration. Obviously, quantifying by date was to determine frequency, sustained coverage, and any particularly heavy days. My interest in differentiating between news articles and editorials or commentaries is because, in my opinion, the latter two provide editors and journalists the opportunity to go beyond the facts provided by sources and to perhaps articulate examples of counter-hegemonic

discourse. Accounting for layout and location gauges for sensationalism and the impression the journal is trying to convey to its readership. Front page headlines and full-pages devoted to a topic make more of an impact on readers, thereby having a greater effect on how they perceive and interpret the event.

Quantifying the articles by predominant themes, achieved by reading through each article and assigning codes to the themes, is by far the most in-depth aspect to this analysis. The predominant themes coded include: the government policy -- positive and negative; the Mohawk Nation -- including direct Mohawk involvement in the trade, development of the trade, expansion of the trade, lawlessness, "Oka," "Warriors," and any other Mohawk topic; margins -- including federal/provincial relations, rival nationalism, two standards for justice, and criticisms of the francophone media; and, the involvement of Canadians -- including *dépanneurs* and manufacturers. Though I did not code for the main theme of each article, I did code for each theme that received treatment in the article. Therefore, it can only be said that certain percentages of articles *included* development of certain themes.

To begin with, *Le Devoir* carried 73 articles during the first three months of 1994 that addressed the tobacco tax rollback issue. The coverage peaked on the same day as all three of the other papers, 9 February 1994 the day after Québec and Ottawa announced the cuts, but coverage was generally more concentrated into fewer days (32). *Le Devoir* is only printed six times weekly, perhaps partially explaining fewer days of coverage. At any rate, on 14 of the 32 days only one piece was carried, 2 pieces on 9 of the 32 days, 3 pieces on 6 days, 4 pieces on 2 days, 5 pieces on one day, and 10 pieces on the peak day of 9 February. In addition, a

clear majority (35 articles or commentaries) of the coverage appeared leading up to the rollback rather than after (49.3% as compared to 36.9%). *Le Devoir* ran 23 front page articles, 12 editorials, and 2 commentaries. The paper also published the rather surprising, sub-standard cartoon depicting the Warriors Society flag's figurehead sniffing cocaine.

The Globe and Mail carried 99 articles over 43 days during the three month period. This paper ran 1 piece on 23 days, 2 pieces on 6 days, 3 pieces on 6 days, 4 pieces on 4 days, 5 pieces on 2 days, 9 pieces on one day, and 11 pieces on 9 February. In contrast to *Le Devoir's* coverage, *The Globe and Mail* printed more articles after the peak than before (48.5% compared to 40.4%). This paper published 17 front page stories, 5 editorials on the issue, and 30 commentaries.

The Gazette of Montreal ran 112 pieces over 47 days, carrying 1 piece on 22 days, 2 pieces on 13 days, 3 pieces on 3 days, 4 pieces on 4 days, 5 pieces on 2 days, 7 pieces on 1 day, 8 on one day, and 14 on the peak day. Again, more coverage occurred after 9 February than before (48.2% compared to 39.3%). This paper ran 20 front page articles, 5 editorials, and 20 commentaries on the issue. In addition, *The Gazette* also featured 13 pieces that were part of flashy, full-page layouts. One satirical cartoon is included in the analysis.

La Presse seemed to find the rollback issue most newsworthy, running 145 articles on 49 days during the time period. The paper ran 1 piece on 25 days, 2 on 6 days, 3 on 1 day, 4 pieces on 8 days, 5 on 1 day, 7 pieces on 5 days, 8 and 9 pieces on 1 day each, and, finally, 16 pieces on 9 February, the most coverage on that day of all four papers. *La Presse* clearly

devoted the most space to the issue, carrying 5 or more articles on 9 of its 49 days of coverage. Less of a difference occurs between coverage prior to the peak (68 pieces or 46.9%) and coverage after (61 pieces or 42.1%), indicating perhaps a more sustained newsworthiness throughout the period. This paper ran 35 front page stories, 12 editorials, and 22 commentary pieces. In addition, *La Presse* also ran 34 articles that were part of full-page layouts. Three questionable/satirical cartoons are also included in the analysis.

All four papers devoted a similar amount of coverage to the issue of the rollback policy itself, with *The Globe and Mail* devoting the most coverage at 47.5%. This policy coverage is obviously the law-and-order response that most targeted the Mohawk Nation. More striking is the coverage which challenged the policy, chiefly originating from the anti-tobacco lobby. Although this opposed the policy, it certainly did not challenge the notion that "something had to be done" to address the "problem." Nearly 20% of *The Globe and Mail's* coverage emphasised this theme, while *La Presse* emphasised it in less than 5% of its coverage. It was also the two "high brow" papers, *Le Devoir* and *The Globe and Mail*, that paid most attention to possible effects of the plan such as social costs (13.7% and 14.1% respectively with *The Gazette* having 5.4% and *La Presse* 2.8%). It might not be surprising that the merits of this policy were questioned more by papers aimed at audiences presumed to be more discerning and less directly affected by a cigarette tax reduction.

I argue that the media created and reinforced the notion that Mohawks were largely responsible for the entire situation and were generally criminally deviant -- largely refusing to implicate the ordinary Canadians, multinational companies, and government bodies in any

questionable activities. This is supported quantitatively with each paper explicitly linking Mohawks and Mohawk communities with "smuggling" in nearly 30% of their coverage, most often as the major perpetrators. Each of the papers mentioned the role of the corporations in the trade in only around 10% of the coverage, except for *The Globe and Mail* at 21.2%. Ordinary Canadians, such as smokers and dépanneurs, were implicated in lawlessness in a significant amount of the coverage (*The Globe and Mail* the least at 15.2% and *La Presse* the most at 25.5%) but, as will be analysed qualitatively, the tone differed greatly.

Articles that referred to Mohawk people, or sometimes just generally to Native people, in opposition to Euro-Canadian institutions, such as the law, were very significant. All four papers ran pieces that mentioned this theme over 20% of the time, although the coverage of *The Gazette* and *La Presse* emphasised this theme the most. A striking difference occurs when looking at how coverage tried to implicate Mohawk people in other activities, what I refer to as expanding the blame. This involved implicating Mohawks with everything from colluding with the Mafia to smuggling cocaine to selling contraband frozen chickens to affecting Montreal's ability to re-pay the Olympic debt. Three papers, *Le Devoir*, *The Globe and Mail*, and *La Presse*, published a similar number of articles addressing this theme. I find it surprising, however, that such a high percentage of *Le Devoir's* coverage, nearly twice as much as all the others at 30.1%, was devoted to this theme. Combining both themes, all of the papers actively developed the Mohawk as criminal notion.

Also, all four papers devoted 10-20% of coverage to other Mohawk topics, such as the inquest into the 1990 death of Corporal Lemay or the eviction of a Bloc québécois MP from a

Mohawk community. All of the papers alluded to the summer of 1990 by mentioning either "Oka" or "Warriors", with *Le Devoir* again emphasising this "lawless" or "crisis" angle the most and *The Globe and Mail* the least.

I also contend that minimal coverage contextualised Mohawk involvement in the trade. In this case, I was looking for articles that mentioned anything about how the Mohawks were involved in the trade, why the trade had developed, and other Native topics such as articles about the *Indian Act* or self-determination. Not surprisingly, all the papers paid minimal attention to informing their audiences of the context for Mohawk involvement. Only two papers, *The Globe and Mail* and *La Presse*, published any articles about "the trade" (12 and 3 pieces respectively). *Le Devoir* never mentioned once that Mohawk people refer to it as "trade" not as "smuggling." Other Native topics received minimal attention (11% or less).

I refer to the final category of themes found throughout the coverage as "margins." This includes the theme of federal/provincial relations, the theme of rival Mohawk and Québec nationalisms, and two themes of a double standard of justice, and articles critical of the francophone media. The first theme represented a hot topic for two of the papers, though both emphasised different aspects. *Le Devoir* ran 20 pieces or 27.4% of its coverage that chiefly addressed the failure of confederation partners to support a needed policy for Québec. *The Globe and Mail* ran 39 pieces or 39.1% of its coverage that paid more attention to the federal government supporting Québec's needs despite opposition from the rest of Canada. *The Gazette* and *La Presse* did not develop this theme significantly.

A similar number of pieces were carried by each paper regarding the perceived rivalry between Québec and Indigenous Nations. *Le Devoir* ran the highest percentage (23.3%) and *La Presse* the least (13.1%), mostly refuting the legitimacy of the claims of Indigenous Nations, with *The Gazette* and *The Globe and Mail* running the next highest percentages (17.0% and 14.1%), mostly emphasising (and constructing) this rivalry. The notion of two standards of justice in Canada, related to the "lawlessness" theme and the Québec/Indigenous rivalry theme, received some mention in each paper, most significantly in *La Presse* (9 pieces or 6.2%). Most of this coverage addressed the incident when merchants were charged for not charging taxes to gain back some market share, while Mohawk communities were being touted as "no-go zones" for Canadian authorities. Finally, articles critical of the francophone media were found in all four journals; most significant perhaps is *The Gazette's* devotion of 6.3% of its coverage to the theme. All things considered, the only margin that received significant, sustained, and quantifiable treatment was that between Mohawks and Quebeckers.

In summary, the quantified data generally supports previous statements. For example, the tobacco tax rollback issue was obviously more newsworthy, or warranted more coverage, for the two mass-readership, more sensational papers, *The Gazette* and *La Presse*. Both papers actively constructed the issue using the "law-and-order" theme, both failed almost completely to contextualise Mohawk involvement, both actively emphasised how this issue affected ordinary Canadians, and both were the most concerned with the perceived double standard of justice for ordinary Canadians and Mohawks. Finally, both *The Gazette* and *La Presse* ran flashy, sensational full-page spreads on the issue.

The coverage of *The Globe and Mail* is quantitatively consistent with a high level of analysis and non-sensationalism. This paper was the only one to print a substantial number of background articles. It printed several commentaries, thus allowing journalists to contextualise beyond mere facts and present counter-arguments, and presented the most balanced coverage of the policy itself. *The Globe and Mail* also had the lowest number and percentage of front page headlines, further supporting the notion that it is less sensational and less inclined to present the issue as a crisis.

Le Devoir's coverage is, for me, the most surprising. Along with *La Presse*, the idea that there is a greater editorialising tradition in the francophone press is supported. Also, both papers were most concerned with the criticism being levelled at the Québec media, rather than it being actively targeted by the anglophone press. *Le Devoir* most actively constructed the image that Mohawks were responsible for a huge variety of social ills, most actively contributed to the impression of a rivalry between Québec and Mohawk nationalisms, devoted the least amount of coverage to the role of other groups, printed the highest proportion of front-page headlines, and printed the least number of commentaries. Quantitatively, *Le Devoir* seems to have unfairly targeted the Mohawk Nation and to have most actively constructed the "Mohawk problem" and the impression of a crisis situation.

The fact that all four journals published substantial numbers of editorials or commentaries, thus giving editors and journalists an opportunity to stretch beyond the "facts" of the case, yet provided practically no context, or counter-hegemonic discourse, indicates a

powerful ideological conformity. The facts provided by the sources resonated for the journalists who translated them into public discourse that they knew would resonate with audiences.

In closing, there are actually few quantifiably significant differences between how each paper covered the issue. Minor differences can probably be best attributed to different target markets, and what their perceived interests would be. A powerful uniformity amongst Canadian print media is evident. All four papers represented, and thus constructed, the issue as chiefly involving Mohawks being responsible for illegal activities and that a law-and-order response from Canadian authorities was required. Very little space was accorded to counter-arguments and context. From a quantitative perspective, we can see the type of information that was provided by sources, the agents of control in Canadian society, and picked out by media, the public voice and interpreter of society's control apparatus, as newsworthy. Even before examining the tone and nature of the coverage, it is possible to extrapolate from the quantified data that professional practices and organisational constraints (re)produced an unequal relationship and, thus, the political, economic, and cultural hegemony of Canadians over Mohawks.

CHAPTER FIVE: RECEPTION AND QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

As I have argued thus far, when studying the role media play in sustaining systems of dominance there are distinct advantages in looking beyond quantifiable elements of news coverage. This chapter comprises the qualitative element of my analysis and will focus on the kind of knowledge that was created, or the types of ideas and assumptions that were reinforced, especially while examining the coverage as a whole. Drawing from the theory woven throughout this thesis, I intend to look at the meanings behind mainstream representations of Mohawk involvement in the tobacco issue and speculate, as I stated in the introduction, as to the connection between those meanings and the relations of domination they serve to sustain (Davis 1993: 4).

I will examine the coverage as a whole of each journal separately, dividing the three-month time frame into pre-peak, peak, and post-peak periods, again in ascending order of the amount of coverage, and then compare and contrast. By examining the headlines and first few paragraphs of the most outstanding pieces throughout the time frame, I will chiefly examine how Mohawk involvement was portrayed, watching for such things as contextual embeddedness, reinforcement of race as a "problem" consistent with mainstream journalistic practice, and any alternative ideas journalists and editors chose to present when in the role of primary definer.

Basically, I will attempt to decode and "unpack" some of the naturalised assumptions in the coverage.

To begin with, audience reception is the final link in the chain explaining the nature of information found in press coverage. The chain, that is, of information that sources choose to release, information that the press selects, and, finally, information that audiences choose to read and accept as their frames of reference for understanding events. When studying the representations of Indigenous Nations, this cycle largely depends on the degree of hegemony exercised over these Nations. Sources release information that they hope will resonate ideologically with newswriters who select information that they hope will resonate ideologically with their audiences. In a society such as ours whose foundation lies in supplanting and oppressing Indigenous Nations, dominant institutions inevitably recreate and reinforce inequalities in cultural, economic, and political power. The unequal relationship thereby becomes justified and natural. Again, this is not meant to imply that conspiracies are at work to control the type of information that is printed about Indigenous Nations, but that it is culturally characteristic of the press in Canada to try to undermine any Indigenous resistance to hegemony.

While I have not conducted a formal reception analysis, it is helpful in interpreting the coverage to gain some idea of how Canadian audiences are thought to receive media messages. For this analysis, perhaps it is more useful to think of it as how newswriters, in catering to their audiences, intended me to receive these messages. As a self-identified member of the

dominant, Canadian society, what ideas and notions was I to use in interpreting the tobacco tax rollback?

According to Galtung and Ruge, the newsvalues enumerated in chapter 4 will be employed to select newsworthy items from a mass of information. Above all, any event that can be portrayed negatively or as an example of deviance, with a control solution, will be particularly newsworthy. This is especially the case when covering events that involve Indigenous Peoples; in fact, a negative event may signal the only time that Indigenous Peoples receive any treatment in the mainstream press at all. The newsworthiness is also heightened if the proffered framework is familiar (Hartmann & Husband 1981). I argue that an Indigenous Nation being portrayed as deviant and requiring of authoritative control is familiar and naturally part of the dominant interpretive framework held by Canadians in general.

The process of using newsvalues to select a newsworthy item will then be replicated at each stage from the event's occurrence until it is read about in a newspaper. After each time it is selected, however, the newsworthy fact becomes accentuated and distorted (Galtung & Ruge 1973). It is therefore not inconceivable that Canadian audiences, having selected and then distorted the "facts" to such a high degree, had perhaps adopted a frame of reference extremely biased against Mohawk people and that a serious control solution was viewed as being inevitable and necessary. This then becomes a justification for strong measures from political authorities acting on the wishes of their constituencies.

In conducting a rigorous reception analysis, a media researcher would be interested in how such things as headlines, different sorts of newspaper pieces, and specific styles and rhetorical devices impact upon readers. As van Dijk has stated:

we are... interested in the actual processes of decoding, interpretation, storage, and representation in memory, and in the role of previous knowledge and beliefs of the readers in this process of understanding (van Dijk 1991b: 47).

As Eldridge has contended, while media messages do seem to affect consumers in that they can reproduce news accounts in terms similar to the originals, audiences are also active participants in meaning construction (Eldridge 1993). This reinforces the idea that **both media and audiences** are part of wider cultural and political contexts that, as the event at hand illustrates, facilitate the acceptance of certain kinds of representations. Above all, mass communications reinforce existing attitudes, even if the message is counter-hegemonic, particularly "when supported by strong group norms or the prevailing cultural climate" (Hartmann & Husband 1981: 289).

For these reasons, I suggest that the types of ideas and assumptions contained in the coverage are largely reflective of the ideas and assumptions of the average readers, or at least were adopted as frames of reference for understanding the tobacco tax rollback issue by many members of Canadian society. As a strategy for (re)producing racist and colonial frames of reference, the contents of headlines and the first few paragraphs -- the most prominent elements of the inverted, journalistic pyramid -- are a likely indication of what newswriters thought would most resonate with consumers. If selected by the reader, and the sheer numbers of pieces

in each journal certainly indicates that this was a "hot topic" and would be read with a high degree of interest, ideas and assumptions contained in the portion of newspaper pieces most likely to be read would generally reflect and reinforce the ideas and assumptions of their consumers.

Coverage of *The Eastern Door*

One of the most common characteristics of dominant discourse concerning Indigenous Peoples is to adopt imagery to explain them to the mainstream audience. Indigenous Peoples, as illustrated by five centuries of interaction with Europeans, are seldom portrayed as they would portray themselves. For this reason, I want to reproduce several pieces that ran in *The Eastern Door*, a "community based newspaper serving the Mohawk of Kahnawake regardless of birth, sex, age, language, politics or religion. The paper strives to be a factual, balanced, authoritative source of information with access to all segments of the community" (mission statement appearing in every issue). It is my hope that Mohawk words will lay the foundation for a better understanding of this issue by a non-Mohawk audience, especially leading into an analysis of how four mainstream journals constructed the tax reduction. Kenneth Deer is the editor and Joe Deom is the Assistant Editor of *The Eastern Door*.

"Life after Cigarettes"

The inevitable happened this week when the Federal government announced its four pillar plan to stop contraband cigarettes.

The most amazing element of this action is that it took so long for the Government to act. Many thought that the cigarette trade would not last past the late

1980's. Especially after the series of crises [sic] that have taken place on all three Mohawk communities during 1990. The recovery of the cigarette trade after 1990 was quite surprising. Not only did it survive, it expanded to include many new players in the game. Can the cigarette trade survive this latest setback? We are sure imaginative ways to circumvent the new initiatives of the government will be invented. But even still, the boomtown atmosphere of fast profit and low risk are probably over. The government is serious this time. By giving up hundreds of millions of dollars in tax revenue, spending millions on more police and, by raising corporate taxes, risking losing companies and jobs to the US, and endangering the lungs of their young people, this is not a frivolous attempt at appeasing the public. It is a clear, concerted effort to end what they call the illegal trafficking of cigarettes.

Another stance that the government is taking is that there are no "no-go" zones in Canada. This is curious statement coming after the RCMP had given assurances that they have no plans for any large actions inside Mohawk communities. It appears that what the RCMP said privately to Mohawks cannot be said publicly. Its [sic] clear that the police do not want to come into Kahnawake in force. A box of cigarettes is not worth the price of someone's life. However, if the four pillar plan does not work and the cigarette trade continues unabated, the government and police may be forced by public pressure to prove that there are no "no-go" zones in Canada.

Another comment that the Prime Minister mentioned was the inclusion of drugs, alcohol and firearms with the cigarette trade. It's no secret that there is some drug use by individuals involved in cigarettes. Some say cocaine is God's way of telling you that you have too much money. Drug trafficking is something this community cannot condone and we certainly should not be put in a position to protect this kind of activity.

Firearms are another trade item blamed on our people. A number of guns seized by the police in holdups and raids have been traced through here and other Mohawk communities prompting more police surveillance. Some say it is our sovereign right to sell arms. Well, shooting yourself in the foot is a sovereign act if you're so inclined, but selling a firearm to your enemy so he can shoot you in the foot is stupidity. Selling guns to non-Indians is a threat to our sovereignty.

Alcohol has piggy backed on the cigarette trade lately and hopefully will disappear with it. The community probably has less tolerance for alcohol than cigarettes and would be difficult to get the support of the general populace to condone widespread sales of alcohol.

Its [sic] been mentioned in the French press that Mohawks are selling discount perfume and that this sale should also be stopped. Now this is getting a little ridiculous. Can't we sell anything? Many humorous comments could be made here but let's just say many people out there need all the perfume they can splash on.

The outcome in our community of this campaign by the government can be predictable. First of all there will be more harassment around the borders of our community. With the SQ and municipal police now having the right to enforce excise laws, and increased RCMP presence, there is a greater risk of incidents, which could lead to another "two-by-four" confrontation.

As stores close, there will be an increase in unemployment and welfare. There will [be] less pocket money to spend and the small retail stores may suffer.

The community economy will suffer a little but Kahnawake is not a one industry community like some mining town. Kahnawake is full of opportunities if one looks close enough. For those that made money during the last few years, perhaps they can start new businesses. The challenge to those left without work is to learn a new skill and adapt to a new job market.

Will something replace cigarettes? A casino is the most mentioned option.

In a community that is divided on the subject, this may turn ones mind in one way or the other.

(94 02 11 [Ed], Volume 3, Number 1)

"Open Letter to Lucien Bouchard"

About the two Laws you are speaking of, you are right two laws do exist one for the Indian and one for the white. Lets [sic] talk about some of these laws.

One of these laws permits the theft and continued occupation of Indian lands without any just compensation.

One law guaranteed freedom of religion for everyone except Indians, our religious ceremonies were outlawed by force which led to the murder of some Indian people who refused to give up their religion.

One of these laws called Eminent Domain allowed for the white to steal land from the Indians while they are alive because someday they will all be dead and the white will have it anyway.

There are laws that take away the resources from the Indians and given to the whites.

There are laws that take away the waterways from the Indian people and given to the whites.

There are laws that take away the forests from the Indians and give them to the whites.

There are laws that permitted the murder of Indian people and actually permitted a bounty to be collected for Indian scalps.

There are laws that are made by whites that prevent Indians from running their own affairs and daily lives as they see fit.

There were laws that were made by whites that prevent Indians from seeking and creating an economic base.

And even now there are laws that take the children away from Indians and give them to whites.

So Minister Bouchard don't think you can teach us a lesson about the double standard of justice for we have lived under the whiteman's oppressive justice for a very long time.

And with all this talk about another violent and bloody invasion into sovereign Mohawk lands, has anybody notified the U.N. and asked if they would sanction this premeditated murder of the Indian people by the Canadian Government.

Skaronhnotane
Rick Diabo
(94 02 11, Volume 3, Number 1)

"Mohawks The Targets of a Hostile Press"

Sharp attacks on the Mohawk people have been on the increase during the last few weeks. Editorial editors, columnists and cartoonists in the main stream press have been having a field day attacking the character of Mohawk people, questioning their morality, their world view and their future in Quebec. Many have stated that an armed occupation is inevitable and have been exhorting the politicians to "do something" about what they perceive to be lawless and corrupt communities.

In this issue the editorial of the Editor in Chief of La Presse is translated in its entirety. It gives the reader an idea how even the more evenhanded press sees the Mohawk situation. A number of commentaries respond to these recent attacks.

The cartoon at the right appeared recently in Le Devoir, an influential paper in the Quebec community. It provoked one of our readers to write: "I was disgusted by the "comic" that was allowed to be published in Le Devoir on February 21, 1994 that showed a Warrior flag with the figurehead snorting cocaine. The artist, along with the paper itself, has displayed an incomprehensible degree of racism toward native people everywhere. I believe that everyone involved with that publication should hang their heads in shame for peddling such hatred and racism. Maybe these people should worry about cleaning up any garbage in their own race before trying to discredit another. Karoniaktatie"

(94 02 25, Volume 3, Number 2)

"The Barbarians are at the Gates"

These are the people who have stolen our lands, destroyed our language, outlawed our spirituality, imprisoned our chiefs, gave us diseased blankets, ravaged our children, and broke our treaties. These are the people that use alcohol to numb the masses and money to placate them. These people create atomic bombs and nuclear waste with no way to dispose of them. They manufacture guns of all types that kill more people than the number of people employed to make them. They have created a population

dependent on cocaine, crack and LSD. They have a large organized crime problem which is so ingrained into their society that it is just accepted as a fact of life. They have a political system that is radically regionalized and is on the verge of breaking up their country. And these great humanitarians feel that force is the only solution to the "Mohawk problem".

The pressure on the Canadian Government to forcefully enter the Mohawk communities to "restore" law and order has grown from outrageous rhetoric from outspoken bigots like Gilles Proulx of CJMS to more respectable mainstream opinion-setters like the editor of the French language newspaper La Presse. The onslaught of the Bloc Quebecois in the house of Commons coupled with a vigorous French press has now influenced even the English newspapers to conclude that there may be merit to the sabre rattling. The situation is exceedingly dangerous.

One may dismiss the rumours of an intervention by the Canadian Army into our communities as overreaction or paranoia as a result of our experiences of 1990. However sources have said that the federal inner cabinet has discussed this possibility and do have a contingency plan should the army be requested. An Act of Parliament would be needed and the governing Liberal Party has a plan on how to pass such an act in a hurry if necessary.

What would cause the government to consider such drastic action? It's not cigarettes and it's not cocaine but it is the impression that Kahnawake is run by gun toting individuals called Warriors and these Warriors are holding the population in the grip of fear. This impression, reported by RCMP Intelligence (?), SQ Intelligence (??), the Mackenzie Institute (a study group on terrorism) and probably reported by some of our own people, has become generally accepted as true. And anyone who denies this is considered a supporter of the Warriors or too afraid to say differently.

The propaganda against "Warriors" now manifests itself in a concerted effort against all Mohawks. The extent of this movement includes the questioning of our reserve status, tax exemptions, border rights, and our very right to aboriginal status (they claim we are immigrants from the United States). We are also accused of having and supporting corrupt leadership and are a lawless society. This community may have its differences and factions but it certainly is not ruled by gun toting individuals. And anyone who thinks they can intimidate this community at the point of a gun will be in for a rude awakening. That also goes for outside forces as well.

We have been under extreme pressure in the past and we are under extreme pressure again. We can not take this latest offensive against us lightly. The results may radically change our relationship with the governments around us.

This community has no reason to lower its head and accept this punishment laying down. We have much to be proud of and nothing to be ashamed of. It's time again to stick together and meet this threat head on. We must show these people that we have a safe, vibrant community with efficient institutions run by Mohawks. From Hospitals to Schools to Water and Sewer; Ambulance Services and Fire Brigades and Peacekeepers; Youth Centers and Sports Programs and MADD Groups; Golden Agers and Church Groups and Social Clubs; And so many other important activities and institutions that make this a great community. We may not be perfect but neither are

they. This is not a lawless community. This community does not lack leadership. Leadership is in each and every one of us and we will need the cooperation and self discipline of all of us to organize and fight back because tomorrow may be too late.
(94 02 25 [Ed], Volume 3, Number 2)

Coverage of *Le Devoir*

Beginning with the coverage from 1 January until 8 February, *Le Devoir* does not diverge in a significant qualitative manner from its quantified characteristics. *Le Devoir* made few explicit connections between Mohawks and the cigarette trade, at least up until just before the taxes were reduced. This paper appears to have been most interested in spurring the governments on to action. *Le Devoir* highlighted the fact that other Confederation partners were not jumping to Québec's assistance and that the province should act on its own if necessary (1/19 A1). *Le Devoir* appears to have been mildly interested in jurisdictional issues and how the "problem" had become so unmanageable, citing the RCMP's lack of effectiveness but also Québec's high tax regime for creating the dilemma (1/26 A8). The paper seems to have flip-flopped towards the end of January concerning the tax policy, writing that an export tax would send companies out of Québec and would not address the smuggling networks and that a reduction in taxes would not address the real problems (1/28 A8). Otherwise, due to the tone and nature of its coverage, the paper's support of a tobacco tax reduction is qualitatively clear.

A major Québec retailing chain was reported to be in support of the government decision (2/02 A2). The paper devoted some coverage to the Québec dépanneurs engaged in "civil

disobedience" and the actions of MATRAC (le Mouvement d'abolition des taxes réservées aux cigarettes) and its connections with the tobacco industry (1/28 A1). Many institutions in Québec society were quoted as being in opposition to MATRAC and its actions, including the Health Lobby, le Barreau du Québec, le Chambre des Notaires, and the Catholic Church (1/28 A1; 2/01 A1). A bold headline on 1 February proclaimed that the RCMP had arrested 5 individuals associated with MATRAC (A1).

An editorial that same day highlighted a perceived double standard in law enforcement, arguing that authorities were not willing to control people on the reserves because of "Warrior Terrorism" but would control MATRAC members (A6). In the beginning, coverage of the Coroner's Inquest into the death of Corporal Lemay in July 1990 prevailed. *Le Devoir* then reported on 25 January that armed forces aircraft had been attacked at Kanesatake (A3). The paper reported that the military was responding to distress signals but that local residents thought it was to provoke cigarette traders.

On 26 January, it was reported that the Bloc québécois had been devoting nearly all its time in Question Period to the "problématique autochtone" and lawlessness on the reserves (A4). By the time the governments were announcing their reductions, *Le Devoir's* coverage explicitly linked the Mohawk Nation with organised crime, responsible for smuggling and selling a number of traditionally highly taxed or illegal items (2/03 A1), and the "Mohawk problem" had become a "baril à poudre" (powder keg) (2/05 A1). Although it was only written about once prior to 9 February, it was clear that a control solution was being considered and that Canadian law

would prevail everywhere (2/04 A1). From evoking images from the crisis at Kanesatake to threatening to use police forces in reserves, the constructed image is of an impending crisis between the Mohawk Nation and Canadian authorities.

An interesting angle begins to be articulated towards the end of this period of time.

Norman Webster writes in a *Le Devoir* editorial on 2 February that:

[n]ous laissons la majorité des citoyens des réserves, qui sont des gens ordinaires et honnêtes, vivre sous un régime de force, intimidés par des voyous portant des armes illicites sans rien dire? Nous ne l'accepterions jamais pour nos concitoyens, si cela se passait par exemple dans une ville du Bas-Saint-Laurent. Plus grave encore est l'enracinement d'une enclave hors-la-loi -- armée jusqu'aux dents -- au seuil de la métropole (A8).

[translation] [w]e let the majority of citizens of the reserves, who are ordinary, honest people, live under a regime of force, intimidated by hooligans carrying illegal arms without saying anything? We would never accept this for our fellow citizens if it were happening in a city along the south shore of the St. Lawrence. More serious yet is the entrenchment of an enclave operating outside the law -- armed to the teeth -- at the doorstep of Montreal.

Notice how the author constructs a margin by writing that "we" would not accept this for "our" fellow citizens in another white community, implying that Mohawks are not fellow citizens. Although this would no doubt be acceptable to the sovereign Mohawks, he then goes on to imply that Canadian law must still apply to them.

A few days later, Lise Bissonette wrote in her editorial that Chief Mike Mitchell had at least spoken clearly when he had said that police forces would be met with force while entering

reserves and to not underestimate the arsenal in Akwesasne (2/05 A10). Bissonette argued that the best service "we" could offer Indigenous Peoples was to stop thinking of them as special ("cesser de les sacraliser") and stop supporting those who exploit them. Considering how *Le Devoir* had exploited the "Mohawk problem" to sell newspapers, I find this an inappropriate line of reasoning. At any rate, while appearing to be concerned for the Mohawks presumably being exploited by their own people, *Le Devoir* is further developing the representation of Mohawk communities as lawless and corrupt places deserving of a police crackdown.

On 9 February, the day the cooperative plan between Ottawa and Québec was reported, a little bit of all the aforementioned elements was included in the coverage. The plan was described (A1); Ottawa was said to be hurting the provinces, except Québec (A1); Bouchard was apparently concerned about Ontario and thought that Chrétien ought to have achieved consensus before implementing the plan (A5); tobacco industry officials and the country's health ministers opposed the plan (A5); and, it was reported that Québec would lose \$210 million in tax revenue because of the reduction (A1). In order to clarify who was responsible for this situation of federal agitation, unpalatable policy, and a loss of revenue, it was also reported that 70% of the "contraband" cigarettes were entering the country through Akwesasne (A5). The Lemay Inquest was also reported (A3), as were the facts that Mohawk cigarette kiosks were still open and that possibly cigarettes were being manufactured in Mohawk communities, and that Mohawk chiefs feared that tensions would now sharpen (A4). To clarify any ambiguity concerning the paper's position, the editorial for this day argued that political autonomy, a politically loaded term not parallel to "sovereignty," should not be discussed until Canadian law applied uniformly (A8).

Over the next few days, coverage reinforced the idea that this pact between Ottawa and Québec excluded the rest of Canada, particularly Ontario whose premier was acting like "an ostrich with its head in the sand" (2/10 A1). The paper also helped construct the notion that "smugglers" would turn to other commodities and that the anti-smoking campaign had been dealt a severe blow (2/10 A8). On 11 February, it was reported that the tax was only temporary but then (A5), seeming to counter any possibility that "smugglers" would just wait for re-implementation of high cigarette taxes, Deputy Prime Minister Copps was quoted as saying that taxes would remain low indefinitely (2/12 A1). Other than the announcement on 22 February that Ontario had also slashed its cigarette taxes, this essentially concludes *Le Devoir's* coverage specifically about the tax reduction itself.

In the remainder of the post-peak period, from 16 February until 31 March, *Le Devoir's* coverage, although minimal, reinforces the notion that certain Québec institutions -- the Parti québécois, the Bloc québécois, and the press -- perceived Mohawk communities to be inherently lawless and that a control solution, originating in the majority society, was necessary. It had not been enough to reduce taxes and eliminate the price advantage upon which Mohawk merchants had been able to capitalise. The notion that police or military intervention was necessary to end Mohawk involvement in the cigarette trade, increasingly being associated with organised crime and selling illicit goods on the black market, was reinforced (2/17 A1; 2/19 A1; 2/25 A4).

While acknowledging that a questionable campaign targeting the Mohawk Nation was underway, *Le Devoir* continued to promote its notion that the oppressed people in Mohawk

communities required our assistance (2/17 A6). And, around the end of March when the media's role in the "campaign" was receiving coverage, *Le Devoir* also chose to cover such issues as the eviction of several white families from Kahnawake (3/17 A4), the continuing saga of the Lemay Inquest (3/17 A2; 3/18 A4), and a legal battle Kanesatake chief, Jerry Peltier, was waging against other Mohawk people who had allegedly been harassing him (2/25 A2). While *Le Devoir* acknowledged that a new relationship was needed between Indigenous Peoples and Quebecers (3/28 A7), its editors seemed more interested in implying that Indigenous Peoples were better off in Québec than in the rest of Canada (3/21 A6) and that the media had been negligent but that the lawless Mohawks were more to blame for illegal behaviour (3/29 A6). As Jean-Robert Sansfaçon argued in his editorial, entitled "Les médias et les autochtones," on 29 March:

[I]es Mohawks ne sont pas tous contrebandiers et n'appartiennent pas tous à la société des Warriors, c'est évident. Mais ces derniers n'en continuent pas moins de dissimuler une grand quantité d'armes et de régir la vie sur les réserves. Une situation explosive que la presse -- y compris la presse autochtone -- doit dénoncer fermement, même par-delà les autres problèmes de société. Aucune démocratie ne peut survivre au pouvoir des armes comme outil de règlement des conflits. Cette situation, exclusive à la nation mohawk, est l'indice de l'immaturité politique de ses dirigeants. Tant et aussie longtemps que les autochtones eux-mêmes n'éliront pas des dirigeants responsables, capables d'assurer le respect des lois sur leur territoire et de négocier d'égal à égal, pacifiquement, les médias de ce pays se doivent de parfaire leur connaissance de la réalité autochtone tout en restant attentifs au processus évolutif de la vie démocratique sur les réserves (A6).

[translation] it's clear that not all Mohawks are smugglers nor do all belong to the Warrior Society. The latter, however, continue to distribute a large quantity of weapons and to regulate life on the reserves. This is an explosive situation that the press, including the Native press, should firmly denounce, along with other problems in society. No democracy can survive by regulating conflict with weapons. This situation, exclusive to the Mohawk Nation, indicates the political immaturity of these representatives. For as long as Native people themselves do not elect responsible representatives, capable of

assuring respect for the law on their territory and to negotiate as equals, peacefully, this country's media must devote themselves to perfecting their knowledge of the Native reality remaining attentive to the evolving process of democratic life on the reserves.

Clearly, the newswriters responsible for *Le Devoir* constructed the issue with a relatively unambiguous framework. This paper's journalists and editors allowed no counter-hegemonic notions to enter the discourse and clearly could only see this as a law-and-order issue, threatening to reach crisis proportions, requiring a firm control solution.

Coverage of *The Globe and Mail*

To begin with, *The Globe and Mail* devoted much coverage to different facets of the situation, providing a fairly balanced picture without over emphasising any one aspect in particular. Prior to the reduction actually being implemented, much of the discourse in *The Globe and Mail* reflected the governments' lack of desire to lower cigarette taxes but that there was a feeling of there being little choice (2/05 A1). The discourse also examined the companies' role in the cigarette trade (1/10 A3; 1/11 A3), the role of US distributors in the trade (1/28 A1), opposition to the plan (2/01 A4, A9, A19; 2/02 A1; 2/05 A1, A4), and some mention that the Federal government was effectively catering to the Québec government (2/01 A4; 2/07 A11).

Interestingly, very little mention was made of the "civil disobedience" of Québec merchants, although Rev. Daoust's statement -- that it may have been illegal but not immoral to sell contraband cigarettes in St. Eustache -- received coverage in an article of how high taxes had resulted in defiance (1/26 A4). While the actions of ordinary Quebeckers did not receive

attention, a very questionable statement by a representative of a Québec institution, the Roman Catholic church, did.

Mohawk involvement in the trade received moderate treatment. An article appeared on 25 January stating that the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford had applied for a licence to manufacture cigarettes (A6). The article also provided some background information about the trade, providing an explicit connection between Mohawks and the trade without criminalising the actions. More interesting yet was Robert Sheppard's commentary supporting some sort of profit-sharing scheme between industry, government and the Mohawks involved. As he writes:

[f]or many natives, tobacco has a spiritual as well as a historical component. It must pain them deeply to find themselves branded as cigarette-smugglers and black marketeers for simply pursuing a form of trade that stretches back hundreds of years, and for finding a new niche for themselves amid the white man's greed (2/02 A19).

Despite these shards of sympathetic, counter-hegemonic representations, *The Globe and Mail* continued in a more predictable vein. On 31 January, *The Globe and Mail* also reported that the Bloc québécois (BQ) was working to keep parliament focussed on the Mohawks during Question Period, referring to the issue as "rights rivalry" and that Lucien Bouchard had been hinting that the government was not addressing crime since Native people were involved (A5). The day before the plan's implementation was announced, an article reported that both the Reform Party and the Bloc québécois were concerned with lawlessness in Mohawk communities (2/08 A1). An editorial in the same edition argued that a "gangster economy" was in control and that "we" must work with "legitimate representatives" of the reserves (A18).

While not explicitly connected, *The Globe and Mail* also ran articles in the beginning of January about the *Indian Act* and about the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) (1/03 A11; 2/07 A4). At the beginning of February it was reported that Native Affairs Ministers from across Canada were meeting with RCAP to explore ideas for "native self-government" (2/01 A6). The next day it was reported that Natives had "shot down" self-government proposals (2/02 A1). These warrant mention, in my view, because of this paper's adherence to dominant frameworks for understanding issues of importance to Indigenous Peoples. The *Indian Act*, even while identified as a source of problems, still dictates the terms of discussion with which the government is willing to negotiate. The same is true for RCAP, a governmental body representing an acceptable forum for discussion to the dominant society and reinforcing the notion that change must be discussed in its "Canadian" terms.

On 9 February, *The Globe and Mail's* coverage was very similar to that of *Le Devoir*. The plan and its costs were described, including a separate article on how the "breakdown" in law-and-order was going to be combatted (A5). Opposition to the plan from Ontario and the health lobby were described (A4, A5), as were the effects on smokers, tobacco farmers, and the manufacturing companies (A5). The coverage reported that 70 per cent of the black market cigarettes were entering Canada through Akwesasne and that the networks were diversifying into alcohol distribution (A1, A5). Three commentaries in this edition indicate that the policy was considered a messy solution for a messy problem but that the law-and-order measures deserved support (A18, A19, B2). All things considered, *The Globe and Mail's* coverage continued to make the Mohawk Nation appear responsible for creating the situation while also continuing to concern itself with the effects of the policy on everyone else.

In the ensuing days, *The Globe and Mail's* coverage focused on opposition to the policy and how the Chrétien government was dealing with it. Of particular interest were the Ontario merchants who lost business to dépanneurs in Québec (2/10 A6) and the Ontario government's reluctance not to follow suit with its own reductions (2/10 A4). It was also reported that Québec had turned a regional irritant into a national unity issue (2/10 A4) and the tax reduction was building a "wall of incomprehension" between Québec and TROC (The Rest Of Canada) (2/10 A25).

The representation of the Mohawk Nation in the post-peak coverage is most interesting, very much reinforcing the notion of Mohawk lawlessness and very effectively trivialising the sovereignty position. In an editorial entitled "A Nation of Cheaters," *The Globe and Mail* cites the role of companies, vendors, and Canadian consumers in creating a deplorable situation but then continues:

[I]ikewise complicit are the native leaders on the border reserves that serve as the smugglers' pipelines. There's no evidence they were directly involved: but by invoking native "sovereignty" at every turn, sometimes accompanied by indirect threats of violence -- always to be deplored, of course, but you never know what those young hotheads might do -- they have conspired to obstruct police in the enforcement of Canadian law on Canadian land. Unwilling to confront the growing mobocracy on the reserves, they have instead taken the racial demagogue's route: look the other way and blame the white man (2/11 A18)

On February 15 it was reported that Kahnawake Mohawks had collaborated with Montreal's underworld to smuggle cocaine into Canada (A6). While the article focused on a Mohawk chief's claim that the information was pure propaganda, the image, supporting the

current mainstream thinking that all sorts of illicit goods were being brought into the country by Mohawks, was reinforced.

The next day's news proclaimed "Ottawa not denying that RCMP backed off," bylined with "Report says plan involved reserve" (2/16 A5). One would think, due to the time frame, that this directly involved the cigarette trade. In fact, this was in reference to an unconfirmed report ("Ottawa not denying...") by a Québec newspaper that the RCMP had cancelled an operation several months earlier that would have been aimed at an alleged drug deal in Kahnawake. The cancellation was due to a Supreme Court of Canada decision against "sting" operations. So, while supporting the BQ's argument that Canadian law was not being applied in Mohawk communities, the article truly concerned a different issue in which the non-enforcement was legally justifiable. The article goes on to say that, for the first time, Chrétien had admitted that authorities were wary of entering the reserves prior to his government's counter measures, strengthening the idea that Mohawk communities had been "no-go" zones. The connection in the article between Mohawks and the "Montreal underworld" is explicit. Also, if there had been any chance of justifying the cigarette trade, as harmful as smoking is, due to economic underdevelopment in Mohawk communities, it would have been impossible to justify drug smuggling to a mainstream audience.

That same day, two other articles appeared seeming to portray Mohawk involvement more sympathetically, the first reporting that not only Mohawks were involved in the trade and the second headlining the Mohawk's sovereignty position (2/16 A6). However, while the first

article cites "all kinds of Canadians" being responsible for the street distribution of cigarettes, the first line reinforces that "Native wholesalers of smuggled tobacco are the focus of much police and political attention." Mohawks are still higher up in the chain of distribution and no mention is made of the major companies. In addition, the bulk of the article focusses on how Native wholesalers prefer to deal with Asian gang-members as distributors, due to less likelihood of them being undercover police officers. So, the "other Canadians" involved are part of a minority group also the target of racist mainstream representation.

The second article, entitled "Sovereignty issue called root of Mohawk anguish," includes a few buried paragraphs which state:

Mohawks maintain that their independence as a people was guaranteed under the 1794 Jay Treaty between the United States and Britain. The treaty also acknowledged their right to pass through the border with goods.

Canada subsequently refused to ratify the treaty, but belief in an inherent right to that sovereignty is one thing that unites most Mohawks regardless of where they stand on gambling or cigarette trafficking.

"Sovereignty underlines everything," Mr. Bonaparte [editor of Akwesasne Notes] said.

"Every social issue we have here -- whether negative or positive, all the gambling and that stuff -- all has its roots in the corruption and destruction of our sovereignty," he said.

While this represents a commendable introduction of counter-hegemonic discourse, its effect is negated when the article's first twenty paragraphs describe the "troubling legacy" of violence in Akwesasne. Mr. Bonaparte also states that the mainstream press trivialises the sovereignty issue. This is supported in this very article when the reporter writes: "The contraband cigarettes have generated huge profits for those engaged in what is locally referred to as 'the

cigarette trade.'" Actually, the two concepts of "contraband" and "the cigarette trade" connote completely different frames of reference, the latter not requiring quotation marks in a counter-hegemonic article. The reporter goes on to state that the Warriors Society has promoted cigarette trafficking and gambling as sovereignty issues. In my interpretation, sovereignty is a very unambiguous statement and if the Mohawk Nation is united in its position of sovereignty, then there should very likely be a consensus concerning its right to engage in the cigarette trade or any other economic venture -- even if there is not necessarily a nation-wide consensus that it is a good thing for Mohawk communities. By evoking the Warriors Society, the reporter seems to be associating the sovereignty position, and sovereign actions, with an element in Mohawk society that the dominant society already associates with violence and fear.

On 19 February, another interesting article appeared which claimed the "smuggling" issue was simply not of the same magnitude in the western provinces primarily because "the native bands and the RCMP have developed a co-operative working relationship" (A4). Smaller population centres, more remote communities, different attitudes to smoking, and less organised criminal activity related to cigarette smuggling are also cited as mitigating factors. Apparently the authorities and this reporter were expecting similar circumstances wherever Indigenous Nations are located. And the difference is attributed to the good work of authorities rather than the completely different geographical, colonial, and socio-political circumstances of the Mohawk Nation in comparison with western Indigenous Nations. While this article has good intentions, it reinforces a colonial mentality and, rather than countering the "bad Indian" stereotype, reinforces it.

The Globe and Mail's treatment of Mohawk involvement finishes by capitalising on the stereotype of Mohawk/Québec rivalry, leading me to believe it had as much to do with constructing it. Regular commentaries from Québec's Lysiane Gagnon of *La Presse* argued that: the Quebecers who had openly sold and purchased contraband cigarettes would not continue their lawlessness and were basically good people and urged authorities to treat Mohawks the same as whites for the safety of the poor citizens in Mohawk communities (2/19 D3); that Mohawks were firing at the armed forces and that the media outside Québec did not care (2/26 D3); and, that Mohawk sovereignty was a disputed point among Mohawks and was only being invoked by criminals selling illegal goods (3/12 D3). André Picard's regular report from Québec supported the notion that the francophone media was inflaming the issue and to beware of another Wounded Knee (3/17 A21).

The Globe and Mail's articles reported that the BQ had a double agenda in its campaign to have Mohawks treated the same as other actors in the cigarette trade issue (2/19 A3). By mid-March, the Kahnawake Band Council had evicted several families, paving the way for more articles about the BQ and the Reform Party building an anti-Native mood in parliament (3/18 A1) and that the Québec government was inciting discord with Mohawks by mailing all official correspondence in French only (3/19 A4). By the end of the time frame, amidst articles about the Mohawk justifications for the evictions and the ongoing issue of Akwesasne violence, the discourse returned to articles about Indian Affairs' progress on "self-rule" discussions, firmly reinforcing the government's parameters of discussion yet again (3/29 A3; 3/31 A12).

In this post-peak period, *The Globe and Mail* did pay more attention to Ontario's unwillingness to follow Ottawa and Québec in reducing tobacco taxes (2/10; 2/17; 2/19) and the opposition emanating from other provinces like Nova Scotia and Manitoba (2/22 A1; 2/28 A3). Considerable commentary from contributors like Sheppard supported this opposition to reduction (2/22 A21). It also acknowledged the success of the reductions, reporting on 4 March that "smuggling" had plummeted (A1) and on 19 March that domestic sales of cigarettes had increased and that exports had decreased (B1). In this latter article, it is also reiterated that the cigarette manufacturing companies had dictated government policy. Oddly, this position really only received any attention at the very beginning of the entire time frame and at the very end.

In the meantime, *The Globe and Mail* very clearly capitalised on the notions that Mohawk communities were violent, lawless enclaves, that an unsavoury policy had to be instituted to restore order, that Mohawk "sovereignty" was immaterial, and that the rivalry between Québec and the Mohawk Nation could reach crisis proportions.

Coverage of *The Gazette*

Representing a different genre of newspaper, *The Gazette's* coverage preceding the Ottawa/Québec decision to reduce taxes is fairly predictable. In the discourse may be found a public debate of whether tax reduction was an appropriate policy direction (1/21 B1), the reluctance of Ontario to coordinate its policy with a tax reduction (2/01 A6), opposition from the health lobby (1/12 B5; 2/01 A6), and editorial support for a reduction in taxes (1/13 B2).

Québec merchants engaged in "tax revolt" received quite a lot of coverage, sales in St. Eustache (1/25 A1), Ascot (1/27 A5), and Montreal (1/31 A1) receiving attention. Regarding the St. Eustache sale, Lucien Bouchard was quoted as saying that he did not agree with the sale but that there could not be situations where the law was not enforced. Interestingly, the article also states that the media had asked Bouchard if another "Oka" was feared by the government. In his regular commentaries, MacPherson argued that cigarette manufacturers were benefitting from illegal activities and that the merchants' sales of contraband cigarettes certainly did not amount to "civil disobedience" (2/01 B3). MacPherson eloquently wrote that the difference between the Mafia and the cigarette manufacturers was that at least the Mafia did its own dirty work (1/29 B5). It was also reported that there were links between dépanneurs and the manufacturing companies (1/28 A5). The companies, of course, appeared "jittery" at any mention of reimposing an export tax on tobacco (2/04 A1).

Mohawks received similar treatment as in the previously examined newspapers, with a few different glaring examples of a functioning hegemonic discourse. Cigarette sales were reported to be booming in Kanesatake (1/26 A3). Shots were reportedly fired at military aircraft flying over Mohawk territory, resulting in Chief Jerry Peltier demanding an explanation from Defence Minister Collenette (1/28 A5). Collenette later accused the Bloc québécois of using the issue to benefit its own sovereignty cause:

[t]he alleged shooting evoked memories of the 78-day standoff between armed Mohawks and the Canadian Forces at Oka in 1990. ...Collenette said Bloc members "are trying in a sense to use this whole notion of sovereignty - this fact that the Canadian government can't assert its sovereignty over natives and therefore perhaps it can't assert its sovereignty over Quebec if the occasion arose" (1/29 A3).

Notice how it is really the journalist who has evoked memories of the Kanesatake crisis and how it is a Government Minister who raises the argument that the BQ is raising the issue of sovereignty for its own purposes. Notice this other journalist's comment on a potential advantage of a sovereign Québec:

[i]n Quebec, one of the best reasons for choosing a separate sovereignty is to have at last a government that resist [sic] violation of the law on Mohawk reserves (2/08 B3).

The Inquest into the death of Corporal Lemay was only mentioned once in the time frame, though the headline read "Mohawks talked of shooting a cop..." (1/28 A5). While reassuring the public that raids would not be conducted against Mohawk communities, coverage did reinforce the idea that "flouting" Canadian law on reserves could not be tolerated (2/08 B3).

Without mentioning the Mohawk Nation at all, an article on 22 January reported that Indian Affairs Minister Irwin had stated that "Federal plans for Indians" would not involve setting up sovereign states (A8). An editorial two days later argued that the government should go slowly with self-government and that Canadians deserved "more than vague concepts" (1/24 B2). Clearly, control was being asserted and parameters of discussion established.

On 9 February, the peak coverage period, articles and commentaries reflected the divisions over the reduction policy but the editorial proclaimed it "splendid" to see the two levels of government cooperating (B2). *The Gazette* reported that Ottawa would lose \$600 million and Québec \$207 million (B1). The Parti québécois reportedly felt that "smuggling" would not be

stopped and that the police should intervene in Mohawk communities (B1). It was also reported that, although the distribution networks were controlled by motorcycle gangs, the "traditional" Mafia, and Asian gangs, that Mohawks would switch to selling other goods such as food and clothing (A1). It was also questioned whether the government would be able to sustain the tough policy and the same commentary argued that there could be no more "no-go" zones:

...at stake is the relation between mainstream society and aboriginal communities. Increasingly, the Mohawk reserves where Canadian law is flouted have become fixed in the minds of many Canadians as prototypes of what Indian "Self-government" would mean. The Liberal government is committed to recognizing the "inherent right to self-government" of aboriginal communities. It faced a revolt on the part of ordinary citizens, already evident in Quebec, against self-government which was increasingly equated with the protection of smugglers and gun-toting thugs. ...there can no longer be safe havens on the Mohawk reserves, **however that is achieved**. Chretien promised yesterday that there would be no more "no-go" zones. "We have asked the police to do their work there (on the Mohawk reserves) just like everywhere else," he said in the Commons (B3). [emphasis mine]

This explicit connection between alleged Mohawk lawlessness and Indigenous efforts to achieve control over their own lives clearly serves to neutralise resistance by associating "self-government" with "smugglers and gun-toting thugs" and re-imposes a hegemonic framework. Also, implying that violent re-imposition of control is acceptable is fundamentally irresponsible.

Coverage after 9 February typically focused on the effects of the plan outside of the province of Québec. Interestingly, alternative proposals were floated such as reducing taxes only in Ontario and New Brunswick towns bordering Québec (2/13 A7) and for the Ontario government to compensate merchants for lost revenue rather than reduce taxes (2/21 A6). Ontario's reduction was announced on 22 February and, in early March, *The Gazette* reported

an 80-90 per cent overall reduction in contraband sales (3/03 A3). This journal also reported at the beginning of March that a majority of Canadians supported the tobacco tax reduction (3/01 B1).

Representations of the Mohawk Nation after 9 February appear to have been the primary concern for *The Gazette* and can, at best, be described as questionable. All the usual information was made available to *The Gazette's* audiences such as: Mafia connections with Kahnawake (2/15 A3); fear of army raids (2/16 A1; 2/17 A4); the BQ targeting Mohawks in the Parliamentary Question Period (2/18 B1); and, Mohawks being blamed for a variety of other problems, notably Montreal's inability to repay its Olympic debt (2/12 A5). The image that Mohawks are adversaries of the dominant society and that their communities are devoid of order and lawfulness was (re)produced.

Bloc québécois Member of Parliament Bachand's eviction from Kanesatake prompted the Canadian Press to report that:

Chretien, while promising the law would be enforced equally everywhere in Canada, took Bachand to task for leaving the impression that smuggling was a particular native concern. ...The Kanesatake and Akwesasne reserves are among three Indian communities said to be key stops on a pipeline of illegal cigarettes and other contraband (2/12 A7).

While Chrétien responsibly tries to divert focus from the Mohawk people, he nevertheless reinforces the dominant position that the law will be enforced. The BQ's attempt to discredit Mohawks is aided by its reinforcement in the article. Finally, the Canadian Press' statement that

the three communities "are said to be key stops" is its reiteration of that argument. Three Canadian institutions, the Government, the Loyal Opposition, and a major provider of information for the country all contributed to the construction of hegemonic discourse.

The Gazette also paid some attention to financial difficulties faced by Jerry Peltier and the Band Council at Kanesatake (2/20 A4; 2/22 A6), further supporting the idea that the Mohawk Nation really is not capable of taking care of itself and that money paid Indigenous Peoples is squandered. Results of a *La Presse/SOM* poll also received attention, highlighting its finding that francophone and anglophone Quebecers had very different ideas about Indigenous Peoples (2/23 A2). Of course, it was highlighted in *The Gazette* article that anglophones had been found to have more sympathetic opinions about Indigenous Peoples.

On February 12, the day on which *The Gazette* came closest to providing an alternative way to view the issue, an article headlined a Mohawk family's warning that "catastrophe" was imminent (A3). In the story's text, it was explained that, although opposed to the trade because of how it benefitted the companies, the Myiow family supported the Mohawk right to engage in trade. I view this in two ways. First, a Mohawk being quoted that a crisis was imminent and also being in opposition to the trade, for whatever reason, clearly serves the interests of the dominant society. Secondly, to *The Gazette's* credit, the sovereignty position at least receives some recognition. An article appears the same day that clearly attempts an understanding of the trade from a Mohawk perspective ("They call it Trade..." 2/12 A8) and outlines basic information about the *Jay Treaty*. Unfortunately the article emphasises more the legal arguments

against the *Jay Treaty* position. At least the Mohawk frame of reference was highlighted. An unrelated article discusses the government's policy initiatives on self-government and highlights the Native position that talks should proceed on a Nation-to-Nation basis (2/12 A12).

Again on 12 February, however, there appears in *The Gazette's* coverage the most contentious piece that I have seen. William Johnson's regular commentary argued that with Québec's smuggling problem coming to an end, only the problems of Akwesasne and Kahnawake remained. Quoting Johnson:

[m]ore accurately, what remains is a serious national problem: the claim by native leaders not to be bound by Canadian law. ...This week and last, Prime Minister Jean Chretien tried to divert attention from the Mohawk reserve. He suggested that contraband cigarettes were a Canada-wide problem, and denounced as unworthy any questions specifically about Akwesasne or Kahnawake. ...Oh? Assume, for a moment, that 70 per cent of all cases of AIDS originated in a single community, and from there spread throughout the country. Would we think it politically incorrect to pay special attention to that particular community? ...The government will endanger the peace, order and good government of the whole country **unless it requires the formal acceptance of the constitution of Canada as a precondition to any self-government agreement with a native reserve.** Without that agreement, no money should be transferred (B5). [emphasis mine]

To argue that the implementation of inherent rights of an Indigenous Nation, as supported by international law, be withheld unless allegiance be paid by that Nation to the constitution of the colonising power implies support for a very strong control solution. While perfectly entitled to share his opinion in this type of article, Johnson and his editors set a very poor example and contribute to an environment of intolerance.

One month later, on March 12, Johnson reiterated an argument first articulated at the time of the reductions discrediting efforts to develop the concept of self-government. As Johnson contends:

[f]or some, it means that aboriginals may sell tax-free goods such as cigarettes and gasoline at will, or set up gambling casinos without a by your leave, and exclude Canadian law enforcement from the reserves (B5).

The implied connection to the Mohawk situation, and an effort to discredit Indigenous efforts at liberation, is clear. He specifically cites Preston Manning's efforts in the House of Commons the previous day who had argued that:

[w]e think federally chartered municipal governments for aboriginals, if that's what they mean, that would be a step in the right direction. But if by aboriginal self-government one means setting up semi-autonomous states with both federal and provincial powers, we don't think that can be sold (3/12 B5).

It is evident that both powerful figures, capable of defining issues and exerting control over them, are using the Mohawk situation to further agendas against Indigenous rights to self-determination.

The Gazette rounded out its coverage with some mention of the criticisms aimed at the francophone media. In his commentary, MacPherson squarely placed much of the blame on the francophone media for "inflaming anti-Indian fervour" by relentlessly highlighting only the criminal elements of the Mohawk Nation (3/12 B5). The implication of Québec rivalry with Indigenous Nations is clear. As I have just illustrated, the anglophone press was no better. As

a further complication, discourse preceding these claims, highlighting the Bloc's undeniable focus on the Mohawks, and carried through to the end of the time frame, illustrates that the anglophone press also actively used the Mohawk issue to discredit Québec sovereigntists.

Seeming to provide a counter-hegemonic intervention into *The Gazette's* problematic coverage was a quote from Ethel Blondin-Andrew concerning the BQ's campaign against the Mohawks.

Bloc MPs can't stand the fact that Mohawks claim a sovereign right to govern and police themselves because it poses a direct threat to their aspirations for an independent Quebec.

It's a battle of "competing sovereignties," Blondin-Andrew said in an interview. "They want to search and destroy and who they want to destroy is the Mohawks."

The charges came as Bloc MPs continued to demand police action to shut down smuggling operations and root out armed "troublemakers" on three Mohawk reserves (2/17 B1).

The journalist followed Blondin-Andrew's statements with statements by Kahnawake Grand Chief Joe Norton. Interpreting this construction is difficult. On the one hand, Blondin-Andrew is an Indigenous person, though not Mohawk. She is also a sitting member of the Liberal Government. The reporter may have sought out an Indigenous person successful in the dominant society to explain the issue, illustrating a colonial attitude by itself and also that the reporter would assume any Indigenous person could comment on the Mohawk situation. Most likely, the reporter intentionally sought this Liberal as a person who would probably denounce the Bloc's actions. I suggest that it is unlikely that a governing federal party would permit a member to express public support for the Mohawk Nation's sovereignty. Actually, Mohawks exercise

complete sovereignty, they do not just claim the "right to govern and police themselves" as Blondin-Andrew was quoted as saying. Despite her qualified support for the Mohawks, her statements and the journalist's report do more to discredit Québec sovereigntists.

The next day, when it is reported that the Reform Party had accused the Bloc of having a double agenda, it becomes less ambiguous as to whose interests are being served (2/18 B1). With no constituency in this part of the country, and being in the position of not quite the Official Opposition, there were clear advantages for Reform to help portray the Bloc québécois as negligent. Also, it served federal interests when the media argued that sovereigntists in Québec wanted federal authorities to set a precedent regarding the Mohawk Nation and control the "problem" before a sovereign Québec inherited it and that the Parti québécois could capitalise on anti-Mohawk sentiment in the nearing elections (2/22 B1). Clearly, the federal government and federalists in the media further used Mohawks to try to discredit sovereigntists.

The Gazette's coverage clearly illustrates a functioning hegemonic discourse. Articles descriptive of the Mohawk position, few enough to begin with, were usually diluted with negative information or were simply constructed using the dominant society's interpretive framework. Most often, coverage explicitly or implicitly about Mohawks served the dominant interests of neutralising Indigenous resistance generally and discrediting Québec sovereigntists. Mohawk people have as much to fear from the anglophone press, who did not, as claimed in *The Eastern Door's* coverage, merely follow irresponsible representations by the francophone press with its own. *The Gazette* helped construct the tense situation.

Coverage of *La Presse*

By this point in the analysis, most of the facts of the situation have come to light. *La Presse* adheres to the same model of newsworthiness as the other mainstream journals examined here. Perhaps reflective of its particular readership, again a more widespread, mainstream audience, a couple of different aspects received more emphasis. Surprisingly, given the reputation for inflammatory coverage for the francophone media during this period, minimal coverage about Mohawks is evident. Of course, Mohawk involvement is still reinforced using the dominant society's interpretive frame of reference but, in my opinion, this paper does not appear nearly as inflammatory as the other three. Due to its sheer numbers of articles and commentary pieces, perhaps Mohawk coverage just appears diluted. Overall, again judging qualitatively from headlines and first few paragraphs, *La Presse* really rarely represented the Mohawk Nation, positively or negatively, until after the tax reduction policy was announced.

Apparently of interest to *La Presse*'s audience were the antics of the Québec merchants selling contraband cigarettes to persuade the governments to act. Sales in many parts of the province made the headlines as did debate when it appeared the RCMP would intervene (1/24 A1; 2/01 A1). In an article chiefly about the rapid increase in exports of Canadian cigarettes to the United States despite a static market share, the following illustrates that authorities were attempting to place Mohawk involvement in perspective:

[c]omme on sait, les cigarettes finissent ensuite par tomber dans les mains d'organisations criminelles, qui les rapportent en contrebande au Canada par la réserve indienne d'Akwesasne. Selon d'autres sources policières, les Mohawks jouent désormais un rôle secondaire dans la distribution des cigarettes de contrebande au Québec, de plus en plus contrôlée par le crime organisé (1/22 A1).

[translation] [a]s we know, the cigarettes end up in the hands of organised crime, who smuggle them into Canada through the Indian reserve of Akwesasne. According to other police sources, the Mohawks are coming to play a secondary role in the distribution of contraband cigarettes in Québec, controlled more and more by organised crime.

So, while Mohawks still played a major role, the tone seems to imply that they were losing control to the more serious criminals. However, since the dépanneur sales were so much in the headlines, it is interesting to note that they are always constructed as if it is them against Mohawk "smugglers." As all the papers reported except *Le Devoir*:

[p]our le curé Daoust, ces propriétaires risquent de perdre leur commerce à cause de l'inégalité de traitement entre les dépanneurs et les gens des réserves. "Pour moi, ce n'est pas un encouragement à la désobéissance civile. La loi est injuste. L'action qu'ils font est peut-être illégale, mais elle n'est pas immorale (1/25 A1).

[translation] [f]or the Rev. Daoust, these shopowners risk losing their livelihood due to the unequal treatment between the merchants and people on the reserves. "For me, this isn't an encouragement of civil disobedience. The law is unjust. What they're doing is perhaps illegal but it's not immoral."

Despite reports that Mohawk traders were not the only ones involved, *La Presse*'s substantial news coverage of the illegal sales consistently pitted Québec merchants against Mohawks, and constructed the issue as if Mohawks were the problem. On 27 January, *La Presse* even reported that an individual buying cigarettes at a MATRAC sale in Sherbrooke had assured himself that the cigarettes had been provided by "a good Canadian" and not by Mohawk traders (A1).

Lysiane Gagnon, in her regular commentary in *La Presse*, began rather questionable treatment of the subject prior to 9 February. Gagnon wrote practically of nothing else during the entire three month timeframe in both *La Presse* and in *The Globe and Mail*, for whom she provides regular views from Québec. To her credit, she denounced "bloquistes" and "péquistes" for inciting a racially explosive situation and for encouraging the tax revolt (1/27 B3), ridiculed the federalists for thinking this would improve their cause against sovereigntists (2/08 B3), and argued that by lowering tobacco taxes in Québec the entire province would become a conduit for contraband tobacco, although she made her point by writing that Québec would turn into "one big reserve" (2/08 B3). Gagnon clearly called for a law-and-order control solution, arguing that there was no other democratic country in the world that would tolerate such a "surreal" situation (2/01 B3). This view was supported in Alain Dubuc's editorials where he wrote that the real issues of high taxes causing the situation in the first place and Mohawk lawlessness had not been addressed by the tobacco tax reductions (2/01 B2).

La Presse raised the issue in its coverage that police authorities other than the RCMP were hoping to increase their jurisdictional powers to help control the cigarette trade (2/02 B3; 2/06 A1). Since coverage was reporting that the upcoming Ottawa/Québec plan would include strengthening police capability to enforce law around Native reserves, it makes sense that the provincial and municipal forces would vie for resources (2/04 A1; 2/08 A1). This first implies that federal authorities were felt to not be doing their job well enough. More importantly, after July 1990's fatal clash between the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) and the Mohawk individuals at Kanesatake, any indication that the SQ should intervene would have been provocative. The SQ

has not had a positive relationship with Mohawk communities and strengthening that police force would likely be viewed as a direct threat against the Mohawk Nation. While *La Presse* did not constantly reiterate this point, this type of coverage would nonetheless serve to reinforce the fear in Mohawk communities that an invasion by Canadian authorities was imminent.

On 9 February, amid articles consistent with those found in all four journals, is an article announcing that Ottawa and Québec would be doubling their police efforts, including more powers for the SQ (A4). With another article the same day proclaiming that Akwesasne was "le nerf de la guerre" or "nerve centre" for the cigarette trade, with 70 per cent of the cigarettes entering Canada through that community, it was clear where increased police efforts would be centred (A2). In its editorial page, *La Presse* also reinforced who it thought was mainly responsible with a racist, satirical cartoon of a pair of blackened lungs sporting a Hollywood-style "Indian headband" (B2). It was also made clear in this day's coverage that the BQ was not satisfied that the new policy would target Mohawks involved in the trade enough (A5).

To round out coverage of the issue on 9 February, Agnès Gruda, also a regular contributor of social commentary, argued that Ontario Premier Bob Rae's refusal to coordinate his province's policy with that of Québec and Ottawa was contributing to the "wall of incomprehension between Québec and the rest of Canada" (B2). This is of interest only because Picard had argued in *The Globe and Mail* that Québec's efforts to reduce high tobacco taxes had been contributing to the same "wall of incomprehension." Also of interest is a 9 February

headline proclaiming MATRAC's "victory" and that the merchants would now cease their illegal sales, as if anyone needed a newspaper report to figure this out (A3).

In the post-peak period, *La Presse* ran some very interesting articles and seems to have noticed the newsworthiness of Mohawk topics. Among favoured (negative) topics were: Bachand's eviction from Kanesatake (2/13 A5); Kanesatake Band Council's financial accountability problems (2/19 A1, B1); the possibility of a casino in Kanesatake (3/05 A3); the high cost to the Federal government of establishing a land base for Kanesatake (3/12 A5); Revenu Québec's efforts to obtain millions in unremitted taxes from Mohawk service station owners (3/08 B1; 3/11 A1); Jerry Peltier's alleged embezzlement of Band Council funds (2/21 A1); and, a dispute between Kahnawake residents and Hydro-Québec (3/17 A1). Of course, much of the post-peak coverage developed the idea that police and Mohawks were soon to clash, reporting on 10 February that the SQ would try to control access points into the reserves (A4) and on 16 February that the Mohawks were ready for action ("sur un pied de guerre") (A1). The next day, 17 February, it was reported that the military were to be called in if police could not control the situation (A1). The ideas that lawlessness was rampant in Mohawk communities and that there was an uncontrolled "Mohawk problem" were extremely well developed.

Immediately after the announced reductions, Claude Picher summarised in his commentary the mood of this situation. In "Enfin!" he wrote that:

[n]ous avons laissé les contrebandiers mohawks transformer leurs réserves en véritables forteresses où la loi ne s'applique plus. L'honnête citoyen est devenu fraudeur, et s'en

vante; le lien de confiance qui devrait exister entre l'État et le contribuable est rompu, crevé, anéanti. Nos institutions et nos hommes politiques se sont discrédités. Le Québec vit dans une sorte de mirage fou... Les gouvernements de Québec et d'Ottawa ont fait preuve de courage, mais leur job n'est pas fini. Ils doivent maintenant s'attaquer au cœur du problème, c'est-à-dire aux réserves mohawks (2/10 E3).

[translation] [w]e have let the Mohawk smugglers transform their reserves into fortresses where the law no longer applies. The honest citizen has become fraudulent, and is proud; the confidence that should connect the state and the taxpayer is destroyed. Our institutions and our politicians have been discredited. Québec lives in kind of a crazy mirage... The governments of Québec and Ottawa have shown courage, but their job is not finished. They must tackle the real problem, which is to say the Mohawk reserves.

This view finds support in Alain Dubuc's editorials beginning on 12 February when he argued that "we" were now paying "fiscally, medically, socially, and politically" for letting the "Mohawk problem" develop (B2). On 18 February, Dubuc proclaimed that "intervention" had now become necessary and lauded authorities for their "virage" (about face) in instituting the new policy. For the first time since Kanesatake's crisis, Dubuc argued, the forces of order were choosing not to close their eyes (B2).

Dubuc's general opinion concerning the inherent rights of Indigenous Peoples is also revealed. On 19 February, Dubuc's editorial argued that, if we could surmount the current crisis and if our governments could find enough courage to decriminalise the reserves, then we would have to arrive at a "durable solution that would reestablish equilibrium" (B2). Dubuc argues that governmental autonomy for Indigenous Nations and putting an end to the "tyranny" of the *Indian Act* are necessary. So, since "autonomy" implies a limited amount of control released from the paternal Federal government, reestablishing equilibrium basically amounts to

whatever power "we" decide "they" can have. Finally, Mr. Dubuc's editorial of 12 March addressed the controversial *La Presse/SOM* poll concerning majority views of Indigenous Peoples in Québec. Despite an effort to challenge those people who thought Indigenous people basically live better, Dubuc reveals his position by referring to the "fiscal privileges" accorded Indigenous Peoples (B2).

Regular commentaries in *La Presse* promoted familiar points of view. Continuing the basic premise of her argument, Gagnon wrote on 15 February that the governments should not have let "smugglers" dictate policy (B3). On 19 February, Gagnon argued that violence and illegal activities were worsening ("today tobacco, tomorrow what? Crack?") in Mohawk communities and that it would be increasingly difficult to enforce order (B3). In her final commentary during this timeframe, Gagnon challenged the Mohawk position that they engaged in trade not smuggling and refuted the *Jay Treaty* argument point by point (2/22 B3). Agnès Gruda maintained her position when she wrote on 14 February that "smugglers" would simply diversify into other goods (B2) and later on 17 March that the Bloc québécois had reason during its "campaign" to question the government's "softness" vis-à-vis Mohawk involvement in the cigarette trade (B2).

After the *La Presse/SOM* poll and the criticism directed at the francophone media in Québec, *La Presse* defended Québec by reporting on 13 March that Canada had provided no lessons and that Indigenous Peoples have traditionally been better treated in Québec (A5). The Parti québécois's position that Indigenous Nations would be better off in a sovereign Québec

received coverage on 29 March (B1). As I mentioned above, Dubuc had already revealed his position, offering absolutely no alternative method for interpreting the situation. One wonders if he considered himself among the editors denounced by Québec's "Protecteur du Citoyen" for proffering "heinous propaganda" to their audiences (3/28 A7).

Finally, there were only three (out of 145) examples of coverage providing a truly counter-hegemonic framework, and two of these were headlined letters to the editor and the other an editorial from a Mohawk paper. On 19 February, in rebuttal to Dubuc's editorial "Pour résoudre le problème Mohawk, repartir à zéro," Rémi Savard argues that Canada and the United States would not be G7 countries today if it were not for Mohawk assistance up until the late 1800s. Savard, an anthropologist, refuted Dubuc's claims that the Mohawk are not a nation, do not have a traditional way of life which undermines their territorial autonomy, and that their traditions are archaic and unhealthy. Savard argued that if this was the case then maintaining the *Civil Code* of Québec was also trapping Quebecers in an archaic, unhealthy ghetto (B3). Again on 19 February, also in response to this particular editorial, two Kanesatake residents wrote that Dubuc was doing nothing but sustaining and encouraging the heinous, racist propaganda directed at the Mohawk Nation since 1990 (B3). Finally, on 5 March, *La Presse* printed the entire *Eastern Door* editorial, "The Barbarians are at Our Gates," to better understand how Mohawks perceive Quebecers and how they perceive themselves (B3). The letter and this editorial are the only examples, from all four journals, of Mohawk people explaining themselves without a journalist's interpretation.

La Presse did more to construct the "Mohawk problem" than any other journals, judging from the tone and sheer diversity of negative Mohawk topics. In its limited fashion, however, *La Presse* also did more to promote the development of a counter-hegemonic discourse. The journal's coverage consistently promoted the dominant society's interpretive frame of reference for understanding the tobacco tax rollback issue. At times the coverage, particularly editorially speaking, was extremely questionable. *La Presse* is not, however, alone in producing questionable journalism.

Comparison

Le Devoir seemed not to develop the idea that Mohawk cigarette traders were centrally involved, this was merely assumed and all discourse proceeded with this as a basic tenet. *Le Devoir* supported the government plan and cited federal ineffectiveness for creating the situation. Those who produce *Le Devoir* effectively created the notion that the Mohawk Nation was being held hostage by an armed few, that Canadian law should apply everywhere before "autonomy" would be discussed, and that, while the press and the public had some odd ideas about Indigenous Peoples, Mohawk lawlessness was still more serious. Not one example of counter hegemonic discourse, even if only superficial, could be found among *Le Devoir's* coverage

In contrast, *The Globe and Mail* provided many more articles that developed the idea that Mohawk cigarette traders were centrally involved. This was not just assumed. *The Globe and Mail* also actively discredited Mohawk sovereignty and promoted a dominant framework with

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which to understand Native self-government. In my opinion, *The Globe and Mail* attempted to portray itself as providing balanced coverage but failed, any counter-hegemonic headlines being followed by interpretations unmistakably consistent with the dominant society's interpretive frame of reference. *The Globe and Mail* also actively helped construct the supposed Québec/Mohawk rivalry by incessantly reporting the BQ's double agenda in Question Period and other incidents of tension.

The Gazette of Montreal approached the issue in a manner very similar to *The Globe and Mail*, although its coverage was obviously geared more for an exclusively Québec audience. *The Gazette* paid more attention to expanding Mohawk responsibility for a number of different wrongs, but actively (re)produced the idea that another "Oka" was developing and that dominant ideas concerning Native self-government would prevail. Again, this anglophone paper seemed to capitalise on the Mohawk topic to promote a federalist and anti-Native agenda.

Finally, prior to the tax reductions, *La Presse* most actively developed the notion that Québec merchants and the Mohawk Nation were primary opponents. As with all the papers, a control solution was being called for, though only *La Presse* promoted loudly the incendiary idea that the SQ should intervene. *La Presse* also reported a wider variety of (unrelated) negative, Mohawk topics, truly capitalising on the subject while it was in the spotlight. Again, *La Presse* did not try to impose a dominant interpretation of self-government nearly as much as had the anglophone papers. *La Presse* also provided the only true examples of counter-hegemonic intrusions into the dominant coverage.

Overall, the qualitative results are not surprising, though they do reflect, in my opinion, just how much more can be gleaned from this type of analysis than from merely a quantitative one. While the quantitative analysis revealed the variety of themes receiving treatment in the coverage, the qualitative analysis indicated the prominence and tone of the themes. As such, the prominent ideas and notions are the ones most likely selected by consumers as newsworthy and most likely reinforced the interpretive frameworks of those consumers.

Clearly, although there were slight variations in preferred themes due to different audiences, a dominant interpretive framework existed with which to understand the tobacco tax rollback issue. The only really different qualitative feature is the extent to which the anglophone papers exploited (constructed) the so called rivalry between Québec and the Mohawk Nation as illustrated by the BQ's relentless focus on the Mohawk Nation and by criticism against the francophone press generally. In my opinion, there is no qualitative basis to single out the francophone press, at least *Le Devoir* and *La Presse*. These journals' anglophone counterparts seemed to promote an anti-sovereigntist and anti-Native agenda with their selection of facts, juxtapositions of certain facts, and the frequency with which they were reported.

In addition to the obviously racist assumptions and examples illustrating questionable journalistic integrity, this analysis shows that practically all of the coverage assumes dominant language and ideas to explain the issue, while also failing to contextualise any reasons for members of the Mohawk Nation to be involved. Even coverage meant to relay contextual information, and promote an alternative way to interpret the situation, (re)produced frameworks

of interpretation acceptable to the dominant society and, therefore, only reinforced the hegemonic discourse.

To summarise my qualitative conclusions, I feel that all four journals actively constructed and reinforced the idea that communities within the Mohawk Nation were lawless, that a massive crisis was impending, and that Mohawk sovereignty was not legitimate. Furthermore, a strong control solution originating in the dominant society was actively sought and supported by all four journals. It is interesting that on one level, the press took an extremely complicated situation and reduced it, as is usually the case, to one of deviance requiring a law-and-order solution. However, the simultaneous reports working implicitly to discredit Mohawk sovereignty reveal acknowledgement, at least at some levels in the process of news production, of the political nature of this event. Only by examining the coverage as a whole, the juxtapositions of different themes, and the tone and nature of the information, can such characteristics be revealed. Finally, the coverage allows practically no counter-hegemonic discourse to enter the mainstream. This illustrates remarkable homogeneity considering that the data was derived from journals from two linguistic groups, four corporations, and which serve four distinctively different audiences. The cultural hegemony exercised by Canadians over the Mohawk Nation, and all Indigenous Peoples, as illustrated in racist and colonial discourse contained in news coverage, is a salient and cohesive feature of Canadian society.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis I have argued that press coverage of the tobacco tax reductions, which occurred in early 1994, clearly illustrates a functioning hegemonic discourse. I have attempted to show that the reproduction and production by the press of ideas and assumptions about Indigenous Peoples are essential elements in sustaining a racist, colonial system of dominance and oppression. Hegemony functions by internalising and naturalising these ideas and assumptions used by the dominant society to justify inequalities in cultural, political, and economic power. Using a discourse analysis, I have argued that dominant discourse in Canada uses representations of Indigenous Peoples that have been influenced by our colonial past. I suggest that this has served the function of maintaining a colonial relationship by criminalising the actions of certain Mohawks, stigmatising the entire Mohawk Nation, and attempting to discredit that Nation's political position of sovereignty.

The quantitative element of the analysis illustrated remarkable uniformity in how the press in the dominant society chooses to report issues significantly affecting Indigenous Peoples. From this perspective, we can see the type of information that was provided by sources and chosen by media as newsworthy. As this thesis has illustrated, even before examining the tone

and nature of the coverage, it was possible to extrapolate that an unequal relationship characterised by racism and colonialism had been (re)produced.

The qualitative element of this discourse analysis supports the quantified data in that the press rendered an extremely complicated situation into one of deviance requiring a law-and-order solution. However, the simultaneous reports working implicitly to discredit Mohawk sovereignty reveal the benefits of examining the coverage as a whole, the juxtapositions of different themes, and the tone and nature of the information. The qualitative analysis also revealed the papers' use of Mohawk involvement in the cigarette trade to discredit Québec sovereignty in the anglophone coverage and to question federal effectiveness in the francophone coverage. Clearly, although there were slight variations in emphasised themes, due presumably to the different interests of different audiences, a dominant framework existed with which to understand the tobacco tax rollback issue.

This analysis shows that practically all of the coverage assumes language and ideas consistent with a dominant interpretive frame of reference to explain the issue. I have also attempted to illustrate that the francophone press, despite much criticism, was no more active than anglophone counterparts in promoting a racist framework for understanding the situation. Completely ignoring any self-imposed requirement of "journalistic objectivity," anglophone and francophone journalists even went beyond an implicit dominant framework to use explicitly racist examples of coverage to create an environment of intolerance. Consistent with the function of the press in a colonial society, all papers failed to contextualise any reasons for members of the

Mohawk Nation to be involved in active resistance. Even coverage meant to relay contextual information, and promote an alternative way to interpret the situation, (re)produced frameworks of interpretation acceptable to the dominant society and, therefore, only reinforced the hegemonic discourse. The expected homogeneity of the dominant discourse contained in such diverse journals illustrates the strength and relevance of colonial domination in Canada today.

So, while not refuting the validity of news contents, the resounding over-emphasis on Mohawk involvement in the cigarette trade and practically no emphasis on the reasons for this involvement, supports my hypothesis. The hypothesis is further supported by the coverage that justified the involvement of industry, government, media, and ordinary Canadians in creating an intolerable situation, for which the Mohawk Nation was subsequently blamed, and the lack of coverage implicating these other actors at all. It is part of our national culture that Indigenous Peoples are outside of our consensual norm and this thesis has attempted to illustrate the level to which the press reinforces the economic, political, and cultural inequalities in power between Canadians and Indigenous Peoples. In short, discourses found in press coverage, and in any other media coverage, indicate functioning hegemony.

Just as sources recognise the power of journalism by trying to control journalists and their communications, the Federal and Provincial governments and Oppositions, police and military authorities, and the papers that picked up on these stories, effectively recognised the political nature of Mohawk involvement in the cigarette trade. While every journal incessantly and explicitly connected the Mohawk Nation with "smuggling," other articles implicitly

discredited Mohawk sovereignty, without understanding it at all. In addition to being portrayed as deviant and its political actions being criminalised, the Mohawk Nation also continues to serve as a buffer between feuding colonisers, both of whom used the Mohawk Nation to discredit the other, and will continue to do so, in the battle over Québec's political future. Even while admonishing audiences for adhering to false ideas about Indigenous Peoples, which they help to (re)produce, all the journals still held the Mohawk Nation -- not just the Mohawk individuals engaged in trade -- accountable for creating a potentially explosive situation.

In closing, I reiterate that the dominant French- and English-language press is functioning almost perfectly in support of a system of colonial and racist domination. The press worked to convince the Canadian public that Mohawk cigarette traders were primarily responsible for a situation created and exacerbated by industry, governments, mass media, and Canadian merchants and consumers, in order to sell a tax reduction policy popular only with smokers and industry. Those "responsible" for such an explosive threat to Canadian law-and-order could hardly expect to find mainstream support for their efforts at self-determination, let alone their legal position of sovereignty. The fundamental flaw, however, in the hegemony exercised by the Canadian state over the Mohawk Nation is that the majority of Mohawk people have not been convinced to accept oppressed positions at the margins of Canadian society. Despite the successful elimination of Mohawk involvement in the cigarette trade and renewed economic deprivation, the Mohawk Nation continues to conduct itself as a sovereign nation and will continue to do so whether Canada recognises it or not.

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