Contemporary Settler Colonialism:
Media framing of Indigenous collective action in Elsipogtog, Mi'kma'ki

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Abstract

Contemporary settler colonialism depends on resource development, and is supported by the socially reproductive structure, media. I analyze a particular event that took place in Elsipogtog in the summer of 2013, where anti-fracking protests were enacted against Southwestern Resource Canada, an industrial corporation conducting exploratory hydraulic fracturing in Elsipogtog, Mi'kma'ki. Analyzing media focused on the protests, I gathered, read, and coded 372 articles from 28 sources across Atlantic Canada and Canada to qualitatively and quantitatively describe frequencies of five grand frames: framing of the collective action as (1) violent, (2) a threat to race relations, (3) as expensive and costly, (4) as a means for achieving social justice, and (5) as a threat to industry. I find that that media played a substantial role in a processes of reproducing notions of good and bad Canadian citizenship in regards to the protests in Elsipogtog. Through describing elements of "criminal" resistance and "radical" public dissent, we know who the good Canadian citizens are: those who do not impose resistance to the goals of the Canadian neoliberal state in colludes with industrial development, those who do not threaten, harass, intimidate, or enact violence upon the "general public", and those who do not resist the oligarchic state through the recent resurgent Indigenous movement in coalition with environmental groups.

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Introduction

In November of 2013, the anti-fracking protests in Elsipogtog, Mi'kma'ki (near Rexton, New Brunswick) ignited by members of the First Nation band, community groups, and environmental groups failed to meet their goal of preventing shale gas exploration by Southwestern Resource Canada (SWN), an industrial energy company that focuses on the exploration and production of oil and natural gas. The area chosen for exploratory fracking is contested space, the locus for shale gas exploration and a traditional Mi'kma'ki hunting ground (Galloway & Taber, 2013). The protests first centred on a theme of environmental justice, underpinned by the fear that exploratory testing would lead to irreparable environmental damage to the community and surrounding ecosystem (ibid.). Quickly becoming intertwined within an ethos of land claimants rights, poor consultation practices, and issues surrounding Indigenous justice, the protests shifted focus to broader Indigenous issues. Many articles in major news sources, such as the *Globe and Mail* focused their coverage on criminal violence in the collective action, like the presence of weapons, threats to citizens, and illegality of the protests.

This research analyzes representations of the protests within a contemporary settler colonialism framework of inequitable treatment, marginalized portrayal, and land appropriation of Indigenous groups in Canada, which has been a subject of extensive study (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Preston, 2013; Ramos, 2003; Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown & Myers, 2010; Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown & Ricard, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). My studies in environmental sciences and sociology and my passion for environmental and social justice lead me to focus on an issue that combines the two: fracking protests in New Brunswick and their relevance for the resurgent Indigenous movement in Canada.

In the context of ongoing settler colonialism, this research seeks to answer the question, *how is Indigenous collective action framed by news media*? Media framing literature suggests

that frames (a concept to be explained later) used by media construct binaries between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, defined as an “us” vs. “them” dichotomy (Baylor, 1996; Proulx, 2014; Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown & Myers, 2010). This research also asks, *is there a strong “us” vs. “them” dichotomy between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples created by media*? In addition, following literature on colonialism and colonization (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Preston, 2013; Proulx, 2014; Wolfe, 2006), this research asks the question, *how do these framings relate to representations of a Canadian national identity*? In the broadest sense, this paper will help provide insight in to the question, *how does the media facilitate the process of contemporary settler colonialism in Canada?*

This research seeks to uncover the frequencies and themes present in media surrounding the collective action event by the Elsipogtog First Nation and non-Indigenous actors. Considering the specific characteristics that are associated with the dichotomous “us” vs. “them”, I hypothesize that mass media sources in Atlantic Canada and Canada framed the anti-fracking protests in Elsipogtog within a distinct “us” vs. “them” dichotomy that is facilitating contemporary processes of settler colonialism. If the majority of articles fit into the five frames outlined by the literature, there will be evidence to support a strong binary. Additionally, it is hypothesized that media framed the recent protests as Indigenous when many non-Indigenous actors were involved. This would contextualize the protests as an Indigenous action, devaluing the immensity of support and strength that environmental groups in coalition with Indigenous people have for strategies of resistance. In addition, this research considers the influence that larger corporations like Brunswick News, the Irving conglomerate, and SWN Resource Canada have on media.

In the following section, I outline the concepts of hydraulic fracturing and social movements to highlight reasoning behind protests as well as provide general context. I then give an overview of the inequitable treatment of Indigenous peoples in Canada as a form of ongoing settler colonialism. In a similar vein, I outline the ways in which mass media frame Indigenous mobilizations, and collective actions, according to the literature. Accordingly, I go on to consider outside influences and ownership of mass media with a focus on the Irving conglomerate. Afterwards, I briefly discuss past research highlighting the use of content analysis, and my own methods. Finally, I outline my findings followed by my discussion and conclusion.

Theoretical Framework

Hydraulic fracturing or 'fracking' – why protest?

Hydraulic fracturing is a process designed to open existing natural fractures within rock formations in the earth's surface. Large quantities of water and other components are pumped down a well at high pressure in order to generate an interconnected open network of fractures within rock formations. This stimulates the return flow of gas and fluid to the drilled wells (wellbores) (Atherton & Macintosh, 2014).

Hydraulic fracturing is a heavily debated topic dividing opinions on the basis of economic and environmental concerns (Boudet, Clarke, Budgen, et al., 2014). Concerns with practices and processes of hydraulic fracturing include methane contamination of drinking water as well as environmental risks associated with shale gas infrastructure, related operations, surface water, and groundwater (Jackson et al, 2013; Atherton & Macintosh, 2014; Council of Canadian Academies, 2014). Perceptions of changes to economic, environmental, and political structures have spurred protest and social movements on and off fracking sites. Social movement literature lends reasoning to protest and collective action.

Social movements and Aboriginal collective action – what causes protest?

Social movements and reasoning behind contentious action have a variety of explanations. Collective action, referred to as 'contentious action' by Ramos (2006), is the organizing that takes place outside of dominant institutions with the intention of challenging dominant power-holders. Ramos (2006) suggests three different explanations behind contentious action and mobilization: resource mobilization, political opportunity, and collective identity. Firstly, resource mobilization explains protest by the availability of financial assets, also examining social and human capital, and the availability of organizations (Ramos, 2006). For Aboriginal collective action, or contentious action, resource availability includes the presence of national organizations, availability of government funding, and human capital (Ramos, 2006).

Secondly, political opportunity takes into account the presence and absence of systemic opportunities, such as changes in state-civil society relations, which leads social actors and groups to protest (Ramos, 2006). Protest is found to be linked to both the emergence and loss of opportunities (Meyer, 2004; Meyer and Minkoff, 2004; Ramos, 2006). From the 70s onwards, Aboriginal peoples were increasingly granted access to federal funds and an openness of courts to their land claims and lawsuits (Ramos, 2006). Unprecedented protest occurred against "closing" of opportunities: the proposed dissolution of the Indian Act in 1969, which sought to eliminate *Indian* as a distinct legal status. This dissolution, *Indian Policy (1969)*, was proposed under a Canadian legislative policy paper, termed *white paper*, which would "enable the Indian people to be free - free to develop Indian cultures in an environment of legal, social, and economic equality with other Canadians". This legislation sought to assimilate Indigenous peoples into Canadian culture, dissolve the department of Indian Affairs, and convert reserve land into private property, effectively subsuming Indigenous autonomy and governance. This

created a new "openness" in which Indigenous people stood up to and fought against the explicit cultural genocide occurring in Canadian politics (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Ramos, 2006).

Thirdly, people act on the collective identities created by social interaction, and without this common identity, people would not be able to organize as larger groups and act contentiously (Ramos, 2006). Ramos (2006) argues that protest is the recognition of disenfranchised identities that seek autonomy and equitable voice – rather than looking at it as an opportunity for more material outcomes. These disenfranchised identities collectively organize and protest to oppose oppressive systemic issues like, for instance, colonialism.

Settler Colonialism

The inequities faced by Indigenous Peoples, compared to the general population in Canada, are numerous and involve high rates of unemployment, inequitable legal status, high rates of poverty, disproportionately high rates of incarceration, a lack of federal and provincial political representation, and disproportionately high rates of fatal violence against Indigenous women in Canada (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Bourassa, McNabb, & Hampton, 2005; Brownridge, 2008; Jacobs, 2012; Preston, 2013; Ramos, 2003; Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown & Myers, 2010; Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown & Ricard, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Indigenous scholars Alfred and Corntassel (2005) discuss Aboriginal groups' livelihoods as living within an oppositional place-based existence – always in contrast to and in contention with colonial societies and states. This contention and conflict can be defined as ongoing dispossession, contemporary deprivation, and poverty, experienced in a context which Aboriginal peoples are forced by the physical needs of survival to cooperate individually and collectively with state authorities (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005).

Colonizing states are contrasted with Aboriginal peoples through a comparison of what it means to be colonized and what it is to colonize in a contemporary context (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). Alfred and Corntassel (2005) offer insight into the use of the word colonialism and how it inherently assumes power of one group (state power, in this case) over another (Aboriginal groups, in this case). They suggest that colonialism should be reworded in the context of globalization wherein a '…deepening, hastening and stretching of an already existing empire" is occurring (2005, p. 601).

Institutionalization and state definition of the term indigeneity takes away cultural and community identity and subsumes it under Canadian culture (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). The concept of the contemporary settler serves to eradicate Aboriginal peoples not just as bodies but as peoples, through erasing histories and geographies that form much of Aboriginal identity and sense of self. Wolfe (2006) discusses settler colonialism as a structure and not a specific event, focusing on the territoriality of contemporary colonization. Wolfe (2006) notes that territoriality is the primary motive for elimination of Aboriginal Peoples who are living a place-based existence, and identify culturally with their environment. Wolfe also states the operation of colonialism, as a land appropriation project, is not dependent on the presence or absence of formal state institutions and thus can manifest itself through mercantilism, or neoliberal private-public partnerships (Wolfe, 2006; Preston, 2013). Land appropriation through neoliberal private-public partnerships requires that private companies, like SWN Resources, in coalition with public agencies work together to secure access to land and resources while strategically managing the "Indian problem" (Preston, 2013).

In resistance literature, past Indigenous group resilience strategies in coalition with environmental groups have not always connected well (Dalby, 2002). However, in an era of

globalization, Indigenous struggles have become a part of the "global" discourse in relation to environmental issues worldwide. The multiplicity of resistance groups have become aware of each other's struggles in much stronger and more intelligible ways (Dalby, 2002). Dalby (2002) notes that new politics of globalization are about media, modernity, and diaspora but also about the solidarity and alliances made by specific political campaigns. Resistance to both environmentally detrimental industrial practices in coalition with resistance to land-centred forms of settler-colonialism provide strong ties, and even stronger arguments, for those against environmental and Indigenous oppression (Dalby, 2002; Preston, 2013). Modern forms of settler colonialism are facilitated and continuously reproduced, notably, through media framing of social events such as collective action.

Media framing

Frames are representations of a set of ideas arising from media that interpret, define and give meaning to social movements and phenomenon (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2014; Baylor, 1996).The media have considerable power to shape social events and increase forms of political participation such as voting and protest (Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2014; Baylor, 1996). By not mirroring specific events but rather filtering information into a particular narrative structure, additionally relying on officials as sources and invoking public opinion in particular ways, media works to marginalize collective action and those involved, devaluing the goals and wider systemic issues that protests embody (Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown & Ricard, 2010). Baylor (1996) proposes a constructionist model as an explanation for the connection between media and the public. Media and the public are a part of the same cultural system and therefore both parties employ similar "scripts", "schemata", or "frames". An interdependent relationship exists between media and the public (Baylor, 1996). Instead of an outside entity placing views and

values on the public, media and the public share common beliefs, values, and opinions (Baylor, 1996).

This model then underlines the relationship between social movements and media (Baylor, 1996). Social movements often rely on media to represent and express their goals and grievances, while media get to pick and choose the stories to discuss. Framing is one part of a larger picture in how Indigenous collective action is portrayed, publicized, interpreted, and dealt with. It is through framing that exists a notable creation and reproduction of identities, known here as: the "us" vs. "them" dichotomy.

"Us" vs. "them" dichotomy

Historically, mass media enabled readers to connect with a larger and more disparate geographic entity – a "national whole", established though the creation of an identity built in opposition to a different identity (Wilkes et al, 2010). Media do not only frame Aboriginal Peoples in particular narrative structures, but also create an "us" vs. "them" dichotomy between the good citizens of the nation, and the bad citizens that threaten its existence (Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown & Ricard, 2010).

This dichotomy through identity creation is not only seen in media but also in applications of special status rights of Aboriginal groups in Canada. Ramos (2003) notes the legal framework within Canada that grants 'special' legal status to Indigenous groups under federal policy and legislation. Many Canadians feel that special privileges granted to Aboriginal Peoples are contradictory to the principles of a liberal democracy (Ramos, 2003). Legal framing of special status of Indigenous groups enforces assimilative views into Canadian society, with a central goal of breaking the power of self-governance and autonomy of Indigenous peoples (Ramos, 2003).

However, it is not the granting of ‘special’ privileges that leads to this perception of inequality, but the use of the word ‘special’. Special has both positive and negative connotations (Ramos, 2003). The positive connotations are of ‘additional’, ‘exceptional’, ‘extraordinary’, greater’, or ‘better’ (special plus); the negative connotations are those such as ‘marked’, ‘peculiar’, ‘uncommon’, and ‘limited’ (special negative) (Ramos, 2003). Ramos notes that the general public seems to forget the special negative connotations associated with the word and focus on these ‘plus’ connotations. This leads non-Indigenous people to believe that Indigenous Peoples (“them”) are treated and seen as better than the rest of Canadians, or the rest of “us”.

Wilkes et al. (2010) note that much coverage of past First Nation protests was quite disturbing, with an overemphasis on framing First Nation peoples as troublemakers and criminals. First Nation peoples are seen to make demands that upset the social, political or economic order of Canada (Wilkes et al, 2010). However, the ways in which stories are portrayed by the media is not the sole consideration to incorporate in a critical analysis of media. Media ownership is a further factor in the messages presented to the public, creating a bias towards what receives attention and, more importantly, what does not.

Media bias – who controls the media?

Mass media frames are not only influenced by the context, themes, and words used by journalists but also by influential businesses, political leaders, and media owners themselves, creating structural sources of bias, termed by Baylor (1996) as “class bias”. Sympathetic coverage of events or movements may decrease if the interests of the elite are undermined by anti-elitist messages of these movements (Baylor, 1996). Due to relationships with larger corporations, the reporting of events may make business interests a priority over objective, independent viewpoints of social movements (Baylor, 1996). Baylor (1996) and Sigal (1973)

suggest that the routines by which most news is gathered, such as official proceedings, government or agency press releases and public officials, are a source of bias in themselves. Protests or movements that seek to present a message to a wider audience not only have to overcome media bias, but must also engage in dramatic, extreme, and "newsworthy" action in order to gain substantive coverage (Olien, Tichenoir & Donohue, 1989 in Baylor, 1996).

Brunswick News is a newspaper publishing company owned privately by James K. Irving, the largest owner of media and part-owner of the largest industrial conglomerate in eastern Canada, controlling over ten weekly newspapers and three daily newspapers. It is crucial to consider the influence of the Irving Group of Companies on media and media framings, as this helps to discern the particularities of framings within media sources in Atlantic Canada.

Past research suggests that frames used by mass media underline the "us" vs. "them" dichotomy, reproducing contemporary forms of settler colonialism, marginalizing the goals of the collective action, and emphasizing a national Canadian identity that is threatened by those that seek to undermine and resist the goals of the nation. Previous research done on media framing of collective action has used a method known as 'content analysis'. In content analysis a checklist is developed to count how frequently certain ideas, themes, phrases, images, scenes, and events appear (Bouma, Ling & Wilkinson, 2012; Wilkes et al., 2010). This methodology is adopted for the purposes of answering my research questions: specifically, *How is Indigenous collective action framed by news media?*; and, *Is there a strong "us" vs. "them" dichotomy between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples created by media?*; More generally, *how do these framings relate to representations of a Canadian national identity?*; and in the broadest sense, *how does the media facilitate the process of contemporary settler colonialism in Canada?*

Methodology

Content analysis – past research

This research project uses the process and analyses done by Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown, and Ricard (2010) as a guide. Wilkes et al. (2010) take into consideration the dominant media's role in creating and reproducing ideologies of race, citizenship, and the nation – highlighting a dichotomous relationship between the resistance and resilience of Indigenous peoples the goals of the Canadian state. Wilkes at al. (2010) collected data from three major Canadian newspapers from 1994 to 1995 and analyzed articles according to four master frames: (1) collective action as a criminal behaviour, (2) collective action as a threat to race relations, (3) collective action as expensive and costly, (4) collective action as a means for achieving social justice (Wilkes, Corrigall-Brown, & Ricard, 2010). These four frames were developed after analysis of the articles was completed. The researchers printed, read and analyzed each article, leading to the development of four master frames within which to re-assess and code the articles (2010). However, their research did not incorporate a discussion on Canadian economic and industrial goals in opposition to resistance by environmental and indigenous groups. This research seeks to address this gap by adding an additional frame to the research done by Wilkes et al (2010): (5) collective action as a threat to industry. Additionally, articles mentioning and not mentioning non-Indigenous actors involved in the collective action were accounted for alongside an explicit mentioning of Indigenous actors against industry in this analysis, which constitutes articles that did not mention the coalition between Indigenous peoples and environmental groups that occurred.

Research process – content analysis methodology

The anti-fracking protests in Elsipogtog have been a subject of little to no research, due to their recent occurrence. This research analyzes media, gathered from 28 sources across Atlantic Canada and Canada, which focused attention on the protests. After analyzing 100 articles across the event timeline (in the order the events appeared in media) I determined it to be feasible within the scope of this thesis to analyze and code 372 articles. Analysis began with articles dated on May 1, 2013 when a letter, representing 28 community groups with approximately 50, 000 community members, was sent to Moncton, New Brunswick's town hall in opposition to shale gas exploration. A full calendar year past this initial date was chosen as the sample frame for the articles. This full calendar year was chosen to encompass the articles leading up to the contentious event occurring in October of 2013 as well as articles that came in succession. In order to include as many articles, opinions and voices of the issue as possible, the articles selected include reporter-produced, editorially-produced, and opinion-editorially-produced articles.

Initially, the newspaper aggregate FACTIVA (2014) was used to search for articles in sources throughout Canada and North America including *The Globe and Mail, Calgary Herald, National Post, The Guardian* (PEI), and *The Chronicle Herald* (Nova Scotia). However, a significant portion of articles were sourced directly from *Canadian Press* (29%) to which the portion of *Canadian Press* articles were computer-audio transcribed news reports on a variety of unrelated events worldwide, having little to no relation to the studied event. For this reason, a different search engine was utilized for its appropriateness and breadth of sources for the purposes of this research.

Keyword searches were conducted using the LexisNexis database, an information and research aggregate of over 5,800 full-text sources, including foreign and U.S. newspapers, magazines, trade journals, broadcast transcripts, financial information, market news, legal reviews, and other news, abstracts, and profiles (LexisNexis, 2014). Primary keywords used to search were: "*Elsipogtog* AND *protest"*. A search using these key words provided 372 articles over 28 sources. Of the sources drawn out of LexisNexis, the *Times and Transcript*, the *Telegraph-Journal*, and the *Daily Gleaner* provide 76.8% of the 372 articles in the article population. These three news outlets are major daily and weekly news sources in New Brunswick, owned and operated by Brunswick News. Other major Canadian and North American sources are included such as *The Calgary Herald, The Globe and Mail, The National Post,* and the *Toronto Star*. *Canadian Press* is still included in this database, however not as a source on its own, but through other sources such as *The Globe and Mail*. Of the 372 articles, a total of 100 were analyzed prior to coding to have a broad idea of the themes and frames present in the articles. Consideration was given throughout the process to any new frames that appeared based on frequencies within the articles. Particular attention was paid to the environmental and legal treaty rights mentioned in a large majority of articles, contrasted by industrial development of contested land in New Brunswick.

IBM's (IBM, 2014) SPSS Statistics Data Editor is a widely used software program for statistical analysis in the social sciences, which can analyze descriptive statistics and bivariate statistics, and was used in this research. Five frames were transferred into an SPSS coding sheet in order to record an article's identifier (eg. G&M20130801 – Globe and Mail, year, month, day), day, month, year, weekday, and source. Articles were coded using various sub-indicators that encapsulate the grander frame, for instance: under the grand frame of "collective action a threat to

industry" a total of nine specific indicators were coded for, making up this frame. An example of one of these specific characteristics was "Indigenous people against industry". This meant that if an article explicitly discussed Indigenous people involved in the collective action that were against industry and resource development, it was accounted for. An example of this can be seen in an article that came out in the *Globe and Mail* on October 18th 2013 titled "Native shale-gas protest erupts in violence". However, this did not mean that this frame was mutually exclusive to any article. An article could have mentioned that Indigenous people were against shale gas exploration and also mentioned that non-Indigenous people were involved as well as opposed. This was accounted for by coding every time non-Indigenous actors were mentioned as being involved in the collective action, which would mean that the article noted the presence of a coalition between environmental groups and Indigenous people.

Results

General overview of articles

A total of nine frames (Appendix B) were accounted for in my analysis of 372 articles spread across 28 news sources (see Appendix D, figure 10). I discuss here, four of the most frequent frames found in the analysis. Other frames that were less frequent but coded for were seen to be less relevant for the discussion, but can be seen in figures 7, 8, and 9 in Appendix C. I coded articles based on explicit and implicit mentioning to a specific frame (see Appendix B). Out of the 372 articles analyzed there were a total of 337 in 2013 and 35 in 2014 (Appendix C, figures 5 & 6). The highest frequencies of articles were notably in October, 2013 making up a total of 49.7% (185) of all articles analyzed. The month of October was a point of contention among protestors and police, wherein upwards of 40 people were arrested and charged with possession of weapons, assault, threats to police, and mischief.

This analysis is split up into four sections detailing the frequencies and distributions of the frames found in regards to violence, race relations, social justice, and industry. Each section describes the frame, its comprised indicators, the frequencies and summary of distribution of sources, followed by examples found in the articles. While the examples do portray the frame, it is important to note that I am not able to discuss every article that came out, but only a select few that exemplify the frames in order to discuss the frame as a concept. This analysis has the goal of showing the array of opinions and perspectives that came out of regional and nationwide mass media around the collective action. Noting that the collective action event was a coalition between environmental groups and Indigenous people, I coded every time non-Indigenous actors were mentioned as well as every time Indigenous actors were explicitly mentioned in order to note the absence of articles that referred to this coalition, considered in depth in the discussion.

Table 1. Major Frames in Collective Action Event

	1	2
	Number of articles this frame appears. Total n=372	Number of articles with no mention of coalition. Total n=191
Collective Action as Criminal Behaviour & Violent		
Militants, terrorists, criminals, insurgents, fanatics, negatively framed "warriors"	35	19
Breaking the law	75	49
Danger to police / public	173	102
Violence	182	109
Weapons	137	86
A need to "restore order"	54	38
A need to "intervene"	77	57
Frustration/anger/tension mounting	58	32
Front of the line	2	2
Leaders (Indigenous) condoning protest	34	20
SUBTOTAL OF ALL ARTICLES (N & %)	285 (76.6%)	160 (83.8%)

Table 1 (cont.)

Collective Action as a Threat to Race Relations		
At war with white people	4	2
White victimization	91	51
As creating national divisions	46	25
Protest makes Indigenous people look bad	17	9
Threats to ongoing peaceful negotiations	55	32
Preferential treatment	8	5
Government failure to address protest	13	8
Resistance to treaty process	5	5
SUBTOTAL N	150 (40.3%)	76 (39.8%)
Collective Action as Expensive / Costly		
Cost of protest (local economy, police)	32	17
Indigenous willingness to pay taxes / welfare status	8	6
Band should pay	2	2
SUBTOTAL N	39 (10.5%)	22 (11.5%)
Collective Action as a Means for Achieving Social Justice		
Problematic government policies	39	19
Colonialism, legacy of	12	5
Persecution of Indigenous peoples	36	18
Aboriginal rights	82	47
Treaty rights, mentioning of	48	28
Other nations in solidarity with	51	30
Lack of discussion or consultation	71	32
Police initiated violence	16	9
SUBTOTAL N	184 (49.5%)	93 (50.5%)
Collective Action as a threat to Industry		
Mentioning of "illegal" protest preventing industry	284	164
Benefits to economy	86	44
Indigenous working with industry	19	13
Protestors non-native / anti-fracking	19	0
Industry as having environmentally safe, good practices	63	31
Indigenous against industry	228	191
Supports non-violent protest	8	5
Cost imposed on industry	25	16
SUBTOTAL N	343 (92.2%)	191 (100.0%)

Table 1 shows the distributions of frames and constituting indicators among the 372 articles in the first column. In the second column the indicators and frames are distributed by their overall mentioning across the 372 articles. In the third column I specified the frames and indicators that appeared in articles that also explicitly mentioned that Indigenous people were against industry with no explicit mentioning of non-Indigenous people involved in the protest. This was to illustrate the articles that did not mention the coalition between environmental groups and Indigenous peoples. Notably, the article count is halved in most cases, yet the percentages of the total are approximately proportionate in the 191 articles as they are to the 372 articles. With the industry frame still being the most prominent of the frames, followed by the violence frame, the third column in the table empirically shows the distributions of articles that did not note the coalition between environmental and Indigenous groups. Evident is the slight increase in percentage in all but the race relations frame.

Collective action as violent & criminal behavior

Crime and criminality are how the public is provided with concepts on what good and bad citizenship is based upon and how rights of a citizen can be revoked or solidified (Chan, 2006; Wilkes et al, 2010). It is within this frame that notions of the good citizen and the bad citizen can be seen. The grand frame of collective action as violent and criminal behavior was one of the most prominent frames alongside the frame of collective action's effect on industry. This frame was operationalized by various indicators, of which included: protest as a criminal activity committed by militants, terrorists, radicals or warriors with negative connotation; describing the danger of the protest to both police and the general public; describing the presence of weapons, violence, threats of violence; describing the need for intervention as tensions rise / mount; and negatively framing Indigenous leaders as condoning the protests and illegal action.

A total of 285 articles (76.6%) mentioned the violence and criminality of the protests. I isolated the violent frames in all of the articles that did not mention any non-Indigenous actors involved in the collective action and mentioned that Indigenous people involved were against industry, or no mentioning of the coalition. 160 articles (83.8% of total 191 non-coalition articles) of this total did not mention the coalition between the groups. These 160 articles had at least one indicator present. Of the 26 sources that fit under this grand frame, the highest counts of this isolation were the *Times and Transcript*, *Telegraph Journal*, and *Daily Gleaner.* This is due to these three papers covering the collective action extensively, as they were localized papers to the event.

An article in the *National Post* on October 19th, 2013 titled, "Fracking fight turned frightening; Protest violent enough for police to don riot gear" strongly embodied this grand frame. Starting by discussing that "lawyers for the Elsipogtog First Nation in New Brunswick estimated that 85% of its people were on welfare" the author describes the conflict that occurred, making analogy to the weapons found by police officers with the killing of soldiers in Afghanistan, stating that police "…seized not only firearms and knives, but also found, and detonated in place, several improvised explosive devices, or IEDs, the makeshift bombs which killed so many young Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan". Not only does this contrast underline the focus on weapons and violence, but also provides a clear statement on the authors motives to align notions of citizenship against acts of violence committed on Canadians in unrelated incidents, involving separate social actors and groups. Completely separate from the context of the collective action in Elsipogtog, the author makes explicit reference to instances of violence "against Canadians". Indirectly implying that the protestors be viewed as terrorists who upset and threaten Canadians. In a similar vein, another article on October 28th, 2013 in the *Telegraph*

Journal refers to actions of protestors with analogy to terrorists, "demonstrated by several of these environmental radicals is no less zealous than radical Islam or other sources of international terrorism – for example, burning RCMP vehicles and threatening violence against others who dare to dissent". Once more, another author makes the analogy to social actors in separate contexts, clearly evoking the reader's attention towards a notion that protestors act similarly to terrorists. In this context terrorists are social actors that threaten Canadian citizens, RCMP included, who would oppose their "radical" goals and "zealous acts". These "terrorists" are viewed as a source of internal threat, victimizing and risking the lives of others who do not share their values.

This violence frame was found in another *Telegraph Journal* article on November 1st, 2013 describing the presence of weapons and "…attempted 'eviction' of SWN workers involved, blockading support staff in a compound and threatening to kill them". Indigenous people are known to be socially sorted, securitized, and constructed as criminals, internal threats, and terrorists for engaging in practices of public dissent, even, in this case, if framed alongside environmentalists (Proulx, 2014; Wilkes et al, 2010). By highlighting threatening remarks, noting that some involved death threats, the author here is underlining the danger that is posed upon the public by protestors. Citizens and workers of Canada are seen to be vulnerable and at a life-threatening disadvantage, enacted upon them by those that engage in public dissent. The author states that if the same events had happened in the United States or United Kingdom, "…we have no doubt they would have been treated by federal and state authorities as what they transparently are: acts of domestic terrorism". Coining the protests as acts of terrorism, the author discredits the motives of the social actors involved in the collective action and pays more attention to the national danger that the protest posed rather than focusing on the nature of the

protest and its actors, which is seen across many levels of Indigenous movement portrayal (Proulx, 2014; Wilkes, et al, 2010).

Seen in figure 1, the counts of indicators along the bottom axis show articles that had no indicator of violence as well as anywhere between one and eight indicators that constitute the grand frame. Usually seen on the higher counts of indicators were opinion-editorially-produced articles and some editorially-produced articles. Mid to lower counts of indicators were found in reporter-produced, editorially-produced, and opinion-editorially produced articles.

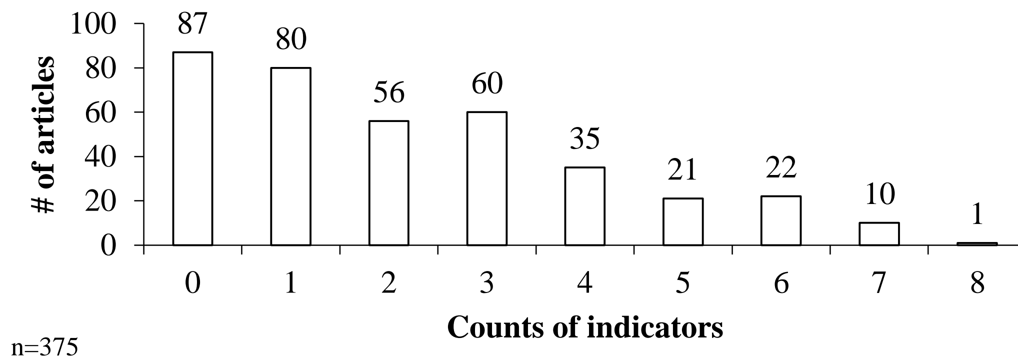

Figure 1. Counts of violent / criminal indicators in articles with number of articles

Collective action as a threat to race relations

Any discussion on racism and colonization in Canada exists within the context of multiculturalism, or the ethos of the ideal, harmonious, and multicultural state of Canada (Simpson, James, & Mack, 2011; Wilkes et al, 2010). This frame is based on the myth that racial equity and harmony exists in Canada alongside the governed support for high quality of life for all, which is taught extensively and built into a set of strongly internalized beliefs (Simpson et al, 2011; Wilkes et al; 2010). This frame was operationalized by various indicators that constitute it as a whole: Indigenous people being presented as at war and conflict with “white” people,

victimizing the "white" Euro-Canadian population, as receiving preferential treatment or special rights not afforded to citizens of other ethnicities, being a threat to ongoing peaceful negotiations, and creating national divisions for the ethnic cohesion of the nation state (Wilkes et al., 2010). I expected to see less of this frame in my analysis compared to higher amounts found by Wilkes et al. in the 1990s. However, a total of 150 articles (40.3%) had indicators of this frame's presence. I found a total of 76 articles that did not mention the coalition between environmental and Indigenous groups, accounting for 39.8% of the total articles not mentioning the coalition. On the extreme end I found quite explicit referencing to this grand frame. More generally, I found there to be less explicit mentioning of threats to racial relations than the other three frames discussed here.

One example of an explicit framing can be seen in the October 4th *Times and Transcript* article titled "Who foots the bill?" wherein national divisions are referenced. By way of discussing the power that Elsipogtog band councils hold in "…preventing government-sanctioned gas exploration from taking place…" the author states that, "…the situation is still 'evolving' and is thus confusing, the appearance of the band council at the scene – presenting itself by way of conviction notice as being in a position of authority, as a level of government…". The author uses this reference to separate governing bodies by stating, "As a government entity that now appears to be driving this protest, Elsipogtog Band Council should in our view be held solely responsible for footing the security bill", previously noting that the "RCMP is doubtless running up a whopping overtime bill". By considering the governance of the Elsipogtog band council, the author poses a "confusing" state of affairs in which one government entity is supporting acts of dissent that required Canadian RCMP forces to intervene. Implicitly noting both the temporal and monetary cost inflicted on RCMP forces, this "new" and

"confusing" level of government should now be held accountable for allowing such heinous protests to occur. The author furthers this devaluing of autonomy by victimizing SWN workers and members of the general public, stating that the RCMP is "maintaining order as protestors… intimidate SWN workers and members of the general public". So not only do separate Indigenous "governing bodies" now challenge the power of the Canadian state, but also threaten the safety of the general public as well as the workers within it (Proulx, 2014). The author finishes the article by stating that "…failure to pay should result in the federal government cutting off finding to the band council until the bill is paid". Reasserting Canadian governmental power over Indigenous people by threatening to "cut off funding" of a band, this author implies a fealty that bands have to the Canadian government, degrading their autonomy and marginalizing the motives of the collective action. Another article on November 1st, 2013 in the *Telegraph Journal* titled "Don't negotiate 'til threats end" discusses threats of violence made by protestors against staff of SWN as well as making analogy to acts of terrorism when discussing the protests. The author then states "Elsipogtog's support for aggressive and confrontational tactics threatens to undermine any spirit of co-operation that still exists between provincial legislators and New Brunswick's First Nations". This epitomizes not only that protest is a threat to any peaceful negotiations that *could have been* enacted between both parties, but because the Elsipogtog band supports aggression and violence and acts of public dissent, any kind of discussion between the government, Indigenous people, and industry is threatened.

Notably, a total of 18 articles (4.8%), which fit into this grand frame made reference to the welfare status of the Elsipogtog band usually in contrast to a focus of the violence and presence of weapons, and the victimization of the public. The sources that contained this contrast were: the *Times and Transcript*, the *Telegraph Journal*, the *Daily Gleaner*, the *Toronto Star*, the

Ottawa Citizen, the *Prince George Citizen*, the *National Post*, *The Gazette*, the *Hamilton Spectator*, the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Star Phoenix*, the *Vancouver Sun*, and *The Record*. This was implicitly linked in many articles to the result of threatening any peaceful negotiations that could occur. In the *Daily Gleaner* on October 19th, 2013, David Alward, the premiere of New Brunswick from 2010 – 2014, was quoted, "People know the difference between right and wrong, and what took place was wrong," stating further on in the article, "The RCMP made an evaluation… this was not a law-abiding, peaceful demonstration… I believe the leaders of First Nations people want an open dialogue… to be full participants in our economy and society". David Alward implicitly notes that if Indigenous people want to be a part of society, they must be law-abiding, peaceful demonstrators who engage in "open dialogue". Yet the only "open dialogue" was between Chief Aaron Sock and David Alward, which led to disagreements on both sides. To add to this, an article in *The Daily Gleaner* that also appeared on October 19th, 2013, quotes Indigenous consultant Bernard Richard, "Sadly the protests and resulting arrests have reframed Canada's 'two solitudes' as a contest between aboriginal and non-aboriginal players – not just in New Brunswick but across the country". Admittedly, the protests were seen to create even further divides between Indigenous peoples and government entities.

As seen in figure 2, the frame of race relations was constituted from anywhere between one and four indicators per article, indicating that there was lower prevalence of this frame as a whole, having eight indicators in total. While still prevalent both explicitly and implicitly, the frequencies and prevalence of this frame speaks to the nature of sources reporting the issue. Explicit frame constitution appeared mostly in opinion-editorially-produced articles, whereas reporter-produced and editorially-produced articles had fewer indicators.

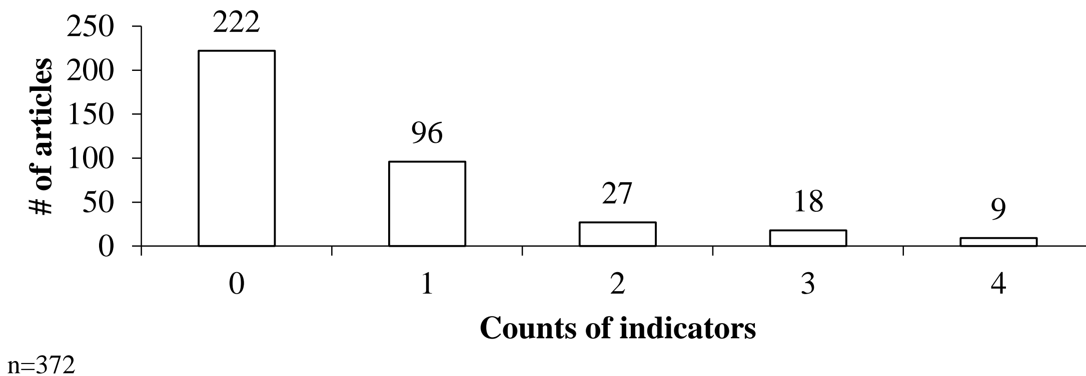

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Figure 2. Counts of race relation indicators by number of articles

Collective action as a means for achieving social justice

This frame was found to be quite prominent in the articles surrounding the collective action, accounting for 184 of all articles (49.5%) and 93 (50.5%) of the articles that did not mention the coalition. This frame was operationalized by the following indicators: the mentioning of: problematic government policies, a legacy of colonialism in Canada, the persecution of Indigenous peoples, aboriginal rights generally, treaty rights and treaty negotiations, other nations in support and in solidarity with Elsipogtog, a lack of consultation or discussion with the band, and finally the mentioning of police instigating the more confrontational and contentious protest that occurred on October 17th.

An article in the *Calgary Herald* on October 21st, 2013 titled, "Fracking protestors air legitimate concerns" depicts an alternative message for readers. The author writes, "…misunderstandings of Indigenous rights at the root of this conflict have been consistently perpetuated", going on to state the necessary legal process for consultation in that "…most Canadians appear unaware of the legal duty, as affirmed in Section 35 of the Constitution Act and upheld consistently in court of government and industry to adequately consult and

accommodate aboriginal groups potentially affected by proposed resource development in their territories". When extractive activities, including exploration, are carried out within Indigenous territories, Indigenous people have a right to free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) (Grand Council of the Crees, 2014; Government of Canada, 2011; Ward, 2011). In the Telegraph Journal on October 31st, Elsipogtog Chief Aaron Sock is quoted:

> *We, the people, have been compelled to act to save our waters, land and animals, from ruin… our lands have never been ceded which means we have never surrendered our land. For Centuries the British Crown claimed to be holding the lands in trust for us, but they have been badly mismanaged by Canada, the province of New Brunswick, and corporations.*

The author of this article discusses the treaty process and quotes Chief Sock throughout, noting that the protests could have been prevented if a proper and legally binding consultation process had occurred. Adding to this, an article in the *Ottawa Citizen* on October 19th, 2013 starts by sarcastically stating, "Perhaps it can be seen as an extension of the Canadian 'pioneer' spirit…" continuing with serious discourse on how, historically, Canada's, "…wealth and prosperity had been built through the persistent and usually violent removal of First Nations from their traditional lands in order to make room for resource development". The author concludes, "As we watched the blockade, we also witnessed the violent response that often follows violent provocation… although… flaming police cars have a way of catching the attention of the general public".

As seen in figure 3, the prevalence of this frame was constituted anywhere between one and seven indicators. The prevalence of this frame across sources in the sample was higher than expected, appearing in 22 out of the 28 sources. The highest prevalence was seen in the three Brunswick News sources, however sources like the *Globe and Mail*, *Ottawa Citizen*, *Toronto*

Star, and *Times Colonist* had between three and seven indicators – indicating that these nationally spanning sources were discussing pertinent issues regarding Indigenous resistance, oppression, and legally binding consultation practices. Higher counts of indicators constituting this frame appeared in opinion-editorially-produced articles, whereas lower counts appeared in editorial-produced and reporter-produced articles.

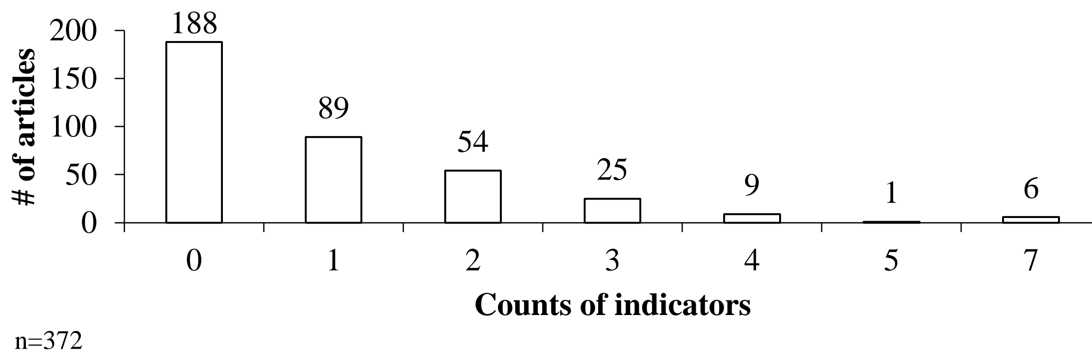

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Figure 3. Counts of social justice indicators and number of articles

Collective action as a threat to industry

This frame was operationalized through these indicators: the protests as illegally preventing industry, mentioning the benefits to the economy that industry would bring, mentioning the costs to industry that the protests incurred, noting that industry is environmentally sound and has safe practices, and explicitly mentioning that Indigenous people are against industry. Due to the collective action being in opposition to resource development, this frame was found to be most prominent, making up a total of 342 (92.2%) of the total article count. When isolated for articles that frame Indigenous actors as against industry and not noting the presence of non-Indigenous actors, the total count was 191 articles (100.0%) not mentioning the coalition between environmental and Indigenous groups. Making up over half of the articles from the article sample, I found there to be a consistent ethos surrounding a threat to industrial development, not only on an individual safety basis, but also as threatening the goals of

economic development for the provincial government of New Brunswick in collusion with SWN Resources.

For example an article on October 19th, 2013 in the *Telegraph Journal* the author writes, "If we ignore science, demonize those we disagree with, and shred permits under pressure we won't just drive away the shale gas industry, we'll drive away the sort of investment and jobs every New Brunswicker wants. This is especially true in First Nations communities with high rates of poverty, crying out for economic opportunity". Framing industry goals over those of the Elsipogtog band, another article in the *Times and Transcript* on November 1st, 2013 shares a similar ethos, the author beginning by quoting the National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Shawn Atleo, "Indigenous nations across Canada have a right to free and prior and informed consent for all aspects of their lives, including on issues of resource development". Matt Hayes, the lawyer for SWN Resources, then states, "That's an opinion and political goal, not the reality in Canada today. Nor is it ever likely to be if you understand what he's claiming: that Native people have a veto over every resource project (and much more) ever to be proposed. That's far different from 'consultation'". Hayes shows the explicit devaluing of the legally required consultation and accommodation process when resource development infringes on land that is unceded, traditional, or considered to belong to Indigenous groups (Government of Canada, 2011; Ward, 2011). FPIC is founded on legally-recognized rights, based on the risks associated with autonomy and self-determination of Indigenous peoples in Canada (Ward, 2011). Without proper consultation, Indigenous right to self-governance and autonomy is undermined by the state, resonating assimilative and appropriative practices that break legally binding obligations (Corntassel & Holder, 2008; Ward, 2011). Another article in the *Calgary Herald* on November 16th, 2013 discusses an application sought by the Elsipogtog First Nation for an

injunction against SWN Resources to prevent the company from doing any kind of shale gas exploration. The author states, "The application says exploration of shale gas violates the rights of First Nations because they have not been adequately consulted, an argument Hayes rejected". Hayes had previously sought for, and achieved, an injunction against those, or in those who were in contact with, individuals preventing the company from doing its work. Hayes disregards and neglects legal consultation practices, stating, "I don't know that a First Nation right is being interfered with by a truck going down a road". Hayes continues by highlighting that "… granting an injunction would cause SWN Resources irreparable harm in that it would amount to a loss of about $54,000 for each day that crews and trucks are not able to do their work". By focusing on the monetary losses of the company, Hayes undermines and devalues the legal need for consultation and provides a resounding answer to where industrial legal practice is focused. He undervalues the right that First Nations communities have for legal and proper consultation and focuses on the loss in profits of the company, directing attention away from the pertinent legal issues that the court, province, and political leader neglected during the event.

Another author in the *Hamilton Record* on December 2nd, 2013 reads, "The protestors fail to recognize the opportunities that could be available to the Elsipogtog First Nation from shale gas exploration and extraction", which acknowledges opportunities by way of development and not those granted by self-determined, autonomous, and self-directed choice. Contrasting this the author notes that "…the unemployment rate among the Elsipogtog First Nation is 32 per cent… in a community of approximately 1,900 members with a median age of 25", which guides the reader's attention to the notion that an alliance industry is an economically and ethically sound decision for Indigenous peoples. This neglects the resounding opposition that the Elsipogtog

band, as well as many other First Nations bands across Canada, maintain toward resource development (Grand Council of the Crees, 2014; Preston, 2013).

Figure 4 shows that the distribution of indicators is much higher than the past three mentioned frames, with higher counts per article of indicators, between one and five, than previously mentioned frames, of which all had higher zero indicator counts of articles constituting the grand frames. Most of these indicators were constituted in all three types of source: reporter-produced, editorially-produced, and opinion-editorial produced articles. As with violence and race, opinion-editorial and editorially-produced articles had higher counts of indicators.

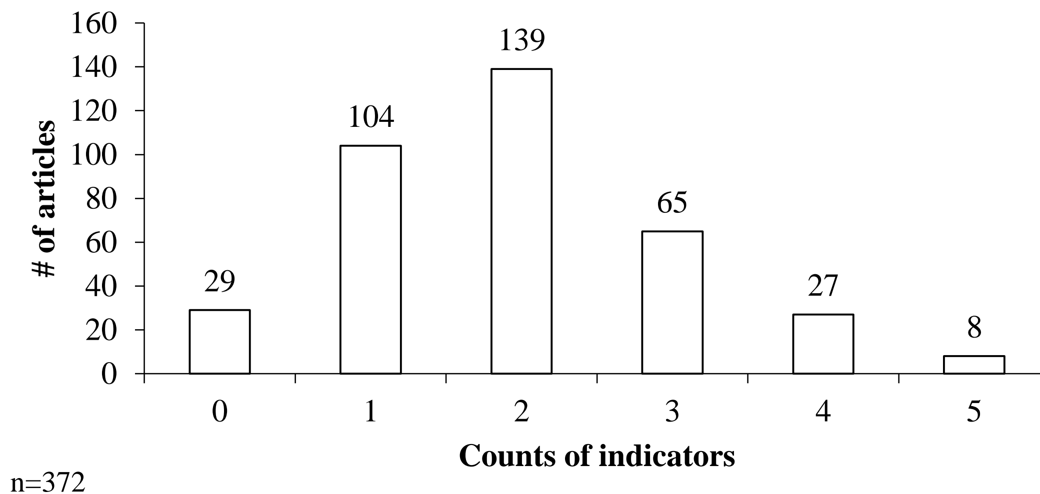

Figure 4. Counts of industry indicators with number of articles

Discussion & Conclusion

While there is obviously a breadth of media discourse surrounding the Indigenous resurgence and environmental justice aspects to the collective action, what I found in this analysis shows a strong link to contemporary forms of settler colonialism. This is done through media framing the protests as a threat to industrial development and the extraction of natural

resources within the Mi'kma'ki region, tied closely with the portrayal of Indigenous, and in some cases non-Indigenous, peoples as radical and violent. Resonating with the findings of recent literature, my findings lend credence to researchers that have worked extensively to isolate the Canadian nation-state's continuing exploitation of land, resource, and people, as well as the continuing misrepresentation of the Indigenous threat as radical terrorists that seek to undermine the state and its neoliberal goals (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Corrigall-Brown & Wilkes, 2011; Dalby, 2002; Dalby & Mackenzie, 1997; Proulx, 2014, Preston, 2013, Wilkes et al, 2010; Wolfe, 2006). Collective action being framed as violent and criminal behavior and as a threat to industry were the two most prevalent findings in my analysis. Tied closely together, the two frames work in unison to form an overarching message for readers (see Appendix C, table 2 & 3). Many articles contained both frames of the collective action being portrayed as a threat to industrial development and violent acts committed by individuals posing a radical threat to the Canadian state and its people. It is important to note that while much of my analysis aligned with the findings of Wilkes et al's (2010) frames of violence, race, and social justice, the most prevalent was the new frame of industry. Media played a substantial role in this processes of reproducing notions of good and bad citizenship in regards to the protests in Elsipogtog (Taylor, 1996; Wilkes et al, 2010). Intertwined with the notion of Canadian citizenship, through describing elements of "criminal" resistance and "radical" public dissent, we know who the good citizens are: those that do not impose resistance to the goals of the Canadian neoliberal state in colludes with industry, those that do not threaten, harass, intimidate, or enact violence upon the "general public", and those that do not resist the oligarchic state through the resurgent Indigenous movement in coalition with environmental groups.

Posing the greatest threat to both resource development and the colluding Canadian state are new forms of organized Indigenous resistance, asserting sovereignty over land deemed important by the Canadian nation-state and its provinces (Preston, 2013). In synchronicity with this are new forms of organized Indigenous resistance in coalition with environmental groups (Dalby, 2002; Dalby & Mackenzie, 1997; Preston, 2013). Over half (191 articles, constituting 51.3%) of all articles did not recognize the coalition that occurred between environmental groups and Indigenous peoples in this scenario. This, in a way, speaks for itself: the majority of articles do not mention the coalition alongside its potential for a radical re-imagination of the ways in which the Canadian nation-state operates. With the threat this poses to the settler colonial state of Canada, it can be stated that media choose not to focus on the rise in resurgent forms of Indigenous resistance and alliances that are necessary for Indigenous sovereignty, self-governance, and autonomy (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). A number of studies have shown that the coalition between the two poses well-established opposition and challenge to industrial development companies that collude with state sanctioned neoliberal economic goals (Ali & Grewal, 2006; Byrne, Martinez & Glover, 2002; Dalby & Mackenzie, 1997; Preston, 2013). Having to face both a rise in Indigenous self-sovereignty and an awareness of its connection to the extensive and detrimental industrial extractive processes, the Canadian nation-state, alongside its relationships with national security forces and private oil and gas companies, is at odds with Indigenous sovereignty (Preston, 2013). Coalition between groups presents an "openness" in political opportunity for both Indigenous people, who seek to revitalize autonomy and self-governance, and environmental groups that seek to prevent the unfathomable impacts of extraction (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Atherton & Macintosh, 2014; Boudet et al, 2014; Osborne et al, 2011; Ramos, 2006; Vengosh et al, 2014). As media neglect the presence of this

coalition, they also neglect the realization that resurgent Indigenous movements are working to provide Indigenous people with an opportunity to decolonize oppressive state-sanctioned violence, assimilative legal practices, a lack of legally binding consultation practices that grant autonomy and self-governance, and marginalized portrayal through mass media. While 'ethical' promises of opportunity resounded in articles that noted the welfare and economic dissadvantage of the Elsipogtog community, this neglected and normalized an ongoing process of environmental racism, Indigenous oppression, and state sanctioned violence (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005; Preston, 2013; Wolfe, 2006).

As noted by Preston (2013), a 2010 resolution by the Assembly of First Nations notes that land privatization would 'erode our collective rights in our reserved lands', and 'impose the colonizer's model on our Peoples'. Settler colonialism in Canada colludes with industrial development in many ways, however, one form of settler colonialism, land-centered, requires private companies like SWN Resources "…and public agencies to work together to secure access to land and resources while strategically managing the Indian problem" (2013, p. 49). Strategically managing the threat of resistance to the Canadian neoliberal state, media has facilitated the portrayal of Indigenous peoples as a radical and violent threat that is in opposition to resource development and the goals of a land centred economy driven by oligarchic forms of governance.

So what happened?

Industrial Security Ltd. (ISL) was contracted by SWN Resources as a private security company doing "security related work" on the contested land during the protests (Barrera, 2013; see Appendix E, figure 11). ISL is owned by JD Irving Ltd, a corporate empire headed by the Irving family that dominates New Brunswick, also owning and operating Brunswick News

(Barrera, 2013). Additionally, on the contested land, and site of police and protestor conflict that occurred on October 17th, lay an Irving owned compound holding trucks belonging to SWN Resources (Barrera, 2013). The RCMP raided the protest site on the 17th, freeing the protestor-blocked Irving compound and allowing SWN's trucks, containing equipment for exploratory fracking, to leave the site (Barrera, 2013). On December 7th, 2013 in the *Times & Transcript* article titled "SWN completes shale gas exploration", SWN Resources released a public statement, "SWN Resources Canada is pleased to announce that we have completed our seismic acquisition program in New Brunswick… We would like to thank all New Brunswickers for their continued support". According to Barrera, a reporter for Aboriginal Peoples Television Network National, Irving Oil is operated independently from JD Irving Ltd yet had a vested interest in seeing the development of shale gas deposits, expanding its refining capacity in expectation of the flow from Alberta's mined bitumen, if TransCanada's Energy East pipeline project gained approval (Barrera, 2013, Abreu, Fitzgerald, & Abbott, 2013; see Appendix F, figure 11). Irony abounds, as in the *Daily Gleaner* on October 19th, 2013 David Alward, New Brunswick's premier from 2010 – 2014, condoned the actions of RCMP officers using "non-violent" tactics such as pepper spray and manhandling, and stated, "The RCMP made an evaluation that the encampment in Kent County was not safe for people… this was not a law abiding, peaceful demonstration… I believe the leaders of First Nations people want an open dialogue, they want to be full participants in our economy and our society".

What next?

Future research on the resurgent Indigenous movement, the presence of internal threats to the sovereignty of the Canadian nation-state, and land appropriation through oligarchic resource development, could incorporate a discussion of the newly proposed Bill C-51 and the approved

omnibus budget bill, Bill C-45. Bill C-45 (the 'Jobs and Growth Act, 2012') weakened environmental protection measures, before which all waterways in Canada were automatically protected by the government (now it only protects less than 1%), and additionally amended 60 pieces of legislation, including the Indian Act, which led to the rush of the Idle No More movement (Preston, 2013; Parliament of Canada, 2014). Met with nation-wide opposition and contention, the recently proposed Bill-51, the Anti-terrorism act is an "act to encourage and facilitate information sharing between the Government of Canada institutions in order to protect Canada against activities that undermine the security of Canada" (Parliament of Canada, 2015). Protests occurring in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Ottawa, and over two dozen other cities and towns across Canada turned attention to the power to change practices of governmental surveillance that this bill would grant, increasing the autonomy for the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS), enabling a lack of notice for judicial warrants to be granted for arrests made on "intended targets" (violating key Charter rights), as well as giving government the power to "order the removal of terrorist propaganda" from online media (Mendes, 2015; Parliament of Canada, 2015; Soupcoff, 2015). Further research is needed in the potential effects of these new bills, threatening both the environmental sanctity of Canada as well as the resurgent Indigenous movement. Both of these face resounding misrepresentations through mass media and public discourse.

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Appendix

A. *Coding Sheet & Frames*

Article Identifier

An article identifier will be used in order to give each article a unique coding number for the purposes of quick analysis. If needed, a unique identifier can be useful for going over data again with ease.

Day

Can analyze and compare / contrast articles by day. Will help to organize and track dates of importance along timeline.

Month

Can analyze and compare / contrast articles by month. Will help to organize and track months of importance along timeline.

Year

Can analyze and compare / contrast articles by year. Will be most useful to look at pre and post when violent event occurs within articles.

Weekday

Can analyze and compare / contrast articles by weekday released.

Source

Includes all 27 sources. Can organize articles by source and compare / contrast frames within.

B. *Frames - first four adopted from Wilkes et al. (2010):*

Below are the frames adopted from Wilkes et al's (2010) research. Grand frame is numbered (1, 2, 3…) and indicators of frames are alphabetized (a, b, c…).

1. Collective action as criminal or violent behavior:
    a. Militants, terrorists, criminals, insurgents, fanatics
    b. Breaking the law
    c. Dangerous to police/public
    d. Presence of violence
    e. Presence of weapons
    f. Out of hand
    g. Need to restore order
    h. Need to intervene
    i. Frustration/anger as mounting
    j. Get to front of the line
    k. Indigenous leaders condoning protestors and illegal activity

2. Collective action as a threat to race relations:
    a. At war with white people (infringing on the rights of non-natives, ie: non-native Canadians restricted from recreation, business)
    b. White victimization (harassment of reporters, heckling, interference of interviews, intimidation)
    c. As creating national divisions
    d. Protest makes all indigenous people look bad
    e. Threat to ongoing peaceful negotiations
    f. Protestors are under representative of indigenous peoples
    g. Preferential treatment
    h. Government failure to address protest
    i. Resistance to treaty process
3. Collective action as expensive and costly:
    a. Economic cost of the protest (cost to local economy, police)
    b. Economic interest as motivator
    c. Indigenous unwillingness to pay taxes
4. Collective action as a means for achieving social justice:
    a. Problematic government policies
    b. Colonialism, legacy of
    c. Persecution of Indigenous peoples
    d. Aboriginal rights
5. Collective action as a threat to industry:
    a. Mentioning of *illegal* protest in preventing econ/industry
    b. Mentioning of benefits to economy
    c. Indigenous as working with industry
    d. Industry as illegal (land claims)
    e. Indigenous people/band against industry
    f. Industry supportive of non-violent protests
    g. Economic cost/impact of the protest on industry
    h. Confidence in industry as environmentally safe / has good practices
6. Mentioning of non-indigenous actors in the event
    a. Non-indigenous actors present and in support
    b. No non-indigenous actors present / mentioned
7. Community against…
    a. Community against fracking – supportive of protestors
    b. Community against fracking – supportive of industry
8. Police…
    a. Cost / danger to police by protestors
    b. Requirement to intervene / maintain order
9. Environmental effects…
    a. Damage to health of community from fracking mentioned
    b. Damage to health of ecosystem / health of environment / mother nature mentioned

C. General Quantitative Findings

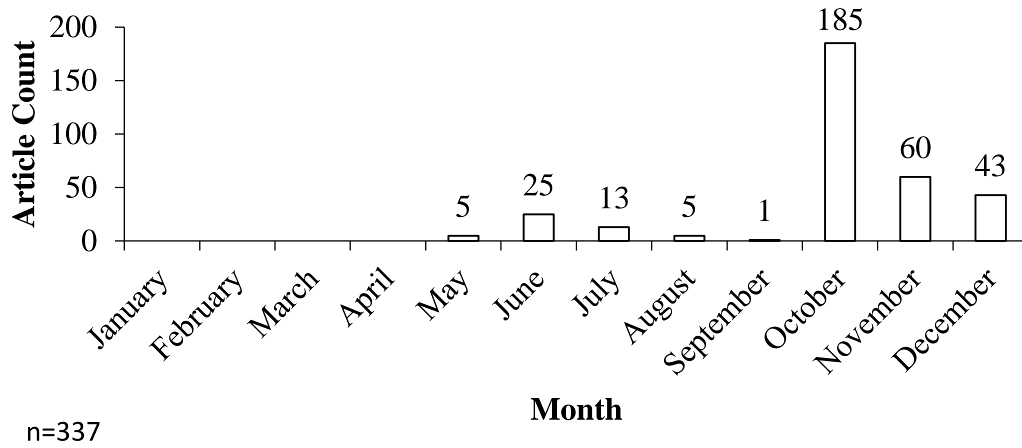

Figure 5. Total count of articles in 201

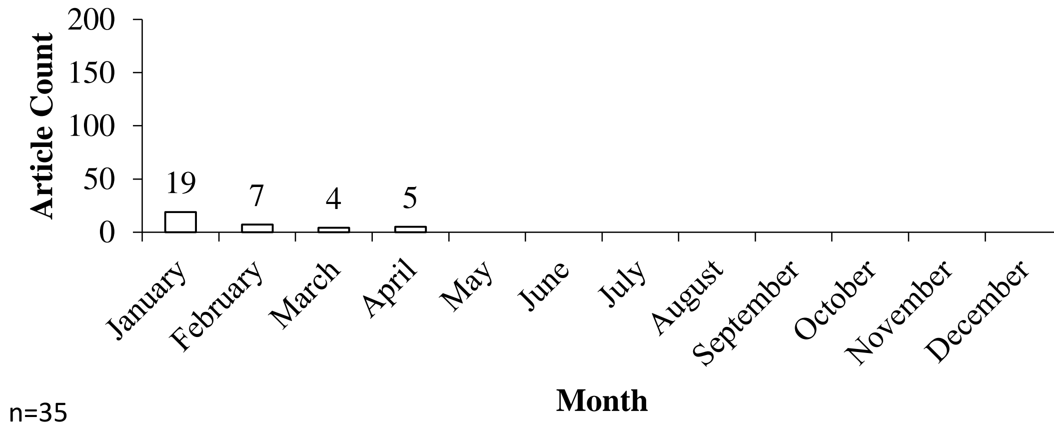

Figure 6. Total count of articles in 2014

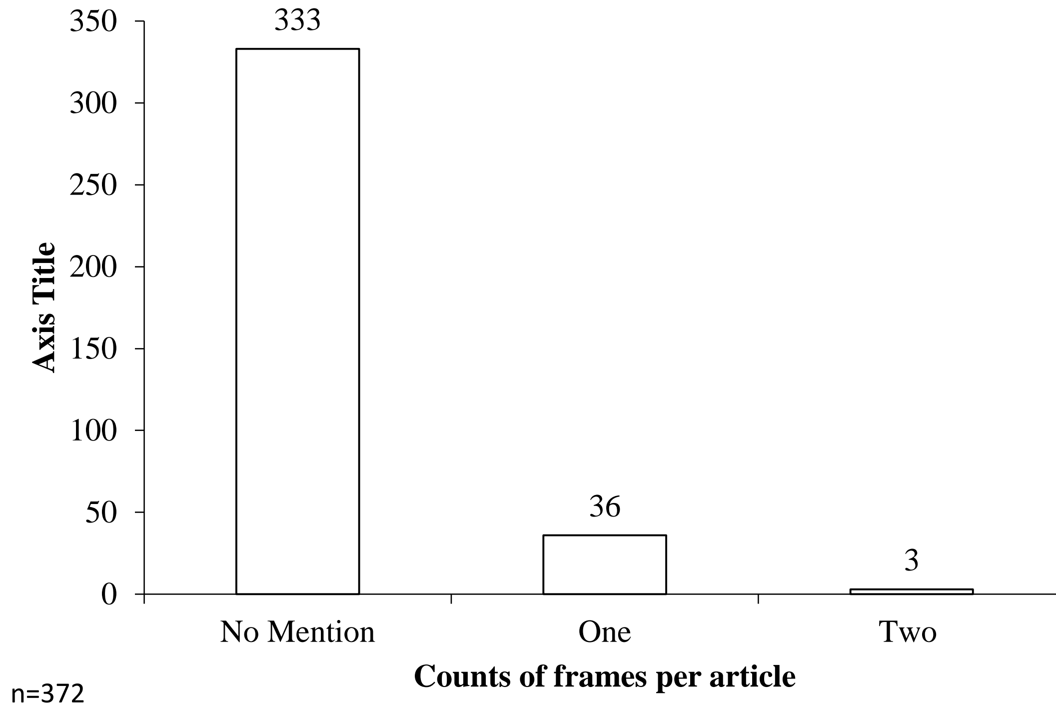

Figure 7. Counts of indicators appearing in each article under grand frame of "collective action as costly / expensive"

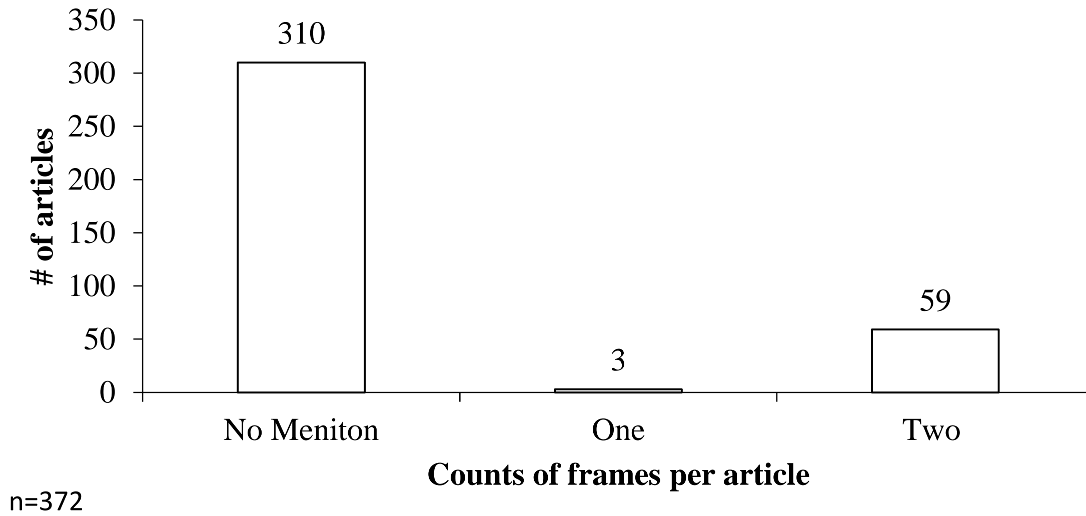

Figure 8. Counts of indicators mentioning non-indigenous actors involved in the collective action

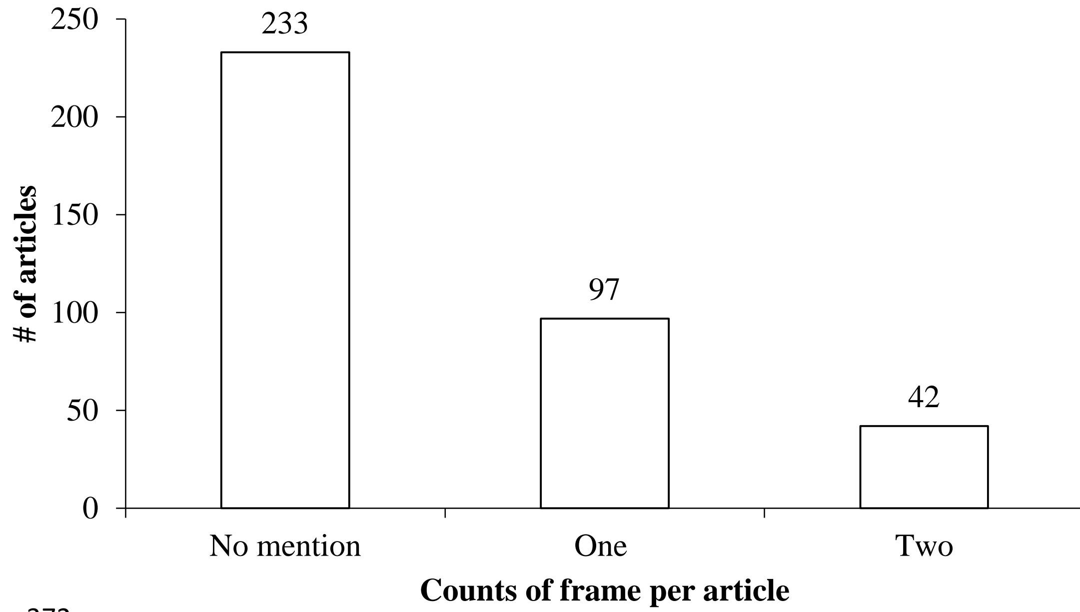

Figure 9. Counts of articles mentioning environmental impact, protection of environment, risks to environment, damages of fracking

Table 2. industry indicator counts per article cross tabulated with violence indicator

Violence indicator count	Industry indicator count 0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
0	7	41	25	6	7	1	87
1	7	19	38	11	2	3	80
2	5	15	15	14	4	3	56
3	8	11	32	5	4	0	60
4	2	7	12	12	2	0	35
5	0	4	7	7	2	1	21
6	0	5	6	8	3	0	22
7	0	2	3	2	3	0	10
8	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	29	104	139	65	27	8	372

Table 3. industry indicator counts per article cross tabulated with violence indicator in articles with no mention of coalition

	Industry indicator count					
Violence indicator count	0	1	2	3	4	Total
0	5	17	5	4	0	31
1	0	25	10	1	2	38
2	4	12	11	3	3	33
3	2	22	1	3	0	28
4	4	9	5	0	0	18
5	2	6	4	2	1	15
6	1	6	8	3	0	18
7	1	3	2	3	0	9
8	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	19	101	46	19	6	191

D. List of Sources

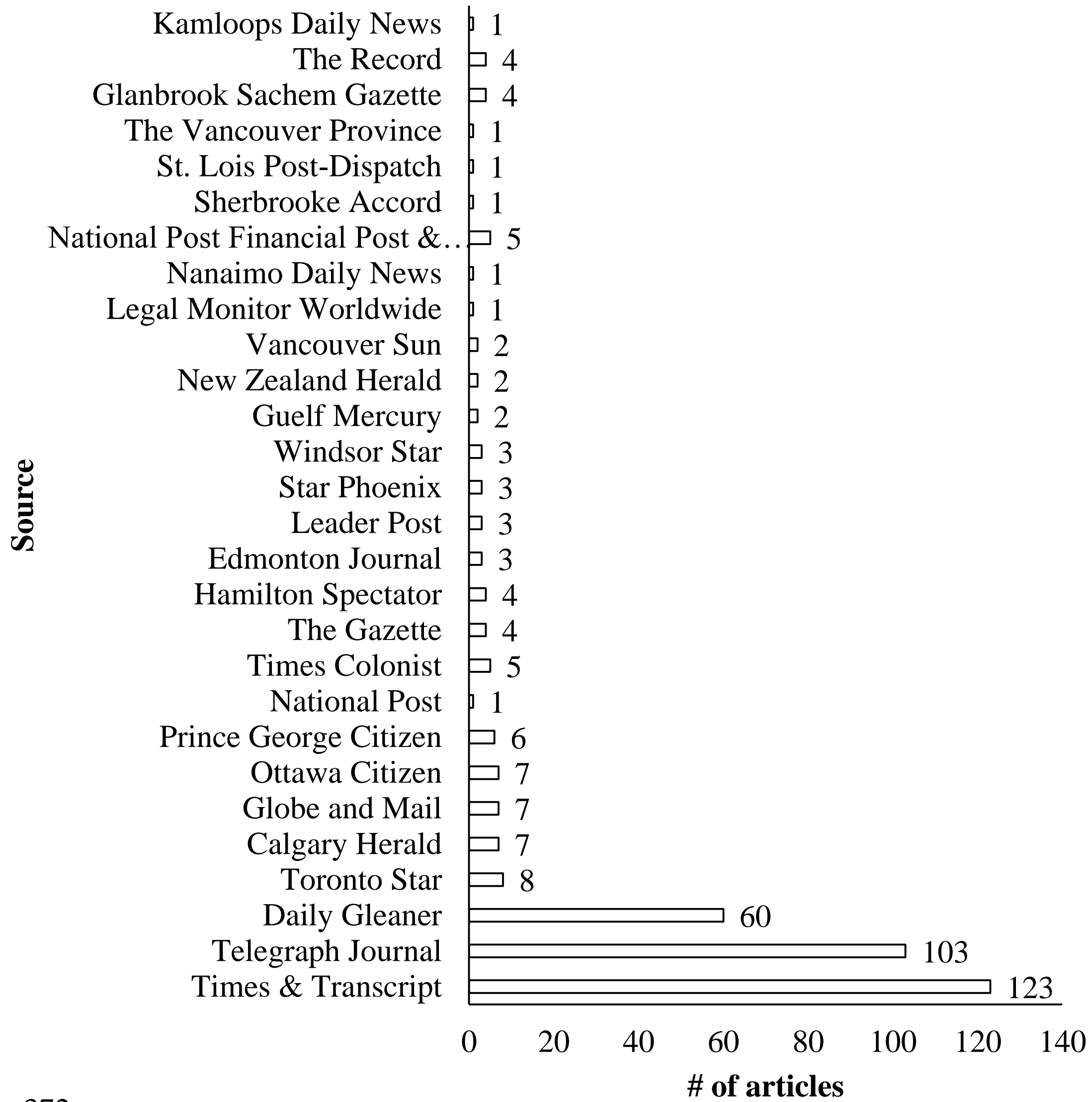

Figure 10. List of source and frequency of articles

E. Irving & Associates

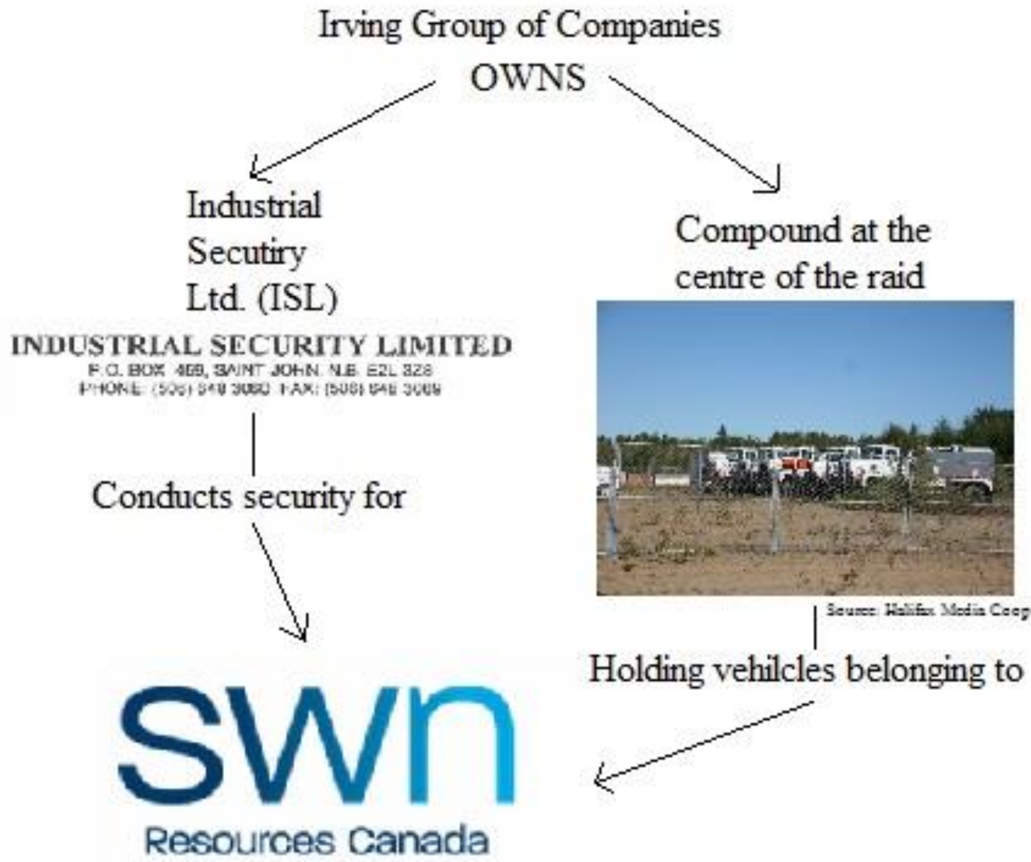

Figure 11. Irving Group of Companies and ownership ties.

F. TransCanada's Energy East Pipeline

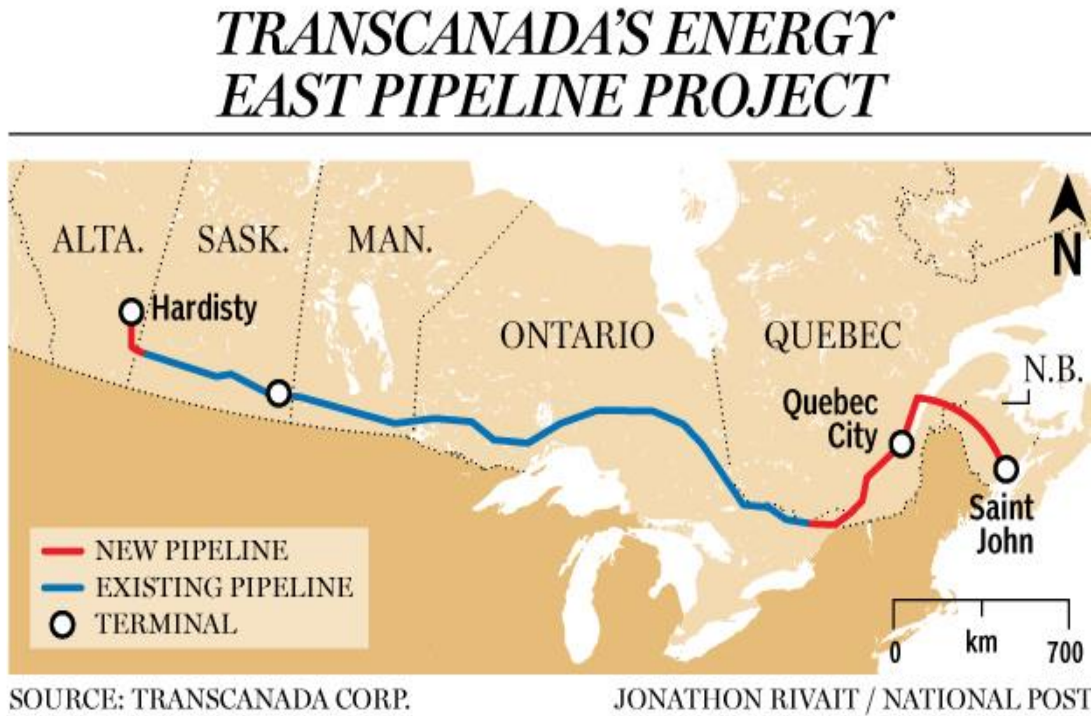

Figure 12. Proposed developments of TransCanada's Energy East Pipeline