

**RE-IMAGINING “CANADA”**

**Consensus, Resistance, and the construction of a multicultural national discourse**

*A case study of *North of 60**

by

**Michael Dennis Krywy**

**A thesis submitted to the Department of Political Studies  
in conformity with the requirements of  
the degree of Master of Arts**

**Queen’s University**

**Kingston, Ontario, Canada**

**December, 1997**

**copyright © Michael Dennis Krywy, 1997**



**National Library  
of Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada**

**Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services**

**Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques**

**395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada**

**395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada**

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

**The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.**

**L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.**

**The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.**

**L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.**

**0-612-28214-7**

**Canada**

## Abstract

This thesis examines how Native/non-Native differences are represented through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) television program, *North of 60*. Using a theory and approach of textual analysis derived from Stuart Hall, I explore how *North of 60* combines fictional representations of Canadian aboriginal peoples with traditional national signifiers such as the RCMP and federal government institutions to construct a more complex and inclusive way of imagining Canadian society. In a number of different realms - economic, political, and social - old tensions are invoked and then resolved in a way which bridges previously coded differences in order to construct a more multicultural national discourse. Through its discussion of issues such as Native self-government, land claim settlement, and symbolic recognition, *North of 60* provides an imaginative context through which such problems can be expressed, without necessarily being "resolved". Many of these issues are left open and frequently recur because they tend to be systemic or structural and impossible to solve on a case by case basis. Thus, even as the problems emerge and are dealt with episodically, their recurrence throughout the series and over the course of several seasons is used to draw attention to enduring issues which have come to preoccupy the current government/aboriginal relations within Canadian society.

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to thank the following: My partner Cindy for bearing with me; Tasha and Dami for being furry and cute; Christopher for being my muse; The Beats and particularly Jack Kerouac for providing inspiration; Charlie Parker, John Coltrane, Miles Davis, Thelonius Monk, Charlie Mingus, Ornette Coleman for making such great music; my friends in Kingston and particularly Nat, Greg, Lasha, Michelle, Darren and Elizabeth, for their companionship; The Grizzly and the Brew and Cue for all the pool games played there; Mom and Dad for their support; Jon N. and Danielle for their laughter; the Prince Albert for its fine coffee; my pals from Winnipeg - Kurt, Brad, Jarod and Chris for listening to my ramblings; Professors John Meisel, Eleanor MacDonald and Robert Pike for their insightful comments; and Jonathan Rose for his guidance throughout and for convincing me not to use my parachute.

## **Table of Contents**

1.	Consensus, Resistance, and the Re-imagining of “Canada”	
1.0	Introduction	1
1.1	Overview	5
1.2	The politics of national identity	6
1.3	Television, Official Culture and the Canadian context	13
1.4	The case study - situating <i>North of 60</i> within this context	16
1.5	Summary	20
2.	The theory and method of Stuart Hall: A paradigm for textual analysis	
2.0	Introduction	21
2.1	A meeting of Marxism and Semiotics	22
2.2	Rethinking Ideology	25
2.3	Ideology and Appropriation	27
2.4	The Problematic of polysemy	29
2.5	Applying Hall’s theory to this case study	31
3.	<i>North of 60: Across the Ethnic Divide</i>	
3.0	Introduction	33
3.1	The Native/non-Native dichotomy: similarity, difference and the ideological divide	34
3.2	Who’s who in <i>North of 60</i>	39
3.3	Re-structuring the Imaginative Frontier: An analysis of setting	46
3.4	Across the Ethnic divide: Thematic structuring of a multicultural national discourse	50
	1. The Political realm: Autonomy and authority reimagined	52
	2. Beyond the Great Economic Divide	70
	3. Cultural differences in the coffee shop	76
3.5	Summary	86
4.	Conclusion	90
	Bibliography	99
	Appendix	104
	Vita	105

## **Chapter 1: *Consensus, Resistance, and the Re-imagining of “Canada”***

### **1.0 *Introduction***

For nearly fifty years now, Canada’s federal government has played an active role in shaping how Canada is represented via television broadcasting. Through Canada’s national broadcaster (the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation - CBC), the central regulatory authority (the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission - CRTC), and through legislation (the *Broadcasting Act*), the federal government has tried to ensure that Canadians have the opportunity to see themselves reflected on television. In doing so, it has attempted to contribute to the formation of a national discourse<sup>1</sup> so as to foster a stronger sense of national

---

<sup>1</sup> Over the past three decades, the term discourse has become increasingly popular amongst linguistic theorists, poststructuralists, and other practitioners of cultural studies. In this thesis, I will define the term discourse rather broadly by considering it as a subset of culture. The term culture is defined by Stuart Hall as both a representational practice (or activity) and that which is produced through this activity (Hall 1980, 27). As such, the term culture encapsulates all representational practices (e.g., literature, broadcasting, dance, music, cooking, etc.) and the texts associated with these practices (e.g., books, television and radio programs, dance performances, songs, meals, etc.).

The term discourse provides a useful way of segregating the vast field of culture into smaller more discernable representational fields. Like culture, discourses are also both practices (i.e., activities) and products (i.e., the result of those activities) which are organized in relation to a specific idea, concept or subject matter (e.g., gender, sexuality, nationality, science, biology, politics, etc.). Discourses are composed through and across a variety of different cultural practices and texts, with each aspect contributing to the construction of a larger framework and body of representations which structure the manner in which people come to understand the world. This collection of representations has both a dynamic and static nature, continually changing to incorporate new representations, practices, and interpretations, while at the same time perpetuating particular ideas through repetition. As such, the particular nature of a discourse can only be established empirically (i.e., through observation) as all discourses are subject to change over time.

National discourses are composed of representation associated with the concept of nation. This type of discourse is potentially quite broad, as it can include a wide variety of subjects (sporting events, politics, arts and entertainment, economic practices, etc.) which coalesce into a

identification amongst Canadians.

This project of fostering a national television<sup>2</sup> discourse designed to “reflect” Canada to Canadians has drawn its share of criticism. The very act of trying to symbolically “reflect” Canada suggests a passive process at work, in which the creators of television programming go out and find what is out there and beam it back into Canadian living rooms. Furthermore, it implies that there is a “Canada” to be found, transformed into the various ideas, images and events which make up the national discourse. If it were only this simple.

Canada’s national discourse, as structured by the federal government does not so much “reflect” Canada, as it does “represent” it in particular ways. The act of representation suggests a far more active process of constructing Canada, of making Canada meaningful for its citizens. It involves picking and choosing from amongst the many and diverse events, peoples, ideas, cultures, traditions which make up Canada, and packaging these into television programs. It involves framing these issues, and presenting them from a particular perspective or perspectives. Thus even as certain aspects of Canada are being presented, others are being omitted, marginalized, interpreted in one way rather than another. In other words, Canada’s national

---

web of significations through which people come to develop a sense of nation. Every television program, piece of legislation or cultural activity which is in some way associated with the concept of nation, adds a new strand to this web and another layer to the national discourse. Furthermore, national discourses need not be internally consistent, and in fact, are likely to consist of competing views and visions of the nation.

<sup>2</sup>The term national television discourse refers to that discourse created only through television programming. Although this discourse is not created in isolation from other texts and media, there may be particular tendencies associated with a particular practice (e.g., television broadcasting) which are not as prevalent in other practices. As such, I have chosen to isolate television so as to consider only a specific set of representations.

discourse is ultimately represented as a partial discourse, possessing its own specific characteristics and biases. It is formed as part of a complex cultural process involving many voices, but one which nevertheless displays certain tendencies and limits as to how and which aspects of Canadian society are presented.

How then has Canada's national television discourse been formed? What experiences have been preferred and which omitted? In the most definitive survey of this question, Mary Jane Miller contends that Canada's national dramatic television programming has tended to focus upon a wide variety of themes. In her book *Turn up the Contrast* (Miller 1987), which surveys CBC English television broadcasting from 1952-86, Miller identifies a number of predominant themes and "connecting paths" which have characterized the programming over this period:

... the differences as well as the dignity of being Indian, or Métis; intermittent explorations of multicultural roots and cultural clashes between generations or between old and new immigrants; a genuine hatred of war; a sense of the separate identities that divide us into urban and rural, East and West, Maritimer and inlander, (too seldom) manager and worker; an emphasis on the individual caught in social structures that, without particular malevolence, injure private rights; a remarkable number of portraits of extraordinary women - rarely famous, and often survivors rather than winners or power figures ... On the other hand, by comparison with German, Swedish, or British television drama, our television is remarkably apolitical in the formal or self-conscious sense. Much of the best of the drama written specifically for television is populist, nationalist, with a thrust for social change, frequently emphasizing individuals who rally a group into collective action ... Our views of ourselves seem to emphasize that, as a culture, we make it by persistence or luck rather than vision, a perception reinforced by a tendency to demythologize our historical heroes by treating a good many of our fictional ones ironically or comically. The values of hard work, tolerance for difference among us, and the efficacy of collective good will are pervasive in our series and drama specials. Our television shows also show us, far more unsparingly and convincingly than American television does, our sins of omission and commission (Miller 1987, 377).

Miller's survey suggests that Canada's national discourse been constructed along a number of



different lines, appealing to a rather broad segment of Canadian society. Yet, throughout the seventies and eighties, the CBC began to lose its regional emphasis as production in regional offices such as Montreal, Vancouver and Winnipeg severely declined (Miller 1987, 327). Thus, even as regional and ethnic differences continued to be explored in programs such as the *Beachcombers*, there was a decline in direct exploration of ethnic diversity.

When the federal government passed a new broadcasting act in 1991, the CBC was mandated to create more programming that reflected the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society. Since this time, the CBC has attempted to do so, creating more dramatic programs with a distinct multicultural emphasis. Emerging from these programs is a broader multicultural national discourse which incorporates ethnic differences as well as those of gender, region, sexuality -- and which could not be negotiated through the still lingering myths of Canada's binational/ bilingual Canadian society. Despite the fact that CBC television had explored other aspects of Canadian society, many national political debates still focused on French/English cleavages, rather than on a more pluralistic conception of Canadian society.

To demonstrate how the CBC has changed to foster a sense of pluralism and multiculturalism, I will examine the CBC dramatic television program *North of 60*. Through this case study, I will argue that a multicultural national discourse is now being structured by using fictional representations of Canadian aboriginals (specifically, a Dene band) in a manner which both criticizes and resists the older and still enduring myths of Canada as a centralist, binational, bilingual society. *North of 60* contributes to the myth of multiculturalism along three main axes -- political, economic, and social -- using Native and non-Native characters in each area to explore how ethnic relations inform the Canadian national discourse. Through a series of

recodings, *North of 60* demonstrates how representations of marginalized others can be used to resist older myths of official culture so as to provide a way of re-imagining Canada in a broader, more consensual way.

### **1.1 Overview**

In this chapter, I attempt to provide the necessary background for my thesis by developing the problematic in three steps. In the first section I will explore some of the key characteristics of national identity and national discourse formation. Relying primarily upon the works of Philip Schlesinger, I will attempt to provide an account of how national discourses tend to be constructed in two main ways; *intranationally*, in which different aspects of national culture/s (ethnic, linguistic, gendered, regional, etc.) are used to speak to the whole (or at least large parts) of the larger society; and *internationally*, in which differences between nations are privileged so as to highlight similarities and/or differences between nations. Schlesinger provides a discursive account of identity formation which recognizes the contingent and dynamic nature of identity formation, by focusing specifically on the influences which television has had on national identity formation.

In the second section, I situate the discussion of national identity within the context of Canada's television industry. In particular, I will consider how the Canadian federal government has attempted to structure an "official" Canadian culture through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation using the *Broadcasting Act* to do so. In the final section of this introductory chapter I provide a brief survey of the Canadian literature on Canadian television broadcasting and national identity formation. I conclude this chapter by situating the case study within the literature and the problematic as I have defined it.

## **1.2 *The politics of national identity***

Over the past half century, the literature on identity formation has risen at a dramatic rate. More researchers have begun to chart how identities are formed through discursive practices so as to better understand how culture can and does influence human perception. This trend is predominant in a number of different areas, particularly with respect to gender issues, sexuality, class formation and national identity.

One of the leading theorists in this literature is British academic Stuart Hall. In his article, "Who Needs Identity?" (Hall 1996), Hall summarizes why the concept of identity has become such an important concept, how it is currently being defined, and where much research is now headed. In his view, identities;

... are never unified and, in later modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourse, practices and positions. They are subject to a radical historicization, and are constantly in the process of change and transformation (Hall 1996, 4).

In Hall's conceptualization, identities are multifaceted, as individuals define or articulate who they are in a number of different ways. Rather than tracing the formation of "identity" as a whole, more research is being directed towards understanding how particular types of identity -- ethnic, gendered, regional, sexual, economic -- are being constructed through discursive practices and as a result of one's bodily experiences. What Hall, and many others are now suggesting is that identities are formed through many different discourses, and articulated along many different axes. At times these discourses are antagonistic to each other, resulting in fragmented and perhaps inconsistent identities. At other times, these discourse may reinforce each other,

resulting in some form of synthesis. It is to the issue of national discourses formation, which I will now turn.

### ***The formation of national identities***

In this age of global communications, increasing world trade, and in many instances the decline of state involvement, there are many who believe that the nation<sup>3</sup> no longer serves as an important concept around which individuals form a sense of identity. As a result, collective identity formation is cast as something transient, contingent and ephemeral, as if identities were something which individuals simply pick and choose (Schlesinger 1993, 8).

Although this may indeed be where many societies are heading, at the current time the nation remains an important focal point around which many individuals still foster some sense of identification. National conflicts are still occurring around the world, in which different groups within established countries attempt to assert their own conceptions of nationhood either politically or through armed conflict (e.g., Quebec nationalism and aboriginal self government in Canada, Scottish independence in Britain, the armed conflicts in the former country of Yugoslavia). As such, national identity formation remains an interesting and in many cases, politically charged practice occurring around the world.

One of the most prominent writers on national identity formation and its relation to

---

<sup>3</sup>The term “nation” is defined by Benedict Anderson as an “imagined political community” which is “both inherently limited and sovereign ... It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”(Anderson 1983, 15). Although Anderson’s definition of nation is relatively simple, it forms a key component in my account of identity formation, as it suggests that the very axis of identity -- the nation -- is itself a contestable construct which is quite often either taken for granted or seen as equivalent to the boundaries of the state.

modern communications media is Philip Schlesinger. Through his investigation of the relationship between television broadcasting and the formation of national identities in Europe, Schlesinger has developed a useful (though general) model for understanding how particular symbolic differences are typically used in the development of national identities. These insights are concisely represented in his article, "Wishful Thinking: Cultural Politics, Media, and Collective Identity in Europe" (Schlesinger 1993, 7). In this article, Schlesinger identifies what he considers to be the four main elements of collective identity formation:

1. It involves construction and reconstruction of a sense of themselves by self-identifying communities, using the signs provided by their cultures.
2. It is a process of elaboration of collective consciousness, generally involving active strategies of inclusion and exclusion: *We* are defined, in part at least, as being different from how *They* are.
3. The above process extends through time, involving both memory and amnesia so that the role of versions of history becomes crucial to the self-understanding of a collectivity. Thus what is understood to be either typically "national" or "ethnic" is usually a highly selective account.
4. The same process also extends in space ... However in principle, and in fact, we may conceive of collectivities as located otherwise - for instance, as enjoying diasporic identities for which the strict territorial condition does not apply (Schlesinger 1993, 7).

Within this typology, Schlesinger focuses on two main axes of collective identity formation: a) symbolic differences between nations which are used to distinguish between *us* and *them*, and b) symbolic differences within the nation itself which uses different interpretations of tradition to construct a sense of unity. It is through these plays of difference that different discourses or myths of nation emerge and compete with each other, contributing to the formation of a multifaceted national discourse.

At the national level, national discourses are formed predominantly through the

construction of tradition(s). Within any nation, numerous traditions compete for dominance. The past is not simply a static cultural entity waiting passively to be discovered, it needs to be created. Particular events, heroes, situations, and ideas must be represented symbolically through various cultural media, and put forward to compete with other interpretations. The fostering of a collective consciousness is thus always selective, involving “both memory and amnesia so that the role of versions of history becomes crucial to the self-understanding of a collectivity” (Schlesinger 1993, 7). That which is typically understood as “national” or “ethnic” is usually a highly selective account drawn from the past, and used to foster a sense of community (*ibid* 7)<sup>4</sup>.

As such, multiple traditions will always exist in competition with each other within any one nation, as different individuals and groups will privilege and interpret historical events from different perspectives. Many of these traditional discourses will be incommensurable, as the interpretations of the past will come from a perspective not shared by others. The ability of a particular formula or way of thinking about national identity to take hold will ultimately depend upon how successful particular national discourses have been in appealing to people’s imaginations. Those interpretations which gain prominence eventually become part of a nation’s collective history. Those which don’t gain prominence, remain as marginal or alternative conceptions, which sit outside of mainstream interpretations.

In the international context, similarities and differences between nations are also used to construct imaginative national boundaries and articulate national identities. Cultural differences between nations are often used within a national discourse as a way of distinguishing one nation

---

<sup>4</sup>Anthony Smith has focused particularly on the role which ethnic traditions have played in the formation of national identities and in resisting the spread of more global, cosmopolitan identities (Smith,1990).

from the other, or as Schlesinger puts it, to separate *us* from *them*. National identities can thus be fashioned in part, through a “negative” discourse, in which international differences are stressed to emphasize the dissimilarity between one *another*. The terms of identity become those of absence rather than presence, in which the characteristics or events of one nation take on a particular significance because they exist to a lesser degree or are absent in the other. Similarly, a “positive” national discourse may develop between two nations, in which similarities between two nations are used not so much to designate symbolic national boundaries, as to demonstrate how two different national discourses overlap. This is particularly the case in nations which bear many cultural similarities (e.g., Canada and the United States, Australia and New Zealand).

Increases in cultural exchange at the global level have led many to assume that national cultures and discourses will eventually be replaced by a global culture, thus eliminating the nation as an axis of identity. Schlesinger takes exception to such claims, as he believes national discourses for the most part, adapt and redefine themselves in relation to these international cultural flows<sup>5</sup>. In his view, the increasing flow of cultural commodities between nations has made it increasingly difficult to separate out that which is specifically “national” in character from that which is non-indigenous in origin (Schlesinger 1991, 31). Nevertheless, distinctions still do exist between the discourses of one nation and that of another, and thus it is important not to lose sight of the numerous differences and diverse nuances between them.

In both *intranational* and *international* contexts, the symbolic process is essentially the

---

<sup>5</sup>This view is shared by other authors as well. See in particular “Global media/local meaning” (Ang 1996), “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy” (Appadurai 1990), and “Invisible Divides: Communication and Identity in Canada and the U.S.” (Ferguson 1993).

same. National discourses are formed differentially (or relationally). National characteristics only become meaningful when they are placed in relation to others. As Canadian sociologist John Jackson puts it, “identity is fashioned in response to others. It is a dialogue with others in the context of patterned ideas, concepts, linguistic and social categories, and the like, which predate the individual” (Jackson 1991, 222) <sup>6</sup>. These “others” which Jackson refers to, exist both nationally and internationally, providing the different voices which ultimately shape a national discourse. It is through their harmony or dissonance that national discourses take their form.

### ***National identity and official culture***

The previous discussion on national identity has served to highlight three key points: first, that individuals construct their sense of national identity in a discursive manner, relating themselves to their fellow citizens and their environment through a national culture; second, that all constructions of national identity are ultimately contingent, and must be considered both historically and contextually; and third, that the process of identity formation involves symbolic differentiations both within a nation and between nations, and that such differentiations are used to establish symbolic national boundaries.

This body of research suggests that national discourses are, to varying degrees, polyvocal

---

<sup>6</sup>This insight is fundamentally similar to that theorized within semiotics. Ferdinand de Saussure posited that meaning was created through differential processes within language. In the same way that words acquire meaning in relation to other words, cultural symbols take on meanings according to the ways in which they are situated in relation to other cultural symbols. Differences only appear as differences when placed within a specific context. The meaning which symbols convey are contingent upon the way in which they are presented, and it is precisely this framework which different groups seek to provide. The political struggle of defining national identity is over who specifies this context, and how successful they are in doing so.



(*i.e.* they contain within them a number of different perspectives at all times). Nevertheless, within any particular national discourse there will undoubtedly be some voices which are more prominent than others.

One of the more active and influential agents within this structuring process is often the state, as it tends to have the most vested interest in determining, or at least structuring, how national discourses are produced. Although they are certainly not the only agent in this process, nor in full control of all cultural practices, they can and usually do play an important role in shaping how national discourses are formed.

One of the ways in which the state may shape or contribute to a national discourse is through the construction of an “official” national culture. An “official culture” is that set of cultural practices (and their associated products) which are variously shaped or structured by the policies, regulations, and institutions created by the state<sup>7</sup>. The term “official culture” is useful for understanding how a particular state attempts to control or shape a national discourse through its ability to structure a marketplace either directly (through a state funded and/or directed

---

<sup>7</sup>I have chosen to define official culture in this manner so as to avoid what I consider to be one of the main faults in the way in which the term is used by others, particularly by John Jackson and Greg Nielsen. In their article, “Cultural Studies, a sociological poetics: institutions of the Canadian imaginary”(Jackson and Nielsen, 1991), they contrast “official culture” with “lived culture” as a way of emphasizing the “artificial” and constructed nature of the former, as opposed to the “authentic” and direct quality of the latter.

In my opinion, this distinction conflates two aspects of cultural production -- the *agent* responsible for structuring a cultural practice and its related texts, and the *aesthetic* criteria by which those texts should be understood. I prefer to define official culture solely on the basis of production, referring the issue of aesthetic judgement as a separate concern. The advantage of my definition of official culture, is that it does not impute a necessary connection between the agent and the manner of representation, as is suggested by Jackson and Nielsen’s distinction between official and lived culture. In my opinion, aesthetic quality is a separate empirical issue and thus should not be established definitionally.

institution), or through the more indirect means of market structuration (which may prevent groups from gaining access or allow certain views to predominate due to factors such as access to capital, etc.). According to this definition, official culture becomes somewhat broad, but it does provide a conceptual framework for comparing those institutionalized representations (which are more overtly politicized) to the less overtly politicized cultural representations which the government structures only insofar as it sets the broad parameters through which a marketplace functions.

### ***1.3 Television, Official Culture and the Canadian context***

The Canadian federal government has had a long and well established involvement in regulating the television industry so as to shape an official Canadian culture. It has done so in three main ways: through the *Broadcasting Act* (1991), the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) which serves as the industry's central regulatory authority, and through the CBC, Canada's federally assisted national television and radio broadcaster.

The *Broadcasting Act* sets out the formal regulations and broad principles used to guide the industry, whereas the CRTC acts as the regulatory board which turns these principles into regulation and ensures that the specific aspects of the *Broadcasting Act* are adhered to. The *Broadcasting Act* and the CRTC contribute to the structuring of a national Canadian discourse, but neither is directly involved in the production process. The latter task is primarily (though not exclusively<sup>8</sup>) the role of the CBC, which has dedicated itself to airing over 80% Canadian

---

<sup>8</sup>The *Broadcasting Act* sets out guidelines for the entire Canadian broadcasting system, and not just the CBC. However, it also sets out a specific mandate for the CBC which other privately owned Canadian broadcasters need not adhere to. As such, even private Canadian

programming during prime viewing time, a target which it has met throughout the nineties (CBC 1995, and Juneau 1996, 62).

Created in 1936<sup>9</sup> as a national public radio broadcaster, the CBC has long served as Canada's most important producer of an official Canadian culture. With the introduction of television to the Canadian market in the 1950s the CBC inherited the dual role of radio and television broadcaster. In its early stages, the CBC was itself a broadcaster of American programming (a role which it still plays today, though to a much lesser extent), and did not possess a distinct mandate to guide it in creating an official Canadian culture (Raboy 1990, 151).

This changed with the introduction of the 1968 *Broadcasting Act*. The 1968 *Broadcasting Act* arrived at a time when identity politics in Canada were on the rise, and can be interpreted as a direct reaction to the rise of Quebec nationalism during the 1960s (Raboy 1990, 160). The effect of this *Act* was to formally politicize the CBC mandate in order to guide its symbolic representation of Canada towards fostering national unity (*ibid* 177). This is reflected in section (g) of the *Broadcasting Act*, and reads as follows:

(g) the national broadcasting service should

- (i) be a balanced service of information, enlightenment and entertainment for people of different ages, interests and tastes covering the whole range of programming in fair proportion,
- (ii) be extended to all parts of Canada, as public funds become available,
- (iii) be in English and French, serving the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and

---

broadcasters are in some sense contributing to an official Canadian culture, insofar as they are structured by similar market determinations.

<sup>9</sup>The CBC originally began as the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Corporation, a corporation created in 1932 with the power to establish a broadcasting monopoly (Raboy, 1990, 9).

regional information and entertainment, and  
 (iv) contribute to the development of national unity and provide a  
 continuing expression of Canadian identity.  
*Broadcasting Act 1968, Chap. 25, Part 1, Section 2 (g)*

The most contestable prescription in this mandate was the last, as many believed that national unity was impossible to achieve, and even if it were possible, it would mean representing Canada as a homogenous country despite the fundamental ethnic, social and regional differences existing within the nation. As Raboy puts it, this revised mandate

... appeared to resolve the question of the CBC's responsibility to promote national unity; but on the other hand, it offered no clues as to what national unity meant, nor what constituted contribution to its development (Raboy 1990, 176).

In the time between the 1968 and the 1991 amendments to the *Broadcasting Act*, identity politics in Canada continued to become more sophisticated and fragmented, as smaller collectives demanded to be recognized on their own terms, rather than as citizens of a binational, bicultural state. This change was particularly evident in constitutional discussions such as the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown referendum, as various collectives began to demand greater recognition both symbolically and in terms of how their rights were recognized by the law. At the same time, the television industry in Canada continued to expand, providing more Canadian and American channels for viewers to watch.

When the federal government unveiled a new *Broadcasting Act* in 1991, the CBC's mandate was reworked to exclude the original reference to national unity, demonstrating a greater sensitivity towards Canada's cultural and ethnic diversity. The CBC's mandate in the 1991 *Broadcasting Act* read as follows:

(1) the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, as the national public broadcaster,

should provide radio and television services incorporating a wide range of programming that informs, enlightens and entertains;

(m) the programming provided by the Corporation should

- (i) be predominantly and distinctly Canadian,
  - (ii) reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences, while serving the special needs of those regions,
  - (iii) actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural expression,
  - (iv) be in English and French, reflecting the different needs and circumstances of each official language community, including the particular needs and circumstances of English and French linguistic minorities,
  - (v) strive to be of equivalent quality in English and in French,
  - (vi) contribute to shared national consciousness and identity,
  - (viii) reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society.
- Broadcasting Act 1991, Ch. 11. 3(1)*

Through this revision, the mandate of the CBC was further defined to reflect a more consciously multicultural approach to fostering national identity, which sought to combine an increased concern with fostering ethnic and regional identities without abandoning its project of fostering a sense of national identity.

#### ***1.4 The case study - situating North of 60 within this context***

The case study being examined here offers a small but important contribution to Canadian communications studies, as it helps develop an area of research which was long neglected within the Canadian literature. Previous work on broadcasting policy and the politico-economic framework of the television industry by distinguished researchers such as Rowland Lorimer, Jean McNulty, Marc Raboy, John Jackson, Robert Pike, Greg Nielsen, John Meisel, and Richard Collins have dealt with the same fundamental issues as I am concerned with, but they have generally glossed over particular television programs within their studies. Their research has tended to concentrate on a core set of questions: What role should the CBC play? How should

federal monies be spent on the cultural industries? What is the best way to make Canadian television competitive? How has an official Canadian culture evolved? What are some of the political implications of this evolution? However, they have generally not provided discrete analyses of particular Canadian television programs.

A notable exception is Mary Jane Miller's book *Turn Up the Contrast* (Miller, 1987). By using a combination of interviews, textual and policy analysis, Miller provides a comprehensive survey of four and a half decades of CBC dramatic programming. Through this research, Miller demonstrates that a significant proportion of Canadian dramatic programming has been and still is distinct from American programming, despite the fact that many Canadian programs play off the codes developed within American programming (Miller 1987, 13). In her conclusion, Miller contends that the continued development of indigenous Canadian broadcasting is integral for maintaining a vital Canadian culture, and the development of Canadian identity (*ibid* 18).

My own project adds to this research and also takes it in a slightly different direction. I have chosen to examine a current CBC dramatic program, *North of 60*, as a way of discussing how it contributes to the fostering of a multicultural national discourse. My focus is more clearly on Native/non-Native tensions within the national discourse and how such relations are coded and recoded through this particular program. As such, my own interest differs from Miller's, as her focus is much broader and concentrates more on the distinct nature of Canadian programming.

### ***Justifications for a North of 60 Case Study***<sup>10</sup>

*North of 60*<sup>11</sup> provides an excellent case study for examining changes in Canada's official culture and the CBC's role in fostering English national identity for two main reasons: first, it is a distinctly Canadian program, easily differentiated from American programming; and secondly, because it deals with two highly coded signifiers of national identity, the RCMP and Canadian aboriginals. Furthermore, it has received both popular and critical acclaim for its portrayal of aboriginal issues within a fictional dramatic context, and has managed to gain the attention of fairly large Canadian audience in the process.

The ability to create a dramatic program which is both distinctly Canadian yet similar to the style of programs which Canadian audiences find appealing is quite a difficult task. Data on Canadian viewing habits show that Canadians enjoy watching American programs more than Canadian ones, with Anglophone Canadians devoting 74% of their viewing time to American programming (Statistics Canada CS87-208, 1993). Other research has suggested that Canadian

---

<sup>10</sup> For the sake of this case study, I am only concerned with English CBC television broadcasting, and more specifically, dramatic programming. The English and French television markets are quite distinct, both linguistically, in their audience, and in the competition they face. I have chosen dramatic programming as it is symbolically rich and contributes to the political discourse in a far more ideologically veiled manner than other program formats. This issue will be returned to in the next section.

<sup>11</sup> *North of 60* was originally created by Wayne Grigsby and Barbara Samuels (now consulting producers), and is currently produced by Peter Lauterman (executive producer), Tom Dent-Cox and Doug McLeod (producers). It is jointly produced by Alliance Communications Corporation, Alberta Filmworks Inc. and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Over the past six years, *North of 60* has solidified its place on the CBC and within the Canadian television market, with an average weekly audience of 1.4 million viewers making it one of the most popular Canadian dramatic series in recent years (*North of 60* homepage, [Http://www.Nof60.com](http://www.Nof60.com)).

audiences, when given the choice, discriminate against Canadian programming in favor of American programming (Collins 1990, 241).

One of the problems which the CBC and other Canadian broadcasters face in creating popular television programming, is that they are expected to produce programming with distinctly Canadian subject matter in a manner which is also entertaining. The worst case scenario occurs when the CBC produces a program which is nearly identical to an already established American program, creating what appears to be a cheaper Canadian facsimile differing only in its Canadian references. In several instances this formula has resulted in failure<sup>12</sup>.

*North of 60's* success can be attributed in part to its distinct subject matter and the manner in which it is portrayed. Aside from the American comedy-drama *Northern Exposure*, there is no American television program which deals with aboriginal issues to the extent that *North of 60* does. Yet, even in *Northern Exposure*, aboriginal issues are generally not the program's main focus, and when they are dealt with it is usually in a highly caricatured and somewhat comical manner.

By presenting aboriginal issues in the manner it does, in a format which is part police drama and part soap opera, *North of 60* has found or perhaps created its own television niche.

---

<sup>12</sup>This may explain why a recent CBC production *Side Effects*, failed so quickly, after it tried to ride the wave of medical drama success begun by programs such as *Chicago Hope* and *ER*, which were gaining both critical acclaim and large audiences in Canada and the United States. A second example was the television program *Liberty Street*, which attempted to provide a hip twentysomething comedy/drama that was similar to the American program *Friends*, though *Liberty Street* often dealt with more serious and contentious issues such as homosexuality, spousal abuse, family breakdowns, and racism, while at the same time sticking to the lighter side of relationships and twentysomething angst. Nevertheless, it still failed to stick within the Canadian market and was canceled after two seasons.



The program always tries to remain focused on the tensions between aboriginal and non-aboriginal people living within Canada's northwest, and on the historically tense relationship between the federal government and aboriginal peoples. As such, the program is distinctly Canadian in appearance and yet has proved to be entertaining to a large number of Canadian viewers.

*North of 60* also serves as an excellent program to analyse changes in Canada's official culture, as it deals with Native/non-Native tensions through two significant national symbols the RCMP and the federal government. By focusing mainly on the Native/non Native split, *North of 60* is able to challenge stereotypical representations of aboriginal people prominent within North American popular culture as a way of reasserting Native identities in a more "realistic", contemporary and grounded context. This representation plays into official myths of Canadian society by giving Native peoples a more prevalent place within Canadian popular culture as a way of recognizing their identities in a manner which has long been denied.

### **1.5 Summary**

Through a careful serial and episodic analysis of *North of 60*, I will attempt to demonstrate how a more multicultural and inclusive national discourse is currently being structured through CBC dramatic programming. By exploring Native/non-Native relations in a variety of social situations (family and social life, economic relations, political relations), *North of 60* provides the symbolic material for a new way of imagining Canadian society. In doing so, *North of 60* demonstrates how resistance towards older official myths of "nation" can be challenged from within, and re-presented in manner which ultimately seeks to build a new type of consensus on broader symbolic grounds.

## **Chapter 2 The theory and method of Stuart Hall: A paradigm for textual analysis**

### **2.0 Introduction**

In this chapter I will outline and defend a cultural theory which is based primarily upon the works of Stuart Hall. Hall's theory is particularly useful for this thesis, as it situates textual analysis within a highly developed Marxist analytic framework, and thus provides a conceptual link between the cultural realm and other practices (social, political, economic). Furthermore, Hall's theory (which forms one of the theoretical bases for the Cultural Studies paradigm) provides a strong analytical lens for considering how different types of identities, particularly those of marginalized collectives are articulated in relationship to the various discourses emerging within popular culture.

Given the space available and the nature of this thesis, it is neither possible nor necessary to recount and summarize Hall's entire theory. Instead, I will simplify Hall's theoretical account, by briefly surveying two of its main strands; his use of semiotic theory as developed by Ferdinand de Saussure and Roland Barthes; and second, Hall's development of the concept of ideology as expressed through the writings of Gramsci, Althusser and Volisinov. This theoretical overview will help in defining the key concepts used in my analysis, and provide an introduction to the literature for those unfamiliar with it.

After exploring these two aspects, I will consider how Hall's conception of ideology can be applied within textual analysis. In particular, I will focus on some of the ways in which cultural representations of resistant or marginalized others are often appropriated and incorporated within a dominant ideological discourse. To conclude this section, I will consider

some of the criticisms of this particular approach, and then outline how I will use this particular theoretical framework and methodological approach within my own case study.

### **2.1 *A meeting of Marxism and Semiotics***

Semiotics (the science of signs) has played an important role in recent developments of cultural theory, as it has provided a theoretical foundation for a *constructivist* account of meaning. Semiotics is built around the assumption that the world is made meaningful through the use of symbols (signs, words, *etc.*), rather than positing that the world has a pre-linguistic meaning which language attempts to discover or approximate. A constructivist account is concerned with *how* various discourses are created, challenged, and recreated over time and in everyday practices, so as to structure how people come to understand the world.

The groundwork for modern day semiotics was laid largely through the works of two individuals, Charles Sanders Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure. In Saussure's schema, the most basic linguistic unit, the word (or more generally, *sign*) is analytically split into two components, the *signifier* and the *signified*. The *signifier* is the sound we hear or the word we see (*i.e.* the representative symbol, image, sound), and the *signified* is the idea(s) or concept(s) which are associated with that *signifier*<sup>1</sup>.

The analytic splitting of the sign into signifier/signified was of crucial importance for

---

<sup>1</sup> Let us use the term democracy as an example. This particular word has a very rich historical tradition behind it, as it has been defined in numerous different ways, over a period of over two thousand years. Yet the way in which it was defined and understood by ancient philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle is notably different from its definition by more contemporary theorists such as C.B. Macpherson, John Rawls or Alexander de Tocqueville. In each of these cases, the meanings or concepts associated with the term democracy have tended to differ both in definition and interpretation. In the terminology of semiotics, the signifier "democracy" has historically been associated with a number of different signifieds.

cultural theory, as it provided an heuristic way of demonstrating how meanings emerge as a cultural phenomena, rather than a natural or factual one (Hall 1986, 70). As a result, semioticians or cultural theorists became more conscious of the context in which a signifier is used, for without knowledge of context it is difficult to understand what meaning or meanings are invoked by it (i.e., what is being signified)(Saussure 1986, 65-70). This insight provides a very powerful analytic and critical tool as it suggests that all signifier/signified relationships are contingent and structured within particular discourses, reintroducing an historical and contextual element to cultural analysis.

Saussure's theory thus provides a dynamic framework for understanding how meanings are structured over time and within different societies. He is able to account for the stable aspects of a sign-system which are established and codified over time (what Saussure termed the *langue* or language structure of a sign system) as well as the dynamic aspects, as languages are ultimately reproduced and challenged all the time through everyday practices (*parole* or speech). Although *langue* and *parole* are inseparable in practice, these two elements provide a way of conceptualizing how particular signifier/signified associations take on fixed or dominant meanings which endure over time, but which are always subject (at least potentially) to contestations in everyday practice.

In "Myth Today" (Barthes 1971), Roland Barthes extends Saussure's basic semiotic model to look at symbolic relations as they are established in more complex associations, which he termed myth. Barthes defines myth as a second-order signifying system, composed of a more basic set of signifier/signified relations (*ibid* 114). Readings or interpretations of myths are thus based on how these various signifiers are related to each other, and how the reader interprets

these various elements individually and as a whole.

Amongst Barthes' more important claims was his assertion that myths tend to convey a certain amount of "common sense" information, which enables them to connote particular ideas "innocently". Barthes notes,

...what allows the reader to consume myth innocently is that he does not see it as a semiological system but as an inductive one. Where there is only an equivalence, he sees a kind of causal process: the signifier and the signified have, in his eyes, a natural relationship. This confusion can be expressed otherwise: any semiological system is a system of values; now the myth-consumer takes signification for a system of facts: myth is read as a factual system, whereas it is but a semiological system (Barthes 1972, 131).

Barthes wants to demonstrate that behind every myth there exists a memory, a kind of knowledge, a past, "a comparative order of facts, ideas, decisions". By interpreting myths in the manner he does, Barthes wants to identify the preferred or dominant meanings so as to question why these meanings have come to be so dominant (*ibid* 117). He believes that it is up to the semiologist to restore to myth the intentions and motivations which lie behind it, to demonstrate that there are ideological dimensions to the stories which often appear to be politically neutral (*ibid* 131).

Both Barthes and Saussure provide important analytic frameworks for understanding how meanings are articulated within different sign-systems. By breaking down language and myths into their basic elements (signifiers or chains of signifiers) and emphasizing the contextual and historical aspects of them, they have helped cultural theorists to better understand how particular meanings are being preferred through a myth's organization. In doing so, they have provided analytic frameworks for understanding how discourses are socially constructed, by demonstrating that meaning is a social production, a practice (Hall 1986, 67).

## **2.2 *Rethinking Ideology***

One of the problems with relying upon a strictly semiotic approach towards textual analysis is that it generally does not (nor is it intended to) provide a holistic account of the relationships between culture and others types of practices (economic, social, political). Semiotic theories provide a number of useful concepts and analytic tools for interpreting texts, but they generally have a different understanding of the relationship between text and cultural practices than is provided through cultural studies.

Barthes' work extended semiotics into the political realm by treating signification as a situated process which resonated with political meanings. In his view, cultural practices did not exist in a vacuum, thus it did not make sense to read texts and analyse cultural practices as if they were detached from other practices. As a result, Barthes' focused upon the political meanings and ideological codings prevalent within myth, rather than avoiding these for the sake of detachment. Yet the theory of ideology which Barthes developed was limited as it was biased almost exclusively towards a rigid class analysis. Within Barthes' semiotic readings, signifiers inevitably took on particular ideological codings. There was little suggestion that resistance also occurred within myth, and that ideological codings were not fixed, but highly dynamic in nature.

Stuart Hall has attempted to build upon Barthes' works, by providing a more complex account of ideology. He has done so by incorporating the text-focused theory of semiotics within his own variant of Marxism (which is derived largely from the works of Gramsci, Althusser and V.N. Volisinov). Through this theoretical merging, Hall has developed a broader, more pluralistic, and less class-oriented conception of ideology which enables it to be applied in analysing various types of discourses.

Hall's conception of ideology is perhaps best represented in his article "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates" (Hall 1991):

**Ideologies do not operate through single ideas; they operate, in discursive chains, in clusters, in semantic fields, in discursive formations ... The notion of *the* dominant ideology and *the* subordinate ideology is an inadequate way of representing the complex interplay of different ideological discourses and formations in any modern developed society. Nor is the terrain of ideology constituted as a field of mutually exclusive and internally self-sustaining discursive chains. They contest one another, often drawing on a common, shared repertoire of concepts, rearticulating and disarticulating them within different systems of difference or equivalence (Hall 1991, 102).**

Through this definition, Hall has linked culture and ideology more firmly together by treating ideology as a practice as opposed to a set of effects or ideas. Within any discourse there are certain tendencies, stereotypes, dominant codings which tend to privilege particular meanings and ways of seeing the world. Some ideas are expressed frequently, others remain marginalized and seldom, if ever, appear.

Building upon this insight, Hall argues that ideologies are not dichotomous (*i.e.* dominant/subordinate, bourgeois/proletariat) but multiple, often fragmented, and sometimes inconsistent. As a result, ideology can be used to discuss how discourses shape other aspects of our identities (such as gender, ethnicity, sexuality, nationality etc.), and for comparing the ideological tendencies within these discourses to each other as there is no longer the necessity to link textual interpretations with class or economic analysis (Hall 1981, 34; Hall 1991, 94).

Additionally, Hall emphasizes the dynamic nature of ideology, which draws heavily upon Gramsci's notion of hegemony. Like Gramsci, Hall views culture as an arena of struggle in which "different social forces or interests might conduct an ideological struggle to disarticulate a signifier from one, preferred or dominant meaning-system and rearticulate it within another,

different chain of connotations” (Hall 1986, 80). In other words, there are no permanent or natural ideological codings, merely conditional ones which are “fixed” or preferred through discursive practices. The ideological struggle is over how such codings are maintained, reiterated or altered in reaction to various challenges, reinterpretations and recodings (80). Hall uses Gramsci’s notion of ideological hegemony to suggest that all dominant or ideological codings are temporal and subject to change over time.

### **2.3 *Ideology and Appropriation***

Many researchers using some variation of Hall’s theoretical framework, have recently begun to explore how the concept of ideology can be applied within different types of discourses (e.g. national, ethnic, gendered, *etc.*). One of the more interesting aspects of this research is that it has extended ideological analysis to look at how resistant or marginal groups (for example, Natives) within society can be brought into a popular discourse as a way of potentially muting, diverting or perhaps incorporating such resistant voices through the very act of making them heard. An applied example of this type of ideological analysis is found in Herman Gray’s book *Watching Race* (Gray 1993). In this study, Gray examines how American dramatic television programming has represented African-Americans peoples and contributed to a discourse on “blackness”. This book is relevant as its treatment of ethnic identities through dramatic television programming bears an interesting parallel to my own discussion of multiculturalism and the representation of Native peoples through *North of 60*.

In his book, Gray argues that contemporary images of African Americans are anchored by three kinds of discursive practices; assimilationist, pluralist and multiculturalist (Gray 1993, 84). According to Gray, assimilationist discursive practices are those which construct a fictional



world which features “the complete elimination or, at best, marginalization of social and cultural difference in the interest of shared and universal similarity” (*ibid* 85). Through this particular practice, there is never a sustained engagement with issues of racism and social inequality which are major components in the lives of many African Americans<sup>2</sup>. To do so, would suggest the existence of a fundamental collective problem, which is ultimately denied within these programs. As a result, predominant concerns and conflicts are treated as nonexistent or, if they are raised, as individual problems.

The pluralist discourse is one which “situates black characters in domestically centered black worlds and circumstances that essentially parallel those of whites” (Gray 1993, 87). Black characters are thus placed within a “separate-but-equal” world, as they are represented as a distinct collective which nevertheless faces the same types of challenges as whites (*ibid* 87). The difference between the pluralist and assimilationist discourse is that the latter explicitly recognizes “race (blackness) as the basis of cultural difference (expressed as separation) as a feature of U.S. society” whereas the former does not (*ibid* 87)<sup>3</sup>. In Gray’s view, “shows organized by such pluralist logic seldom, if ever, critique or engage the hegemonic character of (middle-class constructions of) whiteness or, for that matter, totalizing constructions of blackness” (*ibid* 88).

Gray’s final discursive category is termed multiculturalism. Multiculturalism differs from the assimilationist and/or pluralist discursive logics, because it preserves collective

---

<sup>2</sup> Gray cites television programs such as *I Spy*, *Designing Women*, and *Night Court* as examples of assimilationist discourse (Gray 1993, 85).

<sup>3</sup> Gray cites television programs such as *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, *Jeffersons*, *Family Matters* as examples of pluralist discourse (Gray 1993, 87).

differences without muting their political effectiveness<sup>4</sup>. These differences are still structured within and in relation to a dominant hegemonic discourse, but politically sensitive issues can be addressed in a manner which offers at least some space of resistance. As a result, a multicultural discourse enables many previously ignored, marginalized or misrepresented “others” to have a greater voice presenting their own resistance to the mainstream or dominant ideology.

Gray’s investigation provides an interesting example of how ideology functions within popular culture, along ethnic rather than class lines. By examining recent American dramatic programming, Gray has demonstrated how a discourse on “Blackness” has been constructed in relation to dominant codifications. His work provides a working example of how a theory of ideology developed within Cultural Studies can provide a powerful theoretical lens for examining contemporary popular culture. This is useful for my own analyses as *North of 60* is representative of what Gray has termed a multicultural discursive practice.

#### **2.4 *The Problematic of polysemy***

One of the main problems with the type of textual analysis outlined above is its potential one-sidedness. Although Hall’s theoretical position does not presuppose a one-sided approach, much of the research conducted using this paradigm (like my own) often relies solely on the interpretation of the researcher. As such, research is carried out as if there was no audience present, as their views are not captured within the analysis. How can this be justified?

Before answering this question, it is perhaps best to first take a step backwards and consider why this is a significant issue. The problem of interpretation is inherent within all

---

<sup>4</sup> Gray cites programs such as the *Cosby Show*, *Frank’s Place*, *Roc* as examples of multicultural discourse (Gray 1993, 89).

forms of textual analysis, but is perhaps more integral to semiotic approaches as it is assumed *a priori* that the signifier/signified relationship is contingent and contextually established. As such, the potential for communication failure -- misrepresentation, meanings not getting across, aberrant decodings, open-endedness of texts -- needs to be recognized. Given the polysemous nature of all texts, and the possibility for numerous interpretations, those who choose a one-sided interpretation of texts are ultimately limited in attributing any causality or effectiveness of communication. The interpretations of the researcher are thus limited to his or her own perspectives, no matter how broadly and thoroughly he or she approaches the material.

Ien Ang describes this very situation in the following manner;

... the social is the site of potentially infinite semiosis, it always *exceeds* the limits of any attempt to constitute 'society', to demarcate its boundaries. This is why, as we all know, a 'society' can accomplish only a partial closure, a partial fixing of meanings and identities, a partial imposition of order in the face of chaos (Ang 1996, 173).

It is likely that some of the views of the audience will not be the same as the researcher, and that the interpretation of the researcher is necessarily partial. Nevertheless as Ang points out later in the same paragraph,

... any containment of variation and difference within a limited universe of diversity is always-already the product of a determinate ordering by a structuring, hegemonizing power, not, as the functionalist discourse of liberal pluralism would have it, evidence of a lack of order, absence of power. In this sense, the question to ask about the complex relation between media and audiences is not why there isn't more homogeneity, but why isn't there more heterogeneity (Ang 1996, 173)!

What Ang wants to emphasize, as a caution against liberal assertions of textual plurality and Marxist notion of ideological closing, is that there are both preferred and variant readings associated with all texts. Although the *potential* for polysemous readings always exists, this does

not mean that there are necessarily no preferred or dominant ways in which issues are presented and interpreted. As many cultural theorists are quick to point out, it is precisely the lack of disagreement, and the lack of alternative perspectives or diverse representations of particular issues which makes one hesitant to assert that texts are necessarily open-ended.

As such, interpretive textual readings can provide an account of how particular texts are ideologically coded and organized so as to connote particular preferred meanings. Such interpretations can effectively chart the ways in which discourses are formed, so as to highlight how certain issues and ideas are stereotypically represented and challenged.

As a further justification for a one-sided approach, it should also be noted that most interpretations eventually come under criticism by others who are also familiar with the text. Through this hermeneutic process, interpretations are compared and contrasted with each other, revealing many of the particular idiosyncracies or methodological flaws of analysis. Thus even one-sided readings can be challenged so as to achieve better textual readings.

### **2.5 *Applying Hall's theory to this case study***

The advantage of Hall's analytic framework, is that it enables one to consider how dominant and potentially resistant perspectives interact within a text so as to change the way in which discourse is represented. This is important for this particular case study, as I am specifically interested in how ethnic differences are mobilized within the dominant national discourse, in a manner which preserves differences, while at the same time reinforcing certain aspects of a dominant national ideology. Ideological codings are specifically those which tend to be stereotypical or frequently reiterated over time and through a variety of different texts, so as to appear commonsensical. It is precisely the ability of a text to invoke, challenge or alter the

dominant codes that discourses change, and take on different ideological inflections.

Following in Hall's footsteps, I have attempted to read the text pluralistically, as if it were speaking with many different voices to a variety of concerns. I have viewed it as an arena of struggle in which different and at times contradictory voices privilege different perspectives and represent different viewpoints. Thus, I have tried to avoid reading the ideological into the text, attempting instead to identify particular kinds of conflict to see how they are worked out and what this might signify.

In carrying out my textual analysis, I have also tried to provide some degree of context outside of the particular text, so as to suggest how past television programs, and alternative cultural practices have perhaps had a bearing on *North of 60*. Although I have avoided trying to compare the mythical aspect of *North of 60* with the actual Native/non-Native relations, I think it is important to recognize that both contribute to the way in which people come to understand the world, even though many realize that the former is admittedly fictional.

## **Chapter 3    *North of 60* : Across the Ethnic Divide**

### **3.0    *Introduction***

*North of 60* provides an excellent example of how a multicultural national discourse is currently being structured within Canadian popular culture. For the past five years, *North of 60* has explored how cultural differences between Native and non-Native Canadians can be negotiated politically, economically and socially within the context of a fictional Dene community. As a result, it has provided a more inclusive way of imagining Canadian society which privileges both cultural differences and collective solidarity, contributing to and reinforcing a multicultural national discourse.

To present my argument that *North of 60* fosters a multicultural national discourse via popular culture primarily through the use of Native representations, I have divided this chapter into four main parts. In the first section I will discuss the ideological nature of the Native and non-Native dichotomy used within this analysis. The second section will contain a brief description of the main and secondary characters of the show, so as to provide some basic background for those unfamiliar with the program. The third section will explore how *North of 60's* setting contributes to the structuring of a multicultural national discourse, insofar as it provides a location which makes particular types of ethnic conflicts more apparent. The fourth section, in which the bulk of my analysis is contained, is devoted to an exploration of the major themes and conflicts which consistently reappeared over the course of my research. I have divided these themes into three main areas -- political, economic, and cultural -- areas which are not necessarily discrete, but which provide a basic framework for identifying particular types of

issues over others. Through this analysis, I attempt to provide an interpretation of the dominant ideological codings within the text, so as to demonstrate how *North of 60* contributes to a multicultural national discourse and constructs the terms through which many come to understand cultural differences.

This case study will focus solely on the fourth and fifth seasons of the show, sampling 21 programs over this time span. The nature and size of this sample is due mainly to availability, as these were the only programs that I personally had a chance to view and analyze. Nevertheless, I believe that this selection provides an adequate sample size, as even though some of the characters and themes have changed over this period, many of the types of situations and general themes have remained highly consistent.

### ***3.1 The Native/non-Native dichotomy: similarity, difference and the ideological divide***

Throughout Canada's history, the relationship between Native and non-Native Canadians has remained in a state of perpetual tension. After nearly a century and a half, important issues such as land claims settlement, symbolic recognition, Native rights and aboriginal self-government are still not completely settled. And if the recent debate (or lack thereof) regarding the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* is any indication, there remains a wide gulf between what many aboriginal peoples are demanding and the resources which the federal government is willing to offer.

It is perhaps not surprising then, to find many of these same tensions filtering into Canada's popular culture. Culturally, Native<sup>1</sup> peoples have long been excluded or marginalized

---

<sup>1</sup> The term Native is somewhat problematic as it has come to take on a number of different meanings, many of which confuse and obscure the ways in which many Native peoples actually define themselves. Most commonly, the term Native (or alternatively aboriginal) is used

from the mainstream discourse, and when they have been represented it has usually been from a non-Native perspective. It is only recently however, that Native peoples have begun to speak with their own voices within popular culture.

Traditionally, Native peoples have been popularly portrayed in one of two ways, as either an enemy during the early colonial period (the myth of the “red savage”) or as the lost archetype for a harmonious relationship between humankind and nature (the myth of “noble savage”). The myth of the “red savage” finds its most stereotypical representation through the Hollywood Western. For many years, Westerns tended to portray North American Natives as violent, brutal, and ignorant savages, a group of people who were uncivilized and uncivilizable (Cawelti 1984, 64). As part of the Western’s standard narrative convention, Natives were usually portrayed simplistically and left as underdeveloped characters within the plot, serving mainly as a problem to the hero, rather than an alternative which could potentially threaten established mores (*ibid* 64). Representing Native peoples in this manner helped prevent issues such as genocide and colonialism from being raised, leaving the dramatic conflicts clear and unfettered.

In the Canadian context, the frontier situation was slightly different, though the relative position of the Indian was not comparable. In the early stories of the Mountie, it was again the

---

to refer to those peoples living within North America prior to the arrival of European explorers. As a collective term, it suggests that all Native peoples have had similar experiences encountering and dealing with the effects of colonialism. The problem, however, occurs when people fail to recognize that Native peoples do not represent a single collective but, rather, a collection of smaller and at times incredibly diverse collectives. Native peoples do not share one common language or tradition, nor do they all live in one region. They are diverse and heterogenous, and quite often define their sense of collective identity according to their own sense of tradition.

Thus, when using the term Native, one must be mindful to recognize the limitations of using one word to capture the diversity of a people.



“fate of the Indian<sup>2</sup> to play the role of the villain in this western romance” (Francis 1996, 61). Like the Hollywood Western, the Mountie myths required Indians who were marginal to the mainstream society. They were depicted as descendants from the wilderness, or as Daniel Francis puts it, as a people who were “ wild, savage, brutal, unpredictable, ahistorical” (*ibid* 81). Like other impediments to progress, Indians were to be “cleared away like so many trees, or broken like hard pieces of prairie sod” (*ibid* 81).

Unlike the myth of the red savage, the “noble” Native stereotype played upon the more “idyllic”, “pure” and “noble” characteristics of Native peoples. Whereas the former myth provided a rationalization for colonialism, the latter romanticized what was lost in the process. In the “noble” myth, Natives were represented as naturally virtuous, possessing a link to the land which made them honest and inscrutable. These nostalgic qualities were frequently used in advertising, as Native peoples became associated more closely with a time when the land was unspoiled by industrialization and the alienation of city life (*ibid* 176).

In both myths, the Imaginary Indian of popular culture has for the most part, left Native representations frozen in a non-existent past. Both myths have been created from predominantly non-Native points of view, and have generally contributed very little to the current understanding of aboriginal problems. Using movies as an example, Daniels Francis notes:

Movies invariably situate Indians in the past, usually on the western frontier. The result is that Indians in the movies seem marginal to modern life. Sympathetic

---

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Francis uses the term “Imaginary Indian” to refer to representations of Native peoples via popular culture. Francis believes that these representations have their own contextual meanings as a signifier, and differ significantly from the way Native peoples have traditionally represented themselves culturally. As such he wants to make the reader aware of the bias and politically charged nature of this signifier by distinguishing it from the terms aboriginal and Native, even though these are commonly used as synonyms.

regret or retrospective outrage are feelings these movies seem most likely to evoke. In a sense, Indian movies have never really been about Indians at all. They have been about white concerns: White guilt, White fear, White insecurity (Francis 1996, 107).

In Francis' opinion, such representations "project onto Indian characters the uncertainty non-Natives feel about the justice of our history and our right to occupy the land", rather than a view of Native peoples which attempts to explore differences within these communities (108)<sup>3</sup>.

### ***Changing representations of Native Canadians***

For a good part of this century, Canadian Native peoples have had a difficult time gaining recognition as a founding people of Canadian society. For the better part of the past century, Canada has frequently been portrayed as a land of two solitudes, French and English. All the while, very little attention has been paid to the concerns of Native peoples, who were too geographically dispersed, economically disenfranchised, culturally diverse and politically fragmented to make their voices heard. Yet over the last three decades, Native voices have become increasingly predominant, as a greater awareness of cultural diversity (as well as regional, sexual, and gendered diversity) has begun to emerge.

This change has been reflected within Canadian popular culture, as the emphasis on Canadian multiculturalism has worked its way onto the television screen, in older CBC programs such as *Cariboo County* and *The Beachcombers* (Miller 1987, 68) or more recent shows such as

---

<sup>3</sup>The point is reinforced by Mary Jane Miller's assessment of American television in her book *Turn up the Contrast*. Miller states: "On most American television series, when Indians were not massacring innocent settlers they were depicted as either lazy, superstitious people with drinking problems, inexplicable ideas about families and work and no sense of time, or faithful if mysterious guides, hunters and sidekicks who spoke a tired rhetoric about rivers flowing and forked tongues" (Miller 1996, 105).

*The Rez, Liberty St.* and particularly in the program *North of 60*<sup>4</sup>. *North of 60* focuses primarily on a particular (albeit fictional) band of Dene Indians living in a southern region of Northern Canada. It is constructed so as to speak to a pan-Canadian audience, by stressing the links which this fictional northern community has to the larger Canadian society. In this manner, the CBC and the creators of *North of 60*, have attempted to cultivate a more inclusive sense of Canadian national identity by addressing some of the similarities and differences existing between Native and non-Native Canadians and the difficulties which each group has in dealing with each other and the world around them.

Unlike earlier representations of the “Imaginary Indian”, *North of 60* attempts to provide a more “authentic representation” of Native peoples<sup>5</sup>. Through intensive consultations with Northern Native advisers<sup>6</sup> the show’s creators have tried to provide a more “realistic”

---

<sup>4</sup> Mary Jane Miller points out that the CBC’s dramatic programming has been somewhat more effective than American broadcasters in challenging Native stereotypes in popular culture. She notes that one of the CBC’s longer running programs, the *Beachcombers* was particularly conscious and critical of such stereotypes and was able to touch on specific Native motifs in a culturally sensitive manner (Miller 1996, 106). Surprisingly though, the CBC explored the tensions, losses and gains of Native peoples more directly in the sixties, and actually shied away from such treatment in the seventies and eighties (Miller 1987, 78).

<sup>5</sup>I am using the term “authentic” in a very cautious manner. The “reality” or authenticity of all representations needs to be considered within the aesthetic boundaries (e.g. narrative conventions, conventions of genre, visual style) which have shaped it, as well as with respect to its ability to approximate or reflect life in an actual community. A dramatic television program striving for a “realistic” look is not necessarily attempting to reflect a “real” world, it may just be trying to make the situations and characters seem “real” to viewers, assuming that many of them may or may not be familiar with other discursive or non-discursive contexts with which to compare these representations.

<sup>6</sup>The advisory committee for season 4 of the program included former N.W.T. government leader and entrepreneur, Nick Sibeston, Richard van Camp, a 25 year old writer from the Dogrib Rae Band in Fort Smith, Eleanor Bran, manager for the Dene Language group, Bertha Norweigan, a special advisor for the Government of the N.W.T. ministry responsible for

representation of Dene life which moves it away from the established Indian myths found in other aspects of Canadian and in the broader sense, North American popular culture.

By adopting this perspective, *North of 60* shifts the focus away from the apparently anachronistic imaginary Indian of popular culture, to a more particularistic, embodied and realistic representation of Native life within Canada's north. In doing so, *North of 60* represents Native peoples in a more complex way which diverges from established stereotypes, in a move meant to breakdown old prejudices and boundaries. At the same time, textual conflicts are designed to suggest that there is a common bond between Native and non-Native Canadians which transcends ethnic and cultural differences. As such, *North of 60* utilizes the Native/non-Native distinction in a manner which is both productive, in that it structures many of its Native/non-Native conflicts so as to broaden consensus between these groups, and critical, in that it is constantly noting these distinctions by making the audience aware of how heterogenous and constructed these categories are.

### 3.2 *Who's who in North of 60*

#### **Main characters**

##### *Michelle Kenidi*

The central character in *North of 60* is Michelle Kenidi, a female Native RCMP constable struggling to balance her identity as a Dene woman with her occupational identity as a federal

---

the status of women and Leo Norweigan, a Dene elder who acts as an advisor to leaders of the Fort Simpson Band Office (N60 homepage, [Http://www.Nof60.com](http://www.Nof60.com)).

This aspect of the creative process is also touched on in an interview which Mary Jane Miller has with Ivan Fecan, a former director of entertainment programming and later vice president of CBC's English television network. The two briefly discuss how Native peoples are involved to some degree at most of the major creative/productive stages of *North of 60* (Miller 1996, 464).

government representative. Like many Native peoples of their generation, Michelle and her brother Peter were brought up and educated in residential schools amidst a predominantly non-Native community. This experience separated them from their people and their traditions, thus making it all the more important for them to seek out and preserve a relationship with their people. As a result, Michelle's character is firmly situated within her Dene tradition -- she speaks the language, and knows her people's customs and beliefs. She has not given up her identity in order to join the 'franchise', nor has she forgotten the long history of discrimination, occupation and betrayal which has often characterized the relations between Native peoples and the Canadian government. Yet as an RCMP officer, Michelle has become 'Métis' in a politically symbolic sense, a child born from a marriage between the federal government and the Dene peoples.

Over the period of the case study, Michelle's character endures several hardships, including the accidental death of her only child, Hannah (N60, 54)<sup>7</sup>, and a difficult association with her partner and superior officer Corporal Brian Fletcher. After resolving her feelings of guilt following Hannah's death, Michelle begins to rebuild her life, marrying Andrew One Sky, and adopting a foster child, Charlie Muskrat.

### Peter Kenidi

Peter Kenidi plays a symbolic role similar to his sister, Michelle. He too holds a position of authority within the community and must act as a liaison between the band and the federal government. As Lynx River's band chief, Peter must negotiate between the will of his people,

---

<sup>7</sup>Hereafter I will cite the episodes considered for this case study in the following manner (N60, 53) in which the former number refers to the program *North of 60*, and the latter number the particular episode cited.

the demands of the federal government, and his own vision as to what is best for the community. Over the course of this case study, Peter's will is severely tested, as he struggles to provide jobs for the community and settle the band's outstanding land claim with the federal government. Despite pressure from within the community and from other band leaders, Peter is resolved to hold out for a solution which guarantees long, sustainable growth, rather than quick economic gains.

### Trevor "Teevee" Tenia

Of the three main Native characters, Trevor "Teevee" Tenia serves as the most ambivalent role model. Teevee is a young and volatile man who believes that the path to happiness can only be reached through hard work and economic success. He desperately wants to prove that he can succeed in the "white man's" world but feels constrained and discriminated against because of his ethnicity. The few times when he has attained a small level of economic success, he has quickly embraced the splendor of consumer culture and become obsessed with the commodities that money can buy (N60, 53 & 54). Yet, by defining self-fulfilment in this manner, Teevee runs the risk of becoming what he hates, a businessman committed to the goal of profit, whatever the cost. In order to become economically successful, Teevee finds himself opposing many of his previously held traditional beliefs and ways of living.

### Constable Brian Fletcher

RCMP Constable Brian Fletcher serves primarily as a contrast to Michelle's character, as he is a white male and an 'outsider' who has failed to fully integrate himself into the Lynx River community. This failure is due partially to his personality, but also because he is white and a representative of the federal government. He tends to see many of the community's problems as

structural, and thus decides that there is little he can do about them<sup>8</sup>. This puts him in conflict with Michelle, as she believes that individuals can make a difference, and that community problems can be solved from within.

Over the course of the case study, Brian's fragile psyche begins to unravel, particularly after his wife Rosemary suffers a miscarriage, putting even more stress on their already strained relationship (N60, 64). Over the course of the fifth season Brian's situation worsens. He is lured into an adulterous relationship by the show's main antagonist, Albert Golo, who in turn uses this information to blackmail him. As a result, tensions between Brian and Michelle begin to mount, as she suspects Brian's dishonesty. Unable to resolve his inner tension by either admitting his deceptiveness to Michelle or doing Albert's bidding, he disappears into the woods, leading many to believe that he has committed suicide (N60, 74).

### *Sarah Birkett*

Sarah is another primary white character who is used to develop many of the central Native/non-Native tensions. Like Brian, Sarah also goes through a series of crises which forced her further into the margins of her community. After separating from her husband Albert Golo, Sarah faces the difficult challenge of raising her half-Dene daughter, Elizabeth, in a community where she has no status because she is white, a single parent and unemployed. Her situation is further complicated by Albert, who demands custody of his daughter and refuses to grant Sarah an easy separation. Sarah's character is important within the narrative, as she demonstrates how

---

<sup>8</sup>When a fight between Teevee Tenia and William MacNeil takes place in the middle of the day, Brian decides to let it occur, as he sees it as a way of venting tensions. When his wife Rosemary criticizes his passive action, Brian replies "I'm taking care of it ... not like it's going to change anything." Rosemary responds "Nope, wouldn't want to change anything would we?" (N60, 53).

discrimination can also work against white people, especially when they are a minority within the community.

### **Secondary characters**

#### **Albert Golo**

Albert Golo functions as *North of 60's* main villain and Michelle's arch-nemesis. He is a known bootlegger, drug runner, extortionist, and murderer, who always manages to remain one step ahead of the law. Albert controls most if not all of the organized crime within Lynx River, and despite his desire to preserve many Dene traditions, he is primarily a cancerous force within the community. By using a Native character as the main villain, *North of 60* shifts one of the potentially volatile ideological conflicts (Native hero vs non-Native villain) from being represented in a good versus evil context. As a result the good versus bad conflict is internalized and rendered as a more nuanced conflict occurring within the community rather than a dualized insider/outsider conflict. As such, hostilities which Native peoples may have towards non-Native peoples are conveyed as a communal problem rather than a criticism or venting of Native/non-Native tensions.

Albert also serves as a contrast to Sarah Birkett, his estranged wife. Albert wants his daughter to be raised as a Dene, and uses all the powers at his disposal to gain custody of the child. At the end of season five, Albert gets into a violent confrontation with Sarah and his son Nathan, at which point Albert is shot by his son. A fire consumes Albert's cabin, but when RCMP investigators examine the scene, there are no traces of Albert's body, leaving the viewer uncertain as to whether or not Albert managed to survive.

#### **William MacNeil**



William MacNeil is also one of the show's main villains. As a young protégé of Albert Golo, William functions primarily as a foil to Teevee Tenia and an antagonist for Michelle. Teevee was once similar to William, but chose to improve his status within the community through more legitimate means. For William, the line which separates him from a permanent life of crime and the life of a law abiding citizen is fairly narrow. It seems that William is afraid to do good, for fear that he would be unable to live up to the expectations which emerge if he actually tried. At times, William seems like a reluctant villain who is just waiting to get caught and locked away, just to prove that society has done him wrong.

### Gerry Kisilenko

Gerry is the show's entrepreneur/capitalist, who own the local hotel-restaurant-convenience store. Gerry is also non-Native and has lived within the community for well over a decade but remains an outsider because of his ethnicity. His character serves primarily as a contrast to Teevee Tenia, as he is a successful entrepreneur who has made much of his money from the Native peoples in the community. For the most part however, Gerry is indiscriminate in his pursuit of financial gains, and is willing to make or save a dollar any way he can.

### Harris Miller

Like the other white characters in the show, Harris also finds himself straddling the ethnic divide which predominates within the community. Harris has lived in Lynx River for a substantial period of time, and has been accepted within the community mainly because of his occupation as the band's manager. Harris' character functions as an important contrast for two other characters, Teevee Tenia and Peter Kenidi. During the fourth season, Harris marries Teevee's mother, Lois, thus intensifying their already antagonistic relationship (N60, 60). Harris

and Peter are contrasted in order to develop a tension within the political realm, and to explore how Native and non-Native interests may differ in the relationship which the band has with the federal government.

### Elsie Tsa Che

Elsie Tsa Che is an elder within the community who serves primarily as a contrast to her grandson Teevee Tenia and the band chief Peter Kenidi. Elsie is by far the most conservative member of the community, who is determined to keep the traditional language and values of her community alive within its younger members. This attitude has brought her in conflict with Peter, as he is always trying to find ways to help his community survive in a time of government cut-backs. Elsie's conflict with Teevee is structured in a similar manner, as she struggles to remind Teevee that his commitment to his Dene heritage should not be undermined by his economic predispositions and materialistic urges.

### Lois Tenia

Lois plays a small but important role within the text, as she occupies a middle position between her son's (Teevee) youthful exuberance and her mother's (Elsie) conservatism. Lois is also important for the role she plays within Lynx River's religious community. She is a devout Catholic who seems to prefer the beliefs of Catholicism over her own peoples pre-colonial belief system. This puts her in notable contrast with her husband Harris, who is an atheist (though he hides it from Lois) and extremely critical of the church.

### Betty Moses

Betty is a social worker who deals primarily with problems occurring within aboriginal families and communities. As her namesake suggests, Betty is a leader amongst her people, who

is trying to lead them out of the conditions which have contributed to the widespread economic dependency, alcoholism and violence prevalent within many Native communities. She attempts to heal the people she meets by reconnecting them with their community and the land, strengthening them from within rather than treating them with drugs or part time counseling. She also functions within the narrative as a mentor to Michelle, as she has helped Michelle overcome problems with alcoholism by showing her how to find strength through one's tradition.

### **3.3 *Re-structuring the Imaginative Frontier: An analysis of setting***

*North of 60* is set in Lynx River, a fictional Dene community located in the North West Territories in an area which the Dene call the Deh-Cho<sup>9</sup> (Abel, xv). Like many northern communities, Lynx River is small (population of approximately 150) and isolated. Its economy is structured around a network of basic public services and a number of small, resource-based industries (construction, tourism, fishing, trapping). *North of 60's* northern setting provides an interesting symbolic landscape for exploring Native/non-Native relations, because it pushes Canada's national discourse to an imaginative frontier seldom explored as a contemporary (i.e., present-day) setting.

Historically, the frontier has been a predominant setting for many films, novels and television programs, spawning such genres as the Western, the pastoral romance and pioneer adventure. Within these genres, the frontier has been used to signify the boundary between the known and unknown, order and chaos, civilization and nature. These myths however, have traditionally been defined from the perspective of the European settler. For these "pioneers", the frontier was an imaginary line that was continually being pushed back to the shores of the

---

<sup>9</sup> The Deh-Cho is roughly the MacKenzie river drainage basin.

Pacific Ocean. It was the line which separated the forces of modernity from that which was as yet unconquered and uncolonized.

Yet, for the aboriginal peoples who had been living throughout North America for several thousand years prior to the arrival of Europeans, this frontier was conceptualized as an advancing wave that was swallowing up everything in its sight. The frontier meant death and destruction, not progress and the advancement of “civilization”.

*North of 60's* setting is designed to reflect this latter perspective, as its stories are grounded in situated Native perspectives, privileging the views of those born and raised on the “frontier” rather than the newly arrived. In this modern-day frontier setting, two types of tensions are predominant; one related to ethnicity (as represented through Native/non-Native and Native/Native contrasts), and the other represented as the struggle between tradition and modernity. It is through the negotiation of these tensions that notions of cultural distinctiveness and multiculturalism are reinforced.

Ethnic tensions are established through the contrast between Lynx River’s Dene community and those from the “outside”. Ethnicity provides the basis for distinguishing who belongs to the community, and who does not. Non-Native residents or visitors to the community are immediately set apart as outsiders as they have no ancestral links and are generally assumed to have no strong attachments to the people or the community.

These contrasts are evident in several character juxtapositions; Brian Fletcher and Michelle Kenidi, Harris Miller and Peter Kenidi, Gerry Kisilenko and Teevee Tenia, Harris Miller and Teevee Tenia, and the contrast between Sarah Birkett and Albert Golo. In each of these cases, two central characters are contrasted on the basis of ethnicity. The setting fixes our

attention on these differences by raising the issue of community and belonging, and querying whether and to what degree ethnicity can and should serve as the condition for this belonging. In this setting, the distinction between Native and non-Native, or more specifically between the Dene who call Lynx River their home and those who are from the outside, is more noticeable than if the program were filmed in a large Canadian city or urban setting.

Similarly, a Native/ Native tension is also developed on the basis of setting. As previously mentioned, the term Native does not describe a homogenous ethnic community, but rather a multiplicity of communities and collectives with different languages, cultures and traditions. In order to draw out this diversity, *North of 60* also focuses upon differences between those who are Native, but not Dene. This situation is noticeable through characters such as Andrew One Sky (an American Arapaho who moves into the community and eventually marries Michelle Kenidi), Sylvie Le Bret (a former resident of the community who returns to rekindle an affair with Peter Kenidi), and William MacNeil (whose family is from Yellowknife), all of whom are of Native ancestry but who belong to bands or nations other than the Lynx River Dene. Like the aforementioned non-Native characters, they too are considered “others” and outsiders, as they come from a different people and thus share a different tradition.

Aside from differences in ethnicity, the frontier setting also highlights the struggle between tradition and modernity. Lynx River is depicted as a relatively conservative community, in which traditional beliefs and practices still play an important role in informing decisions about what to do in the future. Yet it is not the garrison community described by Northrop Frye, in which community members adopt a defensive mentality and cling desperately to traditions and values as a way of securing themselves against the omnivorous presence of nature (Elder 1989,

5). Lynx River's conservatism is of a more organic nature, with an emphasis on continuity and slow natural growth. Many of the people living in Lynx River derive a sense of continuity from the land, as it is an enduring part of their identities. The setting brings this traditional aspect to the fore, by providing an environment for exploring how change -- be it technological, economic, political or cultural -- can affect those with strong traditionalist beliefs.

This conflict is particularly evident through two main contrasts; between Elsie Tsa Che and her grandson Teevee, and between Elsie and Peter Kenidi. In both cases, Elsie represents the resistant conservative position, as she is fearful that change is happening too quickly and without enough forethought. She has lived in the community for many years, and has experienced many things. It is her belief the people should not be too quick to rush into new situations, as expediency does not always lend to good decision making. Instead, the community should draw from its tradition and rely upon the advice of elders, as they have seen and dealt with far more than the youth.

Elsie's position contrasts rather starkly with that of her grandson, Teevee, and the band chief, Peter Kenidi. In their view, decisions quite often need to be made quickly, for if you wait too long certain opportunities may be lost. It is their view that the only people capable of making many of these decisions are the younger ones, as they are usually more in step with contemporary developments, both economic and technological. Furthermore, Teevee and Peter are somewhat more individualistic, and thus less deferential towards community values. Whereas Elsie strongly believes in a Dene "Way" (N60, 70), Peter and Teevee believe there are many "ways" which may take into consideration and evolve from traditional practices, but should not ultimately be constrained by them.

By presenting these differences against the backdrop of an imaginative modern frontier, *North of 60* makes cultural differences more visible, giving them an importance which is often lost in urban setting. In this situation, cultural differences are more than simply fashion statements, they are a way of life. Yet, even with this attachment, members within the community still develop their own personal relationships with respect to their community's tradition, negotiating their identities in their own particular ways. As a result, the relationships seem more personal, identities are more rooted to the community and the land, and the issue of belonging is far more codified in social norms.

#### **3.4 *Across the Ethnic divide: Thematic restructurings***

Thematically, *North of 60* negotiates and explores cultural differences in a number of different ways. By addressing issues such as racism and discrimination, conflicts between the band and the federal government, economic and occupational tensions between Native and non-Native co-workers, Native autonomy, spirituality, and equality, *North of 60* delves into some of the central tensions which currently characterize Native/non-Native relations in Canada. These themes provide a basis for understanding how power relations between Native and non-Native Canadians have traditionally been skewed towards the latter, leaving Native Canadians as a marginalized, economically disadvantaged, and frequently discriminated against minority. Rather than sidestepping or ignoring such potentially volatile issues, *North of 60* attempts to address them directly, as a way of revealing cultural difference and tensions between many Native and non-Native Canadians. In doing so, *North of 60* incorporates these issues and struggles within Canada's popular culture, so that Canadians as a whole become more aware of cultural difference and the many levels at which it mythically operates within Canadian society.

In order to simplify the analysis, I have decided to organize this discussion into three main themes; political, economic and social. The advantage of this categorization is that it has helped me isolate how cultural differences are explored in various ways. In the political realm, Native/non-Native tensions are explored in three different ways: through the RCMP, the band council and in the area of social services. In the first two areas (RCMP and band council), the political system is shown to be capable of adapting (though not necessarily quickly) to societal pressures which require it to be more responsive to issues of cultural difference. In the latter case, the political system is criticized for being unresponsive or incapable of dealing adequately with Native concerns, as more autonomy is shifted to Native-run social services.

Economically, the main themes explored are land claims/property rights and the effects of capitalism in a community which is predominantly resource based and has a set of traditional community values which are in some cases antithetical to the profit motive. These two issues are negotiated in a manner which privileges a liberal market ideology, to the extent that traditional values are undermined in favour of more individualistic resolutions.

In the social realm, the central themes include discrimination and religion/spirituality. Cultural differences are explored through the issue of discrimination via a reversal of signifiers. In most television programs set in an urban setting, Native peoples usually represent victims of discrimination. In *North of 60* this tension is frequently reversed, as it is the non-Native members of the community who are in the minority and feel the effects of social alienation. The issue of religious or spiritual belief and practice is also used to signify cultural difference, as it provides a framework for examining the tension between older Dene traditions and Christianity. Yet rather than using religion as a cultural divide, *North of 60* focuses on the compatibility of



different spiritual practices rather than their potential exclusiveness.

### ***3.4.1. The Political realm: Autonomy and authority reimagined***

In *North of 60*, the political realm is represented through three institutions; the RCMP, the band council, and through health and social services. The RCMP is probably the most important of the three, as it has stereotypically been representative of federal rule throughout Canada especially in the N.W.T. or other frontier situations. *North of 60* recodes this symbol by representing it as an institution which is flexible and capable of incorporating cultural differences. This recoding is explored through the contrast between two central characters, Constable Michelle Kenidi and Corporal Brian Fletcher.

Within the band council, conflicts between Harris Miller and Peter Kenidi are used to explore a variety of issues, particularly land claims, property rights, and aboriginal self-governance. Although these are potentially the most politically contentious and divisive themes, they are addressed in a manner which largely depoliticizes these conflicts. Rather than pushing such tensions to a breaking point (such as a stand-off between the RCMP and the band), there is a somewhat idealistic transference of power and responsibility to the band which lessens Native/non-Native political tensions.

It is in the areas of social services however, where the most direct criticism of the federal government is formed. Issues such as alcoholism and substance abuse, violence and economic dependency are used to establish cultural differences, and criticize the federal government. *North of 60* deals with these problems by privileging alternative healing programs (healing circles, Native run social services) which provide more holistic ways of resolving social problems.

### ***Policing Ourselves: Recoding the RCMP***

For over a century, the naive image of the uniformed RCMP officer on horseback who 'always gets his man' has been used to represent Canada. It has appeared time and time again in popular novels, television programs and movies, making it one of Canada's most enduring and easily recognized cultural icons. For many people, the Mountie image still symbolizes Canada's commitment to the values of peace, order and good government, thus bridging the imaginative gap between modern Canadian society and that of the past.

In *Visions of Order: The Canadian Mountie in Symbol and Myth* (Walden 1982), Keith Walden traces the formation of the Mountie myth in Canadian popular culture in an attempt to explain why this symbol has remained so vital to the Canadian imagination. He describes the Mountie myth in the following way:

The Mountie was indisputably a hero. He possessed all the virtues and character traits that distinguish the archetype. He was well bred and often of noble birth, but he was in no sense elitist. Mixing easily with his fellows and with humanity, he was comfortable with the authority he wielded and never became tyrannical. His natural courtesy, modesty, sense of humor, and incorruptible morality ensured he acted from a feeling of paternal concern for society, rather than self-interest. He was courageous and strong, but at the same time tender and compassionate. He was intelligent but not an intellectual. He was a man of action, whose competence in a wide range of fields was reflected in the broad spectrum of his responsibilities. And though adventurous, his exuberant, rollicking spirit was disciplined by a commitment to duty, justice and order (Walden 1982, 211).

This myth emerged at a time when Canada was still in its infancy, when pioneer conditions made it difficult for many to endure the harsh climate, isolation, and uncertainty about the future.

Perhaps this helps explain why the Mountie emerged as such a powerful icon in Canadian imagery. By Walden's account, the Mounties' main symbolic function was to "resolve some of

the puzzling and terrifying contradictions of life ... without destroying the cherished values from the past" (*ibid* 213). According to Walden, the Mountie myth helped early pioneers come to grips with their uncertainty and existential angst, providing a hero at a time when there was strong yearning for some universal standard of truth and morality (*ibid* 19).

Over time, the role of the RCMP within Canadian society has clearly changed. As more people moved into big cities, the RCMP was less a direct part of most people's lives. Their presence was no longer symbolically needed to satiate the existential angst described by Walden or resolve the inevitability of the "terrifying contradictions of life". Nevertheless, the symbol has remained one of Canada's most enduring and popular representations, and has subsequently become ingrained within Canadian national discourse and mythology. As Walden notes, "For more than a century, the force played a significant role in the life of the country, and most Canadians believed it had brought honor to the nation. They believed that its record for honesty, integrity, and devotion to duty was matchless" (Walden 1982, 1-2).

Yet when the same myth is interpreted from the perspective of the Native peoples, a somewhat different image emerges. According to Daniel Francis, the Mountie myths portray a distinct non-Native bias. By his account, the Mounties have been represented in "history and in fiction to have pacified the western Indians at little expense and with almost no bloodshed", a situation at odds with many alternative historical accounts. Within this myth, Native peoples are defined from a colonizer's perspective, as an "impediment to national progress and civilized values" (Francis 1996, 81-82). By Francis' account;

The romance of the Mountie comes dressed as an adventure story, an adventure in nation-building, but it is far more than that. Like all treasured national stories, myths if you prefer, it validates and affirms important cultural values; in this case,

the primacy of law and the subservience of the individual to social order. These Euro-Canadian cultural values are necessarily not shared by the Indians, who nevertheless play many roles in the romance: they obstruct the spread of civilization; they provide a reason to feel superior to the Americans; they provide an excuse to feel good about British justice. But they never play themselves. They are imaginary (Francis 1996, 81).

By stepping beyond Walden's narrow functionalist account, Francis reveals another side to the Mountie myth which the former did not represent. Francis delves into the ideological nature of the myth, that which is covered up through a selective reading of history which emphasizes non-Native renderings of Western Canadian settlement. In doing so, he seeks to problematize this symbol so as to make people more conscious of the historical, political and cultural baggage which this particular symbol carries.

#### ***A new Mountie emerges***

It is from this latter perspective that *North of 60* remythologizes the Mountie myth, recoding the RCMP through a mixture of Native and non-Native signifiers. It does so through the character of Michelle Kenidi, whose position within the narrative is developed primarily through her contrast to her partner, corporal Brain Fletcher.

Michelle is a unique kind of RCMP officer as she is female, Dene, and from the community. She meets with problems because she is from the community, which is not traditional for an RCMP constable, yet, important to her Dene identity and her people. Her approach towards upholding the law is community focused. She prefers to deal with problems using community oriented solutions which take into account what is best for the individual and community as a whole. She has turned down several promotions in order to stay in Lynx River, as she feels it is important to work and live amongst her people. As a result, the image of the

RCMP becomes transformed from an institution imposed upon the community to one which is continuous with the band's own autonomy.

Brian on the other hand is from outside the community, representing the stereotypical image of the RCMP officer. Unlike Michelle, Brian tends to go by the book as he prefers to let the courts decide how offenders should be treated rather than the community. In his view, Michelle's strong attachment to the community has limited her ability to become an effective RCMP officer. He perceives her as a *Lynx River* police officer, rather than an RCMP officer, as he does not feel that she is capable of operating effectively in any other environment<sup>10</sup>.

The differences between Brian and Michelle are developed in several episodes, particularly one entitled "Traces and Tracks".

*Setting: Michelle and her brother Peter are sitting on the steps outside the detention center. Michelle is distraught and confused about her role as an RCMP officer. Earlier that day she became enraged and assaulted a prisoner, William MacNeil, while he was detained in a cell. William had been arrested for distributing drugs, resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer (in this case, Michelle).*

Michelle: [speaking in a distraught tone] You lose your reasons, then your instincts, and I'm sitting in a cell wondering what the hell I'm doing.  
 Peter: You're protecting the community.  
 Michelle: That's the speech, but it's not worth a damn if we treat our own the way we used to be treated.  
 Peter: Look how he's treating you. We have enough problems without him (N60,60).

In this particular case, Michelle is having a hard time deciding what is best for her community

---

<sup>10</sup> In episode 74, Brian and Michelle get into a heated argument over their professional relationship, which had been noticeably deteriorating over the course of the season. He says to Michelle, "You know what your problem is Michelle, you're not a cop. Not a real one. Maybe you're a cop here, but you couldn't be one in Yellowknife, Saskatoon or Toronto. You don't believe in it. I do" (N60, 74).

and what is the “right” thing to do. She hopes that William, if given a second chance, will realize the error of his ways and avoid falling into a life of crime. Most of the community, however, do not share Michelle’s optimism, and would prefer to see William extradited from the community. Eventually Michelle follows her own instincts and releases William on a suspended sentence, as she believes that William deserves a chance to redeem himself.

This inner conflict helps demonstrate how much difficulty Michelle has accepting her role as a Dene RCMP officer, as she knows that she can perhaps break some of the cyclical patterns of dependency within her community. Yet in doing so, she runs the risk of challenging or at least turning a blind eye to the law and perhaps the wishes of her people.

A second example can be found in episode 65, when Brian and Michelle arrest two of Albert Golo’s sons for cultivating marijuana. Brian immediately wants to expedite the Golos to Fort Simpson, rather than detaining them in Lynx River as he believes that Michelle is too soft on habitual offenders. Michelle in turn, questions Brian’s judgment and his anxiety to rid himself of the two felons simply for the sake of expediency.

*Setting: Michelle and Brian are in the police station, discussing what to do with the Golo brothers. Brian has just recommended sending the Golos off to the town of Fort Simpson for trial. Michelle challenges his decision.*

Michelle: Why Simpson?

Brian: Last time we put a Golo on trial here, Nathan went for a holiday in the woods, and now he's back in the drug business.

Michelle: We should be dealing with this here.

Brian: Oh God! (Sarcastically) This isn't about community policing again is it?

Brian is convinced that the only way to deal effectively with the matter is to let the legal system decide on the matter in an impartial way. Michelle, on the other hand, believes that Brian’s

solution is not really a solution at all, as it merely recycles the same people through the already overflowing prison system while failing to take any rehabilitative actions.

In both examples, Michelle and Brian display notably different attitudes toward the law. Michelle's solutions are more community oriented, contextual, and rehabilitative as she knows the land and the people. Brian, on the other hand, believes that police officers should be impartial, objective, and capable of operating in any situation. He is an outsider to the community and prefers a more formal approach toward law.

Ideologically, Michelle's character recodes the image of the RCMP, so that it connotes a stronger sense of equality and multiculturalism, key values which lie at the heart of Canada's national discourse. Michelle represents a coalescence of identity positions. She is unique, distinguishable and symbolically important precisely because she is an aboriginal female working in what has traditionally been a male dominated occupation. Yet to make the recoding work, her character also has to be good at what she does, otherwise she would potentially be interpreted as a token representation, a person who has succeeded because of government regulation or quotas (equal opportunity) rather than upon her own merits. As such, her character provides a utopic resolution to the Native/non-Native divide as negotiated via her role as an RCMP officer, as she is both a capable officer and a role model for those groups who see the RCMP as a national institution which is for the most part dominated by white males.

Brian's character exists primarily as a contrast for Michelle. She is located within the community, he is on the outside. She believes in community-based solutions, whereas he believes in achieving justice exclusively through the existing legal system. She relies more on intuition and experience, while he goes by the book and his own suspicions (more than

experiences). Brian's character serves mainly as a foil for Michelle, allowing *North of 60* to explore different aspects of her identity.

As a result, the RCMP is no longer represented as an icon of federal rule, nor as an illegitimate, paternalistic and discriminatory institution imposed to rule aboriginal peoples. Instead, the RCMP is presented as an equal opportunity employer, in which an individual is able to advance based on merit rather than sex or ethnicity. Rather than being a symbol of exclusion and federal authority, the RCMP is transformed into a potential means of resolution and accommodation, a tool to bring together two communities which have historically been divided.

#### ***Governing ourselves: Depoliticizing the political***

The RCMP provides one type of political institution through which Native/non-Native relations are explored, yet it is not the only one. Political tensions are also manifested through the relationship between Lynx River's band manager Harris Miller and its chief, Peter Kenidi. These two individuals share the responsibilities of governing the band, although only Peter is accountable to the people as their elected representative. Through this relationship, *North of 60* privileges Native self-government and greater band autonomy, but does so without asserting any increase in the federal government's financial responsibility for Native peoples. It is up to the band to develop its own economic strategies for survival, as the federal government is portrayed as an institution which no longer has the money or the initiative to help foster this type of growth.

This latter aspect is represented in Harris Miller, Lynx River's band manager. Harris is a transplanted, non-Native bureaucrat who is largely unconcerned with finding new solutions to enduring problems. His main concern is his own livelihood, rather than the community's well-being. He seems to favor continued government support, as he does not believe that Native



peoples are yet capable of governing themselves.

Harris' attitude is best exemplified in the episode, "Traces and Tracks". In this episode, Harris is visited by his future son-in-law Teevee Tenia, who needs help finding a job. Upon hearing Teevee's request, Harris pulls down a massive set of job files and sarcastically says to him; "Jobs, jobs ... (pulls down more files) ... and more jobs. Help from your helpful government. Help yourself". Teevee nurses a moment of stunned silence, before Harris adds "You *guys* need Ottawa to set you straight" (N60, 60). Harris seems to believe that Native peoples are incapable of supporting themselves, as in his view, the federal government already provides them with financial aid, job training programs, and many other privileges which they have yet to take advantage of. As such he is skeptical that the government can be of any service, given that they already provide so much.

However after the application is submitted, Harris realizes that Teevee might actually get the job and become a band manager trainee. Realizing that his own job might one day be at stake because Teevee is Native while he is not, Harris sabotages Teevee by asking a friend in the bureaucracy to 'bury' his application. Harris reasons that in an age of increasing aboriginal autonomy and self-government, white bureaucrats working in aboriginal communities and dealing with aboriginal affairs will eventually be replaced for, after all, they are simply "white boys" as he puts it (N60, 62). In this situation, Harris clearly abuses his administrative position in order to pursue his own self-interest. He isn't concerned with helping those within the community to better themselves; he simply wants to collect his government paycheck and live his life one day at a time.

Unlike Harris, Peter is concerned with the welfare of the community, even if it means

breaking or ignoring government regulations, challenging community apprehensions, or simply not keeping the community informed of his plans. He does not believe that the government has done nearly enough for his community, as he sees them as largely unresponsive to the needs of his people. The differing positions of Harris and Peter are expressed most clearly in “Never Surrender” (N60, 67). In this episode, Teevee approaches Peter and Harris to find out who formally owns the rights to the trees located within the band’s territory, as he is considering starting up his own lumber and saw mill company. In Harris’ opinion the trees are on Crown Land, as it is holding the land in trust in lieu of a confirmed land settlement. In order for Teevee to use them, he needs to apply for a Timber license, pay cutting charges and reforestation fees to Department of Renewable Resources. Peter however, argues that the trees sit on band land and that Teevee need only apply to the band council for a permit, which would be readily forthcoming. Peter does not believe that the Dene have given up their rights to the land, and as such, sees no need to jump through government hoops in order to get the requisite permission. In this situation, Harris’ character represents the interests of the federal government, whereas Peter speaks for the autonomy of the band, defending its ability and right to manage their resources as they see fit (N60, 67).

The issues of cultural difference and Native autonomy are further developed through Peter’s handling of treaty negotiations between the Lynx River band and the federal government. One of the main story lines in the fifth season traces how the Lynx River band in conjunction with others living in the Deh-Cho, are attempting to work out a land settlement with the federal

government <sup>11</sup>. What is particularly interesting about this storyline, it that it helps reveal division between Peter and the federal government, as well as within his own community. As such, the problem of settling land claims is further complicated, as the band itself is not represented as being of one mind in the negotiation process.

This conflict within the band, and between it and the federal government is particularly evident in “Partners and Other Strangers” (N60, 68), as witnessed in an exchange between Michelle and Peter.

*Setting: Peter returns from a tribal council meeting in Fort Simpson, and attempts to explain the discussions to Michelle and her foster son Charlie.*

Michelle: What happened in Simpson anyways?

Peter: No consensus. No deals. But the pressure is building. There’s more money in play now. Gas, oil, diamonds, timber.

Michelle: What are they offering?

Peter: Best efforts, good intentions. They’re going to train us to carry their bags.

---

<sup>11</sup> The controversy over “ownership” of the land in many Northern communities stems from the failure of the federal government to live up to the provisions agreed upon in the original treaty agreements signed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As Kerry Abel puts it in her book *Drum Songs*:

Many of the aboriginal people of the plains saw these treaties as agreements to share the land and its resources in a peaceful way and hoped that the treaties would secure their future through guarantees of hunting and fishing rights as well as government assistance whenever these pursuits were no longer possible. The Canadian government interpreted the proceedings in a very different way. It considered the treaties to be agreements whereby the Natives gave up all claim to the lands that the crown required for purposes of non-Native settlement (Abel 1993, 165).

It was not until the 1950s and 60s, when the federal government became re-interested in the potential for resource exploration in the North, that the Dene peoples again became important to them (Abel 1993, 267). Yet it was not until the 1970s and 80s that a dialogue on outstanding treaty issues between the federal government and the Dene people showed any signs of partial resolution (187) .

Charlie: You're not going to let them take our land are you?

Peter: Never (N60, 68).

As this excerpt indicates, Peter sees the negotiations as yet another attempt by the federal government to "buy off" Natives so that they will forgo their right and ownership of the land. Peter however wants more than simply money, as he knows that it never seems to last as long as anticipated -- once it is gone, it is gone. Peter has the foresight to consider community development, so that the band has the potential to become self-sufficient in the future. As a result, he refuses to settle the land claim until the government offers more than simply money and a few temporary jobs.

The internal division within the band is explored later in the same episode, when Peter is challenged by Rosie and Leon Deela to defend his position. Rosie and Leon want to know what Peter is doing to create jobs, especially when the band has been given the opportunity to settle its land claim and bring some quick money into the community. Peter responds that the most recent deal was not good for his people, and that the jobs offered were temporary, and involved no training. Furthermore, if oil was discovered after the claim was settled, the band would reap none of the benefits. Peter adds "And these big wells, they'll be pumping money right past his [reference one of Leon's relatives] house, all the way to Calgary, Ottawa, New York - our oil, our gas". Rosie and Leon respond that all the community has is welfare and promises about the future. They want change to happen immediately, not in some distant future. In response, Peter can only preach the virtues of patience, as he is not entirely sure what the realistic alternatives are. At the end of season five, many of these political-economic tensions are resolved when the band discovers that their land may be sitting on top of a large oil deposit (N60, 74). The

discovery of oil at the end of season five depoliticizes some of the tension between the band council and the government, as the band is no longer as dependent upon its support. By becoming more self-sufficient, issues of land claim settlement and economic development are no longer as contentious. The band is now able to negotiate from a position of strength rather than weakness. Now, rather than symbolically exploring how a community can creatively pull itself out its current condition or put political pressure on the government for help, the band is instead faced with the task of dealing with the possibilities of economic prosperity. In doing so, structural problems and antagonisms are no longer the central issues, even though they still exist outside of this fictional framework.

Ideologically, the themes of economic dependency, land claim settlement, and Native political autonomy are dealt with in a manner which involves the government as an active participant but does not represent it as a institution of salvation. The government is in many ways cast as a traditional enemy of Native peoples and at other times as simply misguided in its efforts to 'improve' their condition. Its past practices of paternalistic governance, assimilationist cultural policies, and appropriation of Native territories is addressed, but the government itself is no longer expected to resolve the problems. The resolution of these problems is instead transferred to the Native peoples themselves, along with a greater amount of fiscal and political responsibility.

This encoding of Native/non-Native political relations is established primarily through the relationship between Peter Kenidi and Harris Miller. Peter's character is used to signify the importance of strong leadership and the value of communal attachments. As a leader who is middle aged, Peter is neither fixed to traditional practices, nor filled with blind youthful

exuberance. Instead he represents a wise yet flexible leader who is responsive to change, and to tradition but not constrained by it. As such, Peter signifies a unique type of political bureaucrat, as he uses his position as band leader to co-opt political structures without going too far beyond the law. Peter, like his sister Michelle, is used to signify a sense of balance and tension. He is a character who negotiates between the established political norms, values and rules established through existing institutions. At the same time he provides innovative and resistant actions required to bring about much needed changes within the Lynx River community.

Furthermore, Peter recognizes that politics are about power and struggle, and that Native peoples have traditionally been at a disadvantage, having neither the power nor the resources to effectively resist the federal government. In order to effect positive changes within the community, Peter has chosen to operate both within existing structures and outside of them. He is essentially trying to attain greater autonomy for his peoples by operating within existing frameworks, but also strategizing outside of them when necessary.

Peter's position of authority is enhanced through his contrast with Harris. Unlike Peter, Harris is an outsider who is highly self-interested and less concerned with the good of the community. As a non-Native representative of the federal government, Harris signifies a withering of government involvement and the inability of its bureaucracy to adequately address Native concerns. Harris is a lackey, who limits his political involvement to a job and a paycheck. He reflects many of the paternalistic attitudes which are often associated with non-Native government representatives, but rather than conveying a sense of anger or hostility towards Harris, there is instead a sense that he is somewhat pathetic. He can not bear the burden of the past on his shoulders. He simply wants a job to pay his way and to survive. From his

perspective, Native peoples are as much to blame for their own condition as is the federal government.

Through the contrast between Peter and Harris, *North of 60* provides a sense of ideological resistance to the established political system and its values. Peter's character is both a part of the system and outside of it. It is precisely this negotiation of being both inside and outside of existing structures that enables *North of 60* to suggest that existing structures may themselves be flawed. This is borne out in several ways; by the end of government stewardship, through the transference of greater power and responsibility to the band, and the move towards resolving outstanding land claims.

Nevertheless, it is also important to note that this recognition and transference of power and responsibility is still largely a financial concern, as the government gradually removes itself from Native affairs, having no desire to spend the money required to adequately address long-term problems and solutions. The government's financial responsibility to the band is still based upon the value of the land they occupy and the potential for that land to be productive, rather than as a recognition of the colonial past which led to such conditions. Thus, even as cultural difference and transference of power is being signified within the text, it is never a clear admission of guilt, nor a reconciliation for past wrongs on the part of the government. Instead, recognition of difference is achieved with respect to current economic and political conditions which have led to an increasing transfer of responsibility and power to Native peoples.

### ***Healing ourselves: Criticizing the political structure***

The third area in which a multicultural discourse is constructed involving the government as one of the central signifiers is in the provision of social services. As was the case in the

previous two areas, the government is once again held responsible for its failure to adequately meet the needs of Native peoples. The difference in this situation, however, is that the government receives a far harsher critique in the program than in the previous two cases.

This institutional and structural critique is motivated primarily through the character of Betty Moses. Betty is the head of an important Native social services network, which includes support groups, clinics and counseling for Native peoples who need help dealing with alcoholism, depression, and/or behavioral problems. Betty is responsible for helping Native peoples overcome these problems which seem to affect them at an alarmingly disproportionate rate<sup>12</sup>.

Like Peter, Betty often expresses a very negative view of the government, and blames it for failing to take responsibility for many of the problems which she believes are directly related to government policy. She believes that the government is primarily responsible for forcing many aboriginal peoples off their lands and into city streets, where they often wind up drinking themselves into the grave. In "Walking with Ghosts" (N60, 75), Betty conveys some of her frustration to Sarah:

Betty: I'm in Toronto, and I'm stepping over bodies. White, black, Native. Sleeping in the streets. I'm in Yellowknife, drunk hits me up. It's this Indian guy I know, use to be a welder. He's so blurred, he thinks I'm a white woman. Then I come here. I see a bottle on the runway, lock on the treatment center, and a drunk in the tank. This is a dry town! [pause] But I hear we're really beating the deficit [sarcastically] (N60, 75).

---

<sup>12</sup>The issues of alcoholism, substance abuse and suicide are addressed in several episodes, and in a manner which suggests that such problems are prevalent within many aboriginal communities, and that their causes are likely structural in nature. Alcoholism is addressed in episodes 53, 54, 55, 60, 61, 63, 64, 72, 75. The issue of illegal drug or other forms of substance abuse (eg. gasoline sniffing) is thematically addressed in episodes 53, 60, 65, 66, 69, 74. The issue of suicide is addressed in episode 55.



In Betty's view, every Native who struggles to put down the bottle and get up in the morning is both resistant to and representative of the policies imposed by the government over the past hundred and thirty years.

*North of 60* opens a wider discursive space for addressing the aforementioned social problems, by emphasizing the link between ethnicity, the economic/political conditions which many Native peoples face, and the problems which plague many Native communities. In doing so, the federal government is criticized for failing to address these conditions properly. The task of finding a solution however, falls upon Native peoples themselves. If Betty Moses' character is taken as the text's central voice on this issues, then the suggestion is that Native peoples need to deal with these problems amongst themselves. They need to find a way to heal themselves by seeking solutions according to their own social and political values, using a combination of Native and European healing methods to build character and strength. As such, there is again an omission of the government, as it does not figure into the healing process.

### ***Conclusions***

In each of these three areas, Native and non-Native tensions are used to construct a multicultural national discourse which emphasizes cultural differences. In the case of the RCMP, the character of Michelle Kenidi signifies a negotiation of identity positions. An institution which is often represented as being white, male, federalist, and paternalistic is recoded into a more open, less paternalistic, and more regionally responsive entity. In doing so, the authority of the band becomes coextensive with that of the government, as they are effectively being policed by one of their own.

In the case of the formal political structure (band council), a constant tension is

maintained between the federal government and the band, in which the needs of the former and that of the latter are seldom congruent. This tension, however, is fairly loose, as there is much grumbling and the occasional breaching of formal government procedure, but there are no examples of potentially violent or disruptive conflicts between the two groups. This type of tension is present throughout the case study, until the last episode, when the band discovers a hidden resource deposit. When this occurs, the issue of money, one of the central issues in current discussion between various Native groups and the federal government, is removed from this particular discourse.

It is in the last area, social services, where the government is most strongly criticized. Although the problems of substance abuse, suicide, alcoholism, and violence occur in all communities, the statistics are alarmingly disproportionate amongst Native communities. The resolution and/or treatment of these problems is explored through more communal and traditionalist means, opening up the national discourse to a greater awareness and perhaps even appreciation of different ways of dealing with such issues.

In general, each of these areas depicts a situation in which the government presence is changing. The government is neither represented as a panacea nor as an impediment -- it is an ambivalent presence in the background. The government still bears an historical burden for what has been done in the past, but it does not answer for this in the present. With the exception of the RCMP, the state fades out of *North of 60's* contribution to the national discourse, as it is relieved of many of its potential responsibilities.

The characters of Betty Moses, Michelle Kenidi and her brother Peter all signify positions of resistance to established power relations. They all occupy positions of authority either within

government institutions or in direct relation to them. Their resistance emphasizes the possibility of addressing communal and personal problems by showing initiative and taking responsibility. It is not so much institutional structures which are the problem, but the contribution of complacency and despair. As such, the virtues of individualism are emphasized, but it is an individualism which is situated *within* a community not apart from it. Michelle, Peter and Betty are all characters who have had to overcome personal problems, and in doing so, have become stronger in their roles of community leaders.

### ***3.4.2 Beyond the Great Economic Divide***

In these times of budget cuts and deficit reduction, greater emphasis is placed on the separation between the political and economic realms. Increasingly, a discourse is evolving in which economic disparities are ultimately cast as market problems, not political ones. However, in the case of many northern aboriginal communities, the distinction between political and economic relations is not so easily resolved within myth. Issues such as land claim settlements, Native/non-Native economic disparity, and job creation in a resource-based economy, are embedded within a politico-economic structure which has existed for well over century. As such, the collective political dimension and the individual market-based dimension are somewhat difficult to disentangle.

In the previous section I discussed how the political dimension enters into the economic through the issue of land claim settlement. Federal government involvement in this area and in law enforcement remains important, however in most other areas, government involvement is fading away, leaving an increasing burden on the band to find its own economic solutions. The government is represented as having far less financial and administrative responsibility for job

creation and/or economic subsidization, as these issues are increasingly represented as matters that markets need to decide.

In this section I want to extend this discussion by considering how Native/non-Native relations are addressed in economic situations which do not directly involve the federal government. Within this type of market, *North of 60* explores how economic and ethnic tensions are commingled with one another, such that the two are difficult, if not impossible, to dissociate. Economic differences between the haves and have-nots (i.e., between owners of the means of production, the workers and the unemployed) are also developed along ethnic lines, rather than being addressed as solely economic issues. As such, it is impossible to treat cultural differences in the economic realm as being purely economic or purely ethnic, as in many cases, these tensions reinforce each other.

As a way of exploring these tensions, *North of 60* emphasizes how powerful capitalism (and the liberal ideology which it fosters) has been in eliminating alternative economic practices which are often firmly entrenched within a particular ethnic tradition. As such, a series of conflicts are established between a predominantly non-Native liberal market ideology which stresses individualism, materialism, and the pursuit of profit and a more collectivist approach towards economic development, balancing market demands with those of the community. Through this economic framework, *North of 60* uses the Native/non-Native and capitalist/collectivist distinctions to emphasize how powerful capitalism is in eroding traditional economic practices, and revealing how ethnic and economic differences are often commingled.

### ***Capitalism: The ethnic solvent?***

In constructing a multicultural national discourse, extreme economic inequalities between

Native and non-Native peoples ultimately need to be addressed. In 1991, the average income for registered Indian, Métis and Inuit people was only slightly more than twelve thousand dollars (Statistics Canada (a), 1991). On-reserve Indians received even less than this earning under nine thousand dollars, marking a decline over a five year period. Unemployment ranged from a high of 31% for on-reserve Indians to a relative low of 19% for Indians living off reserve, staggering figures when compared to the national average of 10% (Statistics Canada (b), 1991). In 1991, on reserve Indians derived a greater proportion of their income from government transfer payments (forty percent) than any other group in the country. Clearly these numbers indicate that there is a tremendous amount of economic disparity between Native and non-Native Canadians. It is hardly a great leap in logic to assume that this economic disparity is the cause of much tension between Native and non-Native peoples, and between Native peoples and the federal government.

In *North of 60*, this disparity is represented by the lack of job and business opportunities and the high degree of unemployment within the community. Tourism, hunting and trapping, and government services make up the main aspects of the economy, with very few private businesses managing to turn a profit. This situation is particularly hard on the youth living in Lynx River, as they find it difficult to occupy their time and derive some sense of fulfilment from their lives without the opportunity to work.

This tension is personified in the character Teevee Tenia. Over the course of season four (episodes 55-64), Teevee desperately searches for some form of employment so that he can free himself from being dependent on the government or his family. Teevee is often quite bitter about this condition, and frequently vents his anger against the white man, blaming “those bastards”

for most if not all aboriginal problems (N60, 55). Teevee knows that it is generally the “White man” rather than the “Red” who dominates the economic realm, and he resents the fact that he has to struggle so hard just to get started, let alone to become successful.

Teevee’s character is developed primarily in contrast to Gerry Kisilenko. On the one hand, Teevee sees Gerry as a role model, as he is one of the only successful entrepreneurs within Lynx River. On the other hand however, Teevee resents Gerry because he is white, moderately successful, and has made money at the expense of Teevee’s people. His character functions as a foil for developing Teevee’s ambitions and venting his hostilities.

One of the first attempts to reconcile this tension comes in “Moonlight Sonata”, when Teevee unsuccessfully tries to convince Gerry to go into business with him. Teevee wants to sell the local Dene crafts which Gerry has bought from local craftspeople to potential buyers in Yellowknife. He sees this as a ‘get rich quick’ plan in which he can develop himself as an entrepreneur. Gerry, however, decides not to do business with Teevee, as he feels that he has nothing to offer except for hopeful promises. In Gerry’s view, wealth can only be earned through hard work and perhaps some risk. In this situation, Gerry felt that he was supposed to take all the risks, while taking a disproportionately low return on his investment.

The two eventually become business partners in “Never Surrender” (N60, 67), when they begin operating a portable saw mill together. Although the original idea was Teevee’s, he lacked the necessary capital to start the business on his own. Gerry was quite willing to appropriate Teevee’s idea, but he needed more capital and “an Indian” in order to have access to the trees on the plateau (N60, 67). Given this coalescence of needs, the two go into business together.

After working at the mill for a short time, Teevee soon forgets his feelings of

discrimination and takes on the guise of a boss who is indifferent in matters of ethnicity. This transformation is best illustrated in "Watchers" (N60, 70), when Teevee needs to hire a worker for a few days at his mill. After some coaxing from his grandmother, Elsie Tsa Che, Teevee hires his former friend, Joey, but fires him after only a couple of days on the job when he fails to perform up to expectations. Twice, while "on the clock", Joey leaves the work site when he is distracted by sounds in the bushes. On the first occasion, Joey hears a clapping noise in the bush, and searches unsuccessfully for its source. Joey considers this a bad omen and decides to quit work for the day. The next day Joey is also distracted, this time by the sight of a moose. He decides to hunt the moose but ends up losing it and kills a rabbit instead, which he in turn hands over to Teevee. When Teevee discovers what Joey has done he becomes irate, throwing the rabbit at Joey's feet in disgust. Joey glares back at him and says "You know better than that".

By disrespecting the life offered by the rabbit, Teevee has clashed with both the community's and Joey's spiritual values. In doing so, Teevee's character is used to demonstrate how certain of his people's values and beliefs can potentially interfere with business, particularly those which may not conform to the nine to five workday, or the constraints of fulfilling contracts on time. By reacting to Joey in this manner, Teevee has shown that he no longer has the same respect for traditional practices as he previously did, especially when work is involved. In order to make money, and have his business prosper, he needs dependable laborers who work by the clock. This conflict expresses a clash between those values associated with what has traditionally been a predominantly subsistence based community and a capitalist economy based on monetary exchange. Lynx River represents a fusion of these two modes of production, in which the clash of two different ways of life is all the more apparent.

### ***Conclusions***

In the economic realm, *North of 60* reinforces a liberal market ideology, though not without problematizing it through its contrast between community values and economic practices. The Native/ non-Native divide is coded so as to emphasize a similar economic rationale operating in the mind of both Teevee and Gerry. By juxtaposing these two characters in the manner it does, *North of 60* conflates the ethnic aspect within the economic, showing how the desire to make money can affect a person regardless of their ethnicity. For example, rather than being upset at Gerry for exploiting the local craftspeople and selling their works at a greatly inflated price, Teevee is instead jealous that it isn't him making the money off the backs of his own people. He is upset that he is not deriving the surplus value from his people's labor.

As was the case with characters such as Michelle, Peter and Betty, Teevee's character also signifies a mediating position between Native and non-Native worlds, as he clearly identifies himself as Dene, while at the same time pursuing ends which often challenge many of his community beliefs. He is comfortable with the pursuit of wealth and profit, and all the toys and trinkets it can potentially enable him to buy. As such, Teevee is not different from many non-Native peoples raised within a modern capitalist culture. Yet, as a minority, Teevee feels that he is constantly fighting an uphill battle to be recognized according to his merits. He is constantly complaining that he is being denied opportunities or discriminated against because of his ethnicity. In some instances, this is true, but in many, he is just projecting his anger and frustrations onto non-Native people because they have traditionally been the ones who have had all the economic power.

Ideologically, economic forces are represented as an ethnic solvent, overwhelming ethnic



differences even as they serve to further stratify them. Ethnicity and class are conflated within *North of 60*, as the poorest members of the community also tend to be of Dene ancestry. Yet when Native/non-Native differences are explored within *North of 60*, the tensions are often first represented as ethnic tensions, when the central concern is actually economic in nature. In other words, class or economic struggle are prominent but often veiled or mixed with issues of ethnicity. By asserting cultural difference in this manner, ethnicity appears as a somewhat redundant category, as it ultimately dissolves in the face of pressures to make money. Even though it seems as if Teevee is wrong for being so dismissive of community traditions, he realizes that he has little choice if he is to succeed as an entrepreneur in a world where success and failure are measured according to profit margins.

In the economic realm, we thus find an overlapping of several kinds of discourse -- economic, ethnic, and to some extent national -- as different tensions exert themselves within the text. Ideologically, an economic discourse which privileges capitalism, individualism and the 'Protestant work ethic' predominates over these other concerns. As a result ethnic differentiation within the economic realm appears mainly as a negative feature (in terms of discrimination) rather than presenting an alternative to capitalist modes of production. Nevertheless, because the contrast between capitalist and subsistence economies is made, there is still a sense that the dominant ideology is being challenged by an alternative way of living and perceiving the world.

### ***3.4.3 Cultural differences in the coffee shop***

*North of 60* constructs a multicultural discourse in the social realm in two main ways - through a discussion of discrimination and of spirituality. In the first instance, cultural differences are established via a reversal of signifiers, directing discrimination towards non-

Natives peoples living within the community. I distinguish this as a reversal of signifiers as it is usually Native peoples who are portrayed as the victims of discrimination on television. In doing so *North of 60* explores how ethnic differences can be used in a political process of distinguishing one group from another -- us from them. It represents how discrimination generally involves a differential in power, as one group is able to define another person or group as the "other" and apply social sanctions against it as a way of maintaining group boundaries.

The issues of religious or spiritual beliefs and practices are also used to explore multiculturalism in the social realm. This is achieved through a juxtaposition between the older Dene spiritual traditions and those of Catholicism (or more broadly, Christianity, brought to Lynx River by missionaries centuries ago). Yet, rather than using religion as a cultural divide, and associating it specifically with non-Native, European traditions, *North of 60* focuses on the compatibility and mutual development of different spiritualities rather than on their potential exclusiveness. As a result, a cultural discourse emerges which shows how Christianity is not necessarily an ethnic boundary, as it has, in many ways, become part of a dialogue with the Dene spiritual tradition.

***"You're not from here!" : Reversing discrimination***

Of all the issues dealt with in *North of 60*, discrimination is the one addressed most frequently. Discrimination was evident in political and economic realms as well, but tended to merge with other issues (e.g., class relations, political power struggles, economic opportunities). However, in the social realm, the issue of discrimination is generally represented on a more individual basis.

The most notable case of discrimination befalls Sarah Birkett, the former town nurse and

ex-wife of Albert Golo. As a non-Native character with a Dene daughter, Sarah is both an outsider and a partial member of the community. She does not speak the local language nor does she know all of the Dene customs and traditions. Nevertheless, she considers Lynx River her home and throughout the fourth and fifth season, tries to find her place within the community despite being limited to its social margins.

Her difficulties are well represented in the episode “Traces and Tracks”, when she petitions the band for a house in which to raise her child. Upon visiting the band office to fill out the requisite forms, Sarah is informed by the band chief, Peter Kenidi, that the forms are unavailable, but he adds that he will notify her when he has some. Yet when Sarah returns later while Harris is working, the forms are readily located. When Sarah mentions Peter’s earlier difficulty, Harris replies sarcastically “Oh, you mean the *white* people housing forms. No, we’re always out of those”, to which he adds “ We’re pretty much out of anything for anyone whose family hasn’t lived here for five thousand years, but we can get some” (N60,60). In the end, Sarah is denied housing due to the community housing shortage and is placed on a long waiting list for when housing does become available. In this situation, it is not so much the fact that Sarah was denied housing which was discriminatory, but rather the difficult process which she underwent to get the forms. In this case, social discrimination is in a sense concealed within a legal process in which Sarah has less of a chance to defend herself.

Sarah’s sense of discrimination is pushed even farther in the episode “Tango”, when she has to fight for the custody of her daughter in front of the band council. At the time of her custody hearing, Sarah has no job or status within the community, appearing to many as an unfit mother who is unable to educate her daughter in the traditional ways of the Dene people. In

making his case for custody of Elizabeth, Albert Golo asks the council “How many babies do we want raised by white people, far from home? She’s an unfit mother, and she’s not Dene”. After further discussion, Sarah responds to the council bitterly, “It doesn’t matter what’s right or wrong does it? It’s what color you are! That’s all that matters isn’t it ?”(N60, 64). In Sarah’s view, the discussion should have revolved around her capabilities as a mother, not her ethnicity and ability to raise her child within one tradition or another. The very fact that she could possibly lose custody of her daughter on the basis of ethnicity seems frightening and absurd to her.

At the end of this particular episode, the conflict between Sarah, Albert and the band council is resolved in a manner which preserves both Sarah’s rights as a mother and the community’s desire to see the baby raised as a Dene. This was achieved when Joe Gomba, an elder of the community, offered to adopt Sarah as his daughter. In doing so, the band is ensured that Sarah’s daughter has a grandparent who is Dene and who will help Sarah raise Elizabeth according to Dene tradition. This resolution, once again evidences a merging of Native and non-Native worlds and their respective signifiers.

Sarah’s character is also used to make us think about cultural differences insofar as it acts as either an institutional or social boundary. Although this confrontation is carried out in a manner which seems critical of discrimination against non-Natives, the point is that all discrimination is problematic. By placing a non-Native character in a position which is often occupied by a Native character in a more urban setting, discriminatory tensions are thus reversed. By identifying with Sarah, many viewers will be challenged to reconsider how difficult it is for those on the “outside” to gain some degree of social acceptance by a majority group.

Sarah’s character is thus used to develop the limits of multiculturalism and its privileging

of cultural difference. By constructing situations in which ethnic differences are used in an exclusionary manner, *North of 60* reinforces the liberal notion that all individuals are fundamentally equal and that ethnic differences should only be fostered to the extent that they do not impinge upon the rights of others. Collective differences, which in this case are related to ethnicity, are thus secondary to the rights of individuals. As such, social discrimination is frowned upon as it promotes ethnic difference at the expense of equality of treatment. This, however, is the difficult path which a multicultural discourse follows, as the preservation and promotion of ethnic difference often interferes with the espousal of individualism which is far more prominent within Canada's national discourse.

### ***Spirituality without walls***

Spiritual or religious practices and beliefs have long provided a foundation for many communal and/or collective discourses and identities. These beliefs often provide a common set of principles through which individuals come to understand their relation to others and to their environment. These traditions can also foster a sense of solidarity and unity within a collective, as they provide a common set of principles and practices which can potentially create a common unity.

In Canada, religion and politics are, in principle, separate. However, like the RCMP and other government institutions, both Catholic and Protestant churches can be interpreted as signifiers and agents of colonialism. The church came from the culture of the colonizers, spreading out to aboriginal communities and peoples in an attempt to convert them to Christianity, in many cases arriving before political institutions had the opportunity to become established, or in some cases, to make the transition for colonial rule easier.

Although religion was disruptive and destructive to many Native communities, Christianity was often well received in many Dene communities. In many ways, the ideological influences of the church did not clash as much with community values and practices as that of the government, as they were able to incorporate many Christian beliefs within their own religious framework<sup>13</sup>. The church still represented a foreign presence, but not necessarily one which in any way threatened the ability of Native peoples to maintain their own spiritual practices, or alternatively to merge their own spirituality with Christianity.

Like other institutionalized ethnic divisions, this symbolic boundary is also recoded within *North of 60* to signify a merging of the Native community with a non-Native institution. In this case, the negotiated recoding is arrived at through the character of Lois Tenia, a Dene woman whose involvement with the local Catholic church culminates in her becoming a lay minister (N60, 71). Lois is an extremely devout practitioner, to the extent that she almost seems to have forgotten that an independent Dene spiritual tradition existed prior to the arrival of

---

<sup>13</sup>Historically, the Dene peoples have shown to be quite pragmatic in their religious adherences. In her book, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History* (Abel 1993), Kerry Abel claims that Dene morality and philosophy have always had a highly pragmatic quality. She notes,

That which was considered “good” was that which was useful, and that which was “evil” was that which was counterproductive or harmful in some way. Truth was not an abstract; something might be taken as true only after it had been proven by experience...The Dene did not share the Christian belief in the sinful nature of humankind. Nor did they separate the universe into the sacred and profane or natural and supernatural spheres. People were meant to live as part of the universe and not to attempt to dominate over it or to change it. In a complex system of interrelationships in the universe, the Dene found a sophisticated and practical means to deal with the problems of life. Flexibility, adaptability, individual initiative and social responsibility were interwoven in a society that coped remarkably successfully in an environment that outsiders were later to describe as hostile and barren (Abel 1993, 42).

Catholic missionaries.

This is particularly evident in “To Have and To Hold” (N60, 61), when Lois is preparing to marry Harris. She begins to have second thoughts about the wedding when Harris is unable to produce a baptismal certificate proving that he is Catholic. Her son Teevee (who knows that Harris has been lying about his religious devotion) tries to convince Lois to get married despite this minor problem.

Teevee: You know, I was thinking ... It'd be cool if we had a Dene wedding instead.  
Forget the priest and the baptismal thing.

Lois: It wouldn't be a marriage in the eyes of God

Teevee: Sure it would. I mean, our people got married before the church, right (N60, 61)?

Teevee's understanding of the relationship between Catholicism and his own spiritual beliefs is meant to make Lois realize that strictures such as baptism were not part of Dene tradition. By raising this issue with Lois, Teevee is challenging the authority of the church to impose the conditions and rituals of marriage, as he does not see these as fundamentally important to community values and practices.

Christianity and Dene spiritual traditions do find a more agreeable middle ground in the character of Elsie Tsa Che, who is also Lois' mother. As an elder within the community, Elsie continues to practice and adhere to many of the band's traditional spiritual practices. She is frequently represented as talking to the spirits, seeing visions, and giving offerings of tobacco. Yet she is comfortable with the influence of Christianity within the community, as it too focuses upon the esoteric encounters of spiritual life. Unlike Lois, who is quite devout in her adherence to Catholic rituals and scripture, Elsie takes a far more pragmatic approach and signifies a mediating position between Catholicism and her own spiritual practices.

The greatest resistance to the church actually comes from a non-Native member of the community, Lois's husband Harris Miller. Harris sees the church not as a place of worship and spirituality, but as an institution devoted to a strict "moral education". While growing up in the Maritimes, Harris was constantly having to deal with church oppression and rigid moral strictures, leaving him bitter and cynical about the role which it can play in providing spiritual guidance.

This situation is reflected in "Simple Suffering" (N60, 71), when Lois becomes ordained as a lay minister in the Catholic church. Shortly after Lois is ordained, Harris gets into an angry confrontation with the head of the Lynx River's Catholic church. After the service, the head of the church confronts Harris about his noticeable hostility towards the church and lack of support for Lois.

*(Setting: Harris and Father S. alone outside of the church.)*

Harris: You guys are all the same. Corporation of Christ. Swindelling everyone you can get your hands on.

Father: What do you know about church? You never come inside.

Harris: I got my smacks plenty (smacks his head four time with sound effects) Saint Dominics, New Brunswick. I saw pompous asses like you speaking God's word, scaring the crap out of poor working people.

Father: It's all fraud for you.

Harris: These people were doing fine until you and your lot came along with your original sin and guilt. You're a group of bullies and hypocrites and you have the nerve to tell people how to live.

Father: Lois found peace in God (he touches Harris' shoulder). This is what bothers you. (pause) because you are empty in your own soul.

By representing resistance to the church through Harris, *North of 60* redirects an expected tension (Native vs. church) by exploring it through a different perspective. In doing so, the Catholic church retains both its negative (as a potentially oppressive institution) and positive (as



a place in which one can better understand their spiritual nature) symbolic qualities. As a result the colonial connotations which are often associated with the Catholic church are complicated and diminished. The majority of Lynx River's residents do not see it as a threat, as for the most part, they are comfortable with their own spirituality, and their own education is now largely community-run and freed from both the federal government and the church.

Within this context, spirituality is represented as both a collective bond and a personal matter. The inhabitants of Lynx River are represented as having been brought up with a combination of spiritual beliefs, Christian and Dene. These traditions have merged within the community, and become part of their living tradition. The more vocal critic of the church is one who is without faith, and has grown skeptical of the church for its aggressive means of moral education. Harris was brought up in a situation where the church was also responsible for discipline and education. As a result, he sees it as an oppressive institution which is detrimental to both individuals and collectivities.

Ideologically, the issue of spirituality is used to cultivate a sense of cultural difference and of the negotiation of different traditions. Christianity is also, in a sense, part of the Dene spiritual tradition, yet it is an aspect which coincides with the advance of European explorers and the spread of colonialism. As such, Christianity represents cultural difference and plays into Native/non-Native tensions, but it does so in a much less antagonistic and much more complex manner than is evident in the show's portrayal of Dene adaptations to political or economic institutions. Thus, rather than serving as a institution which is divisive, the church tends to be represented as an institution which unites people. With the church and state firmly separated, spiritual practice is fostered as predominantly an individual concern, but one which has strong

links to community traditions.

*North of 60* thus promotes a pragmatic attitude regarding spirituality in much the same way as it fosters multiculturalism. The contrasts between different spiritual traditions are used to explore how communal boundaries and social bonds are negotiated. They are not represented as impermeable, institutionalized societal norms which separate one group from another.

Ideologically, the church signifies an institution of inclusiveness, not one of division.

### ***Conclusions***

Within the social realm, Native/non-Native differences are explored in a manner which emphasizes the importance of maintaining a sense of difference and diversity, but only insofar as such differences do not serve as impermeable communal boundaries. This treatment of ethnic differences reflects the liberal nature of multiculturalism, as it ideologically privileges both individualism and ethnic difference, two aspects which are not easily reconciled. Yet of the two, individualism is privileged over collectivity within Canada's highly liberal national discourse. What a multicultural discourse (as fostered by *North of 60*) suggests, is that ethnic differences are important, but should not ultimately inhibit individuality.

This situation is represented in the case of Sarah Birkett, who finds herself frequently discriminated against because she is non-Native. When Sarah is adopted by Joe Gomba, she once again becomes a member of the community (she previously had this status when married to Albert Golo), while still remaining a partial outsider due to her ethnicity and skin color. As such, Sarah's character is used to explore the limits of the multicultural logic, demonstrating that it is not about collective rights but, rather, about fostering cultural diversity within the framework of the nation as collective.

With respect to religion, Native/non-Native tensions are negotiated in three ways; through the character of Lois Tenia, who has chosen to immerse herself in the Catholic spiritual tradition; Elsie Tsa Che who reconciles Catholicism and Dene spiritual traditions; and finally through Harris Miller, who resists the church and criticizes it for its detrimental effect on Native communities, even though he is a non-Native. These tensions demonstrate the autonomy of the Dene community to choose their own spiritual paths, and eliminates, or at least downplays, the role of the church as an agent of colonialist assimilationist practices. The manner in which the church is represented suggests that the perceived negative effects are in many instances not simply a case of ethnic bias, but a problem which occurs in particular contexts and as result of specific individuals rather than the institution itself. This recoding once again contributes to a more complex pluralistic and inclusive concept of national identity, as it does not prefer one particular religious affiliation over another. Instead, it suggests that many religious practices are commensurable with each other, and can coexist and evolve within a community at any given time.

### **3.5 Summary**

By using fictional representations of Canadian aboriginal peoples, coupled with traditional national signifiers such as the RCMP and federal government institutions, the CBC has constructed a more complex and inclusive way of imagining Canadian society. The creators of *North of 60* have used the symbolic difference between Native and Non-Native peoples as the fundamental tension through which multiculturalism is reinforced. In a number of different realms - economic, political, and social - old tensions are invoked and then resolved in a way which bridges previously coded differences in order to construct a more multicultural national

discourse. This discourse uses these differences to foster a greater appreciation of how ethnic or cultural diversity can exist and thrive within a national community.

In some cases, this resolution is brought about when members of the Dene community take up a position once inaccessible to Native peoples. Whether it's Michelle as an RCMP officer, Lois as a Lay Minister, or Teevee as a young entrepreneur, each one occupies a position of power which traditionally would have been held by a non-native character. These characters are used to reveal the ideological nature of many institutional practices and values, sometimes reinforcing them, sometimes challenging them, and at other times negotiating a new position altogether. Other characters, such as Harris and Sarah, take up positions within the narrative which reverse tensions in the text. It is Harris who is critical of the church, rather than a member of the Dene community as one might expect. It is Sarah who is represented as the main victim of discrimination, rather than a non-Native character.

The emerging tensions are increasingly internalized, centered within the Dene community itself rather than as a contest or struggle between Native and non-Native communities. The problem is epitomized in Teevee Tenia and Leon Deela, two people who believe in the 'Protestant work ethic', and the demands of a capitalist marketplace. It is a movement countered by community elders such as Elsie Tsa Che, who wish to resist change or at least proceed at a pace which does not threaten traditional communal practices. These elders have seen a lot of betrayals, and wish to understand the impact of choices before rushing into decisions too quickly. Individuals such as Teevee often seem naive to them because they tend to rush into things without necessarily considering the implications first. In the middle sit Peter and Michelle Kenidi, both of whom are trying to preserve the best of both worlds. They both maintain a firm

connection with their community and its traditional beliefs and practices, while recognizing that future paths must be constructed in line with economic, political and technological changes which may be beyond their control.

Ideologically, the ethnic divide is made to give way - becoming depoliticized through a series of recodings which provide a different framework for considering its significance. The government is no longer the colonialist hub that it once was, as power relations have become increasingly decentralized with more control turned over to local authorities. Although this movement may be, more often than not, prompted by economic reasons rather than a concern for the welfare of aboriginal communities, the movement is occurring nevertheless. By the end of season five, the economic dimension of the problem appears to be resolved, as the band seems poised to settle its land claim, and reap the benefits of a burgeoning economy in which it will not solely be the slave to outside capitalist interests. With Michelle as the resident RCMP officer, the Dene community has an authority figure who is from the area and cares how her community is looked after.

Through its discussion of issues such as Native self-government, land claim settlement, and symbolic recognition, *North of 60* provides an imaginative context through which such problems can be expressed, without necessarily being "resolved". In fact, many of these issues are left open and frequently recur because they tend to be systemic or structural and impossible to solve through piece work solutions. Thus, even as the problems emerge and are dealt with episodically, their recurrence throughout the series and over the course of several seasons is used to draw attention to enduring issues which have come to preoccupy the current government/aboriginal relations within Canadian society. This, in turn, forces members of the

**non-Native viewing audience to engage more directly and reflexively in understanding the nature of power relations between Native and non-Native peoples.**

## **Chapter 4: Conclusion**

### ***Multiculturalism, and the Native/non-Native divide.***

Nations are imagined political communities, constructed and held together through the various discourses which emerge from within a national culture. These discourses reflect or more accurately represent the values, peoples, places, ideas and events experienced and/or imagined by those living within a nation. By identifying (or alternatively failing to identify) with the myths and representative images which compose these discourses, individuals come to develop a sense of place and space, and perhaps a sense of communal belonging.

In most cases however, this process of national identification is by no means a simple and politically neutral act. Nations are generally complex entities, composed of a variety of different ethnic, linguistic and regional groups who each have their own vested interests in how the nation is symbolically constructed. At stake in this process is how and on what terms different groups are symbolically recognized and represented within a national framework.

This is the type of situation which currently exists in Canada. Canada is a regionally, ethnically, and culturally diverse country, which has long lacked a unified national tradition around which to foster a collective sense of national identity. Up to this point in Canadian history, there has been no *one* way of imagining Canada, no *one* set of experiences which all Canadians share. Instead, many different traditions and imaginations have come to bear on its social and cultural make-up, with no one set of beliefs appealing to all.

Aside from this internal diversity, Canadians have also had to contend with the

overwhelming influence of American culture when forming their sense of national identity. Canada's own cultural discourses have been heavily influenced by the American media. Many Canadians are as familiar (or often more familiar) with American popular culture as they are with their own representations. This has led to a partial convergence of our national discourses, as many Canadian are readily able to identify with the values, ideas, and situations represented within American culture.

Given Canada's diversity and the pervasive influence of American culture, the task of trying to represent Canada through television or any other cultural medium is considerable. Many of the creators of Canadian popular culture have tried to deal with these issues by creating products which attempt to appeal to Canadian society as a whole, or in segments, without simply mimicking that which has emerged from within the United States.

In response to this situation, the federal government has tried to locate sets of ideas or basic principles which will appeal to all, or at least a large proportion of Canadians. One solution has been to foster a national discourse which promotes the idea of multiculturalism. The myth of multiculturalism provides one way of privileging ethnic diversity without sacrificing the values of liberal individualism. In doing so, it provides an imaginative framework for dealing with difference without giving up on equality.

In this case study, I have examined one example of how this multicultural discourse has been constructed via the CBC. I have argued that the television program, *North of 60*, has contributed to a multicultural national discourse by using fictional representations of Canadian aboriginals (specifically a Dene band) to explore ethnic and regional differences. It has done so



along three main axes -- political, economic, and social -- using Native and non-Native characters in each area to explore how ethnic relations inform the Canadian national discourse.

In the political realm, differences between Native and non-Native Canadians are explored through several different institutions -- the RCMP, the band council, and social services. By placing several Native characters in key positions of authority, *North of 60* signifies a transition in how Native/non-Native relations are portrayed within Canadian popular culture. In doing so, *North of 60* shifts the national discourse which has characterized Native/non-Native relations away from the older paternalistic relationship and towards more autonomous, community based solutions. Through this recoding the federal government is neither represented as a potential solver of problems nor as an impediment. Ideologically, the state fades away, as it is relieved of many of its potential responsibilities and absolved from future blame.

In the economic realm, market forces are represented as an ethnic solvent, overwhelming ethnic differences even as they serve to further stratify them. When Native/non-Native differences are explored within *North of 60*, the tensions are often first represented as ethnic tensions, but later redeveloped as economic struggles. Nevertheless, ethnic differences remain important precisely because they serve as a category of differentiation even when differences may be more rightly attributed to economic concerns.

Within the social realm, Native/non-Native differences are explored in a manner which emphasizes the importance of maintaining a sense of difference and diversity, but only insofar as such differences do not serve as impermeable communal boundaries. This treatment of ethnic difference reflects the liberal nature of multiculturalism, as it ideologically privileges both

individualism and ethnic difference, two aspects which are not easily reconciled.

Through a series of recodings, *North of 60* demonstrates how representations of marginalized others (in this case Native Canadians) can be used to resist older myths of official culture to provide new ways of re-imagining Canada in a broader more consensual way. In each of these areas, the coding of ethnic difference is carried out in different ways, but the goal remains the same: to understand past and present differences between Native/non-Native peoples in order to negotiate a discourse which accommodates diversity within the existing institutional framework. As such, *North of 60* cultivates a greater awareness of the similarities and differences between Native and non-Native Canadians while allowing these differences to emerge as a part of national dialogue or discourse. To do so, *North of 60* grounds its representations in the present, and takes a critical stance towards the past. It discusses sensitive issues such as aboriginal autonomy, social and economic discrimination, the effects of colonialism on Native communities, economic dependency, alcoholism and substance abuse so as to draw attention to many of the enduring structural problems which exist within many Native communities. In doing so, *North of 60* provides a new voice for multiculturalism, negotiating a complex web of ethnic differences to privilege these difference without undermining the liberal values of equality and individualism which predominate within Canadian society.

Through this analysis, I have tried to demonstrates how ethnic differences are mobilized within a dominant national discourse, in a manner which preserves differences, while at the same time reinforcing certain aspects of a dominant national ideology. By drawing upon the work of Stuart Hall, I have tried to show how stereotypical codings of aboriginals peoples have been

reiterated over time and through a variety of different texts, so as to appear neutral and “innocent” of ideological connotations due to their familiarity. *North of 60* represents an excellent example of how dominant and potentially resistant perspectives interact within a text so as to change the way in which discourse is represented. One of the strongest features of *North of 60* is its ability to challenge or alter the dominant representations of Natives signifiers and in particular their relationship to non-Native Canadians and the federal government<sup>1</sup>.

### ***Traveling beyond North of 60***

Looking beyond the central focus of this case study, there are three other issues which I believe this thesis has brought to light. First, the case study reaffirms Mary Jane Miller’s contention that Canadian television programming is, for the most part, distinct from American programming (Miller 1987, 13). Secondly, it brings attention to a current fascination which the

---

<sup>1</sup>Although this thesis has tended to take a rather positive look at *North of 60* and its role in fostering a sensitive and potentially empowering representation of Native peoples which appeals to a sense of Canadian multiculturalism, there are others who see such programs as highly parochial in nature. An example of this argument can be found in Michael Tracey and Wendy Redal’s essay “The New Parochialism: The Triumph of the Populist in the Flow of International Television” (Tracey and Redal, 1995). In this piece Tracey and Redal argue that Canadian cultural production tends to be highly elitist, which they believe is borne out by the fact that English-speaking Canadians watch far more American than Canadian programming (363). As such, they argue that the values or voices of Canadian television do not tend to be those of the Canadian people, but rather those of the elites who foist them on Canadian audiences without taking enough consideration of actual viewing patterns and tendencies.

Although I recognize the merit of such arguments, I feel that the consultative creative process used in the creation of *North of 60*, and the substantial viewing audience suggests that not all Canadian drama fits within this generalization. If anything, *North of 60* demonstrates that it is possible to create popular Canadian dramatic programming which differs from American programming which is nevertheless popular in Canada.

CBC, and Canadians in general seem to have with Native peoples and their culture. In the past four years, there have been numerous CBC television programs dealing with Native/ non-Native relations, of which *North of 60* is the most prominent. Finally, and most importantly, this thesis suggests that many of the recent attempts by the federal government to address concerns about national unity have not taken enough account of the role which programs such as *North of 60* can play in fostering national discourses. As such, I think the issue of developing Canadian culture on a broader, more holistic level needs to be readdressed. Let me address these points individually.

*North of 60* clearly provides another example of the need for more Canadian programming, as it expresses a uniquely Canadian perspective by addressing issues which no American broadcaster would present within a television series. As Miller suggested in *Turn up the Contrast* (Miller 1987) many Canadian programs deal with issues which are specifically related to Canada, told from a Canadian perspectives, and in a manner which is often informative and entertaining. Although some authors, such as Richard Collins have argued that the CBC is anachronistic institution and not important for fostering national solidarity, I find his claim somewhat hard to believe (Collins 1990, 329). In order to keep Canada's national discourse vital, Canadians need to be able to see their nation represented on television. Such programming helps to inform Canadians about issues particular to their own society, and helps Canadians to better understand and identify with the country they live in.

Secondly, *North of 60* is but one of many recent CBC programs which has used aboriginals as signifiers which contribute to a national discourse. Other recent programs such as

*the Rez, Trial at Fortitude Bay, and Frostfire* demonstrate an increasing interest in the use of Native signifiers within Canadian popular culture. This is particularly interesting given the recent debates between Native peoples and the federal government as represented through the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, armed confrontations at Ipperwash and Kahnesatake, and ongoing land settlement throughout Canada. Why, despite the divisions between Native Canadians and the federal government, does there nevertheless seem to be such a fascination within aboriginal issues at the level of popular culture?

On the one hand, the increase in representation of aboriginal peoples may itself only be a “enduring fad” within popular culture. Many Canadians of non-Native ancestry may be interested in Native cultures because they find it to be different, perhaps even “exotic”. Alternatively, it may also be an expression of collective guilt on the part of the creators and heads of CBC programming, due the fact that Native peoples have been under- represented on Canadian television for too long. Another possible explanation is that it may reflect a new paradigm within Canadian politics in which Native voices are now stronger and capable of having their concerns expressed within Canadian popular culture. It is difficult to say precisely what the reason for this increase is; nevertheless it does represent an interesting trend, considering that there have not been many programs in the last five years which have focused on other ethnic groups in Canada (e.g. Chinese Canadians, Ukrainians, Italians) even though these groups also make up distinct groups within certain Canadian regions.

Finally, I believe that this research may contribute to some recent debates and action by the federal Department of Heritage related to the issue of national unity and identity, as some of

these actions seem to represent a return to the rhetoric and practices of the 1960's. Recent attempts to cultivate a sense of national unity through the distribution of flags, the singing of national anthems, and the promotion of sporting events such as the 1972 Canada Cup, suggest that there are many who still view politics of national identity formation far too simplistically. After events such as the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, the recent referendum on Quebec sovereignty and the continued protests of aboriginal and Inuit peoples across Canada, those amongst Canada's political elite should realize that it takes more to unite a nation than a few symbolic gestures. Canada is a complex country, and despite the advantage of trying to distill this complexity into a few basic symbols or ideas, I have little faith that such actions will work. A program such as *North of 60* however, represents one way in which complex national differences can be represented at a national level without necessarily being superficial and reductionist.

This is precisely why Canadians need to take a broader more holistic approach towards understanding Canadian culture and identity formation. National unity will never be reached solely through discussion and political debate. It can not simply be achieved through the passing of a Bill or singing of a song. Collective identities are formed as part of a discussion and formation of a collective discourse amongst an entire population. Individuals need to believe in and understand their nation, before they can be expected to develop some form of attachment to it. The only possible way that this can be achieved is through a broadly based discourse which captures a vast range of experiences and perspectives. It is not enough to say that "we are all the same", or that "we are united under a common flag and through common institutions". In order

for a collective consciousness to be fostered, individuals need to believe that there is a reason for such solidarity. They need to believe that there are common issues and concerns which all or a majority of Canadians share.

This is precisely why cultural texts (such as television programs) are important to a nation, as they generally do not tell their stories using simple symbolic expressions. They draw people in because they are complex, at times contradictory, and sometimes without clear resolutions to societal problems. They allow people to develop their own types of identifications, to articulate their own sense of identity in the manner which they find most appropriate or appealing. If people do not find some aspect of themselves represented within a nation's cultural discourses, how can they be expected to believe in the nation itself? This is the broadest implication of this case study, as it explores but one of the ways in which Canadians have come to talk about difference within their nation.

## Bibliography

Abel, Kerry. Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. New York: Verso, 1983.

Ang, Ien. Living Room Wars: Rethinking Media Audiences for a Postmodern World. New York: Routledge, 1996.

Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." Theory, Culture and Society Vol 7 (1990), 295-310.

Barthes, Roland. Mythologies. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.

Berger, Arthur Asa. Popular Culture Genres. Newbury Park: Sage Publications Inc., 1992.

----- . Media Analysis Techniques. Newbury Park: Sage Publications Inc., 1991.

----- . Signs in Contemporary Culture. New York: Longman Inc., 1984.

Canada - Mandate Review Committee (Pierre Juneau, Peter Herndorf and Catherine Murray). Making our voices heard: Canadian Broadcasting and Film for the 21st Century. Ottawa: Canadian Communications Group, 1996.

Cawelti, John. The Six Gun Mystique. Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1984.

Collins, Richard. "National Culture: A Contradiction in Terms?" Canadian Journal of Communications Vol 16 (1991), 225-238.

----- . Culture, Communication and National Identity: The Case of Canadian Television. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Desaulniers, Jean-Pierre. "What does Canada want? Or L'histoire sans leçon." Media, Culture and Society Vol 9 (1987), 149-57.

Eco, Umberto. The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts. London: Hutchisons & Co. Ltd., 1979.

----- . A Theory of Semiotics. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1976.



Elder, R. Bruce. Image and Identity: Reflections on Canadian Film and Culture. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1989.

Ferguson, Marjorie. "Invisible Divides: Communication and Identity in Canada and the U.S.." Journal of Communications 43(2) (Spring 1993), 42-57.

Filion, Michel. "Broadcasting and cultural identity: the Canadian experience." Media, Culture and Society Vol. 18 (1996), 447-67.

Fiske, John and John Hartley. Reading Television. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1978.

Fiske, John. "Television: Polysemy and Popularity." In Critical Perspectives on Media and Society, 346-364. Robert K. Avery and David Eason eds. New York: The Guilford Press, 1991.

Foster, Hal. Recodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics. Washington: Bay Press, 1985.

Francis, Daniel. "Marketing the Imaginary Indian." In Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History 2nd ed, 310-319. Ken S. Coates and Robin Fisher eds. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996.

----- . The Imaginary Indian in Canadian Culture. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1993.

Gibbens, Roger and J. Rick Ponting. "Historical Overview and Background." In Arduous Journeys: Canadian Indians and Decolonization, 9-55. Roger Gibbens and J. Rick Ponting eds. Toronto: McLellan and Stewart, 1986.

Gray, Herman. Watching Race: Television and the Struggle for "Blackness". Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995.

Grossberg, Lawrence. "Cultural Studies and/in New Worlds." Critical Studies in Mass Communication 10 (1993), 1-22.

----- . "Strategies of Marxist Cultural Interpretation." In Critical Perspectives on Media and Society, 126-162. Robert K. Avery and David Eason eds. New York: Guilford Press, 1991.

Hall, Stuart. "Who Needs Identity?" In Questions of Cultural Identity, 1-17. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay eds. London: Sage Publications, 1996.

----- . "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates." In Critical Perspectives on Media and Society, 88-113. Robert K. Avery and David Eason eds. New York: Guilford Press, 1991.

----- . "The rediscovery of 'ideology': return of the repressed in media studies." In Culture, Society and the Media, 56-90. Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran, and Janet Woollacott eds., London: Methuen, 1986.

----- . "Encoding/Decoding." In Culture, Media, Language, 128-138. Stuart Hall, Dorothy Hobson, Paul Willis and Andrew Lowe eds. London: Hutchison, 1980.

Jackson, John D. "Broadcasting: Centralization, Regionalization and Canadian Identity." In Communications in Canadian Society, 185-199. Benjamin D. Singer ed. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1991.

Jackson, John and Greg M. Nielsen. "Cultural Studies, a sociological poetics: institutions of the Canadian imaginary." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 28(2) (May 1991), 279-98.

Jameson, Fredric. Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. Durham: Duke University, 1991.

----- . Signatures of the Visible. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn. "The politics of polysemy: television news, everyday consciousness and political action." Media, Culture and Society Vol 12 (1990), 57-77.

Kellner, Douglas. Media Culture. New York: Routledge, 1995.

----- . "TV, Ideology, and Emancipatory Popular Culture." In Television: The Critical View 4th ed., 471-503. Horace Newcomb ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Laba, Martin. "Popular Culture as Local Culture: Regions, Limits and Canadianism." In Communication Canada: Issues in Broadcasting and New Technologies, . Rowland Lorimer and Donald Wilson, eds. Toronto: Kagan and Woo Ltd, 1988.

McLarty, Lianne. "*Seeing Things*: Canadian Popular Culture and the Experience of Marginality." In Communication Canada: Issues in Broadcasting and New Technologies, 102-109. Rowland Lorimer and Donald Wilson, eds. Toronto: Kagan and Woo Ltd, 1988.

Miller, Mary Jane. Rewind and Search: Conversations with the Makers and Decision-Makers of CBC Television Drama. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

----- . Turn up the Contrast: CBC Television Drama Since 1952. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987.

Morley, David. Television, Audiences and Cultural Studies. London: Routledge, 1993.

Morley, David and Roger Silverstone. "Domestic communication - technologies and meanings." Media, Culture and Society Vol 12 (1990), 31-55.

Newcomb, Horace M. "On the Dialogic Aspects of Mass Communication." In Critical Perspectives on Media and Society, 69-87. Robert K. Avery and David Eason eds. New York: Guilford Press, 1991.

*North of 60 homepage.* [Http://www.Nof60.com](http://www.Nof60.com)., 1996.

Pike, Robert M. "Canadian Broadcasting: Its Past and Possible Future." In Communications in Canadian Society, 51-71. Benjamin D. Singer ed. Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995.

Raboy, Marc. "Canadian Broadcasting, Canadian Nationhood: Two Concepts, Two Solitudes and Great Expectations." In Seeing Ourselves: media power and policy in Canada, 156-73. Helen Holmes and David Taras eds. Toronto: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1992.

----- . Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

Redal, Wendy and Michael Tracey. "The New Parochialism: The Triumph of the Populist in the Flow of International Television." Canadian Journal of Communication Vol 20 (1995), 343-365.

Robins, Kevin. "Forces of consumption: from the symbolic to the psychotic." Media, Culture and Society Vol 16 (1994), 449-468.

Saussure, Ferdinand de. Course in General Linguistics. Illinois: Open Court, 1972.

Schlesinger, Philip. "Wishful Thinking: Cultural Politics, Media, and Collective Identities in Europe." Journal of Communications 43(2) 1993, 6-17.

----- . Media, State and Nation: Political Violence and Collective Identities. London: Sage Publications, 1991(a).

----- . "Media, the political order and national identity." Media Culture and Society Vol 13 (1991)(b), 297-308.

Silverstone, Roger. "Television and Everyday Life: Towards and Anthropology of the Television Audience." In Public Communication: The New Imperatives, 173-189. Marjorie Ferguson ed. London: Sage Publications, 1990.

----- . "Let us the Return to the Murmuring of Everyday Practices: A Note on Michel de Certeau, Television and Everyday Life." Theory, Culture and Society Vol 6 (1989), 77-94.

----- . "Television Myth and Culture." In Media, Myths and Narratives: Television and the Press, 20-47. James Carey ed. California: Sage Publication, 1988.

----- . The Message of Television: Myth and Narrative in Contemporary Culture. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1981.

Smith, Anthony D. "Towards a Global Culture." Theory Culture and Society. Vol 7 (1990), 171-191.

Statistics Canada. Canada's Culture, Heritage and Identity: A Statistical Perspective. CS87-211. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1995.

----- . Culture Statistics : Television Viewing in Canada. CS87-208. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1993.

----- . Profile of Canada's Aboriginal People. CS94-325. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1991.

Walden, Keith. Visions of Order: The Canadian Mounties in Symbol and Myth. Toronto: Butterworth & Co., 1982.

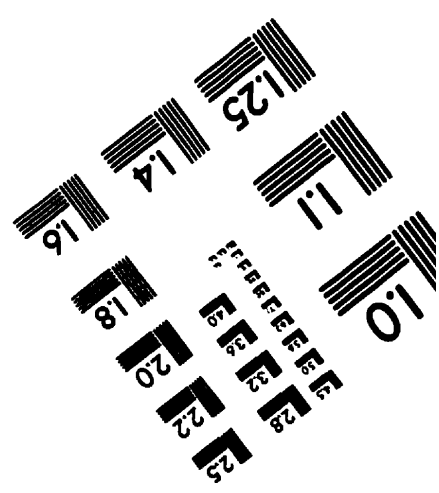
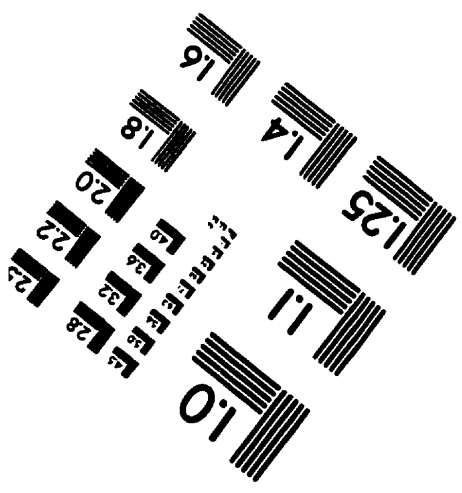
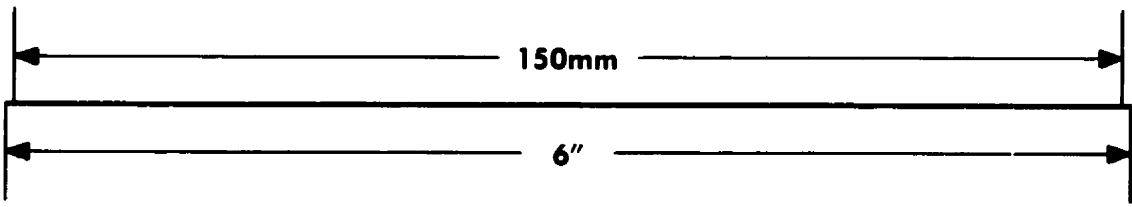
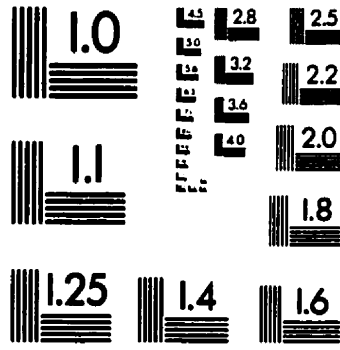
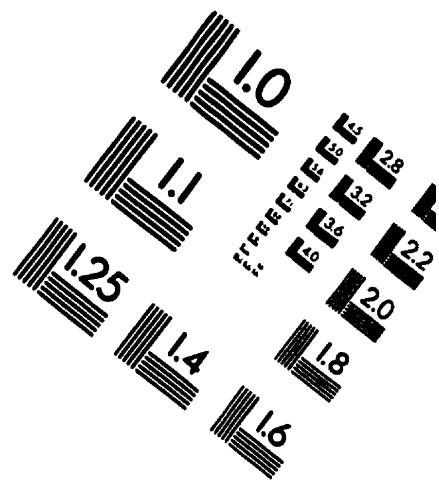
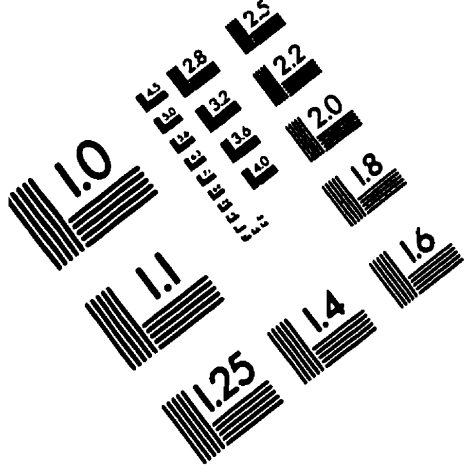
Appendix A

Episode #	Title	Date Aired
53	The Visit	Nov 9, 1995
54	Take Me Home	Nov 16
55	The Weight	Nov 30
58	Moonlight Sonata	Jan 4, 1996
60	Traces and Tracks	Jan 18
61	To Have and To Hold	Jan 25
62	A Safe House	Feb 1
63	Prodigal Son	Feb 8
64	Tango	Feb 15
65	Slow Burn	Oct 3, 1996
66	Bushman	Oct 10
67	Never Surrender	Oct 17
68	Partners and Other Strangers	Oct 24
69	Fear of Flying	Oct 31
70	Watchers	Nov 7
71	Simple Suffering	Nov 14
72	A Shimmer of Scales	Nov 21
73	Suspicious Minds	Dec 5
74	A Deeper Silence	Dec 12
75	Walking with Ghosts	Jan 2, 1997
76	Hunting in the Dark	Jan 9
77	The Higher Law	Jan 16

Episodes 53-64 - Season 4

Episodes 65-77 - Season 5

# TEST TARGET (QA-3)



**APPLIED IMAGE, Inc**  
1653 East Main Street  
Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
Phone: 716/482-0300  
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved