

MAGDALENA SYLWESTROWICZ

**COOKIE-CUTTER COVERAGE:  
NATIVE STEREOTYPING IN THE PRESS  
DURING THE BURNT CHURCH LOBSTER DISPUTE**

Mémoire présenté  
à la Faculté des études supérieures de l'Université Laval  
dans le cadre du programme de maîtrise en communication  
pour l'obtention du grade de maître ès arts (M.A.)

FACULTÉ DES LETTRES  
UNIVERSITÉ LAVAL  
QUÉBEC

JUIN 2004



Library and  
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et  
Archives Canada

Published Heritage  
Branch

Direction du  
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file    Votre référence*

*ISBN: 0-612-95052-2*

*Our file    Notre référence*

*ISBN: 0-612-95052-2*

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing the Library and Archives 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 et Archives 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.

---

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

**Canada**

## RÉSUMÉ

Les représentations médiatiques biaisées et injustes des minorités sont souvent critiquées. Les stéréotypes catégorisent des groupes minoritaires, ce qui influe leur image publique. Les stéréotypes constituent une des dimensions les plus importantes du « racisme moderne ». Dans ce mémoire, la recherche sur les minorités est appliquée aux autochtones, plus particulièrement, à leur portrait lors de la crise du homard au Nouveau Brunswick. Une analyse de contenu identifie les acteurs positifs et négatifs et les associe aux valeurs positives et négatives. Les résultats démontrent que la représentation des autochtones est beaucoup plus négative que pour les autres acteurs; en plus, ils sont plutôt associés aux valeurs négatives. Leur représentation dans l'entourage de ces valeurs négatives est plus défavorable que celle des autres acteurs. Plusieurs stéréotypes sont identifiés. Les implications pour les relations avec leurs concitoyens ainsi que le rôle des médias sont discutés et quelques suggestions pour améliorer la situation sont proposées.

## ABSTRACT

The media's representation of minorities has been criticized for slanted portrayals and unfair coverage. Stereotyping categorizes minority groups, which in turn influences how audiences view them. Patterns of stereotyping are one of the hallmarks of what has been termed "modern" racism. In this thesis, research on minorities in the media is applied to Native people, and particularly, their depiction by the media during the lobster fishing dispute in New Brunswick. A content analysis of articles identifies participants as positive or negative and associates them with positive or negative values. Results show that Natives are portrayed negatively far more often and are consistently associated with negative values, and that their unfavourable portrayal within these values is higher than that of the other participants. Several stereotyping patterns are identified. The implications for Native-majority relations and the media's role within them are discussed and several suggestions for improvement are proposed.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I owe an enormous debt of gratitude to Lise Garon, my director, who guided and motivated me when I was lost, patiently answered my endless questions, and corrected my missteps. She believed in me even when I didn't. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee – Bernard Dagenais, for taking the time to read and comment on this thesis, and Ken Coates, who not only made himself available as an examiner, but also willingly answered my inquiries and filled in my knowledge gaps.

I must also thank those who spent time with me and shared their knowledge and their address books – Amy Jo Ehman, Warren Goulding, Merv Brass, and Marilyn Poitras. Thanks as well to the statistics angels I met along the way.

Finally, without the support and understanding of my family and their indulgence of my excesses, completing this thesis would not have been possible. Dziękuję za cierpliwość. Ich habe euch ganz, ganz lieb.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Résumé</b> .....	i
<b>Abstract</b> .....	ii
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	iii
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	iv
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	vi
<b>List of Appendices</b> .....	vii
 <b>Chapter 1: Theoretical framework and literature review</b>	
Introduction .....	1
Thesis plan .....	2
A note on terminology .....	3
Background to the crisis .....	3
The influence of the media .....	6
The place of stereotypes .....	8
Stereotypes as racism .....	10
Minorities and the media .....	12
Natives in the media .....	14
Invisibility .....	15
Objectification .....	16
Misrepresentation and race roles .....	17
Threat .....	18
Problem .....	19
Colonialism and whiteness .....	20
The Oka effect .....	21
 <b>Chapter 2: Study Design</b>	
Research Questions .....	23
Hypotheses .....	23
Research Design .....	23
Coding Categories & Coding Scheme .....	25
 <b>Chapter 3: Results and Discussion</b>	
Actor representation .....	31
Table 1: Overall portrayal of actors .....	32
Dominant Values and Actors in Burnt Church coverage. ....	33

Table 2: Value frequencies .....	33
Set 1: Law versus Illegality .....	34
Table 3: Law and Illegality .....	34
Law .....	34
Illegality .....	36
Set 2: Peace versus Violence .....	38
Table 4: Peace and Violence .....	38
Peace .....	39
Violence .....	39
Set 3: Truth versus Lies .....	42
Table 5: Truth and Lies .....	42
Truth .....	42
Lies .....	43
Set 4: Security versus Insecurity .....	45
Table 6: Security and Insecurity .....	45
Security .....	45
Insecurity .....	46
Stereotypes identified .....	47
Threat .....	47
Problem .....	48
Race Roles .....	49
Colonialism .....	49
Chapter Conclusion .....	50

#### **Chapter 4: Conclusion**

Major findings .....	53
Possible Further Exploration .....	56
Implications of These Findings .....	58
The Resource .....	60
The Business of News .....	61
Ethnic Relations .....	64
Final Thoughts .....	66
<b>References .....</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>Appendix A Editorial cartoons .....</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>Appendix B Newspaper articles used .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>Appendix C Codebook .....</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>Appendix D SPSS Crosstabs and Symmetric Measures Tables .....</b>	<b>90</b>

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1: Overall portrayal of actors</b> .....	32
<b>Table 2: Value frequencies</b> .....	33
<b>Table 3: Actor representation within values “Law’ and “Illegality”</b> .....	34
<b>Table 4: Actor representation within values “Peace” and “Violence”</b> .....	38
<b>Table 5: Actor representation within values “Truth” and “Lies”</b> .....	42
<b>Table 6: Actor representation within values “Security and Insecurity”</b> .....	45

**LIST OF APPENDICES**

<b>Appendix A : Editorial Cartoons .....</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Appendix B : Newspaper Articles Used .....</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>Appendix C : Codebook .....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>Appendix D : SPSS Crosstabs and Symmetric Measures Tables .....</b>	<b>86</b>

## **Chapter 1**

### **Theoretical perspectives and literature review**

#### **Introduction**

Let us imagine a situation in which an individual has not experienced much of the world and relies on the others around him to acquire some personal knowledge for himself. In experiencing the world in this way, he can unconsciously accept beliefs and opinions about his environment. Newspapers, along with other forms of media, are one of the significant “others” in an individual’s environment; they inform him and allow him to form impressions based on this information.

Various groups within a society are identifiable because of the characteristics – language, religion, ethnic origin – that set them apart from the rest of the population. They are classified as minorities because they have features unlike those of the majority group. They are accorded a symbolic distinction based on ideas or images that people may already have in their minds. To be sure, the media’s images of these groups influences how they are perceived; if the images are reinforced, they work their way into the collective consciousness to become “common sense”.

Many studies on the portrayal of minority groups in the media have identified numerous examples of biased portrayals, most often through the use of stereotypes – subjective

generalizations that often have little rapport with a complex reality. Newspapers and other media seem to have particular categories for minority group stories. In this way, the media contributes to the maintenance of stereotypes and thus the overall perception of minority groups.

As the First Peoples of Canada, Natives are counted as one of the founding groups of the nation. Paradoxically, they are one of the most disadvantaged and stigmatized groups in society. There are many reasons for the difficulties that they face, but how is it that a group that is technically on equal footing with the French and the English is often so negatively viewed by the general population? Since many people have little direct experience with reserves and Native communities in cities, they get much of their information from the newspapers.

This thesis will explore this idea by focusing on one particular event – the lobster-fishing dispute in Miramichi Bay, New Brunswick in the late summer and fall of 2000. It will demonstrate how the Native participants in the dispute were portrayed by the press, in particular, how Natives were stereotyped in the coverage of this event. In doing so, it hopes to point out some of the biases in media reporting and to discuss the implications for the future of Native issues and their representation in the media.

### **Thesis plan**

The first chapter of this thesis provides some historical perspective on the situation of Native rights and the outcome of the Marshall Decision. The reader will then be guided through the role of the media in the formation of people's impressions of the world. The journalistic practice of framing and its link to stereotyping is explored, and negative stereotypes are tied to a modern form of racism. This chapter identifies the major stereotyping patterns in reporting on minorities and applies them to the media treatment of Native people. The Oka crisis is discussed as a pivotal moment in the portrayal of Native protest and its implications for future reporting are suggested.

Chapter 2 explains the hypotheses and methodology of the study, which relies on content analysis to identify the significant participants and values in the lobster fishing dispute; it also aims to study the relationships between these variables through a statistical analysis.

Chapter 3 presents the results of the analysis. Tables comparing the portrayals of participants are introduced as well as observations of the most common themes used to portray the dispute. The portrayals of actors within values are presented to determine the associations between them. This chapter also identifies some of the Native stereotypes discussed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 4 summarizes the important aspects of the study and its results. It discusses the implications for Natives and their relationship with the media. The factors that underlie stereotyping are explored and attempts at improving the situation are discussed. The thesis concludes with suggestions for promoting alternative viewpoints in reporting on Native issues.

#### **A note on terminology**

There are several different terms that can be used when describing aboriginal people. The term “aboriginal” denotes an indigenous person, including Métis, Inuit, and Indian, although one of the former provides more detail. “Native” can also be used instead of “Indian”, as can “First Nations”. The Globe and Mail Stylebook (1996) suggests that while many Native leaders advocate the terms “aboriginal” or “aboriginal person”, the terms “Native” and “Indian” are still used by most Native people and many institutions. Indeed, one newspaper in this study used “Native”, while the other used “Indian”. This essay will use “Native”, but “Indian” will be used when mentioning stereotypical images or historic portrayals.

#### **Background to the crisis**

The last few decades have seen a rise in the activism of Native peoples. Increasingly organized and sophisticated, various organizations have actively begun seeking redress for their historic treatment at the hands of various governments. Native issues have begun to

appear more prominently on the national stage and Native organizations such as the Assembly of First Nations have gained national prominence. A higher profile and Native persistence have allowed Natives to take back some control over their affairs. At the forefront of these matters is the issue of aboriginal self-government and the question of access to land and other natural resources. Some agreements have been signed (such as the Nisga'a treaty in British Columbia) but much still remains contested and a source of tension for Native relations with Canadian governments. On the East Coast, a major natural resource is the ocean and the sea life within it. A highly lucrative industry, the fishing grounds have been the source of much controversy for Natives and non-Natives alike.

The Mi'kmaq lived in the Maritime region well before the arrival of the Europeans<sup>1</sup>. The relationships established with the newcomers were founded on need and trade, but as the Europeans became more ambitious in their national claims, the Mi'kmaq were slowly pushed off their traditional lands. Over the centuries, settlement, politics, and change conspired against the Mi'kmaq and reduced them to minor participants in the hunting, logging, and fishing of the area. Unwilling to accept outsider regulation of what they had always done freely, the community turned to the government, seeking to draw attention to the treaties that had been signed and were being overlooked, and to the general deteriorating situation of their peoples. In their efforts to gain some measure of equality and control over their own affairs, Natives spoke increasingly of their rights. In the case of the Mi'kmaq in New Brunswick, these rights involved being able to fish lobster any time of the year and in large enough quantities to allow them to make a living.

In 1993, Donald Marshall was charged by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for fishing out of season, without a license, and for trying to sell his catch. (Coates, 2003; CBC News Online). Marshall appealed, and when the charges stood in the Nova Scotia Court of Appeal, his challenge landed in the Supreme Court of Canada. In September of 1999, the Court overturned the charges against him, stating that an 18<sup>th</sup> century treaty guaranteed

---

<sup>1</sup> The history of the Mi'kmaq and the background to the fishing crisis are abbreviated versions of Coates' (2003) chapter on the history of the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet, and the CBC's internet coverage of the situation available at <http://www.cbc.ca/news/indepth/fishing>.

Natives the right to fish and hunt free of restrictions. In a clarification of the ruling, it explained that Natives could earn a “moderate income” within the fishing guidelines set by the federal government.

Native communities cheered the Marshall Decision as a recognition and a vindication of long-denied rights. Some took the ruling to extend to all Natives in Canada and to all natural resources. Several Native communities soon began fishing for lobster, despite the fact that the government-regulated lobster fishing season had ended in June. Non-Native fishermen, meanwhile, could only watch from the shore in frustration, and their helplessness quickly turned to anger. Determined to protect their own livelihoods, about 150 non-Native fishing boats fanned out across Miramichi Bay, where a large number of the Native lobster traps had been set. By the time the fishermen came back to shore, hundreds of Native lobster traps had been destroyed. The RCMP intervened to prevent the subsequent pushing and shouting match from escalating, but tension grew nonetheless and the situation quickly deteriorated. The school on the Burnt Church reserve was broken into; three fish processing plants were ransacked by mobs; arson of Native property and Native retaliation followed. The dividing lines between Natives and non-Natives were clearly drawn.

It was against this background that the 2000 fishing season began. Hoping to avoid a repeat of the previous year’s conflicts, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), under the leadership of Minister Herb Dhaliwal, began negotiations in February with First Nations communities in the Maritimes. Although negotiations moved slowly, by August most of the bands had reached either formal agreements or agreed in principle to an arrangement: Natives gained the same access as non-Natives to commercial and food fisheries, including new gear and training. Only the Burnt Church band in New Brunswick and Indian Brook band in Nova Scotia refused, citing old treaties and the Marshall Decision in their resolve to fish beyond the federal season. Burnt Church held a referendum that roundly rejected federal regulation and instead supported setting its own deadlines for the fishing season. The band began setting traps in St. Mary’s Bay, and the DFO countered with raids to seize them. The conflict that ensued, with strained emotions, violence, and arrests, lasted until

October, when the Burnt Church Mi'kmaq decided to end their fishing season and pull their traps from the water.

### **The influence of the media**

The controversy over Native fishing was covered daily by the media. Journalists crowded onto the reserve until they were escorted off by its residents, then gathered daily along the shores to watch and report on the events that unfolded. It was through television, radio, and newspapers that most Canadians got their information and impressions of the conflict.

The media are one of the most effective tools of socialization. More constant and encompassing than family, work, or school, they help to shape an individual's image of the world by passing on norms, values, and behaviours. In situations of inter-group relations, they can prepare individuals for interaction by providing images of the other group as well as ideas on how to behave. The media form the impression we have of people before we actually meet them; we know how people are before we have the chance to prove (or disprove) it through our own experiences.

When we think of the relations between different groups of society, our relationship with the media becomes easier to illustrate. If an individual's encounters with another group are limited, he is likely to base his opinion of this group on what he has encountered in the media. "The media often present information about events which occur outside the direct experience of the majority of society. [They] define [...] what significant events are taking place and also offer powerful interpretations of how to understand these events" (Hall, 1978:56-57). The images one has seen come to represent reality (Fleras, 1991). Since the media's presentation is never neutral, but aims rather to support various interests, it can be said that it promotes various ideologies. The media maintain certain beliefs, practices, or institutions; they create an ideological climate that is unnoticeable to those within it but is laden with presumptions about the world (Henry and Tator, 2002:27). This climate advances certain ideas, and the audience is thus taught to think about the world in certain ways (Fleras, 2001a:52; 2001b). In news reports, various actions of minority groups are

given “racial meaning”, making these actions appear to be typical of a particular group; this is part of the practice of classification and marginalization in racial ideologies (Fair and Astroff, 1991:58). In the case of ethnic majority and minority relations, it can be said that the media transmit an ideology of race that places social actors into hierarchical categories based on the presence or absence of certain characteristics. Although human migrations throughout history have radically altered the makeup of states, the idea of race (and the superiority of some and the differences among them) has remained a core issue of ethnic inter-group relations. The media are one of the major means of ideological production; they explain what race is and what it means, and most importantly, they categorize the world in terms of race (Hall, 1978:11).

When it comes to questions of race, and more precisely, majority versus minority, the minority group is often at a disadvantage. The logistics of news of news production mean that some ideologies persist and have little chance of being displaced. In the highly competitive and fast-paced environment, there is significant pressure to be the first to repeat a story, to have an interesting angle, to communicate a message within a limited space and timeframe, and to make it as simple as possible. News people are always present in areas of political and economic power, and because these areas are major information sources, news producers rely heavily upon them (Ungerleider, 1991). Van Dijk (1989) echoes this idea in arguing that media are partly dependent on power groupings and institutions such as government. The influence of these sources comes not only from the media’s magnification of their authority, but also from their credibility when defining events and the actors within them. Minorities are disadvantaged because they have a low presence in these areas and are unable to promote change from the inside out. Furthermore, reporters often lack the in-depth knowledge and contacts (and the time to acquire either) to present a fully-balanced picture. When preparing a story, events are simpler and more “attention-grabbing” than issues (Landsman, 1987). Lastly, newsrooms monitor each other to ensure that they are covering the same topics (copy-cat journalism) and follow the newsmakers in groups (pack-rat journalism) (Ungerleider, 1991). These factors mean that there is limited space for alternative viewpoints.

In this environment, the journalist's task is greatly simplified by the practice of framing. "Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse..." (Gitlin, 1980:7) Such frames simplify a journalist's task, as he is able to categorize images and events; they also simplify the audience's task, as several key words or images in the information presented allow readers to access a mental database of what they already know. While some may argue that that frames provide a limited scope of information, they are an organizational necessity: they allow a journalist to effectively summarize large amounts of information, package it effectively, and pass it on to the audience (Gitlin, 1980:7). In this way, standardized assumptions over events are imposed while the prevailing news standards are met, ensuring that particular ideas prevail. (Gitlin, 1980:264).

### **The place of stereotypes**

This thesis concerns stereotypes, not frames. At first glance, the two are quite similar – they organize information to fit it into existing categories to make it easier to explain and understand. Framing is a journalistic technique that allows a reporter to effectively summarize information. Similarly, stereotyping allows an individual to neatly compartmentalize what he sees or experiences to make it easier to comprehend. Stereotypes are an aspect of framing, but also an aspect of discrimination. Within a frame, people are portrayed in particular ways to fit into the characteristics of that frame, and this encourages stereotyping.

The concept of a stereotype as we know it today first appeared in the 1920s, when Walter Lippman applied the technical terms of printing to explain how various images are formed in our minds: "[Man] is learning to see with his mind vast portions of the world that he could never see, touch, smell, hear, or remember. Gradually, he makes for himself a trustworthy picture inside his head of the world beyond his reach" (Lippmann, 1922:18). In other words, stereotyping is a normal process that allows individuals to make sense of the

intricacies of the world they encounter. Since Lippman's time, innumerable articles and studies have been completed, often providing slightly different versions of what a stereotype is. Allport (1954:191) credits Lippman for establishing the concept of a stereotype within modern social psychology and provides his own definition: "an exaggerated belief associated with a category". Brown (1995) explains a stereotype as "an inference drawn from the assignment of a person to a particular category". Smith (1993) explains it as a perceiver's beliefs about a group's attributes, while Henry and Tator (2002) define a stereotype as a "false or generalized conception of a group of people that results in an unconscious or conscious categorization of each member of that group, without regard for individual differences".

The ample literature permits us to identify the major characteristics of a stereotype. The essence of stereotyping is its categorization of an individual into a larger group. This categorization is based on characteristics of an individual or a group, but treats all of these the same – stereotyping makes no room for individuality, whether or not these characteristics are true; the categorization often relies on belief or impression rather than fact or observed reality. While there may be a "kernel of truth" at the core of every stereotype, it is for the most part an oversimplification and overgeneralization that is resistant to change. Finally, stereotypes have a group aspect in that they are shared by the members of a particular group. Despite their exaggerated and simplified approach, stereotypes are widespread and are in fact an intrinsic and inescapable feature of intergroup relations. They are a convenient way of learning about something that is unfamiliar; they are easy to apply and provide a quick and simple assessment. They are present in journalism and social circles, and in various points in the organizational hierarchy: sources, colleagues, family, news organizations (Gitlin, 1980:267). In short, stereotypes are systemic.

There is some debate on the origins of stereotypes: Hinton (2000) suggests that they are the result of the frustrations or aggressions of those seeking a scapegoat for their troubles, or the outcome of inter-group competition for limited resources. Brown (1995) suggests that they are embedded in the culture and are passed on through socialization. They can also arise

from a “grain of truth”, or they can result from an ideological need to maintain or alter the status quo. While these analyses generally focus on the sociology of groups, they are easily applied to the framework of the media.

Taylor and Lalonde (1987) explain that stereotyping has two important purposes: First, an organizational function: particular characteristics are applied to all members of a certain group, and thus provide a simple guide to behaviour. When an individual meets someone from another group, he can have an idea how to behave and what is expected of him. (p. 362-363). Secondly, stereotypes satisfy emotional needs, since they can reinforce the positive self-image of a group by granting them positive characteristics and projecting less favourable ones on “others”. Furthermore, stereotypes provide reassurance, because they disguise what is troubling and make reality seem comfortable (Fleras, 1991:352). The process of dividing between one group and another, into “Us” versus “Them”, is an effective way of maintaining difference and encouraging exclusion (van Dijk, 1993).

With its tendencies of viewing the world in an “Us” vs. “Them” perspective and the categorizing and stratification of others, stereotyping reinforces the existing and invisible barriers in society. Its often subtle and unconscious application and the endurance and resistance to change of this practice makes it easier to see why stereotyping can exist so widely and why it can be so difficult to overcome.

### **Stereotypes as racism**

When seen in this way, stereotypes about race are everywhere and are difficult to change. They are an important aspect of racism. While this is a strong term and can evoke a lot of ugly imagery, there is a specific form that exists in today’s societies. New, or modern, racism, while less evident than the old-fashioned overt racism, is nonetheless harmful to the image of a group and to its relations with the majority group. Modern racism can be subtle and silent, but its link to the dynamic of ethnic relations remains intact.

McConahay (1986) argues that “modern” racism believes that discrimination is a thing of the past because minorities<sup>2</sup> have the means and the access to get what they want. Furthermore, these groups are unfair and overly aggressive in their demands for opportunity, and the gains that they have made are thus undeserved. Modern racists believe that these are empirical facts; they disavow traditional racism and do not see themselves as racist (McConahay, 1986:92-93). Lule (1995:2-5) argues that modern racism is “...an elusive phenomenon of abstraction, denial, and symbolic expression.”; the media resort to “racially charged stereotypes while avoiding explicitly bigoted rhetoric.” Entman (1992) identifies three characteristics of this modern racism: general affective hostility towards the minority; rejection of their political aspirations; and denial that discrimination can be a problem for them. With their limited number of categories, negative stereotypes are the symbolic expression of modern racism (McConahay, 1986).

Modern racism serves as an umbrella term for the numerous other forms of racism that appear in the work of other researchers. “New” racism also denounces extremism and appears in respectable forms, most often in the discourse of everyday life – conversations, meetings, laws, debate, movies, news, just to name a few (van Dijk, 2000). Many ideas appear subtly and are almost unnoticeable, becoming ingrained as common sense. Essed (2002) echoes these points in her conception of “everyday” racism, which involves systemic, recurrent, and familiar practices that are socialized into everyday life.

Hall (1978) speaks of “inferential” racism, in which a set of unquestioned assumptions about race underlies reports of events and situations; the racist ideology behind these assumptions is invisible to those who use it. He also argues that inferential racism can easily coexist with liberal consensus. This idea is expanded by Henry and Tator’s (1995, 2002) concept of democratic racism, which involves a conflict between the professed liberal and egalitarian ideals of a democratic society and the racism that exists in the belief systems and attitudes of the individuals and institutions within it. One aspect of democratic racism is the aversive

---

<sup>2</sup> McConahay and Entman both based their theories of modern racism on studies of black people in the United States. However, in this essay (and in numerous other studies) their observations and conclusions are applied to all ethnic minority groups.

racism described by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986), in which an individual does not feel hate or hostility towards a minority group; rather, racism manifests itself in his discomfort with, disgust towards, or fear of, and his subsequent avoidance, of that minority. There is no denying that racism, in one form or another, does exist. Reinforced by stereotyping through the media, its presence continues to draw protest from many sectors of society.

### **Minorities and the media**

The riots in major American cities in the 1960s prompted then-President Lyndon Johnson to form the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in 1967. When the Kerner Commission tabled its report in 1968, among its conclusions was that the media were a major contributor to the negative relationship between blacks and whites. Although overtly discriminatory and unfair reports in the news have greatly decreased, the stereotypes found within the criteria of modern racism prove that there is still an imbalance in the reporting on minority groups.

Wilson and Gutiérrez (1995) identify five developmental phases in news reporting about ethnic minorities. The first is exclusionary, in which minorities are systematically left out of reports on public affairs. In the second phase, minorities begin to appear in news reports but only as a threat. Third, the confrontation phase results from the fear and insecurity raised by the minority in the majority. The fourth phase is characterized by stereotypical selection, in which the items that feature a minority group are chosen for their confirmation of the majority's beliefs about it. In some measure, this process can accommodate the presence of the minority and reduce the majority's uncertainty about it. The findings of many studies on minorities in the news can be classified into one of these four categories. The fifth phase is one of multiracial coverage, in which all traces of prejudice and discrimination vanish, both in the items presented and in the newsroom. This phase, while ambitious and noble, is still in its infancy and for the time being seems to still be distant. Perhaps it is a utopian ideal. Fleras argues that "the mistreatment of minorities is systemic and institutionalized within the very nature of contemporary mainstream media" (Fleras, 2001a:309); this suggests that significant change is a formidable challenge.

Stereotyping of minorities centres around their classification because stories about them can be classed into a limited number of subject categories. Furthermore, when minorities appear in news items, they are often placed into the various roles that their ethnic group is thought to fill in society. By examining the observations of various studies and the work of writers such as van Dijk, Fleras, Henry and Tator and the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, we can identify six significant patterns of stereotyping in the portrayal of minority groups. These observations can be applied to any minority and will be applied to Natives in the following pages.

Minorities are invisible or at best underrepresented in news and news making (Henry et al., 2002, 1995; Fleras, 2001, 1995, 1994, 1991; Heider, 2000; Miller, 1996; Goldfarb Consultants, 1995, Wilson and Gutiérrez, 1995; Miller and Prince, 1994 ). Both as actors in the process of news production and as high-status figures of expertise, leadership, or power, minorities have a low presence. Fleras describes the approach as “shallows and rapids” – in normal circumstances (the shallows) minorities are relatively ignored by the mainstream media; the rapids appear in times of crisis. Miller’s (1996) survey of 41 newsrooms across Canada revealed that out of 2 620 persons, 16 were Black and 4 were Native. Coverage and staffing rarely reflect the actual ethnic makeup of society. There is often a lack of depth in reports, and as Vargas (2000) observes, minorities are often the objects, and not the subjects, of news. Secondly, minorities are objectified, often used as ornaments and as symbolic figures for the amusement or diversion of audiences. They often appear as sports or entertainment figures, or are used to promote tourism, and are overrepresented in comparison to the rest of the population (Henry, 2002; Fleras, 2001, 1995, 1994; Miller and Prince, 1994; Center for Integration and Improvement of Journalism, 1994; Martindale, 1990). The third stereotype reflects existing prejudices by presenting minorities in particular race roles. “News about minorities is not randomly selected, but reflects majority expectations about minority status, role, and contribution to society,” (Fleras, 1994:274). Henry’s (2002) studies of several highly publicized crime cases in Toronto found that the media drew links between race and criminality. A minority is often considered to have one

or two particular characterizations, such as the black savage and black victim (Lule, 1995), the bloodthirsty Arab (Mouammar, 1986), the tribal and backwards African (Fair and Astroff, 1991), and the gangster Asian (Henry and Tator, 1995).

Fourth, minorities are commonly portrayed as a threat; this is the most consistent theme in studies of minority representations, painting them as deviant and not like the rest of society (Dixon and Linz, 2000; Vargas, 2000; Romer et al., 1998; Entman, 1992, 1994; Fair and Astroff, 1991). Ethnic groups are more likely to appear as criminals than whites, despite the fact that the actual distribution of arrests generally does not support this impression. These factors result from “ethnic blame discourse” (routine, everyday ethnocentric talk) that is an outgrowth of the stereotyping process (Dixon and Linz, 2000:148; Romer et al, 1998). The fifth common representation of minorities is as problems. These groups appear to have significant problems, such as alcoholism, poverty, or violence (Henry and Tator, 2002; Fair and Astroff, 1991; Gougeon, 1991; Ducharme, 1986). Stories of ethnic ghettos (often likened to slums) and adjustment problems to new societies are also included in this category (van Dijk, 2000, 1993). Minorities also appear to cause problems. Through refugee claims and immigration (legal or illegal), and housing and employment needs, minorities place great demands on the state’s finances and resources (Hier and Greenberg, 2002; Greenberg, 2000; van Dijk, 2000; Ducharme, 1986). Such portrayals have sometimes resulted in “moral panics”, in which the majority felt threatened by the minority group; the threat often proved to be much less significant or widespread than portrayed (Hier and Greenberg, 2002). Finally, stereotyping appears through a pattern of “whiteness”. Stuart Hall (1978) describes racism [in Britain] as grounded in historic legacies of slavery, conquest, and imperialism – factors easily applied to other regions of the world. Ethnocentrism and eurocentrism are present, and judgement of minorities is based on white standards and a perspective seen through white eyes.

### **Natives in the media**

These observations are not limited by region or by ethnic group. For this study, the focus is Natives in Canada, but the stereotyping patterns are not limited to particular regions. Many

reserves are seen as other worlds and are relatively unknown to the average outsider, making stereotyping easier and more difficult to overcome. Even some city neighbourhoods are regarded as “Native areas”, and news stories about these parts of the city tend to fit into certain categories (most often criminality and substance abuse). Meadows’ (2001) research on aboriginal images in Australia’s media revealed gross generalizations and a significant “white” perspective, and found many of the same stereotypes seen in North America. Wall (1997) studies the images of the Maori in New Zealand, who were initially considered primitive but friendly, but once large numbers of settlers arrived, the Maori Native began to be seen as savage, non-civilizable, and bloodthirsty.

This thesis does not wish to deny or belittle the role of the aboriginal participants in Canadian history or their status as a founding people. Their unique experience enriches the national fabric. While some argue that including aboriginal issues under a broader multicultural spectrum denies these facts (Bannerjee and Osuri, 2000), it is the premise of this thesis that including Natives under the general category of minority groups will allow an interesting perspective on their treatment in the media. If the media can fit Natives into existing stereotypes about minorities, it could be argued that they need not create alternative frameworks for these portrayals. In this study, observations about minority representations are applied to Natives in the hopes of better understanding how Natives are portrayed and perhaps finding an alternative framework for presenting aboriginal issues in the media.

### **Invisibility and Marginalization**

Alia (1999) advances the idea of two separate media spheres, divided into North and South. The southern (mainstream) media rarely gives much credibility to journalists from the North, despite their proximity to events (not to mention their familiarity with local customs and traditions). When a sensational story about Natives in Saskatchewan broke, the Native journalist who had researched and prepared it was asked if he would mind turning it over to a white reporter on the national network. Network heads were apparently of the opinion that a non-Native journalist would have more credibility with a national audience<sup>3</sup>. In papers that

---

<sup>3</sup> Personal interview with journalist, held in Saskatoon on January 20, 2003.

are based in northern Canada, the most frequent newsmakers are politicians and civil servants; the local populations seemingly have little to contribute to current events (Alia, 1999:141). In the southern media, only singular tragic events warrant significant coverage - further marginalizing and distorting the North. In effect, Native news is marginalized first by region and then by culture (Alia, 1999:141). Meadows (2001) summarizes several studies and finds that Natives are underrepresented in news coverage in comparison to their population distribution; little information appears from reserves and remote communities because much of the Indian-related material focuses on urban situations. He also finds that the *Globe and Mail's* Oka coverage showed a clear preference for white news sources and that the media focused on the barricades and not on the human stories or the issues that surrounded them. By neglecting to point out the historic ties of the people to the land that they were trying to protect, and by neglecting to "humanize" the protesters through individual interviews, the media's lack of depth left a strong image of anonymous Mohawks who were looking for a fight.

### **Ornamentizing and Objectification**

For centuries, the "Indian" has been a valuable marketing and entertainment tool. During the settlement of the West and even earlier, with the first white contact with Natives, the wild popularity of Indian-related material and the curiosity that fed it was testament to the power of the Indian image. Marketers were fully aware of the suggestive powers of a stereotype, and Natives were an advertising bonanza (Francis, 1992). The two most common images of the Indian - the bloodthirsty warrior and the noble savage - were guaranteed to attract interest in an event. Hollywood made hundreds of movies using the stereotype of the Indian warrior with great success. Even earlier, marketers of rail travel used images of the Indian as an effective lure for visitors to the West (Francis, 1992:177). Today, Indian culture continues to be a powerful advertising force in tourism - such as the B.C. totem pole (Francis, 1992:186). Virtues associated with the noble Indian, such as his respect for and harmony with the environment, are even now used to promote environmental awareness (Francis, 1992; Berkhofer, 1978). The Indian connection to the land has also been used to

sell New-Age spirituality, associating Indians with earth-based religions (Ganje, 1996:42-43; Bird, 1999:71).

The virtues associated with the warrior – courage, speed, cunning – have been reflected in the names of various sports teams – Redskins, Braves, Warriors, Blackhawks, as well as various consumer items ranging from tobacco and alcohol to cars and various causes (Hatfield, 2000; Ganje, 1996:43). In addition, many expressions that are tied to the idea of the fierce and violent Indian have crept into everyday usage – “circle the wagons” and “on the warpath” are two of the most common and have only recently begun to pass out of usage (Center for Integration and Improvement of Journalism, 1994:12).

### **Misrepresentation, Generalization, and Race Roles**

Francis (1992) and Berkhofer (1978) trace how the Indian image has historically been presented and find several consistencies. First, there was little differentiation in the diversity of Indian tribes, languages, and culture; they were instead grouped into one “image” and assigned one set of characteristics. The idea of aboriginality, and what it is to be Indian, was generally one-sided – constructed with little input from the Natives themselves, by people who had little connection or experience with the subjects they were describing (Meadows, 2001). The “imaginary Indian” was created by artists and writers who passed the images on to a fascinated public. Since popular belief held that the North American Indian was doomed to disappear, those who presented him to the world based him on their own idealized conceptions about how he might have lived before white men came (Francis, 1992: 21; see also Berkhofer). Alternatively, some artists adjusted details (landscape, clothing, accessories) in their paintings to add a romantic element, even if it meant that these items were totally unfamiliar to the Natives (Francis, 1992:21). Pakes (1985) traces the gradual transformation of the image of the Plains Indian into the defining conception of any Indian – wearing feathers and buckskin and riding a horse. Layng (2000) points out a gross inaccuracy - these “buffalo hunters” and “tepee dwellers” did not exist before 1800 because there were simply not enough horses on the plains to allow them to live such a nomadic existence. Berkhofer also points out that Indians have traditionally been portrayed as either

“good” or “bad”. When painted as “good”, they are the “noble savage” – an idealized human in an idyllic state of nature, friendly, gentle and proud. When he is “bad”, the Indian is a savage, bloodthirsty, cruel, and warlike. Pakes agrees; he comments on the typical portrayals of Indians as noble cultural survivors and backwards peoples. Bird (1999) examines the concept of the wise elder, the Indian who had acquired much experience and ancient wisdom through his long years; the best known example was Grey Owl, the 1920s nature advocate<sup>4</sup>. She also points out that Indian women were generally cast into one of two possible race roles – the nameless, faceless squaw, and the mysterious princess. Roth et al (1995) observe that the media’s desire to capture audience interest in Oka coverage also meant that the masked warriors were the focus of coverage, and came to represent all the Mohawks involved, including women and children. The more moderate voices went unheard and the image of the masked and aggressive protester was reinforced. Weston’s (1996) studies of North American media images of Natives found that there was a general misrepresentation of native history and culture. Meadows (2001:19) sums it up this way: Natives have been framed within a history of indifference

### **Threat**

In a classic “Us” vs. “Them” scenario, Natives are painted as the Other, living apart from, and out of touch with, the behaviours and practices of the rest of society. The stereotype of the bloodthirsty warrior, albeit somewhat softened for modern times, underlies many of the crime reports that appear in the media. Natives are often depicted as “...unpredictable threats to social order, and as heavily engaged in emotive and largely deviant forms of conflict,” (Grenier, 1992:274). Singer (1982) analyzed Ontario newspaper coverage of Natives and observed that one of the major images of the Indian was one of conflict-deviance in relation to Canadian society.

Due to the heavily publicized coverage of the Oka crisis, there are several articles criticizing the portrayal of Indians during this time. Grenier’s 1992 study of the Oka incident found

---

<sup>4</sup> Grey Owl was actually an Englishman, Archie Belaney, who lived in the woods like a “real” Indian and passionately campaigned for the respect of wildlife and nature. He fooled everyone with his long braids, buckskin clothing, and speeches, because he behaved as white people thought Indians did. See Bird:70 and Francis.

that the conflict dimension of the crisis was emphasized by the press; he even describes it as a media obsession. Furthermore, 71% of headlines linked terms of conflict to references of Native peoples. Roth et al (1995) soundly condemn the Canadian media's coverage of the situation. Information available to news outlets at the time was incomplete or fragmented, and the media thus used the clichés provided by the government to explain the situation. As a result, the Mohawks were portrayed in terms of violence – militants, warriors, and thugs. In a confirmation of the theory that people will read articles that reinforce what they already believe, Skea (1993-1994) found that the majority of readers he surveyed read articles which had an "anti-Native" stand. He also discovered that the majority of photos of the Oka crisis encouraged a negative impression of Natives because they portrayed the Mohawks as warriors or as objects of anger of the local non-Native population. Other protests also contributed to the stereotype of violent-prone Natives. In her analysis of the Gustafsen Lake standoff in 1995, Lambertus (2001) notes that the situation was also portrayed as a war, complete with masked natives in camouflage clothing, helicopter patrols, blockades, and weapons. The frequent use of terms such as "renegade", "squatter", and "rebel" to describe the Natives left the impression that the Native camp was lawless and volatile. She suggests that the media rhetoric and the images presented during Native protests and blockades have perpetuated the image of the rebellious Indian since the Oka standoff.

### **Problem**

Natives are portrayed as creating problems and difficulties for the government. Their quest for rights and self-government is not usually portrayed as a struggle for equality or redress for past wrongs. Rather, their requests are framed within the implications for Canadian society or more accurately, the demands they will place upon it. Singer's (1982) study concluded that a typical representation of the Indian was as dependent on the government (an economic problem) and presumably aggressive in his land claims. Fleras (2001:315, 1995) identifies several areas in which Natives are portrayed as exerting demands on society and the state: a threat to territorial integrity or national interests (self-government as infringing on the existing political jurisdictions); economic liability (costs associated with land claims or restitutions for past mistreatment); and a problem for the justice system

(wrongful imprisonment, police shootings). To this could be added the Native determination to fish, hunt, and log according to their own regulations, because this would (presumably) place a strain on the strictly regulated natural resources available to all.

The most common problem that Natives seem to have involves substance abuse: “The media have played a major role in the perpetuation of the stereotype of the drunk Indian,” (Center for Integration and Improvement of Journalism, 1994:32). Weston (1996) found that a large number of stories appearing in North American papers about Indians focused on alcoholism and poverty, thus reinforcing the stereotype of Natives as addicts and welfare recipients. Henry and Tator (2002) also concluded that the *Globe and Mail* resorted to stereotyping in describing Natives as living in poverty and having problems with alcohol. Some news reports also make much of the problems Natives have amongst themselves when it comes to finances. One often hears of mismanagement of government funds or revenues from Native-run operations such as casinos, reinforcing the idea that there are money struggles within the communities, and that many band leaders are corrupt.

### **Colonialism and Whiteness**

Berkhofer’s study of Native images also found the tendency to view the Indians in “white” terms, in the image of the white man, judging them by their lack of white ways rather than considering their environment and culture and attempting to view the world in light of these facts. White morals inevitably underlay any observation of the Indian – thus the absence of Christianity identified the Indians as heathen and superstitious, the lack of a European style of government as backwards, and so on. Layng (2000) points out that the idea of a Great Spirit or Creator, often used in Indian-related products such as films, were actually the creation of missionaries who reasoned that the concept of a single spirit would allow them to more easily convert the Indians to Christianity. Again, the idea of a high god comes from the European theological tradition. The European concept of royalty was also grafted onto North American Indians, who did not have “Indian princesses” (Media Awareness Network). The most cherished European institutions became the standard of measure for

Indians (Berkhofer, 1978:27). Pakes (1995) points out that the resulting judgement is always negative, focusing on what they do not do or do not have.

Ganje (1996) warns of the danger of Natives always appearing in traditional costume, whether it be at festivals or in television programs or various news reports. This reinforces the idea that they are living in the past, rooted in their traditions, and thus are unlike the rest of “modern” society. This idea is echoed by Weston (1996) and the Media Awareness Network, who conclude that North American media images of Natives have usually portrayed them in historical contexts rather than as contemporary personalities, thus misrepresenting them as out of touch with modernity and the rest of society.

### **The Oka Effect**

The most numerous studies on aboriginal image have covered the conflicts over Native settlements (fishing, hunting, logging, and land). The most publicized of these was the conflict at Oka, which turned into a protracted armed standoff between Mohawks and the Canadian army. At the beginning of the crisis some of the press coverage was positive, but as the residents of the surrounding communities became increasingly frustrated with daily detours, newspaper coverage began to turn against the Mohawks (Winter, 1992). The government did not aim to resolve the problem to the satisfaction of everyone involved, but tried instead to make it disappear, and it seemed that the best way to do so was to turn public opinion against the Natives. Skea's (1993) study concluded that only mainstream thematic portrayals of the situations appeared in the papers – from pro-Native to anti-Native, and that the media were a tool for the federal government to portray the situation as one of “law and order”; furthermore, the hegemony that exists in the Canadian newspaper industry helped to cast Oka as an essentially negative situation. Roth et al (1995) strongly criticize the Canadian media's coverage of the situation as blatantly stereotypical. Most journalists, driven by time and space constraints, did not have the skills, understanding, or contacts within the Mohawk community to properly research and present the crisis. In the journalists' desire to have a Story [emphasis author's] the non-sensational participants were grouped into the one homogenous category of the masked warrior in camouflage.

Media coverage of the Oka crisis was significant for more than its blatant stereotypes of Mohawks and Natives. Because of its length, tension, and massive media exposure, the conflict remains burned into the Canadian consciousness. The media and the public remember the images, and it can be argued that the stereotyping during the crisis cemented the media's approach to future protests. Disputes between government and Natives are reported from an increasingly standardized viewpoint that closely ties the media to the state. During the crisis, journalists relied on the conventional "known", official sources – civil servants, military spokespeople, and government figures (Winter, 1992:249). Van Dijk (1989) highlights the relationship between the media and the state: when the media negotiates power with one of these institutions, the authority of these institutions is underscored, and they are able to portray events as they see fit. This explains the prevalence of the law and order frame and the frame of war – the reliance on official (government) sources allowed these sources to stress the supremacy of the rule of law. In turn, the media fitted these priorities into the frames of law and order, thus reinforcing the values associated with these ideas. Those who supported them were seen favourably, and those who were opposed were portrayed more negatively. When violence broke out, the war frame was also invoked. The use of these frames portrayed the Mohawks as stubborn, disrespectful of the law, and prone to violence, thus invoking some of the most common stereotypes of Natives.

This, then, is the course of events that continues to define the media's perspective on situations of Native protest. It is the assumption of this thesis that the law and order and war frames were once again present at Burnt Church. The values that would be associated with law and order would thus be favoured, and since war is generally viewed as something to avoid, the actors tied to the values that represent it could only be negative. These negative representations are most easily expressed through existing negative stereotypes. It is the purpose of the following chapters to show not only that stereotypical portrayals of Natives were present in media coverage of the lobster dispute, but that they were part of a persistent pattern of modern racism that continues to portray Natives as functioning outside the bounds of societal norms and encourages an ideology of "Indians versus Us".

## **Chapter 2**

### **Study Design and Methodology**

#### **Research Questions**

The tendency to portray minority groups more negatively than other groups in society is well documented. However, since awareness of this tendency has existed for years, has this inclination decreased or altered? In reports on Native disagreements with governments, has reporting changed or does it follow the patterns established during past crises? What is the major representation of Natives in such situations, and how does this representation compare to that of the other actors involved? What values are Natives most closely associated with, and are these associations different for other actors? In short, what stereotypes can be found in this set of articles?

#### **Hypotheses**

The first hypothesis is that the representation of Native participants is discriminatory in comparison to the other participants. That is, that the portrayal is stereotypical; even if stereotypes of other participants are present, those of Natives are more numerous and more negative than those of other actors. The second hypothesis, arising from the first, is that this discrimination varies depending on the values that are present.

#### **Research Design**

Although a similar controversy over lobster fishing arose in 1999, the confrontation in 2000 was examined instead. In 1999 the violence was focused on the non-Natives and Natives, and racial dividing lines in the crisis were clearly drawn; the government had to keep the two sides apart as well as enforce its own regulations. In 2000, the disagreement was

between the government and the Natives, and non-Natives had limited involvement. Because past studies have also focused on the approach taken by the government, it was thought that patterns identified in the past might be more discernable in the articles where the government had a prominent role.

The study uses the articles, editorials, opinions and letters found in two newspapers, the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*. News items were preferred over advertisements or entertainment; newspapers were chosen over other media due to their ease of access and reproduction and low cost. Newspapers in Canada are read by 11.6 million people weekly (NADbank study, 2003), and it is thus reasonable to expect that they have a significant impact on the way that people perceive the world around them. The study period was from the first mention of a potential fishing controversy, when the Burnt Church band voted to manage its own fishery rather than to accept federally-set limits, on August 10, 2000. The end of the study period was marked by the end of the crisis, with Natives pulling their traps from the water and the RCMP announcing the cost of its involvement in the situation on October 28, 2000. Thus, the entirety of articles on the situation, covering a period of roughly two and a half months, was collected. In total, 129 articles were gathered from the two newspapers. Two articles did not directly relate to the situation, and ten were editorial cartoons. These were judged as more subjective and open to personal interpretation; they would have required a different coding system that could accommodate some of the nuances and cultural references that such cartoons often contain. This would be beyond the scope of this study, and the editorial cartoons were thus not included for analysis<sup>5</sup>. This left 117 articles for analysis.

Articles were found using the Canadian News Disc and Canadian Newsstand databases, and reproduced from microfiche in the libraries of Laval University and the University of Saskatchewan. Primary search terms were "Burnt Church", "Miramichi Bay", "micmac & lobster", "lobster & Indian", and "micmac & fishery". The search period was the extent of the crisis, from August to October, 2000.

---

<sup>5</sup> The editorial cartoons excluded from this study can be found in Appendix A. For a revealing analysis of Native portrayals during the Oka crisis, see Réal Brisson's study of editorial cartoons from papers across Canada.

The choice of newspapers was not entirely random. The lobster fishing controversy took place on the east coast and it was felt that newspapers from that region would be too close to the situation. The lobster fishery is a highly lucrative resource and emotions and relationships become strained when it is contested. It was decided that newspapers from outside the region would provide a more removed perspective. It was assumed that validation of the hypotheses would be less likely in a paper from outside the region. One western paper – the *Star Phoenix* – and one central paper – the *Gazette* – were chosen because they were easily accessible to the author. In addition, some Canadian studies suggest that these newspapers have generally good coverage of minorities - Miller (1996) and Henry and Tator (1992) report that the *Montreal Gazette*'s coverage of minorities is generally better than that of many other newspapers; Skea (1993-1994) reported that the *Star Phoenix* was fair to Natives.

### **Coding Categories and Coding Scheme**

Two major methods exist for studying stereotypes in the media; sometimes these two approaches are combined. Critical discourse analysis studies the use of language – spoken, written, even visual and non-verbal – to establish a link to relationships, beliefs, and systems within societies, and has been widely used by writers such as van Dijk, Fairclough, and Henry and Tator. The other approach, and the one used in this study, is content analysis. This technique classifies objects, characteristics, or themes into a number of categories and then analyses them. This study uses quantitative methods - percentages and statistics – to determine the relationships of the variables being measured. To do so, a coding table was established to allow for easy identification of two elements of an article – in this case, the actors involved in the situation and the themes raised. An actor, any individual who participates in social action, had to be actively involved in the situation and was not counted if simply mentioned in passing. There were eight major actors involved in this event:

- Civilian Natives were members of the Burnt Church Band and members of other bands. Also included in this category were provincial and national organizations

such as the Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations (FSIN) and the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and members of these organizations.

- Civilian non-Natives included mostly white fishermen and the residents of areas surrounding Miramichi Bay, but also other actors involved in the situation such as regional fishing groups, church groups, and observers.
- Mediators were defined as anyone who attempted to encourage resolution of the situation. Besides government or band-appointed mediators and negotiators, this category includes those who attempted to facilitate discussion, including a Native or a non-Native who would otherwise be coded as a different actor.
- The administration included the public service, government departments and ministries (provincial and federal) and their directors and spokespeople.
- Government was often linked to prominent individuals such as MPs or MLAs and ministers of provincial or federal departments such as Indian and Northern Affairs or the DFO, and the Prime Minister. Also in this category were parliament, its political parties and politicians, and “federal officials” and even “Ottawa”; in short, anyone who represented parliament and spoke on its behalf.
- Police comprised two distinct entities which were coded as the same actor, because in most cases they had the same function. The RCMP fulfilled a policing role. The Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) was included when it fulfilled an enforcement function, such as picking lobster traps out of the water. When the DFO was not in this role it was coded as administration. Also included in this category was the Coast Guard.
- The judiciary included any entity involved with the court system, such as a judge or the Supreme Court. Those who interact with the judiciary were also included, such as lawyers or prosecutors.
- The last actor was the category “other”, which included those who only had minor roles in the situation.

Actors could be positive (“actor”) or negative (“counter-actor”). To be classified as an actor, the participant would not be acting against positive values. To be a counter-actor, the participant would be acting with negative values.

The second important element was values, defined as ideas or beliefs that rank something in terms of its importance and desirability for society and in comparison to other things. A value is more than an individual who holds it; it is part of the system of beliefs held by a group or a society and is generally agreed upon by its members. These judgements of what is favourable or unfavourable are generally acquired through the socialization process and provide stability for the members the group. Values were judged to be an important element in the study. While they may not always be articulated, they are present in the norms of a society and the behaviours of the people within it. Therefore, they will also be present in the news, because interpretations of an event are inevitably influenced by the values one holds (consciously or otherwise). If a story is about activities that conjure up negative images and which are thought to be unfavourable, it is expressing a value about what is favourable (Gans, 1979:40). So, if in reading an article we find that particular actors are associated with a particular negative activity, we will automatically judge that actor negatively because he is acting against a value that we judge desirable. If we see news reports featuring Natives as lawbreakers, it makes sense that our values will alert us that what they are doing is wrong. A news report assumes a consensus about values among the readers – it points out the values that are violated, and assumes that the reader will react appropriately and condemn the action (Gans, 1979:40). We think of the world in particular ways and believe in particular values because we have been taught to do so, and in this way particular viewpoints and ideologies are reinforced (Fleras, 2001). By identifying the particular values in these articles, we will be able to conclude not only which are the most prominent, but also which actors are most closely identified with them. This will permit us to make a connection to stereotypical portrayals. In expressing the desirability of some values and in the condemnation of others, the media portray actors in ways that show them as supporting or rejecting a particular value. If Natives are associated with negative values, this association is easily expressed

through negative images of this group, which, upon closer examination, will fit into one or more of the stereotyping patterns identified in Chapter 1.

After an initial reading of the collected articles, eight significant values were identified, and divided into positive values (“values”) and opposite negative values (“counter-values”): law and illegality, peace and violence, truth and lies, and security and insecurity. To increase reliability of the coding system, a coding dictionary was established to break each value (a potentially broad and imprecise term) down into easily identifiable components, and is found in Appendix C. Once this was completed, the definition of the value as it applied to this study could be formulated. The values are defined as follows:

- law – measures meant to ensure safety and order in a society, such as ordering, encouraging, or prohibiting certain values. These include rules, regulations, actions of the legislative branch, as well as the idea of respect for the law (law and order). Enforcement action to ensure compliance with the law is also included. The Marshall Decision was coded as law because Natives used it as a legal ruling that justified their fishing outside the federal lobster season.
- peace – the absence of violence or tension. This includes measures that aim to prevent violence and ease tensions, such as ceasefires, negotiations, and other resolution efforts. Although “peace” also refers to freedom from civil disorder, it can include excessive or rigid means used to achieve it.
- truth – statements taken to be valid or which conform to fact or reality, or which present an accurate representation of a person or a situation. This also involved uncertainty about facts, but without the accusation of lies. Public relations strategies were coded as truth unless lies were mentioned. Truth and its opposite, lies, generally appeared together.
- security – the condition of not being exposed to threat or danger. When security exists, daily life is easy due to the absence of tensions (often tied to the presence of the police) and the presence of rule of law. The result is a social environment that provides protection or safety. This values is characterized by actions taken to ensure safety.

- illegality – breaking the law or acting against rules or regulations, often accompanied by an attitude of defiance. Illegality can be as simple as interrupting or opposing the status quo, or overstepping the bounds of what is required or normal.
- violence – the threat or act of physical violence towards a person (assault) or thing (vandalism). This also includes adjectives of tension, anger or confusion or verbal abuse such as insults or jeers, all of which can result in violence. This category also comprises war imagery.
- lies – statements contrary to the truth or the accusation of untruthful statements, usually intentionally false. This category also encompasses inaccuracies such as slanted or biased portrayals or rhetoric, and challenges to particular versions of events.
- insecurity – a social condition focused on issues of fear rather than direct threats; it involves uncertainty, uneasiness, and the potential for violent or dangerous outcomes.

Each article was coded, with categories for each element being present, ambiguous, or absent. Actors (positive or negative) were only coded as present in the instances where they could be matched with a corresponding positive or negative value; categories were not mutually exclusive and an actor could thus be positive and negative and matched with a corresponding positive and negative theme, all in the same article. However, particular adjectives or phrases could not be coded as more than one theme; to this end, the coding dictionary was created. The collection, categorizing, and coding of data was done by the author. To test the validity of the coding scheme, two external coders coded 11 (10% of 117) articles each. Intercoder reliability was 80 percent and the coding scheme was thus judged to be reliable.

Once coding was completed, it was rechecked through a random selection of about one quarter of the articles. Once found to be accurate, the results were entered into a database within a computerized statistical program to allow efficient calculations. First, frequencies of actors and values were run. From these results, appropriate measures of association were

chosen to crosstabulate the variables and determine the relationships between them. Because the frequencies of some variables were quite low, only certain statistical tests were chosen; because the variables in the study were ordinal, Gamma and tau-b/tau-c (depending on the shape of the crosstabulation table) were chosen as statistics along with the crosstabulation of actors (dependent variable) and values (independent variable). These tables are located in Appendix D<sup>6</sup>. Percentages of presence of actors within values were used to determine patterns of portrayals, with measures of association used as further indicators.

The presence of values was a significant indicator of the approach taken by the media to the lobster dispute because it set the news frame for the portrayal of the situation. The presence of actors within values indicated which participants were viewed favourably and which were represented negatively. The values used in the study were defined by a coding dictionary of verbs, adjectives, nouns, and phrases. These definitions will also help to identify the common stereotypes of Natives that potentially appear in the material studied. The results of this process follow in the next chapter.

---

<sup>6</sup> The scale used to interpret the tau and Gamma values is found in Anthony Walsh, *Statistics for the Social Sciences*, New York: Harper & Row, 1990, p.191 although all statistics guides have one, sometimes with slight variations. The scale ranges from -1.000 to 1.000, with 0 as the middle, which indicates no association between the two variables studied. A tau or Gamma of -1.000 implies a perfect negative relation between two variables, which means that when the presence of one increases, the presence of the other decreases. A value of 1.000 implies a perfect positive relation, in which the presence of one variable increases with a rise in the other. Between -1.000 and 0 and 0 and 1.000, positive or negative values indicate the following associations: .01 to .25 shows a weak association between the two variables; .25 to .49 indicates a weak-moderate association; .50 to .75 a moderate-strong one; and .75 and higher, a strong association.

### **Chapter 3**

#### **Results and Discussion**

The aim of this study was to observe how Natives were portrayed in comparison to other actors involved in the lobster fishing dispute and with which values they were most closely associated. The first hypothesis was that the portrayal of Native actors would be discriminatory compared to other actors – that is, that stereotypical tendencies would present Natives in a negative way. The corollary to this hypothesis was that the degree of this negative representation would vary according to the values invoked in the article.

This chapter presents the results of the analysis. First, the overall portrayals of the actors involved in the situation are presents. Secondly, the chapter looks at the presence of values. Third, the portrayals of actors within values are examined, ordered by sets of values. By examining the negative and positive representations of actors within the presence of a value, we hope to compare portrayals and learn whether the hypotheses of this study were correct. We also hope to be able to understand the relationships between actors and values and to draw some conclusions about how the media paint the situation.

#### **Actor representation**

Overall, the highest negative portrayal of the eight actors coded was of Natives (Table 1), who were present as counter-actors in 83.8% of articles. A distant second were the police, present as counter-actors in 42.7% of articles. However, when comparing positive portrayals, Natives placed second, with 54.7% of articles featuring them as “good” actors, while government placed first with 56.4%, a difference of only 1.7 percentage points. It is also worth noting that the four parts of the state (administration, government, police, and

judiciary) are more consistently positively represented, and that this representation is far higher (except for the case of the police, who were most involved in the violence). At first glance, Natives seem to be almost even as positive actors even though their negative presence is decidedly skewed.

**Table 1 : Overall portrayal of actors (%)**

	<b>negative presence</b>	<b>positive presence</b>	<b>difference in percent</b>	<b>portrayal in percent</b>
<b>Native</b>	83.8	54.7	29.1	53
<b>Non-Native</b>	20.5	19.7	0.8	4
<b>Mediator</b>	-	21.4	-21.4	-100
<b>Administration</b>	10.3	29.1	-18.8	-64.6
<b>Government</b>	16.2	56.4	-40.2	-71.28
<b>Police</b>	42.7	48.7	-6	-12.32
<b>Judiciary</b>	1.7	53.4	-51.7	-96.82
<b>Other</b>	3.4	-	3.4	100

By subtracting the positive portrayal from the negative portrayal, dividing by the positive portrayal and multiplying by 100, we gain a percentage value for the difference in portrayal, and these numbers are revealing<sup>7</sup>. Natives appear far more often as negative actors than as positive actors – 53% more often; the only other group to appear more often as a negative actor is civilian non-Natives, although this number was only 4%. The state was far more likely to be represented in a positive light: actors were more often positively represented in the following order: judiciary, 96.8%; government, 71.3%; administration, 64.6%; and police, 12.3%. These figures indicate a strong bias in favour of the judiciary and legislative arms of the state, while the representation of Natives suggests a considerable negative bias. There was no negative representation for mediators since they were always associated with a positive value, and no positive representation for “other”; mediators are thus 100% more positive and “other” 100% more negative.

---

<sup>7</sup> author's formulation

## Dominant Values and Actors in Burnt Church Coverage

**Table 2 : Value frequencies, in rank order**

	articles, of 117	percentage, of 100
<b>law</b>	98	83.8
<b>violence</b>	88	75.2
<b>illegality</b>	83	70.9
<b>peace</b>	57	48.7
<b>insecurity</b>	30	25.6
<b>lies</b>	20	17.1
<b>security</b>	10	8.5
<b>truth</b>	5	4.3

A breakdown of the frequency of values in the articles collected reveals a pattern that has been hinted at in the past. The most common value is law, which means that the situation is most likely to be judged from this perspective. The actors that are closely associated with this value, then, will probably be those tied to law, such as government. Similarly, by following the argument of Gans (1979), those who act against this value or against those who support it will be seen as negative actors. The second and third most frequent values are violence and illegality (counter-values) and thus those who are most associated with them will probably be unfavourably portrayed. The four most frequent values fit into two dominant frames in Native coverage – law and order, and war. Security and insecurity could be classified into law and order, and truth and lies would be a separate frame (perhaps something relating to ethnical behaviour). By associating an actor with a value, we will be able to identify particular words or phrases (found in the coding dictionary in Appendix C) that reinforce his role within it. In doing so, we will be able to identify which stereotypes appear in this coverage.

Within the eight values coded, Natives are consistently more often associated with negative values. The largest percentage point difference between negative and positive portrayal for this actor was with the values of truth (80 percentage points – please see page 42) and security (70 percentage points - please see page 35). The smallest difference was within the

value of peace, with a difference of only 5.3 percentage points. The category “other” was mostly insignificant because there were few instances when this category was used.

### Set 1: Law versus Illegality

**Table 3 : Actor representation within values  
“law” and “illegality”<sup>8</sup>**

		Law	Illegality
<b>Native</b>	+	62.2	57.8
	-	87.8	97.6
difference % points		25.6	39.8
<b>Non-Native</b>	+	23.5	21.7
	-	24.5	21.7
difference % points		1	0
<b>Mediator</b>	+	21.4	20.5
	-	-	-
difference % points		-21.4	-20.5
<b>Administration</b>	+	34.7	34.9
	-	10.2	13.3
difference % points		-24.5	-21.6
<b>Government</b>	+	64.3	57.8
	-	18.4	19.3
difference % points		-45.9	-38.5
<b>Police</b>	+	55.1	61.4
	-	44.9	53
difference % points		-10.2	-8.4
<b>Judiciary</b>	+	63.3	60.2
	-	2	2.4
difference % points		-61.3	-57.8

### Law

Within articles containing the value “law”, only Natives, non-Natives, and “other” were more often negatively portrayed. However, the difference between negative and positive portrayal is only 1 and 3.1 percentage points for non-Native and “other”, respectively, while

<sup>8</sup> Table 3 does not include the category “other” as the results were not relevant – no positive presence in either value and a negative presence of 3.1% in law and 3.6% in illegality. For SPSS output used to create these tables, refer to Appendix D. Table 3 uses data from crosstabulations of tables A.i.1-8 (positive actors x law), A.v.1-8 (counter-actors x law), B.i.1-8 (positive actors x illegality), and B.v.1-8 (counter-actors x illegality).

for Natives the difference is 25.6 percentage points. Therefore, only the latter result is relevant.

The most positive portrayal was of the four parts of the state. The administration was positively represented in 34.7% of articles, and the police in 55.1%. The judiciary was overwhelmingly positive, with a difference of 61.3 percentage points between positive and negative portrayals. Its negative portrayal came from criticism of its Marshall Ruling, which was unclear and inspired Natives to fish according to their own guidelines, and led to the tension and insecurity in the Miramichi Bay area. The government was also strongly positive – 64.3% - with a difference of 45.9 percentage points separating it from its negative portrayal. The tau values support the association between the state and the law – administration's and government's tau-b value was .323, and the tau-c for government was .344<sup>9</sup>. These numbers indicate moderate weak positive relationships for these actors and the theme of law. When the presence of law increases, we can expect the presence of these actors to rise as well. Mediators only appeared as positive actors in this category, in 21.4% of articles. As their task is generally to resolve conflict and restore order, it is not surprising that they would be represented in a very favourable manner. However, is the lack of a negative presence in both law and illegality due to the mediator's own actions, or to the media's painting him as a solely positive actor? By making him only a positive personality, they also reinforce the idea that peace is a desirable value – and thus anyone who disagrees, in word or action, is by default negatively viewed.

Despite the high presence of negative Native portrayals, their positive portrayal was also significant, at 62.2%, close to the percentages of the government (64.3%), the police (55.1%) and the judiciary (63.3%). Because the coding scheme identified the Marshall Decision as law, the Native invocation of this ruling to justify their actions would identify them as positive actors within the value of law. Native leaders also expressed the wish that their ancient fishing rights be recognized, which implies a desire for their actions to be considered legal. Although the gamma value indicates a moderately strong (.626) positive

---

<sup>9</sup> Please see footnote 6 in Chapter 2 (page 30) for an explanation of the meaning of these numbers.

relationship between these two variables, the gamma's tendency to overestimate must be taken into account. The tau value, .297, indicates a weak-moderate positive relationship. This is certainly a positive sign, for it implies that Native representation is not solely negative.

The most balanced representation was of the white fishermen and non-Native residents of the Miramichi Bay area ("civilian non-Native"). 23.5% of law articles presented this group as positive actors, while 24.5% presented it as counter (negative) actors, a difference of only 1 percentage point. This group was portrayed as solidly supporting the DFO's efforts to enforce federal fishing guidelines, even insisting that more be done to ensure that guidelines were being followed. When the portrayal was negative, it was usually tied to the potential for violence arising from the non-Native fisher threats to "take the law into their own hands" to force Natives to abide by federal guidelines; they were also negative actors when the previous year's violence, arising from the same argument, was mentioned.

### **Illegality**

Natives again have the highest negative portrayal within this value, with 97.6% of articles presenting them unfavourably. Furthermore, they are the only actor within this value more often presented negatively – except for "other", but their negative articles amount to only 3.6%. The tau-b for this actor, .576, is important because it confirms a strong-moderate positive relation between this actor and this value. We can expect these two variables to increase together. Of the state actors, only the police had a high negative portrayal, at 53%. This percentage stems in part from Native demands that that police themselves be charged with undue aggression and force when they were removing lobster traps. The negative values of violence and illegality often appeared in the same article, and because the police were also involved in the violence, their 53% negative presence with this value is partly due to violence (since both are negative values). However, it was not only the Natives who thought that the police were at times overly aggressive. Several editorial cartoons seemed to suggest that the DFO was "bullying" the Natives (see Appendix A).

The police had the highest presence as a positive actor – 61.4%, a finding strengthened by

the tau value, .366, which indicates a moderate-weak positive relation. Given the police's enforcement role, it is not surprising to find the existence of an association. The judiciary was by far more positive than negative, with 60.2% of articles portraying it as positive, and only 2.4% as negative. The government and the administration had lower positive percentages – 57.8% and 34.9%, respectively. The police negative portrayal is only 8.4 percentage points less than its positive portrayal – a smaller difference than for most other actors. The government and administration were much lower, at 19.3% and 13.3%, respectively. Non-Natives, while supporting the state and the federal fishing guidelines, were also mentioned for their role in the violence of the previous year; their negative and positive portrayals differ by only one percentage point. The higher police presence could indicate that the value of illegality (at least in this case) is not so much about the legal specifics of the law, but more about the consequences of illegal actions. In reporting extensively about these consequences, the media also highlight and endorse the police's role and the matters that they enforce. It could be argued that this is a direct or indirect reminder of the importance of respecting the law. In giving Natives a significant negative presence within the violation of law – illegality – the media not only subtly reinforce the importance of law, they also reinforce the image of Natives as disrespectful of the law and thus the norms of society.

When comparing the themes of law and illegality side by side, several things become apparent. First, most actors have a higher positive presence in articles featuring law than in articles featuring illegality; the exception is the administration and the police. This could be because these two entities were most closely responsible for counteracting acts of “illegality”. Secondly, most actors have a higher negative presence in articles featuring “illegality” than “law”. The only exception is the actor “other”. These observations are indicative of which values are tied to which actors. In both law and illegality, Natives have the highest unfavourable portrayals. Although their positive presence is at times close to that of the other actors, their negative presence is significantly higher. This indicates that Natives are associated more closely with illegality or some other counter-value. The most balanced representation in comparing these two values is of non-Natives, whose “law” representation differs by one percentage point and is even at 21.7% each within illegality.

Mediators are only positive in both cases, and “other” only negative. Native favourable portrayals are close to those of the other major actors – government, police, and judiciary. The administration has a lower positive presence, but it was often the government and its more high-profile members who made pronouncements on the importance of following rules, enforcing the law, and punishing acts of illegality. These results suggest that Natives are disproportionately represented as negative actors, a fact reflected in the adjectives used to define them as well as in the lack of an alternative perspective for their actions.

## Set 2: Peace versus Violence

**Table 4 : Actor representation within values  
“peace” and “violence”<sup>10</sup>**

		Peace	Violence
<b>Native</b>	+	75.4	56.8
	-	80.7	93.2
difference % points		5.3	36.4
<b>Non-Native</b>	+	24.6	25
	-	21.1	26.1
difference % points		-3.5	1.1
<b>Mediator</b>	+	43.9	23.9
	-	-	-
difference % points		-43.9	-23.9
<b>Administration</b>	+	36.8	34.1
	-	5.3	10.2
difference % points		-31.5	-23.9
<b>Government</b>	+	73.7	59.1
	-	15.8	14.8
difference % points		-57.9	-44.3
<b>Police</b>	+	40.4	53.4
	-	40.4	56.8
difference % points		0	3.4
<b>Judiciary</b>	+	52.6	55.7
	-	0	0
difference % points		-52.6	-55.7

<sup>10</sup> Table 4 does not include the category “other” as the results were not relevant – no positive presence in either value and a negative presence of 1.8% in peace and 3.4% in violence. For SPSS output used to create these tables, refer to Appendix D. Table 4 uses data from crosstabulations of tables A.ii.1-8 (positive actors x peace), A.vi.1-8 (counter-actors x peace), B.ii.1-8 (positive actors x violence), and B.vi.1-8 (counter-actors x violence).

### **Peace**

In articles containing the value “peace”, Natives have the highest presence both as actors and counter-actors – 75.4% and 80.7%, respectively. These portrayals show the smallest differences in comparison to differences within other values for this actor. This suggests that articles featuring the value “peace” provide the most balanced coverage of Natives; they also appear favourably most often within articles that feature “peace”. The tau value, .407, is important as it indicates the existence of a moderate positive relation between peace and this actor. This is a promising sign, as Natives are tied to a value generally considered desirable. However, Natives are once again the only group that was more negative. Since the calls for peace arose from a conflict in which the Natives were involved, this could explain their high negative presence. However, the police were also involved and they were negative in only 40.4% of peace articles. Probably because their goal is to encourage resolution, mediators are only favourably presented in this category (43.9% of articles), and the highest presence for this actor is in articles with this value. The tau value further confirms this relationship: .535 indicates a moderate-positive association, which means that as the presence of peace increases, so too does the presence of the mediator.

The state is once again overwhelmingly positive: administration in 36.8% of articles, the judiciary in 52.6%, and the government in 73.7%. The portrayal of the police is perfectly even, at 40.4% each positive and negative. The government and Natives are close when they are positive actors, (73.7% and 75.4%, respectively), and the tau values confirm weak-moderate (.353) relations for the government and moderate (.407) relations for Natives within this theme. However, there is a large difference in the negative portrayals (80.7% for the Native and 15.8% for the government) suggesting that the media are more selective when creating negative portraits than they are when creating flattering ones.

### **Violence**

Following the pattern established with other values, Natives have the highest negative presence of all the actors within this category, in 93.2% of articles. The closest second are

the police, appearing in a negative light in 56.8% of articles – behind Natives by 36.4 percentage points. The high presence of these two actors is explained by their more direct involvement in the violence, although apparently (if one were to judge from newspaper accounts) not to the same degree. This presence is confirmed by the tau values for these two actors. Counter-Natives had a tau-b of .443 and the police of .455, a moderate positive relationship. When violence increases, the number of unfavourable portrayals of the Natives and the police increases as well. Other counter-actors are far behind – non-Natives with 25%, the administration with 10.2%, the government with 14.8%, and “other” with 3.4%. The higher negative depiction of Natives could stem from higher Native involvement in the violence. However, given the general trends in reporting on minorities and the conclusions reached by other writers in studies about Native conflicts<sup>11</sup>, it is more likely that it was easier to resort to the established stereotype of aggressive and potentially violent Native protesters than to either provide a more in-depth analysis of Native actions or to be more critical of other participants. The government and the administration had a fairly low negative presence in comparison, with 14.8% and 10.2%, respectively. The judiciary and mediator were absent from this category as negative actors.

In terms of favourable portrayal, the government was the most positively presented, with 59.1% of articles identifying it with a positive value. However, many of the other actors had similar positive percentages: the police with 53.4%, the judiciary with 55.7% (effectively the whole state), and Natives with 56.8%. In this case the Native representation is even with that of the state, which is certainly a positive sign; again, this is offset by the high unfavourable presence of Natives, especially when compared to the other participants. When comparing portrayals of the government, the lowest negative portrayal for this actor is within this category. Also, when comparing portrayals of the police, the smallest difference between positive and negative – 3.4 percentage points – is in this category. This suggests that media portrayals of police are more even in the case of violence. Perhaps the media are more critical of the police, which accounts for its close presence as actor and counter-actor. This, in turn, could imply that peace is highly regarded and that those who act against it,

---

<sup>11</sup> see Lambertus (2001); Brisson (1998); Guthrie-Valaskakis (1996); Roth et al. (1995); Skea (1993-1994); Grenier (1992).

even if they are part of the state, are criticized. However, the portrayals of the mediator, the government, and the administration are the least balanced under the value of peace.

Comparing peace and violence is also revealing. Positive portrayals are split between the two values: Natives, mediators, administration and government are more favourably viewed within “peace”, while the non-Natives, police, judiciary, and “others are more frequently positive within “violence”. There is no clear link between state actors and the positive value, although those parts that speak to the public – government and administration – have a higher presence within peace. This could be due to a conscious effort to associate themselves with the positive value, or the media’s attempt to disassociate these parts of the state from violence. Higher negative portrayals are almost all within “violence”, except for government. There are several instances where the portrayals are more balanced than most. “Peace” presents the police portrayal as even, and Native positive and negative portrayals differ by only 3.5 percentage points. It seems that the tendency for stereotyping or slanted portrayals is less for these actors and in this category. Within the value of violence, non-Natives and the police have the most balanced portrayals. This would initially suggest that within this value, credit for violence is given where it is due. However, considering that there were three actors involved in the violence – non-Natives (mostly from the previous year), the police, and the Natives, we must ask why the portrait of Natives within the value of violence was not equally balanced and instead differed by 36 points in favour of the negative, a far greater difference than for the other two actors.

### Set 3: Truth versus Lies

**Table 5 : Actor representation within values  
“truth” and “lies”<sup>12</sup>**

		Truth	Lies
<b>Native</b>	+	20	30
	-	100	95
difference % points		80	65
<b>Non-Native</b>	+	40	20
	-	0	40
difference % points		-40	20
<b>Mediator</b>	+	40	20
	-	-	-
difference % points		-40	-20
<b>Administration</b>	+	60	25
	-	40	35
difference % points		-20	-10
<b>Government</b>	+	0	55
	-	20	40
difference % points		20	-15
<b>Police</b>	+	60	50
	-	80	65
difference % points		20	15
<b>Judiciary</b>	+	0	45
	-	0	0
difference % points		0	-45
<b>Other</b>	+	-	-
	-	0	15
difference % points		0	15

### Truth

In articles containing the value “truth”, Natives had among the lowest positive presence of the eight participants and the highest negative presence. The difference in percentage – 80 points – was the highest for Natives within this category. The highest positive portrayal is of the administration and the police, both at 60%. The government was not often involved with

<sup>12</sup> For SPSS output used to create these tables, refer to Appendix D. Table 5 uses data from crosstabulations of tables A.iii.1-8 (positive actors x truth), A.vii.1-8 (counter-actors x truth), B.iii.1-8 (positive actors x lies), and B.vii.1-8 (counter-actors x lies).

this value, because debates over truth and lies involved government spokespeople, who were coded as administration and the DFO enforcement crews that were out on the water, as well as the Natives. The fact that the state actors have a high positive presence within truth could be taken as a commentary on their integrity, particularly since Natives only rated 20% in positive representation. When violence broke out, both sides exchanged accusations on its causes, yet the police are more positive than Natives by 40 percentage points. The judiciary has no presence in either category.

The negative Native portrayals within this value are striking: Natives are portrayed negatively in 100% of articles containing the value “truth”. The closest second is the police, whose image was negative in 80% of articles, followed by the administration (40%) and the government (20% - the lowest, except for those actors that scored 0).

### **Lies**

Natives are once more the highest negative portrayal, with 95% of articles within this value portraying them negatively. The police are a distant second, cast in a negative light in 65% of articles. This theme is based mostly on accusations exchanged by the two sides<sup>13</sup>; some of the disagreements focused on the number of traps set by the Natives in Miramichi Bay and involved Natives and DFO officers (“police”), or the administration (35% negative articles) or the government (40%). Other disagreements focused on the instigation and acts of violence and involved mostly Natives and the police, and occasionally the white fishers. Given the pattern in the other values, it is probable that the representation of Natives is part of a larger phenomena that tends to portray Natives more negatively than other actors. In terms of positive portrayals, the highest was of the government, presented favourably in 55% of articles. The police were closely behind with 50%, and the judiciary with 45%. The administration scored only 25%; its negative portrayal was 10 percentage points higher.

Although the category “other” is usually fairly insignificant - no positive portrayal and the highest negative portrayal at 3.6% - within this value there is an exception. The actor appeared negatively in 15% of articles featuring the value “lies”. With this figure, the actor

---

<sup>13</sup> see Appendix C for a detailed explanation of what constituted lies.

concerned is the media, and their unfavourable portrayal arises from accusations of media bias, usually levelled by the government, administration, or police, that journalists covering the situation were more likely to support the Natives, although this accusation is questionable in light of the observations in this study. However, several articles do imply that media-savvy Natives were able to manipulate the media into convincing the government to back down<sup>14</sup>.

Comparison of “truth” and “lies” articles reveals several observations. The state is divided: the administration and the police have a higher negative and positive presence with “truth”, while the government and the judiciary are higher within “lies”. Positive representations are slightly more frequent in “truth” for non-Natives and mediators. Some negative portrayals were also higher with “truth”, including Natives, administration, and the police. Much of these two values focused on the sources of violence and the number of traps that were set and removed from Miramichi Bay. The police and the administration were more closely involved, which could account for their higher presence. However, it does not explain why Native positive percentages are lower and negative percentages higher.

---

<sup>14</sup> “PR war won over lobster: Images of clashing fishermen used by Indians to get feds to back down,” *Montreal Gazette*, September 6, 2000, p. A12; “Media blamed in lobster war: News images of clashing fishermen have inflamed tensions, groups says,” *Montreal Gazette*, September 6, 2000, p. A12; “Commercial fishermen ask Natives to stop,” *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 6, 2000, p. A8; see also editorial cartoons from August 15 and 16 in Appendix A.

#### Set 4: Security versus Insecurity

**Table 6 : Actor representation within values  
“security” and “insecurity”<sup>15</sup>**

		Security	Insecurity
<b>Native</b>	+	30	56.7
	-	100	96.7
difference % points		70	40
<b>Non-Native</b>	+	30	43.3
	-	20	50
difference % points		-10	6.7
<b>Mediator</b>	+	30	30
	-	-	-
difference % points		-30	-30
<b>Administration</b>	+	60	36.7
	-	10	6.7
difference % points		-50	-30
<b>Government</b>	+	40	70
	-	20	26.7
difference % points		-20	-43.3
<b>Police</b>	+	90	60
	-	80	40
difference % points		-10	-20
<b>Judiciary</b>	+	40	80
	-	0	6.7
difference % points		-40	-73.3

#### Security

Although Natives had a small (30%) positive presence in articles containing the value “security”, their presence as negative actors was 100%, tying the highest score for negative Native portrayal with the value “truth”.

Within this value, the most prevalent positive actor is the police, who appear in 90% of articles. Considering that one of the major tasks of a police force is to maintain security, this figure is perhaps to be expected. Its high presence, though, is also telling of the importance

<sup>15</sup> Table 6 does not include the category “other” as the results were not relevant – no positive or negative presence in either value. For SPSS output used to create these tables, refer to Appendix D. Table 6 uses data from crosstabulations of tables A.iv.1-8 (positive actors x security), A.viii.1-8 (counter-actors x security), B.iv.1-8 (positive actors x insecurity), and B.viii.1-8 (counter-actors x insecurity).

of this actor to this value and implies that anyone who acts against security – or those who enforce it – should be seen unfavourably. The administration also scores highly, with 60% of articles casting it in a positive light; the government and judiciary each score 40%. Non-Natives and mediators also have positive portrayals in 40% of articles.

Natives are not the only actors with a high negative portrayal in this value: police are present as negative actors in 80% of security articles. This could stem from the coding procedure, which identified DFO officials as police in instances where they had an enforcement function; thus when violence erupted on the water, the “police” would be coded with a negative value (but not necessarily insecurity). The government is negative in only 20% of articles and the administration in 10%. The judiciary is absent as a negative actor in this category. Once more, the state is by far seen more positively than Natives.

### **Insecurity**

The negative portrayal once more proved to be the most significant in this category, with Natives appearing as a counter-actor in 96.7% of articles. This is far higher than any of the other actors – non-Natives at 50%, police at 40%, and the government at 26.7%. White residents often blamed the Natives for dramatically increasing tensions in the community, and the Natives, in turn, blamed the government for pushing the situation towards confrontation. Non-Natives also threatened to take over the enforcement job (implying that they would be more effective) which also raised their negative representation within this theme.

This category contains the highest positive and negative representations for non-Natives and the judiciary. Non-Natives are positively portrayed in 43.3% of articles and negatively portrayed in 50%. The judiciary is positive in 80% of articles and negative in 6.7%. Again, the high presence of the non-Natives as positive actors could be due to their complaints about Natives creating an insecure environment.

With the values “security” and “insecurity” side by side, we see that several actors had higher negative and positive percentages within the counter value: non-Natives, the

government, and the judiciary. The administration and the police have higher percentages within articles containing "security". Mediators have an equal positive percentage and no negative presence, Natives have the highest negative portrayals, and show large differences between positive and negative actors.

### **Stereotypes identified**

The percentages and statistics observed in these results lead to some interesting, although perhaps not surprising, conclusions. First of all, the tendency to present Natives negatively is certainly maintained, and in these articles it is far above the negative representations of the other participants in the fishing controversy. Secondly, the state is overwhelmingly positive, especially in the case of the government, the administration, and the judiciary. Third, the Natives are closely identified with negative values, particularly violence and illegality. However, in some instances they did have a positive representation close to some of the other actors. In Chapter 1, six major stereotyping patterns in Native coverage were introduced. The analysis in this study links Natives to several negative values that can be found within the framework of the law and order and war perspectives. These perspectives use particular images of the actors involved to present them in a favourable or unfavourable light, which allows us to identify some of the stereotypes previously discussed.

### **Threat**

In being identified with negative values more than any of the other actors, Natives appear to disagree with some of the norms of society. Their high presence with the counter-value of violence, along with its reinforcement by the tau value, makes Natives once again appear to be aggressive and needlessly violent. Although a more thorough discourse analysis on the articles collected was not done, there are nonetheless several observations that are striking. First, the adjective "angry" is often used to describe the Native fishermen and the Burnt Church community. Grenier (1992) observed that a high incidence (71%) of article headlines during the Oka crisis contained conflict-based terms and race-based or Native references, an observation earlier noted by Hartmann and Husband's 1974 study of blacks in the British media. Assuming that the terms denoting conflict are similar in this study, the

same observations can be made, both in headlines and in the body of the article itself. Natives involved in the situation yelled insults at officials, and were described as angry or even infuriated: “angry Native fishers,” “angry Indians,” who “react angrily”, or “pace angrily”. Although the dispute was frustrating for all involved, Natives were most often “angry” while others were described as annoyed, frustrated, impatient, and emotional – these descriptions are more nuanced. The other actors were described as angry at times, but it was most often the Natives, thus reinforcing the Native’s apparent inclination for violence. This was evident in some of the headlines, such as “Mi’kmaq warriors armed for battle,” and “Coon Come warns of potential violence,”. Within the articles, photos featured the warriors dressed in camouflage, and included quotations such as, “It will be a good day to die,”. The reserve was described as volatile, distrustful, and dangerous. While Natives were certainly not entirely blameless, one has the impression that their image here is somewhat exaggerated.

### **Problem**

A high negative presence within illegality (97.6%) and a high tau value is evidence of the Native association with this value. Natives are consistently labelled as defiant and determined to break the law. Although mentions of the word “illegal” and “illegality” were not tabulated, they are linked to Natives in many articles (this was the primary reason for their high negative presence). In reinforcing the image of Natives who are constantly “battling federal authorities”, the papers present an image of persistent law-breakers who are disrespectful of federal jurisdiction. This is in keeping with Fleras’ (2001) and Singer’s (1982) identified stereotypes of the Native as aggressive in his land claims to the government and a threat to its legal and political jurisdiction. One editorial<sup>16</sup> paints the Burnt Church and Indian Brook<sup>17</sup> bands as troublemakers because they refused to recognize Ottawa’s authority over the fishery and because they were the only two bands (out of 34)

---

<sup>16</sup> “Trapped in their rhetoric,” *Montreal Gazette*, September 22, 2000, p. B2.

<sup>17</sup> The majority of the coverage focused on the Burnt Church reserve. At the time of this dispute the Indian Brook band was also refusing to sign an agreement with the government. There were only a few articles about the Indian Brook community during the period surveyed, and they were included in the study under the logic that they related to the same issue and would perhaps not be present if it were not for the situation in Burnt Church.

that were refusing to sign a deal with the government. Furthermore, headlines such “Feds’ good-will gesture fuels fires of defiance in N.B.’s Indian fishery” give the impression of a government attempting to encourage resolution and Natives refusing to cooperate. The leader of the warriors is quoted as saying that if the government refuses to consider Native self-government it will face strong resistance; criticism is levelled at the Natives for destroying lobster stocks by fishing outside the federal fishing season; mention is made of the financial and emotional cost for the RCMP in the dispute. All of these factors contribute to the image of Natives as a problem.

### **Race Roles**

As in the observations in many Oka studies, in Burnt Church the media paid a lot of attention to the more aggressive personalities. Some photos featured masked and camouflaged warriors. Several quotations cite Frank Thomas, war chief of the Mi’kmaq Warrior society, or James Ward, another warrior leader; both men threatened “extreme measures” against enforcement action. The warriors seem to play a significant role in the dispute and there is little attention paid to the chief and the other band council members. As Roth et al (1995) found, the members of the band were grouped into the single and monolithic category of warrior.

### **Colonialism**

Although this form of stereotyping is difficult to identify directly in the article, it is nonetheless present. In fact, it could be argued that it is at the core of all stereotyping patterns. Stuart Hall (1978) provides three historical touchstones for the construction of racist ideas: fixed relations of subordination and domination; the idea of the superiority of some and the inferiority of others; and the transfer of these ideas from the language of history to the language of nature. From this perspective, we can begin to understand how particular values – those held in high regard by those who have the dominant position – can become the dominant values in the society. Thus law and order are promoted by one of the influential groups in society, the media. In being labelled as defiant and having their actions underlined as illegal, Natives are portrayed as opposed to, and disrespectful of, these values.

This is not completely accurate. Few Natives would prefer to live in an environment of insecurity and lawlessness. What they would like is that the agreements they signed be recognized, that they have access to natural resources as they had in the past, and that they have some control over their own affairs. This could be perfectly legal. The problem is that there is little room for these visions of legality within the view of law espoused by the government and passed on through the media. The unwillingness or inability to view things from an alternative perspective is what Hall calls the “white eye” – the unmarked position from which all “observations” are made and from which, alone, they make sense.” (1978:14). If Natives are to be defined as “law-abiding”, they must do it within the established framework. As the saying goes, “If you’re not with us, you’re against us.”

### **Chapter Conclusion**

To be fair, the coverage was not entirely in favour of the state actors. Natives were not always seen as negative actors and did, at times, appear to be opposed to some of the counter-values. Let us remember that Natives could be coded as mediators if they were attempting to encourage resolution of the dispute. This was indeed the case, as even some of the chiefs got involved in peacemaking efforts. Furthermore, some articles did express the fears of the Burnt Church community about the potential for violence. Not everyone was a warrior who was literally willing to fight for the recognition of Native fishing rights. There are also a few instances in which Natives are quoted as questioning the actions of the police. We should also not forget that at times, the Native presence as positive actors was close to that of some of the other participants.

Nevertheless, this chapter demonstrates that both hypotheses were correct. Several stereotyping patterns were identified, and the most obvious observation was that Natives were far more negatively portrayed than the other participants. Many of the stereotypes identified in previous studies were present. Natives were typically depicted as angry and as a treat to their community. In their determination to set their own fishing rules, they were portrayed as defiant, rebellious, and unlawful. The presence of the masked and camouflaged warriors did not particularly improve their image, especially since the warriors are one of the

most important features of the “war” frame, and because the media seem to gravitate towards potential confrontation. The 2000 lobster dispute might have been given less coverage were it not for the previous year’s events, which were anything but peaceful. At any given time, there are other protest actions by Natives around the country, but they rarely warrant much attention unless violence breaks out.

Natives have the highest negative presence of any actor within all four of the negative values studied; these results come from their pairing with negative values. Illegality, violence, and insecurity (and lies, in some situations) are closely linked to acts of criminality. Entman (1992) theorizes that differences in the portrayals of groups in crime stories – in this case the high unfavourable portrayal of Natives in comparison to the others – may promote hostility towards the minority, which is one of the key components of modern racism. Furthermore, if Natives are portrayed as strident and demanding in their demands, they may achieve exactly the opposite of what they desire and drive the majority to oppose change (Entman, 1992: 346). Natives seem to have little recourse – patient negotiation is a lengthy process and brings less public attention, and often not the results they would like; blockades and standoffs gain more publicity for the cause but potentially turn public opinion against them. Entman, Berkhofer, and Hall all mention the Eurocentric tendency to view the world from a “white” perspective. This implies a loyalty to the values traditionally recognized as favourable, and it also implies the rigidity of these values. All of this, in turn, means that Native aspirations and actions will be considered within these traditional frameworks. These aspects of modern racism make it easier to understand the omnipresence of the law and order and war themes. Without alternative perspectives, Native protest will continue to be judged and portrayed within traditional frameworks, and the stereotypes that appear now have little chance of changing.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Conclusion**

The complex world around us can be overwhelming. For most, a large number of experiences and impressions must be acquired through secondary sources. The media are a critical secondary source because of their presence in every aspect of life. The news media present interpretations of the events and issues within society. Just as we are partly the products of our culture and reflect some of the prevalent ideas within it, the media are also influenced by multiple factors and reflect them in the products they present to consumers. A newspaper or news program presents a particular interpretation of reality; most researchers have argued that it is impossible to be entirely subjective, and thus each news item passes on certain perceptions of the world.

Studies have shown time and time again that particular interpretations of reality apply to news items concerning minority groups. Whether it be due to ethnic origin, religion, or language, minorities are labelled as different and treated differently than the majority groups in society. Major patterns in the news can be identified: invisibility and underrepresentation; objectification; casting into existing race roles; appearing as a threat or as a problem; and lastly, looking at minorities from a white, colonial perspective. Stereotyping's inherent characteristics include categorization and stratification, and these features reinforce the invisible divisions between groups. When a newspaper or television audience sees these patterns several times, it could begin to internalize some of these images, and judge the members of the stereotyped groups from these ideas.

The six common stereotyping patterns can easily be found in coverage of Native people, and most have been present since the earliest days of European contact with North America's Natives. This thesis has used the method of content analysis to identify the stereotypes present in the coverage of the 2000 lobster dispute in New Brunswick. Eight major participants and eight values (four positive, four negative) were identified for the study. Analysing the portrayals of participants within the values provided an idea of which actors were associated with particular values. Because positive values are desirable, those who act against them could be viewed unfavourably by readers. These negative values can be linked to existing stereotypes because they reinforce the idea that certain groups usually behave in particular ways. Previous analyses of Native portrayals during protest actions showed that Natives were more often than not represented as lawbreakers who were inclined to violence, and it was assumed that this study would reinforce that observation.

### **Major findings of this study**

The main hypothesis of this study was that the portrayal of Natives would be stereotypical, and that this would be especially evident when compared to the portrayal of the other actors in the lobster dispute. This hypothesis was judged correct. Natives were far more likely to be portrayed negatively, appearing as counter-actors 53% more often than the other participants. This number is due to their high presence as negative actors within all four negative values. This confirms the findings of preceding studies, which concluded that Natives overall tend to be portrayed in an unfavourable light, and especially in the presence of the majority group.

Many researchers have remarked upon the significance of the law and order theme in news reports on Native protest. Its dominance is confirmed here, as the four most common themes – law and illegality, and peace and violence, are features of law and order. This suggests that the positive values are favoured, and that those who are identified with them will be seen as positive figures. Conversely, those who are opposed to these values will be negatively portrayed. We can thus assume that those who are generally linked to law (government, administration and judiciary), and order (police) will be portrayed in a

favourable way. Within the values, the state is indeed consistently positively portrayed (although by various degrees), while Natives are regularly negative actors. It is important to remember that the eight values used in this study were chosen by reading through the collected articles several times. The fact that these were most easily identified is indicative of the approach taken by the newspapers. As this was a dispute that involved the Native desire to regulate their fishery, the question of Native rights was an important one. However, it was less readily identified than the themes used here.

When law was analyzed, the highest positive presence belonged to the government and the judiciary (64.3% and 63.3%, respectively). The executive and judiciary branches are closely tied to enacting laws, and the statistics that were run do suggest that their positive portrayal rises with an increased presence of this value. The Native positive representation within this value is similar to these actors, but the coding procedure allowed their recourse to the Marshall Decision to be included as law. If this were not the case, the positive representation of Natives would likely be much lower. Their negative portrayal was a marked contrast; at 87.8%, it was by far the highest unfavourable representation in articles that features this theme.

Illegality presented Natives negatively in 97.6% of articles, and statistics confirmed that there was a link between an increase in this value and a corresponding rise in the presence of Natives as counter-actors. Furthermore, Natives were the only group in this value presented more often negatively than positively. Among the state actors, only the police had a high negative presence, but at 53%, it was hardly comparable to that of the Natives. Favourable representation was comparable – the police scored 61.4% and it showed a rise in positive portrayal with the rise in illegality. Natives were not far behind, with 57.8%. These figures suggest that Natives are more favourably portrayed when they fit into the boundaries of law, but very negatively seen as soon as they operate outside of these boundaries.

The value of peace presented less of a contrast in negative and positive presence for Natives; it presented the most balanced representation for this actor, and Natives had the highest

positive portrayal among the eight values within articles featuring this theme. However, their negative presence was still high – 80.7%. The police were perfectly balanced in peace articles. Not surprisingly, the strongest relationship to this value is held by the mediator, who is only positive. This underlines the importance of this value within society, and apparently, only those who support it fully are exempt from negative portrayals.

The most prominent counter-actors within violence were Natives (93.2%) and the police (56.8%); the negative presence can be expected to rise with an increase in violence. The government and administration were very low in negative presence – 14.8% and 10.2%, respectively, but the positive presence was very high – 59.1% and 34.1%. This suggests that these two actors are disassociated from violence; although they endorse enforcing the law, there is no mention of their support for the aggressiveness of the DFO crews on the water. This could indicate that the government purposefully separates itself from unfavourable values, or perhaps the media ensure that this distance is maintained.

Security and insecurity both presented high negative images of Natives – 100% in the positive value and 96.7% in the counter-value. Once again, this group had the highest unfavourable portrayal. Other actors who were tied to this issue appeared more favourably – although the police had an 80% negative presence within security, in insecurity it only scored 40%. Non-Natives had the second highest negative presence within the counter value, at 50%, but their positive presence was also 50%. Within security, the police were positive in 90% of articles, evidence not only of their importance to this value, but also signifying that anyone opposed to the police would be represented unfavourably.

Similar patterns are visible within the values of truth and lies. Natives show the highest negative portrayals – 100% and 95%, respectively. Again, the police had a high negative representation (80%) within the positive value, and a slightly lower negative presence (65%) within insecurity. In both values, the most positive actors were state actors – the administration and the police within truth, the government and the police within lies. The category “other” had a higher negative presence within the value “lies” than in the other

themes; criticism was levelled at the media for supporting one side - the Natives - more than the other.

The high association suggested between Natives and the four counter-values of this study allows for the identification of several stereotypes. The high presence within illegality reinforces the image of Natives as creating problems – in demanding control over their own fishing, Natives are forcing the government to spend money and manpower to enforce the law; and they are endangering a resource (the lobster) that is supposed to belong to everyone, thus endangering the livelihood of non-Native fishermen. The Native association with violence and insecurity reinforces the impression that they are a threat. The warlike atmosphere implied by media descriptions of the situation further add to the sense of danger and hostility. The references to warriors solidify one of the oldest race roles of the Indian – the warlike and bloodthirsty warrior, albeit slightly less savage for modernity. Finally, the prominence of the law and order perspective, and the high positive portrayal of the state, are indications of the remnants of colonialism that still exist in society. As Berkhofer observed in 1978, there is a historic tendency to judge Indians by their lack of white ways. The judging of Native protest action from the standard law and order perspective limits the potential for Natives to be viewed positively in such situations. The options for Native dissent are limited, as rights demands must be expressed within the framework established by the government and enforced through the media.

### **Possible further exploration**

The scope of this thesis was limited but it could be expanded in any of several directions. It has been pointed out that the two papers chosen for this study are pertinent because of the nature of the communities that they serve. The “Oka effect” – the standardization of law and order and war frames in reporting on Native protest – might particularly be felt in Montreal, which is practically next door to the Oka community and experienced the crisis more acutely than other cities. One could expect that the reporting from area newspapers such as the *Gazette* to be quite critical of protest action and/or very supportive of enforcing the law. Saskatoon’s newspaper might have a different approach because it more acutely

feels the need to maintain a good relationship with its Native community. 2001 figures from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs put the registered Indian population in Saskatchewan at about 11% of the province's population; the prairie provinces are expected to show the largest population increases in the coming years, and the potential economic influence of the Native community is significant. When the alleged mistreatment of Natives by the Saskatoon police force is factored in<sup>18</sup>, the need to ensure that relations between the Native and non-Native communities are harmonious is critical. A brief comparison of the *Gazette* and the *Star Phoenix* provides some credibility to these hypotheses: 94.6% of *Gazette* articles featured "law" compared to 65.1% in the *Star Phoenix*; illegality was present in 75.7% of the *Gazette*'s articles but only 62.8% of the *Star Phoenix*'s; and violence compared 78.4% to 70%. However, this is only a brief look and a more thorough study would be required, likely using techniques of discourse analysis. Both papers relied heavily on Canadian Press sources for their articles, although there were differences in wording in headlines and captions, and the information included in the body of the articles; an analysis of these factors would allow for a more complete comparison of the two papers and potentially provide a more complete perspective of each community's view of Native protest.

This study could also be expanded to include more regions – perhaps a paper from the west coast, Ontario, and the east coast to compare regional differences and even, with careful selection, the editorial perspective of media conglomerates on the issue of Native protest. At the time of the Burnt Church dispute, both the *Gazette* and the *Star Phoenix* were owned by Hollinger, and have since become part of the CanWest network. Given the complaints of newspaper employees about limits on their journalistic freedom under powerful media corporations, a comparison of the two papers could well reveal that the editorial policy or other requirements set by the head office actually minimize the difference in the

---

<sup>18</sup> Saskatoon police officers have a history of taking unruly Native men on "starlight tours" – driving them out of the city and dropping them off in isolated fields, leaving them to walk home. This practice is potentially deadly in winter, when temperatures hover around -20 degrees Celsius; several Native men have been found frozen to death on the outskirts of the city, and although it is difficult to prove that the police were responsible, the relationship between the Native community and the police force has become very strained. See [www.cbc.ca/news/indepth/firstnations/starlighttours.html](http://www.cbc.ca/news/indepth/firstnations/starlighttours.html).

communities. Finally, it might also be revealing to compare the routine coverage of the Micmac (or any other) community to its portrayals during situations like the one in Burnt Church. One wonders whether Natives are presented as everyday people, but an initial review of past studies suggests that they are only newsworthy when fulfilling the role of troublemaker.

### **Implications of these findings**

The consistency of stereotyping patterns in reports on Native protest is not an encouraging sign. Even in routine coverage, Natives appear as burdens for the government, as addicts, and as criminals, or as van Dijk puts it, as society's dependents or society's enemies. Wilson and Gutiérrez note that the way that groups are portrayed in the media reflects their status in that society. The prevalence of the law and order theme, and the state's association with it, reflects its status of power and authority. As soon as violence (real, or even the potential for it) appears, the theme of war is also present. The Native association with negative values, and the corresponding patterns of negative stereotyping, imply that their position is one of second-rate citizens whose defining characteristics are that they create problems and security concerns for the government and the general public. Through such portrayals, Natives appear disrespectful of the norms of society, and unwilling or unable to conduct themselves within the boundaries of acceptable social behaviour.

However, stereotypes do have a "kernel of truth", and in this case the Natives themselves are not entirely blameless. While it is true that the media focuses significant attention on the warriors, the warriors themselves are partly responsible. During the Burnt Church dispute, most residents preferred to stay away from the media, but the warriors sought out the spotlight<sup>19</sup>. By masking their faces and wearing camouflage clothing, they are perfectly

---

<sup>19</sup> Ken Coates, personal interview, March 12, 2004. Warriors are often present in Native-government disputes, but news articles covering the situations rarely provide much background on these groups. Briefly, warrior societies are militant organizations that are not affiliated with any particular bands. They see themselves as defenders of Native rights, travelling across the country and becoming involved especially when they feel that chiefs or band councils are not aggressive enough. Some members have military experience – such as James Ward, the main warrior figure at Burnt Church. For a better understanding of the warrior role at Oka, see Geoffrey York and Loreen Pindera, *People of the Pines*, Toronto: Little, Brown & Company, 1991. They argue that to properly understand the strength of the warrior movement, it should not be considered a criminal

aware of the image that they are providing, and they also know that the media will be more interested in potential violence – which these warriors come to represent – than in quiet protest within the corridors of parliament.

When it comes to their relationship with the media, Natives are caught in a conundrum. In seeking to gain a wider audience for Native issues, they must formulate their message in a way that will make it appealing to the media and pertinent enough to the audience for it to pay attention. “The two most important dimensions of the problem all political movements face is finding a place on the media agenda and filling it with a credible and persuasive image” (Rojecki, 1978:18). Unfortunately, for much of the majority audience, the issues of Native rights, the honouring of past treaties, and Native sovereignty are low on the list of “interesting news”, and for the media, these frames are less familiar. What the media like, and what seems to attract everyone’s attention, is conflict. When a dispute with the government turns violent, or threatens to do so, Natives are thrust into the spotlight. Some may be uncomfortable with the sudden attention, but it seems to be the very thing that gains their concerns the attention they need. When a group of warriors wears camouflage fatigues, bandanas to mask their faces, and tells the media that they are preparing for battle, the audience is fascinated and awaits further developments. But the focus on the potential for violence and the illegality of their actions, while drawing attention to them and their cause, also reinforces the stereotype of the violent and defiant Indian who is unwilling to comply with the law. Baylor (1996) notes that for Natives, being confrontational in the hope of gaining media attention is risky. Indeed, it is one thing to be able to use the media; controlling it is quite another. Their actions will most likely be portrayed within the frames that are commonly used, and any hope of presenting an alternative perspective is reduced. It is easy to portray Natives as violent and defiant and to devote little space to the background of the situation, when in fact there is often dissent between the warriors and the band council over the best strategy to advance the cause<sup>20</sup>.

---

or terrorist organization (as the government claimed during the Oka dispute). Rather, their broad support should be seen in the context of their willingness to fight for the Mohawk [and Native in general] movement.

<sup>20</sup> In the collected articles, there was mention of James Ward, the “leader” of the warriors who were at Burnt Church, being replaced because the band did not agree with his tactics in the situation, although he did

One of the characteristics of news is that it tends to focus on events rather than issues. As such, the potential for violence and the actual aggression becomes the story and less so the issues that lead to the confrontations. Journalistic framing practices allow writers to categorize participants and events into groupings that permit the quick assembly of the facts into a news story. Few writers have the time or the energy to propose a “new take” on stories which are often routine, so framing provides them with a process for filing a story quickly. Negative stereotypes are a part of this process and particularly so when the story concerns Natives. But what lies beneath these patterns? To properly answer this question, we must consider the core issues.

### **The resource**

The lobster fishery itself is an important regional industry and a lucrative business. Each fisher who holds a license to set lobster traps can expect to make a certain income; the industry is strictly regulated through these licenses and through set fishing seasons<sup>21</sup>. Natives who assert their treaty rights and set their own fishing guidelines could disrupt the chain of supply and demand and, some argue, could threaten the lobster stocks. Natives counter that their fishing strategy would be less than 2% of the traps set around Miramichi Bay, and only .5% of the traps set in the Maritime region. Emboldened by the Marshall Decision, they intend to participate in the lobster fishing industry both as fishers and as decision makers. Coates points out that it is difficult to predict how many Natives will want to fish, or whether the lobster stocks will truly be sustainable over a longer period of time. The issue is complicated, but the profit aspect certainly plays an important role.

Earlier in this thesis the mechanisms of a stereotype were discussed. Taylor and Lalonde reason that stereotypes fill an emotional need because they elevate the “in-group” by assigning it positive characteristics and put down the “out-group” by giving it negative qualities. Hinton suggests that stereotyping arises from the frustrations or aggressions of a

---

reappear later. Generally such information is rare and it seems that the warriors are the spokespeople for the whole reserve.

<sup>21</sup> For a more thorough overview, which is abbreviated in this paragraph, see *Appendix B: Lobster Quotas and Mi'kmaq Fishing Rights* in Ken Coates' *The Marshall Decision and Native Rights*.

group which then attempts to place the fault for its problems anywhere but with itself; if competition for limited resources is significant, stereotyping is a way of justifying one's priority access to them. If Natives are a threat to the "bottom line" of existing fishermen, their portrayal as lawbreakers who are eating into the livelihoods of hard-working non-aboriginal fishers would not earn their position much sympathy. The argument that Natives are threatening the lobster stocks would also turn opinion against them. These perceptions provide convenient reasons for not expanding the fishery to give Natives access and, indeed, for convincing oneself that it is alright not to do so. The argument against aboriginal fishing rights would focus not on the fishermen who are unwilling to lose income, but on the Natives who are forcing them to do so. It seems that the idea of honouring past treaties, or even considering it, is set aside in favour of the economic factors at work. It could be said that Natives are asserting themselves and attempting to establish their own rules for earning their livelihoods (as they had done for centuries), but there is little mention of their actions in this context.

There is no easy solution to this dilemma, as non-aboriginals worry about their livelihoods, Natives are determined to have access to and influence over the fishery, and the government departments involved seem reluctant to make a significant decision about either. Until the situation is somehow resolved, it is likely that the negative stereotypes will not fade and that the relations between the aboriginal and non-aboriginal communities will remain strained.

### **The business of news**

It has already been mentioned that the logistics of producing a news item contribute to stereotyping. The need for speed, brevity, and simplicity is effectively fulfilled thorough the system of categorizing and labelling that defines stereotyping. When doing an in-depth report on an issue, the journalist has more time to research the background, but in day-to-day reporting, the media present events, and in these situations pre-existing categories are a great help. Each journalist is an individual, and despite his journalistic training he still categorizes the world before him, as it is a natural and human process on the way to understanding. But as Entman (1992) suggests, journalists themselves may not harbour ill will towards Natives.

Each journalist is part of an organization that runs on norms and conventions, and in presenting reality, he must abide by them. Thus, if a news item concerns Native protest, it can be presented within the frameworks that already exist – Native as troublemaker within the frame of law and order; if violence erupts, the Native as a threat, within the frame of war.

Each journalist is also part of a greater collection of institutions and interests, all of which manoeuvre to meet their own goals. Mainstream newspapers are a business, and the nature of business is that it seeks to make a profit. Since it must therefore produce a product that the customer is willing to buy, it can not risk alienating its readers by promoting viewpoints that deviate too far from the accepted ideologies. Thus, if a reader believes that Natives are troublemakers and should abide by the same rules as everybody else, it is unlikely that Natives will be portrayed as defenders of their rights. When assembling a daily edition, the news staff works from the assumption that various readers share common values and common concerns, and so it provides information that will reflect them. Fleras (2001a) notes that the mainstream media do not consider themselves to be agents of social change, because at the end of the day, they would prefer to sell as much news product as possible. Miller and Prince (1994) also remind us that the press ranks diversity low on its list of priorities, fretting more over matters such as competition and circulation costs.

Are there any effective solutions? Where to start? Some suggest that Natives themselves could try to change the situation by setting up forums and websites on the Internet. However, this option faces several obstacles. There can be significant gaps in urban and rural Native groups; much of the news about Natives originates within the cities, and those in rural areas and reserves are often outside the “information loop”. It is also difficult for those in isolated communities to provide perspective for the outside world when some lack even basic telephone service.

Disappointed with the mainstream media’s coverage of their issues, some Native groups have taken matters into their own hands and founded their own publications. Ruadsepp’s

1985 study of these efforts found that many faced significant challenges: lack of journalistic training, limited circulation, lack of revenue, and a dependence on government funding to continue publishing. Demay's 1991 study of aboriginal publications reviews their status after the 1990 cancellation of the federal Native Communications Program, which had provided funds for fifteen aboriginal publications. Some had folded, but others adapted by raising their own funds through advertising and other fundraising efforts. More interestingly, some papers used the opportunity to put distance between themselves and their political leaders. Successful publications such as *Windspeaker* and *Sweetgrass* provide alternative perspectives and look at disputes from a refreshing First Nations viewpoint. Doyle-Bedwell (1998) found that during the Oka crisis, *Windspeaker* featured only three articles on the dispute. These pieces had no photographs of warriors; rather, they focused on the Mohawk relationship to the land in a historical context. The Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN) features a variety of programming, in English, French, and aboriginal languages, and recently won praise for its professional and insightful coverage of the AFN leadership contest. Natives have acquired sophisticated communications techniques and are becoming quite media savvy. Matthew Coon Come, the former leader of the AFN, knew full well the tricks and trigger words that would ensure his statements appeared in the news. The problem with aboriginal media is that it figuratively and literally has little reach outside the aboriginal community. Some of the issues covered in publications – discussions within the tribal council, for instance – have small audiences beyond Natives, and APTN, while available with cable service, is usually not in the lower channels of regular network viewing. The question then is how to promote more contact with the non-Native population.

One obvious answer is that larger numbers of minorities could be hired to work in journalism; some newspapers even offer internships to beginning aboriginal journalists. Newsrooms have slowly increased their Native staff, although there have been complaints of reverse stereotyping – Natives are expected to cover Native issues but not much else; if they are too sympathetic to these issues, they are accused of bias. Unfortunately, cutbacks within the industry and government funding bodies have forced a reduction in staffing levels, and

the more recent employees (often minorities) are the first to go. Nevertheless, closer interaction could teach journalists to look at situations with fresh eyes. Forbes (2002) suggests that the integration of Native perspectives would improve coverage of Native issues, and proposes a model of a Native medicine wheel as an alternative approach. A circle with four quadrants, each representing the physical, emotional, intellectual and spiritual aspects of life, would work in journalism, as the four quadrants represent beginning, exploration, experience, and finally, understanding. A new and different approach to Native issues and minority stories could encourage writers to be a bit more creative in their reporting strategies and maybe even inspire the construction of alternative frameworks for familiar stories.

### **Ethnic relations**

The third core issue is the sociological aspect, and arguably the most difficult to change. Human beings share many essential and basic features, among them hopes, fears, and the need for belonging. Members of a group choose to include some and exclude others, and one of the simplest dividing lines can be ethnicity. Once groups are divided, they begin to assess each other. The beginnings of what could be termed "traditional racism" come from the belief that an inferior group could be physiologically distinguished from a superior one. From an appraisal of physical character followed a judgement of mental character. This traditional racism has mostly faded, but the remnants are still identifiable in current times. Stereotypes, particularly negative ones, are an essential aspect of modern racism. The key to modern racism is that it works subtly, and exists in many of the institutions that make up society. It is present in wealthy states like Canada that espouse tolerance, but modern racism manifests itself subtly through quiet, everyday events and conversations. Various ideas about race are woven through these events, underlying much that transpires. While a society may profess the egalitarian ideals of democracy, the components of that society may still harbour racist beliefs. When we as a group compare ourselves to others, we tend to see ourselves as relatively problem-free and with few faults. We expect that these characteristics will be present in other groups, and that the fault for various problems lies with them. Such expectations come from an extremely simplified view of the division

between “Us” and “Them”, when in fact these divisions are far more nuanced, if they exist at all. The problem with the idea of race is that it often focuses on negative differences and emphasizes them, making them an ideal justification for judging others as inferior. Maybe the negative stereotypes that arise from this process stem from our own insecurities. We judge negatively based on characteristics such as appearance, education, finances; could it be that it is easier to see others as outsiders than to consider how they resemble us?

Van Dijk argues that cultural differences between groups are transformed into assumed cultural properties, that is, their lack of our traditions or norms means that their culture is less than ours. When two cultures meet, they view each other through stereotypes because they are a reflection of the natural way that humans store information in various categories in their heads. Stereotypes simplify life by allowing the processing of large amounts of information and providing guidance for behaviour in various encounters. But when the stereotypical patterns are consistently negative, they dehumanize minorities and rob them of their dignity; they are damaging to the self-perception and social status of these groups, as well as creating resentment between the minority and the majority.

While in theory, Canada is a multicultural and tolerant society, the fact is that Natives are not part of the “imagined community”. When news producers ask, “why is this news important to us?”, they must recognize that the “Us” includes not only the individualized members of their own group, but also those from other groups within the society that are unfamiliar. Minority news can be included in the mainstream, because many minority issues and concerns apply to us as well. The perspective must be balanced, though: we must not ask, “why is this a threat to us?”, but rather, “how can we all solve this problem?”

It is entirely possible to have a community that recognizes differences, even if these differences are in the colour of one’s skin. By the same token, there is nothing wrong with approaching an individual with some expectation of his characteristics and behaviour. The important thing to remember is that there are always some similarities between ourselves and the members of any other group – not the least of which is that we are all part of a community linked by something – a common dignity, humanity, or values. Values are tied

to what we think is important; they bind us as a group. If we perceive a group as not sharing these values, we subsequently perceive it as not part of the “imagined community”, and it is far easier to hold negative stereotypes of people who are unfamiliar or who we imagine do not belong with us.

### **Final thoughts**

Although almost fifteen years have passed since the Oka crisis, not a lot has changed in the mainstream reporting on Natives. In North America and abroad, the same stereotypes and frames exist. The construction and enforcement of stereotypes by the media is effective and resilient, and overcoming them – and improving the image of minorities – is no easy task. The change required is profound: balancing the negative images with more positive ones, or trying to broaden the scope and angle of Native stories. If Natives themselves do not have the power to change perceptions, they will always be considered outsiders. Through the media we could learn to look at each other differently, at least with a more open mind. Wilson and Gutiérrez argue that while the media have every right to pursue profit, they also have a social responsibility to properly inform the whole of society and to fairly include this whole in their news coverage. Indeed, if the media’s role is to inform us about what we do not know, they should take their role seriously. If stereotypes arise from ignorance, discomfort, competition, or even from the purposeful advancement of certain ideas, the media should work to provide alternative perspectives rather than keeping us trapped within them by resorting to the same tired stereotypes. Aboriginal people must be able to define themselves in order to break out of the stereotypes of the imaginary Indian. Multiracial coverage would allow them to tell their own stories to a wider audience and to truly reflect their own realities.

## References

- Alia, Valerie. *Un/Covering the North. News, Media, and Aboriginal People*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.
- Allport, Gordon W. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Don Mills: Addison Wesley, 1954.
- Banerjee, Subhabrata Bobby and Goldie Osuri. "Silences of the media: whiting out Aboriginality in making news and making history," *Media, Culture & Society*. Vol. 22, 2000.
- Baylor, Tim. "Media Framing of Movement Protest: The Case of American Indian Protest," *The Social Science Journal*. Vol. 33, No. 3, 1996.
- Berkhofer Jr., Robert. *The White Man's Indian*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.
- Bird, S. Elizabeth. "Gendered Construction of the American Indian in Popular Media," *Journal of Communication*. Vol. 49, No. 3, Summer 1999.
- Brisson, Réal. *La représentation d'Oka: une crise vue par la caricature*. PhD Thesis, Laval University, 1998.
- Brown, Rupert. *Prejudice. Its Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995.
- Center for Integration and Improvement of Journalism. *News Watch. A critical look at coverage of people of color*. San Francisco State University, 1994.
- Coates, Ken. *The Marshall Decision and Native Rights*. Kingston: McGill-Queens's University Press, 2000.
- Demay, Joel. "Clarifying Ambiguities: The Rapidly Changing Life of the Canadian Aboriginal Print Media," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*. Vol. 9, No. 1, 1991.
- Dixon, Travis L. and Daniel Linz. "Overrepresentation and Under-representation of African American and Latinos as Lawbreakers on Television News," *Journal of Communication*. Vol. 50, No. 2, Spring 2000.
- Doyle-Bedwell, George. *Whose Face anyway? Images of First Nations Protest and Resistance in Kahnawake and Kenesatake, Kanien'kehaka Territory 1990: A Study in the Social Construction of Voice and Image*. Master's Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1998.
- Ducharme, Michele. "The Coverage of Canadian Immigration Policy in the Globe and Mail. (1980-1985)," *Currents*. Vol. 3, No. 3, Spring 1986.

Entman, Robert M. "Representation and Reality in the Portrayal of Blacks on Network Television News," *Journalism Quarterly*. Vol. 71, No. 3, Autumn 1994.

-----"Blacks in the News: Television, Modern Racism and Cultural Change," *Journalism Quarterly*. Vol. 69, No. 2, Summer 1992.

Essed, Philomena. "Everyday Racism: A New approach to the Study of Racism," Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg, eds. *Race critical theories : text and context*. Malden, MA : Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Fair, Jo Ellen and Roberta J. Astroff. "Constructing Race and Violence: U.S. News Coverage and the Signifying Practices of Apartheid," *Journal of Communication*. Vol. 41, No. 4, Autumn 1991.

Fairclough, Norman. *Media Discourse*. New York: E. Arnold, 1995.

Fleras, Augie. (a) "Couched in compromise: Media-minority relations in a multicultural society," Craig Mckie and Benjamin D. Singer, eds. *Communications in Canadian Society*. (Fifth Edition). Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 2001.

----- (b) *Media and minorities : representing diversity in a multicultural Canada*. Toronto : Thompson Educational, 2001.

----- "Please Adjust your Set: Media and Minorities in a Multicultural Society," *Communications in Canadian Society*, Benjamin Singer, ed. Toronto: Nelson Canada, 1995.

----- "Media and Minorities in a Post-Multicultural society: Overview and Appraisal," J.W. Berry and J. A. Laponce. *Ethnicity and Culture in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

----- "Beyond the Mosaic: Minorities and the Media in an Multiracial/Multicultural Society," Benjamin Singer, ed. *Communications in Canadian Society*. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1991.

Forbes, David. *Medicine Wheels and the Media: Seeking journalistic balance from a Native perspective*. Master's thesis, Carleton University, 2002.

Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian. The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press. 1992.

Gaertner, Samuel L. and John F. Dovidio. "The Aversive Form of Racism," John F. Dovidio and Samuel L. Gaertner, eds. *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*. New York: Academic Press, 1986.

- Ganje, Lucy A. "Native American Stereotypes," Paul Martin Lester, ed. *Images that Injure. Pictorial stereotypes in the media..* Westport: Praeger, 1996.
- Gans, Herbert. *Deciding What's News. A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1979.
- Gitlin, Todd. *The Whole World is Watching. Mass Media in the making and the unmaking of the new left.* Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980.
- The Globe and Mail Stylebook.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1996.
- Goldfarb Consultants. *Projet de recherché sur les minorités visibles: Conclusions du Groupe témoin.* Recherche effectué pour l'Association canadienne des quotidiens. August 1995.
- Gorman Jr., David William. "Whales, Guns, and Money?" *How commercial and ideological considerations influenced the Seattle Times portrayal of the Makah whale hunt.* Master's thesis, University of Arizona, 2000.
- Gougeon, Lucie. *Les stereotypes ethniques et la politique générale de réglementation de la radiodiffusion canadienne.* Master's essay. Laval University, 1991.
- Greenberg, Joshua. "Opinion discourse and Canadian newspapers: the case of the Chinese "Boat People"," *Canadian Journal of Communication.* Vol. 25, No. 4, Autumn 2000.
- Grenier, Marc. "The Centrality of Conflict in Native-Peoples Coverage by the Montreal Gazette: War-zoning the Oka Incident," Marc Grenier, ed. *Critical Studies of Canadian Mass Media.* Toronto: Butterworths, 1992.
- Guthrie Valaskakis, Gail. "Rights and Warriors: First Nations, Media and Identity," Stephen E. Nancoo and Robert Sterling Nancoo, eds. *The Mass Media and Canadian Diversity.* Mississauga: Canadian Educators' Press, 1996.
- Hall, Stuart (1978). "The Whites of their Eyes. Racist Ideologies and the Media," Manuel Alvarado and John O. Thompson, eds. *The Media Reader.* London: BFI Publishing, 1990.
- Hatfield, Dolph. "The Stereotyping of Native Americans," *The Humanist.* Vol. 60, No. 5, September/October 2000.
- Heider, Don. *White News. Why local news programs don't cover people of color.* Manwah, NJ: Erlbaum Associates, 2000.

Henry, Frances. "The racialization of crime in Toronto's print media," *Currents*. Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2002.

----- and Carol Tator. *Discourses of Domination. Racial bias in the English-Language Press*. Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2002.

-----, Carol Tator, Winston Mattis, and Tim Rees. *The Colour of Democracy. Racism in Canadian Society*. Toronto : Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995.

Hier, Sean and Joshua Greenberg. "News Discourse and the Problematization of Chinese Migration to Canada," Henry, Frances and Carol Tator. *Discourses of Domination. Racial bias in the English-Language Press*. Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 2002.

Hinton, Perry. *Stereotypes, Cognition, and Culture*. Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2000.

Lambertus, Sandra. "Redressing the Rebel Indian Stereotype : Anthropology and Media Policy," *Practicing Anthropology*. Vol. 23, No. 2, Spring 2001.

Landsman, Gail. "Indian Activism and the Press : Coverage of the Conflict at Ganienkeh," *Anthropological Quarterly*. Vol. 60, No. 3, July 1987.

Layng, Anthony. "American Indians: Trading Old Stereotypes for New," *USA Today*. July 2000.

Lippman, Walter. *Public Opinion*. New York: The Free Press, 1922.

Lule, Jack. "The rape of Mike Tyson: Race, the press, and symbolic types," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*. Vol. 12, No 2, June 1995.

McConahay, John B. "Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale," John F. Dovidio and Samuel L. Gaertner, eds. *Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism*. New York: Academic Press, 1986.

Meadows, Michael. *Voices in the Wilderness. Images of Aboriginal People in the Australian Media*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2001.

Media Awareness Network. *Common Portrayals of Aboriginal People*. [http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/aboriginal\\_people/aboriginal\\_portrayals.cfm](http://www.media-awareness.ca/english/issues/stereotyping/aboriginal_people/aboriginal_portrayals.cfm).

Miller, John. "How Canada's Daily Newspapers shut out minorities," Stephen E. Nancoo and Robert Sterling Nancoo, *The Mass Media and Canadian Diversity*. Mississauga: Canadian Educator's Press, 1996.

- and Kimberly Prince. *The Imperfect Mirror. Analysis of Minority Pictures and News in Six Canadian Newspapers*. School of Journalism, Ryerson Polytechnic University, 1994. <http://www.media-awareness.ca/eng/issues/minrep/quick/miller.htm>
- Mouammar, Mary. "When cartoons are not funny," *Currents*. Vol. 3, No. 3, Spring 1986.
- Pakes, Fraser J. "Seeing with the stereotypic eye: the visual image of the Plains Indian," *Native Studies Review*. Vol. 1, No. 1, 1985.
- Raudsepp, Enn. "Emergent Media: The Native Press in Canada," Stephen E. Nancoo and Robert Sterling Nancoo, eds. *The Mass Media and Canadian Diversity*. Mississauga: Canadian Educators' Press, 1996.
- Rojecki, Andrew. *Silencing the Opposition. Antinuclear Movements and the Media in the Cold War*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.
- Romer, Daniel, Kathleen H. Jamieson and Nicole J. de Couateau. "The Treatment of Persons of Color in Local Television News," *Communications Research*. Vol. 25, No 3, June 1998.
- Roth, Lorna, Beverley Nelson, and Marie David Kasennahaw. "Three Women, a Mouse, a Microphone and a Telephone: Information (Mis)Management during the Mohawk/Canadian Governments' Conflict of 1990," Angharad Valdivia, ed. *Feminism, Multiculturalism, and the Media: Global Perspectives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995.
- Skea, Warren. "The Canadian Newspaper Industry's Portrayal of the Oka Crisis," *Native Studies Review*. Vol. 9, No. 1, 1993-1994.
- Singer, Benjamin D. "Minorities and the media: a content analysis of native Canadians in the daily press," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. Vol. 19, No. 3, 1983.
- Smith, Eliot R. "Social Identity and Social Emotions: Towards Conceptualizations of Prejudice," Diane M. Mackie and David L. Hamilton, eds. *Affect, Cognition, and Stereotyping*. New York: Academic Press, 1993.
- Social Planning Council of Winnipeg. *Media Watch: A study of how visible minorities and aboriginal peoples are portrayed in Winnipeg's two major local newspapers and the effects of these portrayals*. A project of the Committee for the Elimination of Racism and Discrimination. March 1996.
- Tator, Carol. Media reinforcing racism in Canadian society. *Currents*. Vol. 10, No. 1, March 2002.

- Taylor, Donald M. and Richard N. Lalonde. "Ethnic stereotypes: a psychological analysis," Leo Driedger, ed. *Ethnic Canada. Identities and Inequalities*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1987.
- Ungerleider, Charles S. "Media, Minorities, and Misconceptions: The Portrayal by and Representation of Minorities in Canadian News Media," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. Vol. 23, No. 3, 1991.
- van Dijk, Teun A. "New(s) Racism: A Discourse Analytical Approach," Simon Cottle, *Ethnic minorities and the media : changing cultural boundaries*. Buckingham : Open University Press, 2000.
- , "Opinions and Ideologies in the Press". Allan Bell and Peter Garrett, eds. *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Maiden, Massachusetts, 1998.
- , *Elite Discourse and Racism*. London: Sage Publications, 1993.
- , *Racism and the Press*. New York : Routledge, 1991.
- , "How "They" Hit the Headlines: Ethnic Minorities in the Press," Geneva Smitherman-Donaldson and Teun A. van Dijk, eds. *Discourse and Discrimination*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988.
- Vargas, Lucilla. "Genderizing Latino News: An analysis of a local newspaper's coverage of Latino current affairs," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*. Vol. 17, No 3, September 2000.
- Wall, Melanie. "Stereotypical Constructions of the Maori 'Race' in the Media," *New Zealand Geographer*. Vol. 53, No. 2, 1997.
- Weston, Mary Ann. *Native Americans in the News. Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996.
- Wilson II, Clint C, and Félix Gutiérrez. *Race, multiculturalism, and the media : from mass to class communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995.
- Winter, James. *Common Cents. Media Portrayal of the Gulf War and Other Events*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1992.

# Appendix A Editorial Cartoons

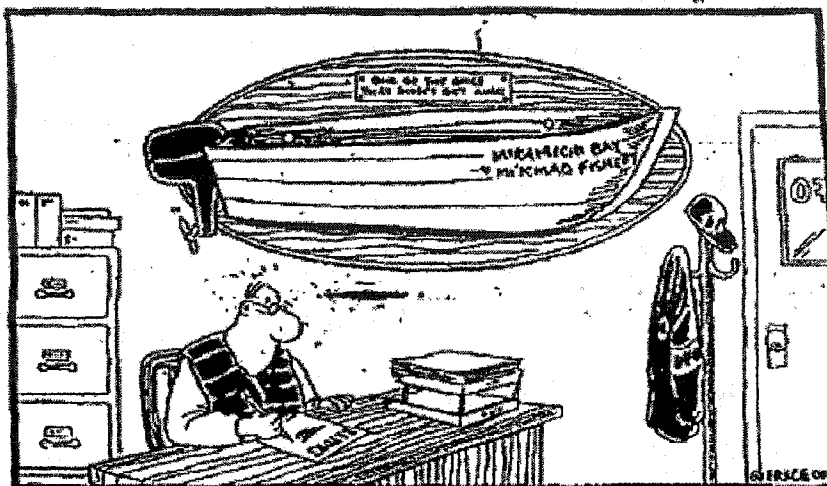


*Montreal Gazette*, August 15, 2000. p. B2.

*Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 16, 2000. p. A10.

*Montreal Gazette*, August 19, 2000. p. B6.



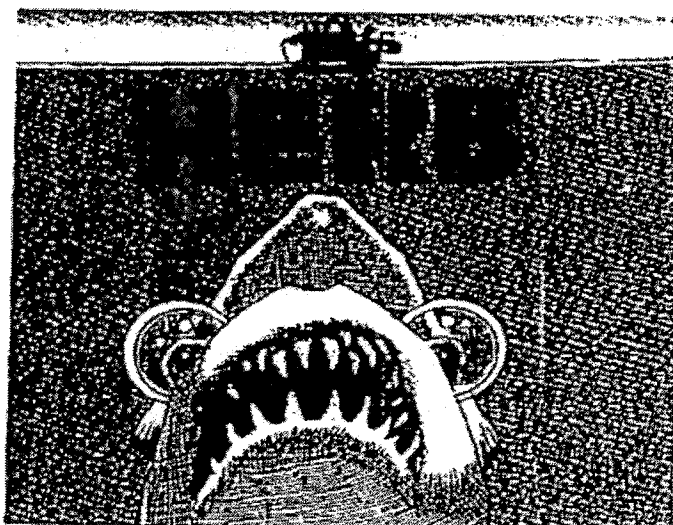


MEANWHILE, BACK AT THE DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES AND OCEANS...

*Saskatoon Star Phoenix,*  
September 1, 2000.  
p. A10.

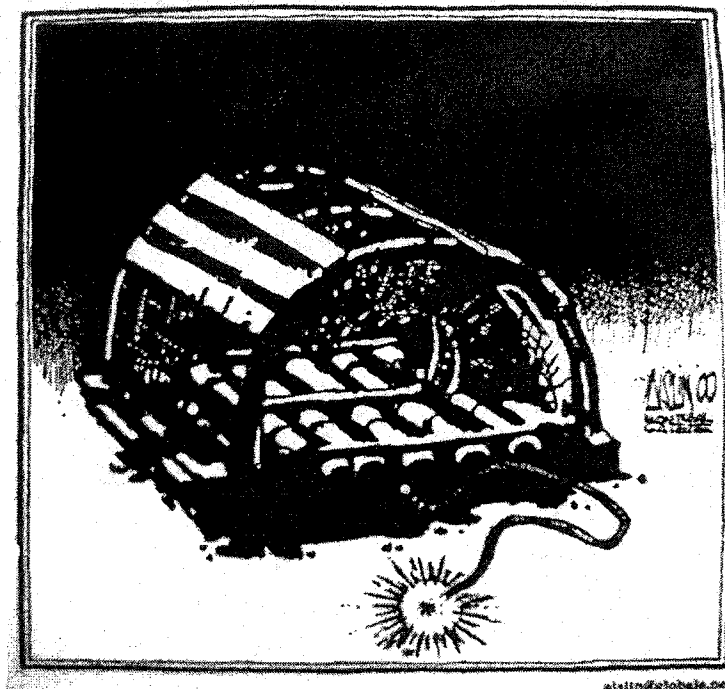
*Montreal Gazette,* September 1,  
2000. p. B2.

*Saskatoon Star Phoenix,*  
September 2, 2000. p. A12.



*Montreal Gazette,* September 4, 2000.  
p. B2.

*Montreal Gazette,*  
September 19, 2000. p.B2.



*Saskatoon Star Phoenix,*  
September 23, 2000,  
p. A12.

*Montreal Gazette,*  
September 24, 2000,  
p. A14.

## Appendix B

### Newspaper articles used

#### *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*

"Natives block highway in fishing protest: Anger flares in war over fishing rights in N.B. waters," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 14, 2000, p.A5.

"Gov't loses bid to ban Native lobster catch," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 15, 2000, p. D8.

"Dhaliwal talks tough as Burnt Church band continues fishing fight," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 16, 2000, p. A8.

"Uneasy calm falls on Native fishery: Peace talks begin in New Brunswick's Native fishing crisis," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 17, 2000, p. B7.

"Native fishing dispute highlights federal folly," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 18, 2000, p. A15.

"Call off your troops, Coon Come tells Dhaliwal: AFN leader accuses fisheries minister of trying to turn public opinion against aboriginal fishers," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 18, 2000, p. A10.

"Lobster dispute shifts to N.S.," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 19, 2000, p. C14.

"Lobster war could play into Alliance's hands," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 21, 2000, p. A4.

"Lobster fight turns violent as officers face hurled rocks," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 23, 2000, p. D7.

"Natives not island unto selves," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 24, 2000, p. A10.

"Native fishers brace for more confrontation: Fisheries officer hurt in clash on Miramichi Bay," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 24, 2000, p.D6.

"Nault snub infuriates Native fishermen," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 29, 2000, p. B7.

"Native lobster boats sink in melee with federal officers," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 30, 2000, p. A12.

"Natives want charges against fisheries officers," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, August 31, 2000, p. B7.

"Ont. Natives block bridge over N.B. fishing fracas," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 1, 2000, p. A8.

"Confrontation wrong tactic," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 2, 2000, p. A12.

"Commercial fishermen asks Natives to stop," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 6, 2000, p. A8.

"Ottawa urged to shut down Native fishery," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 7, 2000, p. D5.

"Native lobster rights not unlimited: Crown," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 8, 2000, p. B7.

"Restore law at Burnt Church," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 11, 2000, p. A8.

"Ontario's ex-premier to mediate in lobster fight," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 12, 2000, p. A7.

"Fisheries dispute cannot be seasonal event: Rae," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 13, 2000, p. A9.

"Natives occupy dep't office," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 14, 2000, p. B7.

"Rae calls for joint trap count," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 16, 2000, p. B7.

"Rae issues ultimatum: Mediator wants to see compromise in lobster dispute," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 18, 2000, p. A9.

"Reserve braces for violence as talks stall," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 21, 2000, p. B7.

"Ottawa sets deadline in Native fishing dispute: Fishermen face enforcement if they don't pull traps today," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 22, 2000, p. A13.

"Police investigate gunfire in Native lobster dispute," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 23, 2000, p. A12.

"Gov't vessels head to Miramichi Bay: Mi'kmaq warriors armed for battle at pier as lobster fight persists," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 25, 2000, p. A9.

"Officers seize traps in daylight raids: Natives try to chase federal boats from area," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 26, 2000, p. C1.

"Ottawa launches another raid on Native fishermen," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 27, 2000, p. B4.

"Rae to resume talks in lobster dispute," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, September 30, 2000, p. C10.

"Treaty Day focuses on bitterness," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, October 2, 2000, p. A7.

"Coon Come warns of potential violence," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, October 3, 2000, p. B6.

"FSIN shows support for East Coast Native," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, October 4, 2000, p. A5.

"Natives in Burnt Church agree to pull lobster traps," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, October 7, 2000, p. A15.

"Native fishery dispute cost RCMP \$2 million," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, October 28, 2000, p. A12.

### ***Montreal Gazette***

"Lobster pot on boil again," *Montreal Gazette*, July 27, 2000, Final Edition, p. A11.

"More Micmac fishing boats seized," *Montreal Gazette*, August 6, 2000, Final Edition, p. A6.

"N.S. Micmac are defiant after lobster boats seized," *Montreal Gazette*, August 7, 2000, Final Edition, p. A7.

"N.B. reserve votes to run own fishery," *Montreal Gazette*, August 10, 2000, Final Edition, p. A11.

"Showdown looms as Micmacs prepare for lobster fishing," *Montreal Gazette*, August 11, 2000, Final Edition, p. A7.

"Micmacs launch lobster chase: Cat-and-mouse game as Indians pursue federal patrol boat," *Montreal Gazette*, August 12, 2000, Final Edition, p. A15.

"Lobster traps seized; Feds crack down on Micmac fishermen," *Montreal Gazette*, August 13, 2000, Early Edition, p. D5.

"Fish fight erupts into blockade: Federal officers accused of drawing guns in late-night clash with N.B. Indians," *Montreal Gazette*, August 14, 2000, Final Edition, p. A9.

"Court rejects bid to ban Indians from lobster beds," *Montreal Gazette*, August 15, 2000, Final Edition, p. A13.

"Minister, Indians exchange charges," *Montreal Gazette*, August 16, 2000, Final Edition, p. A8.

"Uneasy calm settles on lobster beds off N.B. reserve," *Montreal Gazette*, August 17, 2000, Final Edition, p. A16.

"'Call off troops:' Coon Come: The chief of the Assembly of First Nations accuses Fisheries Minister Herb Dhaliwal of trying to turn public opinion against Indians and exclude them from the east-coast fishery," *Montreal Gazette*, August 18, 2000, Final Edition, p. A8.

"Aboriginal fishermen arrested in Nova Scotia," *Montreal Gazette*, August 19, 2000, Final Edition, p. A17.

"Putin pounded for sub delay: A roundup of the events, big and small, that made news this week," *Montreal Gazette*, August 19, 2000, Final Edition, p. B2.

"Oka history may repeat: Calm has gone, and Indian leaders say a new confrontation could be much worse," *Montreal Gazette*, August 19, 2000, Final Edition, p. B1.

"Fishing peace declared in N.B.: N.S. waters choppy as traps are seized," *Montreal Gazette*, August 20, 2000, Final Edition, p. A5.

"Attacks might blunt rulings: Judge," *Montreal Gazette*, August 22, 2000, Final Edition, p. A13.

"Fisheries officer hit by rock while pulling Indian lobster traps," *Montreal Gazette*, August 23, 2000, Final Edition, p. A14.

"Feds' good-will gesture fuels fires of defiance in N.B.'s Indian fishery: Minister balks at meeting after press invited," *Montreal Gazette*, August 29, 2000, Final Edition, p. A12.

"Two Indian boats sunk as fisheries flap heats up," *Montreal Gazette*, August 30, 2000, Final Edition, p. A6.

"N.B. Indians want fisheries officers to face charges of attempted murder," *Montreal Gazette*, August 31, 2000, Final Edition, p. A9.

"No talks till: Indians halt fishing: feds," *Montreal Gazette*, September 1, 2000, Final Edition, p. A7.

"Indians right to be angry in lobster wars," *Montreal Gazette*, September 1, 2000, Final Edition, p. B3.

"Dhaliwal must go: Micmac band," *Montreal Gazette*, September 2, 2000, Early Edition, p. A11.

"Assuming the positions: Every summer, we seem to replay aboriginal-government confrontations but neither side learns from history," *Montreal Gazette*, September 2, 2000, Final Edition, p. B7.

"Micmacs invited to resume talks," *Montreal Gazette*, September 2, 2000, Final Edition, p. A11.

"Tensions rise over lobster traps," *Montreal Gazette*, September 4, 2000, Final Edition, p. A7.

"PR war won over lobster: Images of clashing fishermen used by Indians to get feds to back down," *Montreal Gazette*, September 6, 2000, Early Edition, p. A12.

"Media blamed in lobster war; News images of clashing fishermen have inflamed tensions, group says," *Montreal Gazette*, September 6, 2000, Final Edition, p. A12.

"It's time for RCMP to uphold law in Burnt Church," *Montreal Gazette*, September 7, 2000, Final Edition, p. B3.

"Ottawa, Micmacs tangle in court: Crown challenges aboriginals' interpretation of Marshall ruling," *Montreal Gazette*, September 8, 2000, Final Edition, p. D16.

"Ottawa is right to limit lobster fishery," *Montreal Gazette*, September 8, 2000, Final Edition, p. B2.

"Micmacs want Rae to settle dispute," *Montreal Gazette*, September 9, 2000, Early Edition, p. A19.

"Ex-premier weighs role as fisheries mediator," *Montreal Gazette*, September 11, 2000, Final Edition, p. A10.

"Rae accepts mediator role in N.B. fish dispute," *Montreal Gazette*, September 12, 2000, Final Edition, p. A9.

"Arrests, seizures muddy lobster mediator's task: Reserve chief among those netted by fisheries officers," *Montreal Gazette*, September 13, 2000, Final Edition, p. A9.

"'Forgotten' treaty being brought to fore," *Montreal Gazette*, September 13, 2000, Final Edition, p. A6.

"Micmacs hold sit-in, demand traps back," *Montreal Gazette*, September 14, 2000, Final Edition, p. A11.

- "Journalists back shot reporter: A roundup of the events, big and small, that made news this week," *Montreal Gazette*, September 16, 2000, Final Edition, p. B2.
- "Rae sets fisheries deadline," *Montreal Gazette*, September 18, 2000, Final Edition, p. A10.
- "Hopes rise in fishery feud: Mediator brokers tentative deal in dispute between Indians, Ottawa," *Montreal Gazette*, September 20, 2000, Final Edition, p. A11.
- "N.B. braces for violence as lobster talks fail," *Montreal Gazette*, September 21, 2000, Final Edition, p. A12.
- "Ottawa sets deadline: Closes Miramichi fishery, orders traps lifted today," *Montreal Gazette*, September 22, 2000, Final Edition, p. A10.
- "Court allows seizure of traps: N.S. band pledges to continue fishing," *Montreal Gazette*, September 22, 2000, Final Edition, p. A10.
- "Conflict is fueling anger: Coon Come: Government's ready to play rough when Indians demand rights, he says," *Montreal Gazette*, September 22, 2000, Final Edition, p. A10.
- "Trapped in their rhetoric," *Montreal Gazette*, September 22, 2000, Final Edition, p. B2.
- "Fishermen say boat was hit by gunshot: Some traps lifted, tensions still high at Burnt Church," *Montreal Gazette*, September 23, 2000, Final Edition, p. A7.
- "Mohawks stage sit-in at bridge: Solidarity rally near Mercier span," *Montreal Gazette*, September 23, 2000, Final Edition, p. A7.
- "Tensions high," *Montreal Gazette*, September 23, 2000, Final Edition, p. A1 / FRONT
- "Lobster standoff quiet as trap raids intensify: Indian fishermen dispirited; more shots fired on the bay," *Montreal Gazette*, September 24, 2000, Final Edition, p. A5.
- "More Indian lobster traps seized in N.B.'s Miramichi Bay," *Montreal Gazette*, September 25, 2000, Final Edition, p. A12.
- "More shots reported at N.B. reserve," *Montreal Gazette*, September 26, 2000, Final Edition, p. A9.
- "Burnt Church tensions mount," *Montreal Gazette*, September 26, 2000, Final Edition, p. B4.
- "Uneasy Treaty Day: Indians profess gloom over honouring of pacts," *Montreal Gazette*, October 2, 2000, Final Edition, p. A13.

"Let them visit Burnt Church," *Montreal Gazette*, October 4, 2000, Final Edition, p. B2.

"Micmacs claim victory, will pull remaining traps," *Montreal Gazette*, October 7, 2000, Final Edition, p. A14.

"Salmon erupts as N.B. Indian issue," *Montreal Gazette*, October 9, 2000, Final Edition, p. A12.

"RCMP spent \$2 million to oversee Burnt Church fishing dispute," *Montreal Gazette*, October 28, 2000, Final Edition, p. A17.

## Appendix C Codebook

### Values

**law** – measures meant to ensure safety and order in a society (by ordering or prohibiting certain actions) - rules, regulations, actions of legislative and legislative branches. Includes also the idea of respect for the law (*law and order*) and enforcement actions to ensure compliance.

**peace** – the absence of violence or tension and measures aiming to prevent violence and ease tensions, measures of resolution. Also refers to freedom from civil disorder. It can, however, involve violent or rigid means used to achieve it.

**truth** – statements taken to be valid; conformity to fact or reality; accuracy of representation

**security** – the condition of not being exposed to threat or danger (safety); ease of daily life, often represented by rule of law and the absence of tensions, (often with the presence of police); a social environment that provides protection or safety

### Counter-values

**illegality** – breaking the law, acting against rules or regulations, (defiance), interrupting or being against the status quo. Going beyond the bounds of what is required or normal.

**violence** – physical violence or threat thereof; adjectives of tension, anger and confusion whose result is often violent; verbal abuse – insult, jeers

**lies** – statements contrary to the truth or accusations of untruthful statements; an intentionally false statement

**insecurity** – social condition focused on issues of fear rather than direct threats; uneasiness and the possibility of violent or dangerous outcomes

An actor is involved in the situation and is not simply mentioned. He must match up with a value or counter-value.

**Actor** – In a situation, the actor is not acting against positive values.

**Counter-actor** – in the same situation, the counter-actor is acting with negative values.

1. identify the individuals/groups featured in the article
2. start with the first actor identified : what is the image presented?  
Which values is he associated with? (negative or positive)  
If he is associated with a positive value, he is an actor.  
If he is associated with a negative one, he is a counter-actor.  
Check off his role and the corresponding values.
3. who is the opponent of this actor? What image is presented of him?  
Which values is he associated with? (they do not necessarily have to be negative if the other actor is positive)  
Check off his role and the corresponding values.
4. Proceed through the rest of the article in the same fashion

The portrayal can change through the article – someone can be the actor and the counter actor

**ACTORS / COUNTER ACTORS** - have an active role in the events and can be matched to a value or counter-value

**civilian Native**

advisor	Assembly of First Nations
band councillor	Chief
fishing leader	fishermen
Micmac warrior society	leader
protester	other Indian bands
war chief	rangers (reserve police)
warrior leader	war chief
Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations	

**civilian non-Native**

white fishermen  
 bishops  
 Concordia Student Union  
 environmental groups  
 Maritime Fishers Union (spokesperson, executive secretary)  
 United Church of Canada  
 lawyers  
 Sikh community  
 university professors

**Mediators**

provincial judge (Mary Ellen Turpel)  
 former provincial premier – Bob Rae  
 Christian peacemakers  
 federal fisheries negotiator  
 facilitator (anyone who facilitates discussion)  
 anyone attempting to encourage peaceful resolution

**State**

**Administration (public service)**

bureaucrats  
 DFO regional director  
 DFO spokesman  
 Department of Justice  
 provincial ministries  
 Department of Fisheries and Oceans  
 (federal fisheries department)

**Government**

**(representatives)**

local MPs	Ottawa
"federal officials"	"feds"
parliament	government lawyer
ministers – Herb Dhaliwal, Robert Nault	
Prime Minister Jean Chrétien	
parties – Canadian Alliance, Conservative Party, Liberal Party	
politicians – Joe Clark	
Provincial ministers	

**Police (RCMP/ DFO)**

-DFO identified as police when fulfilling a policing (enforcement) function; otherwise they are coded as administration

officers	
inspectors	DFO enforcement crews
Sergeant	(fisheries) patrol boat
law enforcers	agents
Coast Guard	

**Judiciary**      judge / justice  
                      Supreme Court  
                      lawyer / prosecutor (in general)  
                      court system

**Other** media  
          passers-by

**VALUES****law**

agreement	(attempted to) ban
authority	Charter
civil suit	claiming a treaty right
"court rejects bid"	crack down
enforcement	"enforcement action against unauthorized fishing"
enforcement issue	face enforcement
federal deal	(federal) license
federal mandate	federal regulation
federal rules	federal seasonal quotas
government regulations	government flexed its muscles
impose regulations	"illegal lobster traps will be seized"
injunction	jail
judicial review	
jurisdiction	Marshall decision
negotiated settlement	obligation
overstepping jurisdiction	Ottawa launches another raid"
peaceful protest	quotas
regulate fishing	regulation
"respecting the law"	rule of law
seizure	sovereignty
Supreme Court	"taking the law into their own hands"
total compliance	testing the boundaries of the law
ultimatum	unconstitutionl decisions
uphold the law	
"subject to certain reasonable restrictions by government"	

**peace**

agreement	"call off the troops"
calm	ceasefire

compromise	discussions
exercise restraint	good-will gesture
hopeful sign	initiate talks
keep their cool	mediated talks
mediation	negotiate agreement
negotiated settlement	negotiating table
negotiation	peace talks
peaceful resolution	peaceful solution
rebuilding	seek a deal
seek resolution	settle dispute
settlement	talk of peaceful solution
tensions easing	tentative truce
"we don't want to see this escalate into any violence"	

**truth**

"battle for public opinion"	agreeing on the facts
public relations war	disagreements over the facts
serious "source of contention"	media
press conference	PR wars

**security**

armed officers	enforcement
law enforcers	perimeter around their self-declared security zone
boat/aircraft patrols	rule of law (when tied to safety issues)
"patrol their waters"	"police the situation"
safety	

**COUNTER VALUES****illegality**

arrests	breaking federal rules
breaching treaty rights	charges pending
charges laid/ laying charges	defiance
civil disobedience	defied federal government
defiant fishermen	fisheries violations
fires of defiance and mistrust	illegal fishing
illegal activity	in defiance of Ottawa's regulations
illegal lobster traps	obstruction
obstructing officers	openly defy Canadian government
outlawed	raid
overstepping jurisdiction	rebellion (defiance)
rebellion	renegade reserve
refusal to fish by federal rules	rejection of federal management
rejection of federal management	sit-in
routinely break the law	trying to stop the enforcement
trying to stop the enforcement	unauthorized (fishing/activity/traps)
unauthorized (fishing/activity/traps)	(unchallenged) seizures
(unchallenged) seizures	unconstitutional
violation of federal fishing regulations	

**violence**

anarchy	anger flares
angry clash	angry curses
angry gaze	angry meeting
armed	armed warriors
attempted murder	battle / fight
bitter standoff	bitter, potentially explosive standoff
blockade	boats stormed onto the bay
bracing for violence	clash
combat fatigues	confrontation
danger	destruction of property
destruction of traps	DFO boat rammers
duel	explosive tensions
firearms	flashpoint
flotilla	"frustration and anger is at a boiling point"
growing anger more	difficult to control
guns	hostilities
inflaming tensions	injured/killed
jeer	lobster war
never surrender	Oka
pepper spray	"paced angrily near a bonfire"
ramming incident	police confiscated a gun
retaliatory actions	shooting
showdown	skirmish
tense situation	"stormed out onto the bay"
tensions	"troubled reserve"
tug of war	ugly confrontation
unreasonable force on the part of the government	
use of force	vandalism
violence flared	violent conflicts
violent showdown	volatile situation
warriors	yelling

**lies**

"a claim the Natives challenge"	
false statements by DFO	disputes over level of Micmac fishing
fisheries department is lying	less than forthright
manipulation and rhetoric	miscommunication
not telling the truth	"someone isn't telling the truth"

**insecurity**

afraid to walk alone	anger difficult to control
anxious	confused
confusion	fear
frightened	growing concern
helmet and protective vests	"I'm expecting another confrontation"
live in fear	"jeopardize good faith discussions"
living under siege	"mood was tense all day"
safety issues	screaming (from fear)
tensions were high	taking matters into their own hands
tide of disaffection	"there could be confrontations"
turmoil	"they know this is going towards"

uncertainty                      confrontation"  
uneasy calm                      uneasy vigil  
worried about escalation in the violence

	Present 2	Absent 0	Ambiguous 1
<b>1 Actors</b>			
1 civilian native			
2 civilian non-native			
3 mediators			
state			
4 administration			
5 government			
6 police			
7 judiciary			
8 other			
<b>2 Counter-Actors</b>			
11 civilian native			
12 civilian non-native			
13 mediators			
state			
14 administration			
15 government			
16 police			
17 judiciary			
18 other			
<b>3 Values</b>			
21 law			
22 peace			
23 truth			
24 security			
<b>4 Counter-Values</b>			
31 illegality			
32 violence			
33 lies			
34 insecurity			

## Appendix D

### SPSS Crosstabs and Symmetric Measures

**Table A.i.1 Civilian Native according to presence of value "law" (% within law )**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian native	absent	78.6%	40.0%	37.8%	42.7%
	ambiguous	7.1%	40.0%		2.6%
	present	14.3%	20.0%	62.2%	54.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal Kendall's tau-b		.297	.078	3.325	.001
Gamma		.626	.137	3.325	.001
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.i.2 Civilian non-native according to presence of value "law" (% within law )**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian non-native	absent	100.0%	100.0%	76.5%	80.3%
	present			23.5%	19.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal Kendall's tau-c		.128	.032	4.019	.000
Gamma		1.000	.000	4.019	.000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.i.3 Mediator according to presence of value "law" (% within law )**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
mediator	absent	71,4%	100,0%	78,6%	78,6%
	present	28,6%		21,4%	21,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal Kendall's tau-c		-,004	,057	-,066	,947
Gamma		-,020	,303	-,066	,947
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.i.4 Administration according to presence of value "law" (% within law )

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
administration	absent	92.9%	100.0%	65.3%	70.1%
	ambiguous	7.1%			.9%
	present			34.7%	29.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	.244	.048	3.834
		Gamma	.807	.173	3.834
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.i.5 Government according to presence of value "law" (% within law )

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
government	absent	71.4%	80.0%	34.7%	41.0%
	ambiguous	7.1%	20.0%	1.0%	2.6%
	present	21.4%		64.3%	56.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	.323	.078	3.539
		Gamma	.686	.132	3.539
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.i.6 Police according to presence of value "law" (% within law )

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
police	absent	85.7%		44.9%	47.9%
	ambiguous	7.1%	60.0%		3.4%
	present	7.1%	40.0%	55.1%	48.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	.232	.076	2.739
		Gamma	.497	.153	2.739
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.i.7 Judiciary according to presence of value "law" (% within law )**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
judiciary	absent	100,0%	100,0%	36,7%	47,0%
	present			63,3%	53,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,344	,064	5,378	,000
	Gamma	1,000	,000	5,378	,000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.i.8 Other according to presence of value "law" (% within law )**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
other	absent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because other is a constant.

**Table A.ii.1 Civilian native according to presence of value "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
civilian native	absent	61,7%	22,8%	42,7%
	ambiguous	3,3%	1,8%	2,6%
	present	35,0%	75,4%	54,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,407	,085	4,820	,000
	Gamma	,685	,105	4,820	,000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.ii.2 Civilian non-native according to presence of value "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
civilian non-native	absent	85.0%	75.4%	80.3%
	present	15.0%	24.6%	19.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.120	.091	1.304	.192
	Gamma	.297	.216	1.304	.192
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.ii.3 Mediator according to presence of value "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
mediator	absent	100.0%	56.1%	78.6%
	present		43.9%	21.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.535	.054	6.670	.000
	Gamma	1.000	.000	6.670	.000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.ii.4 Administration according to presence of value "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
administration	absent	78,3%	61,4%	70,1%
	ambiguous		1,8%	,9%
	present	21,7%	36,8%	29,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,165	,084	1,975	,048
	Gamma	,377	,176	1,975	,048
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.ii.5 Government according to presence of value "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
government	absent	58,3%	22,8%	41,0%
	ambiguous	1,7%	3,5%	2,6%
	present	40,0%	73,7%	56,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,353	,086	4,103	,000
	Gamma	,618	,119	4,103	,000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.ii.6 Police according to presence of value "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
police	absent	40,0%	56,1%	47,9%
	ambiguous	3,3%	3,5%	3,4%
	present	56,7%	40,4%	48,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,168	,093	-1,811	,070
	Gamma	-,308	,162	-1,811	,070
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.ii.7 judiciary according to presence of value "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
judiciary	absent	46,7%	47,4%	47,0%
	present	53,3%	52,6%	53,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,007	,092	-,076	,939
	Gamma	-,014	,185	-,076	,939
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.ii.8 Other according to presence of value "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
other	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	present	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because other is a constant.

**Table A.iii.1 Civilian native according to presence of value "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
civilian native	absent	41,1%	80,0%	42,7%
	ambiguous	2,7%		2,6%
	present	56,3%	20,0%	54,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,063	,041	-1,547	,122
	Gamma	-,687	,299	-1,547	,122
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.iii.2 Civilian non-native according to presence of value "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
civilian non-native	absent	81.3%	60.0%	80.3%
	present	18.8%	40.0%	19.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.108	.115	.888	.374
	Gamma	.486	.361	.888	.374
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.iii.3 Mediator according to presence of value "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
mediator	absent	79.5%	60.0%	78.6%
	present	20.5%	40.0%	21.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.096	.111	.822	.411
	Gamma	.441	.379	.822	.411
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.iii.4 Administration according to presence of value "truth" (% within truth)

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
administration	absent	71,4%	40,0%	70,1%
	ambiguous	,9%		,9%
	present	27,7%	60,0%	29,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,052	,043	1,221	,222
	Gamma	,583	,309	1,221	,222
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.iii.5 Government according to presence of value "truth" (% within truth)

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
government	absent	38,4%	100,0%	41,0%
	ambiguous	2,7%		2,6%
	present	58,9%		56,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,101	,043	-2,355	,019
	Gamma	-1,000	,000	-2,355	,019
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.iii.6 Police according to presence of value "truth" (% within truth)

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
police	absent	48,2%	40,0%	47,9%
	ambiguous	3,6%		3,4%
	present	48,2%	60,0%	48,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,041	,091	,440	,660
	Kendall's tau-c	,017	,039	,440	,660
	Gamma	,200	,447	,440	,660
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.iii.7 judiciary according to presence of value "truth" (% within truth)

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
judiciary	absent	44,6%	100,0%	47,0%
	present	55,4%		53,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,224	,051	-2,344	,019
	Gamma	-1,000	,000	-2,344	,019
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.iii.8 Other according to presence of value "truth" (% within truth)

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
other	absent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because other is a constant.

Table A.iv.1 Civilian native according to presence of value "security" (% within security)

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian native	absent	40.6%		70.0%	42.7%
	ambiguous	1.9%	100.0%		2.6%
	present	57.5%		30.0%	54.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,161	,086	-1.718	,086
	Gamma	-,475	,231	-1.718	,086
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.iv.2 Civilian non-native according to presence of value "security" (% within security)

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian non-native	absent	81,1%	100,0%	70,0%	80,3%
	present	18,9%		30,0%	19,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,030	,048	,609	,542
	Gamma	,240	,339	,609	,542
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.iv.3 Mediator according to presence of value "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
mediator	absent	79,2%	100,0%	70,0%	78,6%
	present	20,8%		30,0%	21,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,023	,048	,477	,633
	Gamma	,183	,346	,477	,633
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.iv.4 Administration according to presence of value "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
administration	absent	72.6%	100.0%	40.0%	70.1%
	ambiguous	.9%			.9%
	present	26.4%		60.0%	29.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.178	.102	1.623	.105
	Gamma	.532	.229	1.623	.105
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.iv.5 Government according to presence of value "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
government	absent	38.7%	100.0%	60.0%	41.0%
	ambiguous	2.8%			2.6%
	present	58.5%		40.0%	56.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-.135	.091	-1.405	.160
	Gamma	-.433	.264	-1.405	.160
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.iv.6 Police according to presence of value "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
police	absent	51.9%		10.0%	47.9%
	ambiguous	2.8%	100.0%		3.4%
	present	45.3%		90.0%	48.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.235	.069	2.714	.007
	Gamma	.708	.183	2.714	.007
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.iv.7 judiciary according to presence of value "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
judiciary	absent	45,3%	100,0%	60,0%	47,0%
	present	54,7%		40,0%	53,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-.061	.055	-1,126	,260
	Gamma	-.349	,286	-1,126	,260
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.iv.8 other according to presence of value "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
other	absent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because other is a constant.

**Table A.v.1 counter civilian-native according to presence of value of "law" (% within law)**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter civ-nat	absent	28,6%		12,2%	13,7%
	ambiguous		60,0%		2,6%
	present	71,4%	40,0%	87,8%	83,8%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	,214	,109	1,834
		Gamma	,495	,176	1,834
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.v.2 counter non-native according to presence of value of "law" (% within law)**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter non-nat	absent	100,0%	100,0%	75,5%	79,5%
	present			24,5%	20,5%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-c	,133	,033	4,079
		Gamma	1,000	,000	4,079
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.v.3 counter mediator according to presence of value of "law" (% within law)**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter mediator	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value			
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	.(a)		
N of Valid Cases		117			

a No statistics are computed because counter mediator is a constant.

**Table A.v.4 counter administration according to presence of value of "law" (% within law)**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter admin	absent	85,7%	100,0%	87,8%	88,0%
	ambiguous			2,0%	1,7%
	present	14,3%		10,2%	10,3%

Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,011	,090	,118	,906
	Gamma	,046	,400	,118	,906
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.v.5 counter government according to presence of value of "law" (% within law)**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter gov.	absent	92,9%	80,0%	79,6%	81,2%
	ambiguous		20,0%	2,0%	2,6%
	present	7,1%		18,4%	16,2%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,102	,070	1,406	,160
	Gamma	,390	,312	1,406	,160
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.v.6 counter police according to presence of value of "law" (% within law)**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter police	absent	57,1%	40,0%	53,1%	53,0%
	ambiguous		60,0%	2,0%	4,3%
	present	42,9%		44,9%	42,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,040	,088	,453	,650
	Gamma	,094	,209	,453	,650
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.v.7 counter judiciary according to presence of value of "law" (% within law)**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter judiciary	absent	100,0%	100,0%	98,0%	98,3%
	present			2,0%	1,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,011	,008	1,389	,165
	Gamma	1,000	,000	1,389	,165
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.v.8 counter other according to presence of value of "law" (% within law)**

		law			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter	absent	92,9%	100,0%	96,9%	96,6%
other	present	7,1%		3,1%	3,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,013	,031	-,436	,663
	Gamma	-,299	,538	-,436	,663
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vi.1 counter civilian-native according to presence of value of "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	10,0%	17,5%	13,7%
civ-nat	ambiguous	3,3%	1,8%	2,6%
	present	86,7%	80,7%	83,8%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,064	,068	-,932	,351
	Gamma	-,226	,235	-,932	,351
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vi.2 counter non-native according to presence of value of "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	80,0%	78,9%	79,5%
non-nat	present	20,0%	21,1%	20,5%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,013	,092	,141	,888
	Gamma	,032	,229	,141	,888
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vi.3 counter mediator according to presence of value of "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
mediator				
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because counter mediator is a constant.

**Table A.vi.4 counter administration according to presence of value of "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	81,7%	94,7%	88,0%
admin	ambiguous	3,3%		1,7%
	present	15,0%	5,3%	10,3%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,129	,058	-2,217	,027
	Gamma	-,590	,220	-2,217	,027
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vi.5 counter government according to presence of value of "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	80,0%	82,5%	81,2%
gov.	ambiguous	3,3%	1,8%	2,6%
	present	16,7%	15,8%	16,2%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,022	,072	-,307	,759
	Gamma	-,071	,231	-,307	,759
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vi.6 counter police according to presence of value of "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
counter police	absent	48,3%	57,9%	53,0%
	ambiguous	6,7%	1,8%	4,3%
	present	45,0%	40,4%	42,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,077	,094	-,817	,414
	Gamma	-,143	,173	-,817	,414
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vi.7 counter judiciary according to presence of value of "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
counter judiciary	absent	96,7%	100,0%	98,3%
	present	3,3%		1,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,129	,046	-1,438	,150
	Gamma	-1,000	,000	-1,438	,150
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vi.8 counter other according to presence of value of "peace" (% within peace)**

		peace		Total
		absent	present	
counter other	absent	95,0%	98,2%	96,6%
	present	5,0%	1,8%	3,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,089	,083	-,981	,326
	Gamma	-,493	,443	-,981	,326
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vii.1 counter civ-native according to presence of value of "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
counter civ-nat	absent	14,3%		13,7%
	ambiguous	2,7%		2,6%
	present	83,0%	100,0%	83,8%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,028	,013	2,140	,032
	Gamma	1,000	,000	2,140	,032
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vii.2 counter non-native according to presence of value of "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
counter non-nat	absent	78,6%	100,0%	79,5%
	present	21,4%		20,5%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,107	,026	-2,195	,028
	Gamma	-1,000	,000	-2,195	,028
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vii.3 counter mediator according to presence of value of "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
counter mediator	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
	present	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value

Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because counter mediator is a constant.

**Table A.vii.4 counter administration according to presence of value of "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
counter admin	absent	89,3%	60,0%	88,0%
	ambiguous	1,8%		1,7%
	present	8,9%	40,0%	10,3%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,049	,042	1,166	,244
	Gamma	,700	,245	1,166	,244
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vii.5 counter government according to presence of value of "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
counter gov.	absent	81,3%	80,0%	81,2%
	ambiguous	2,7%		2,6%
	present	16,1%	20,0%	16,2%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,003	,031	,095	,924
	Gamma	,056	,569	,095	,924
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vii.6 counter police according to presence of value of "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
counter police	absent	54,5%	20,0%	53,0%
	ambiguous	4,5%		4,3%
	present	41,1%	80,0%	42,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,062	,041	1,524	,128
	Gamma	,676	,307	1,524	,128
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vii.7 counter judiciary according to presence of value of "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	98,2%	100,0%	98,3%
judiciary	present	1,8%		1,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,028	,012	-1,226	,220
	Gamma	-1,000	,000	-1,226	,220
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.vii.8 counter other according to presence of value of "truth" (% within truth)**

		truth		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	96,4%	100,0%	96,6%
other	present	3,6%		3,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,040	,013	-1,551	,121
	Gamma	-1,000	,000	-1,551	,121
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.viii.1 counter civ-native according to presence of value of "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter	absent	15,1%			13,7%
civ-nat	ambiguous	1,9%	100,0%		2,6%
	present	83,0%		100,0%	83,8%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,079	,060	1,230	,219
	Gamma	,401	,400	1,230	,219
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.viii.2 counter non-native according to presence of value of "security" (% within security)

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter non-nat	absent	79,2%	100,0%	80,0%	79,5%
	present	20,8%		20,0%	20,5%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value		Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-c		-,008	-,194
		Gamma		-,076	-,194
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.viii.3 counter mediator according to presence of value of "security" (% within security)

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter mediator	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value			
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b		.(a)	
N of Valid Cases		117			

a No statistics are computed because counter mediator is a constant.

Table A.viii.4 counter administration according to presence of value of "security" (% within security)

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter admin	absent	87,7%	100,0%	90,0%	88,0%
	ambiguous	1,9%			1,7%
	present	10,4%		10,0%	10,3%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value		Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b		-,026	-,308
		Gamma		-,150	-,308
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table A.viii.5 counter government according to presence of value of "security" (% within security)

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter gov.	absent	81,1%	100,0%	80,0%	81,2%
	ambiguous	2,8%			2,6%
	present	16,0%		20,0%	16,2%

Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,000	,092	,000	1,000
	Gamma	,000	,408	,000	1,000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.viii.6 counter police according to presence of value of "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter police	absent	56,6%		20,0%	53,0%
	ambiguous	3,8%	100,0%		4,3%
	present	39,6%		80,0%	42,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,214	,080	2,295	,022
	Gamma	,620	,199	2,295	,022
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.viii.7 counter judiciary according to presence of value of "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter judiciary	absent	98,1%	100,0%	100,0%	98,3%
	present	1,9%			1,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,006	,005	-1,340	,180
	Gamma	-1,000	,000	-1,340	,180
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table A.viii.8 counter other according to presence of value of "security" (% within security)**

		security			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter other	absent	96,2%	100,0%	100,0%	96,6%
	present	3,8%			3,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,013	,007	-1,806	,071
	Gamma	-1,000	,000	-1,806	,071
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.i.1 civilian native according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)**

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian native	absent	43,3%	50,0%	42,2%	42,7%
	ambiguous	3,3%	50,0%		2,6%
	present	53,3%		57,8%	54,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,049	,091	,541	,589
	Gamma	,098	,180	,541	,589
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.i.2 civilian non-native according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)**

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian non-native	absent	83,3%	100,0%	78,3%	80,3%
	present	16,7%		21,7%	19,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,052	,064	,806	,420
	Gamma	,204	,263	,806	,420
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.i.3 mediator according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)**

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
mediator	absent	73,3%	100,0%	79,5%	78,6%
	present	26,7%		20,5%	21,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,034	,072	-,477	,633
	Gamma	-,118	,238	-,477	,633
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.i.4 administration according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)**

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
administration	absent	80,0%	100,0%	65,1%	70,1%
	ambiguous	3,3%			,9%
	present	16,7%		34,9%	29,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,169	,080	2,047	,041
	Gamma	,415	,201	2,047	,041
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.i.5 government according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)**

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
government	absent	33,3%	100,0%	41,0%	41,0%
	ambiguous	6,7%		1,2%	2,6%
	present	60,0%		57,8%	56,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,001	,088	,014	,989
	Gamma	,003	,182	,014	,989
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.i.6 police according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)**

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
police	absent	80,0%		38,6%	47,9%
	ambiguous	6,7%	50,0%		3,4%
	present	13,3%	50,0%	61,4%	48,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,366	,079	4,377	,000
	Gamma	,647	,112	4,377	,000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.i.7 judiciary according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)**

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
judiciary	absent	60,0%	100,0%	39,8%	47,0%
	present	40,0%		60,2%	53,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,192	,083	2,299	,022
	Gamma	,425	,167	2,299	,022
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.i.8 other according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)**

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
other	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because other is a constant.

**Table B.ii.1 civilian native according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)**

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian	absent	41,7%	60,0%	42,0%	42,7%
native	ambiguous	4,2%	20,0%	1,1%	2,6%
	present	54,2%	20,0%	56,8%	54,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,040	,090	,445	,656
	Gamma	,085	,190	,445	,656
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.ii.2 civilian non-native according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian non-native	absent	95,8%	100,0%	75,0%	80,3%
	present	4,2%		25,0%	19,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,159	,047	3,410	,001
	Gamma	,793	,194	3,410	,001
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.ii.3 mediator\* according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
mediator	absent	83,3%	100,0%	76,1%	78,6%
	present	16,7%		23,9%	21,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,069	,061	1,139	,255
	Gamma	,292	,269	1,139	,255
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.ii.4 administration according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
administration	absent	79,2%	100,0%	65,9%	70,1%
	ambiguous	4,2%			,9%
	present	16,7%		34,1%	29,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,156	,079	1,928	,054
	Gamma	,408	,215	1,928	,054
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.ii.5 government according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)**

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
government	absent	45,8%	40,0%	39,8%	41,0%
	ambiguous	4,2%	20,0%	1,1%	2,6%
	present	50,0%	40,0%	59,1%	56,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	,071	,090	,780
		Gamma	,150	,188	,780
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.ii.6 police according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)**

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
police	absent	58,3%	40,0%	45,5%	47,9%
	ambiguous	4,2%	40,0%	1,1%	3,4%
	present	37,5%	20,0%	53,4%	48,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	,123	,088	1,382
		Gamma	,253	,177	1,382
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.ii.7 judiciary according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)**

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
judiciary	absent	54,2%	60,0%	44,3%	47,0%
	present	45,8%	40,0%	55,7%	53,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-c	,079	,080	,982
		Gamma	,200	,198	,982
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.ii.8 other according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)**

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
other	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because other is a constant.

**Table B.iii.1 civilian native according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
civilian native	absent	37,1%	70,0%	42,7%
	ambiguous	3,1%		2,6%
	present	59,8%	30,0%	54,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,181	,072	-2,512	,012
	Gamma	-,570	,178	-2,512	,012
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.2 civilian non-native according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
civilian non-native	absent	80,4%	80,0%	80,3%
	present	19,6%	20,0%	19,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,004	,093	,042	,966
	Gamma	,013	,307	,042	,966
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.3 mediator according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
mediator	absent	78,4%	80,0%	78,6%
	present	21,6%	20,0%	21,4%

Total	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
-------	--------	--------	--------

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,015	,091	-,167	,867
	Gamma	-,050	,305	-,167	,867
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.4 administration according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
administration	absent	69,1%	75,0%	70,1%
	ambiguous	1,0%		,9%
	present	29,9%	25,0%	29,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,032	,062	-,521	,602
	Gamma	-,139	,275	-,521	,602
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.5 government according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
government	absent	40,2%	45,0%	41,0%
	ambiguous	3,1%		2,6%
	present	56,7%	55,0%	56,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,018	,071	-,248	,804
	Gamma	-,061	,244	-,248	,804
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.6 police according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
police	absent	47,4%	50,0%	47,9%
	ambiguous	4,1%		3,4%

	present	48,5%	50,0%	48,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-,003	,072	-,041	,968
	Gamma	-,010	,243	-,041	,968
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.7 judiciary according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
judiciary	absent	45,4%	55,0%	47,0%
	present	54,6%	45,0%	53,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-,073	,092	-,783	,434
	Gamma	-,191	,238	-,783	,434
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.8 other according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
other	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because other is a constant.

**Table B.iv.1 civilian native according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian	absent	43,0%		43,3%	42,7%
native	ambiguous	2,3%	100,0%		2,6%
	present	54,7%		56,7%	54,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
--	--	-------	----------------------------	-----------------	--------------

Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,006	,092	,070	,944
	Gamma	,014	,201	,070	,944
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iv.2 civilian non-native according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
civilian non-native	absent	88,4%	100,0%	56,7%	80,3%
	present	11,6%		43,3%	19,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,240	,078	3,063	,002
	Gamma	,695	,128	3,063	,002
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.3 mediator according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
mediator	absent	81,4%	100,0%	70,0%	78,6%
	present	18,6%		30,0%	21,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	,084	,072	1,158	,247
	Gamma	,290	,221	1,158	,247
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iii.4 administration according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
administration	absent	72,1%	100,0%	63,3%	70,1%
	ambiguous	1,2%			,9%
	present	26,7%		36,7%	29,1%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	,080	,095	,839	,401
	Gamma	,189	,213	,839	,401
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iv.5 government according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
government	absent	44,2%	100,0%	30,0%	41,0%
	ambiguous	3,5%			2,6%
	present	52,3%		70,0%	56,4%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	,131	,088	1,472
		Gamma	,295	,196	1,472
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iv.6 police according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
police	absent	51,2%		40,0%	47,9%
	ambiguous	3,5%	100,0%		3,4%
	present	45,3%		60,0%	48,7%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	,113	,091	1,232
		Gamma	,241	,190	1,232
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.iv.7 judiciary according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
judiciary	absent	55,8%	100,0%	20,0%	47,0%
	present	44,2%		80,0%	53,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-c	,266	,076	3,498
		Gamma	,631	,143	3,498
N of Valid Cases		117			

- a Not assuming the null hypothesis.  
b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.iv.8 other according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
other	absent	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
Total		100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
				Value	
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b				.(a)
N of Valid Cases				117	

a No statistics are computed because other is a constant.

Table B.v.1 counter civ-nat according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter civ-nat	absent	46.7%		2.4%	13.7%
	ambiguous	3.3%	50.0%		2.6%
	present	50.0%	50.0%	97.6%	83.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.576	.080	4.797	.000
	Gamma	.907	.051	4.797	.000
N of Valid Cases		117			

- a Not assuming the null hypothesis.  
b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.v.2 counter non-native according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter	absent	80.0%	100.0%	78.3%	79.5%
non-nat	present	20.0%		21.7%	20.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.026	.067	.391	.696
	Gamma	.098	.256	.391	.696
N of Valid Cases		117			

- a Not assuming the null hypothesis.  
b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.v.3 counter mediator according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter mediator	absent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value			
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.a)			
N of Valid Cases		117			

a No statistics are computed because counter mediator is a constant.

Table B.v.4 counter administration according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter admin	absent	90.0%	100.0%	86.7%	88.0%
	ambiguous	6.7%			1.7%
	present	3.3%		13.3%	10.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.065	.082	.783	.434
	Gamma	.228	.309	.783	.434
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.v.5 counter government according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter gov.	absent	80.0%	100.0%	80.7%	81.2%
	ambiguous	10.0%			2.6%
	present	10.0%		19.3%	16.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.028	.087	.318	.750
	Gamma	.076	.243	.318	.750
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.v.6 counter police according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter police	absent	70.0%	50.0%	47.0%	53.0%
	ambiguous	10.0%	50.0%		4.3%
	present	20.0%		53.0%	42.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	.248	.081	2.970
		Gamma	.470	.144	2.970
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.v.7 counter judiciary according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter judiciary	absent	100.0%	100.0%	97.6%	98.3%
	present			2.4%	1.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-c	.020	.014	1.421
		Gamma	1.000	.000	1.421
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.v.8 counter other according to presence of value "illegality" (% within illegality)

		illegality			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter other	absent	96.7%	100.0%	96.4%	96.6%
	present	3.3%		3.6%	3.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b	.004	.030	.145
		Gamma	.082	.582	.145
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vi.1 counter civ-native according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter civ-nat	absent	45.8%		5.7%	13.7%
	ambiguous		40.0%	1.1%	2.6%
	present	54.2%	60.0%	93.2%	83.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.443	.100	3.566	.000
	Gamma	.791	.092	3.566	.000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vi.2 counter non-native according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter	absent	95.8%	100.0%	73.9%	79.5%
non-nat	present	4.2%		26.1%	20.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.168	.047	3.538	.000
	Gamma	.804	.185	3.538	.000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vi.3 counter mediator according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter mediator		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value			
Ordinal by Ordinal		Kendall's tau-b		.(a)	
N of Valid Cases				117	

a No statistics are computed because counter mediator is a constant.

**Table B.vi.4 counter administration according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)**

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter admin	absent	87.5%	60.0%	89.8%	88.0%
	ambiguous		40.0%		1.7%
	present	12.5%		10.2%	10.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-.068	.096	-.700	.484
	Gamma	-.195	.250	-.700	.484
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.vi.5 counter government according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)**

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter gov.	absent	75.0%	40.0%	85.2%	81.2%
	ambiguous		60.0%		2.6%
	present	25.0%		14.8%	16.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-.147	.099	-1.445	.148
	Gamma	-.333	.191	-1.445	.148
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.vi.6 counter police according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)**

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter police	absent	100.0%	20.0%	42.0%	53.0%
	ambiguous		80.0%	1.1%	4.3%
	present			56.8%	42.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.455	.057	6.083	.000
	Gamma	.828	.077	6.083	.000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vi.7 counter judiciary according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter judiciary	absent	91.7%	100.0%	100.0%	98.3%
	present	8.3%			1.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-.054	.038	-1.449	.147
	Gamma	-1.000	.000	-1.449	.147
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vi.8 counter other according to presence of value "violence" (% within violence)

		violence			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter other	absent	95.8%	100.0%	96.6%	96.6%
	present	4.2%		3.4%	3.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-.002	.030	-.058	.954
	Gamma	-.034	.586	-.058	.954
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vii.1 counter civ-native according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
counter civ-nat	absent	15.5%	5.0%	13.7%
	ambiguous	3.1%		2.6%
	present	81.4%	95.0%	83.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.076	.038	1.992	.046
	Gamma	.613	.330	1.992	.046
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vii.2 counter non-native according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	83.5%	60.0%	79.5%
non-nat	present	16.5%	40.0%	20.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.219	.107	1.928	.054
	Gamma	.543	.188	1.928	.054
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vii.3 counter mediator according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
mediator				
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because counter mediator is a constant.

Table B.vii.4 counter administration according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	92.8%	65.0%	88.0%
admin	ambiguous	2.1%		1.7%
	present	5.2%	35.0%	10.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.162	.068	2.363	.018
	Gamma	.752	.131	2.363	.018
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.vii.5 counter government according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
counter	absent	85.6%	60.0%	81.2%
gov.	ambiguous	3.1%		2.6%
	present	11.3%	40.0%	16.2%

Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%		
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.152	.071	2.137	.033
	Gamma	.607	.169	2.137	.033
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.vii.6 counter police according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
counter police	absent	56.7%	35.0%	53.0%
	ambiguous	5.2%		4.3%
	present	38.1%	65.0%	42.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.142	.073	1.946	.052
	Gamma	.453	.201	1.946	.052
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.vii.7 counter judiciary according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
counter judiciary	absent	97.9%	100.0%	98.3%
	present	2.1%		1.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-.060	.022	-1.392	.164
	Gamma	-1.000	.000	-1.392	.164
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.vii.8 counter other according to presence of value "lies" (% within lies)**

		lies		Total
		absent	present	
counter other	absent	99.0%	85.0%	96.6%
	present	1.0%	15.0%	3.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.289	.123	1.671	.095
	Gamma	.889	.125	1.671	.095
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.viii.1 counter civ-native according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter civ-nat	absent	17.4%		3.3%	13.7%
	ambiguous	2.3%	100.0%		2.6%
	present	80.2%		96.7%	83.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.175	.063	2.493	.013
	Gamma	.584	.240	2.493	.013
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.viii.2 counter non-native according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter non-nat	absent	89.5%	100.0%	50.0%	79.5%
	present	10.5%		50.0%	20.5%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.300	.081	3.718	.000
	Gamma	.781	.098	3.718	.000
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.viii.3 counter mediator according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter mediator	absent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.(a)
N of Valid Cases		117

a No statistics are computed because counter mediator is a constant.

**Table B.viii.4 counter administration according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter admin	absent	86.0%	100.0%	93.3%	88.0%
	ambiguous	2.3%			1.7%
	present	11.6%		6.7%	10.3%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-.098	.077	-1.230	.219
	Gamma	-.386	.336	-1.230	.219
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.viii.5 counter government according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter gov.	absent	83.7%	100.0%	73.3%	81.2%
	ambiguous	3.5%			2.6%
	present	12.8%		26.7%	16.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	.119	.099	1.179	.238
	Gamma	.308	.225	1.179	.238
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

**Table B.viii.6 counter police according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)**

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter police	absent	51.2%		60.0%	53.0%
	ambiguous	4.7%	100.0%		4.3%
	present	44.2%		40.0%	42.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-b	-.057	.091	-.628	.530
	Gamma	-.125	.198	-.628	.530
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

Table B.viii.7 counter judiciary according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter judiciary	absent	100.0%	100.0%	93.3%	98.3%
	present			6.7%	1.7%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.051	.035	1.447	.148
	Gamma	1.000	.000	1.447	.148
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

TableB.viii.8 counter other according to presence of value "insecurity" (% within insecurity)

		insecurity			Total
		absent	ambiguous	present	
counter other	absent	95.3%	100.0%	100.0%	96.6%
	present	4.7%			3.4%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error(a)	Approx. T(b)	Approx. Sig.
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	-.036	.018	-2.008	.045
	Gamma	-1.000	.000	-2.008	.045
N of Valid Cases		117			

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.