No Place Like Home
Analyzing Discursive Constructions of 'Home' in Canadian Mainstream Newspaper Coverage of the Elsipogtog Protest

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ABSTRACT

In October 2013, a protest in Elsipogtog (Rexton) New Brunswick garnered significant mainstream media attention, as Mi'kmaq activists sought to halt a licensing agreement granted by the provincial government of New Brunswick to Texas-based Southwestern Energy (SWN). The present study considers the manner in which mainstream Canadian newspaper discourses transposed and reified elements of the Euro-Canadian notions of 'home' and 'nation' in relation to Indigenous communities over the course of the Elsipogtog protests. To this end, it investigates the historical conditions that shape majority attitudes towards Canada's minority Indigenous peoples, as well as the degree to which Canada's history of colonialism has influenced imaginations of the Canadian home and nation, and how these visions persist in mediated form. Guided by the Copenhagen School's concept of security and Baumann's (2004) concept of 'grammars of othering', Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was applied to a sample of $n = 11$ Canadian mainstream newspaper articles to determine the extent to which there was an identifiable discourse of the Canadian home, employing Foucault's (1978) theory of discourse in which discursive constructions both constitute, and are conditioned by, social reality. The study's findings present evidence of an exclusionary discourse of the Canadian home in which representations essentialise Indigenous peoples as violent security threats and are excluded from imaginations of Euro-Canadian identity.

INTRODUCTION

'One man's imagined community is another man's political prison'

Appadurai (1949)

In 2009, the provincial government of New Brunswick signed a license agreement with Texas-based Southwestern Energy, which granted it surveying rights to over one million hectares of land for the purposes of shale gas extraction (Van Rythoven, 2015). In the years that followed, thousands of citizens of New Brunswick petitioned and sought legal action against the license agreement, citing the numerous environmental and health concerns associated with hydraulic fracturing[1]. Among the many disputes the license raised, that of Indigenous treaty rights and land claims was especially piqued. In October 2013, Elsipogtog First Nation[2] – one of the surrounding Mi'kmaq communities – became the focus of media attention, as protests against the license agreement turned violent and community members sparred with RCMP officers and the military. Across Canada, other Indigenous communities held rallies of their own in solidarity. The present study considers the manner in which mainstream Canadian newspapers depicted characteristics of the Euro-Canadian home and nation in relation to Indigenous communities within Canada during the Elsipogtog Protests. To this end, it investigates the historical conditions which shape majority attitudes towards Canada's minority Indigenous populations, as well as the degree to which Canada's history of colonialism has influenced imaginations of the Canadian home and nation, and considers how these visions persist in mediated form.

BACKGROUND: CANADA AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Canada's history has been profoundly influenced by colonialist expansion, which have led, historically and presently, to large-scale dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their traditional livelihoods and lands. Assimilationist policies continued to be coercively implemented throughout the twentieth century, perhaps most infamously through the Indian

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[1] Hydraulic fracturing, commonly referred to as 'fracking' or 'hydro-fracking', involves 'extracting shale gas located at a great distance below the surface, where a mixture of water, chemicals, and sand is pumped under high pressure, creating fractures in the rock, thereby releasing the trapped pockets of natural gas' (Environmental Protection Agency, 2013: 1).

[2] Elsipogtog First Nation is the largest Indigenous community in New Brunswick, Canada.

Residential School System (IRS), which saw upwards of 100,000 Indigenous children forcibly removed from their homes and placed into isolated church-run boarding schools (Bezeau, 2007). The curriculum was founded on the principles of aggressive assimilation (CBC News, 2008) and represented an institutional instrument to eradicate Indigenous cultures and replace them with Euro-Canadian social practices, culture, and language. Throughout the system's duration, students lived in substandard conditions, where they were severely punished for speaking their native languages, were prevented from seeing their families, and endured severe physical, sexual, and emotional abuse (Anderson and Robertson, 2011). Aggressive assimilationist practices carried on through the child social assistance programs known as the 'Sixties Scoop' (Sinclair, 2007), which involved the apprehension and institutionalisation of indigenous children between the 1960's and 1980's (Johnston, 1983). By the mid-1970's, approximately 'one in three Aboriginal children were separated from their families' (Sinclair, 2007: 66) and placed in the custody of non-Indigenous families.

On 11 June, 2008, former Prime Minister Stephen Harper officially apologised for the abuses of the residential school system, confessing to the Canadian government's accountability and culpability for the attempt to systematically 'kill the Indian in the child' (CBC News, 2008: 1). However, despite official recognition of past abuses, an opinion poll conducted by the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN, 2016) of n = 2,001 non-Indigenous citizens across Canada concluded that a majority of Canadians do not acknowledge Indigenous socio-economic inequalities as being linked to Canada's colonial history. Rather, APTN's poll concluded that there is widespread support of the idea that Indigenous peoples are 'entitled' when it comes to federal government services unavailable to non-Indigenous Canadians (APTN, 2016: 1). It also concluded that non-Indigenous Canadians in the prairie-provinces are especially likely to view Indigenous peoples as the 'main obstacle to achieving social and economic inequality' (APTN, 2016: 1). Despite the prevalence of these ahistorical perspectives, there remains a substantial degree of socioeconomic inequality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, with 60 percent of children on reserves living in poverty compared to just 13 percent of non-Indigenous children (MacDonald, 2016: 1).

In response to the continuing effects of colonisation, Canada has witnessed an outpouring of Indigenous activism in the past decade, particularly with regards to matters of land rights and resource extraction activities. Beginning in October 2013, the Elsipogtog protest succeeded in assembling violent and non-violent demonstrations to dispute hydraulic fracking on Indigenous lands. Community members of Elsipogtog First Nation had begun a series of non-violent protests months prior in order to call for the reversal of the licensing agreement on their traditional territories. However, the protest escalated after the Royal Canadian Mounted Police moved in to enforce a court junction against the protesters'

blockade, a move which resulted in violent clashes between the RCMP and Elsipogtog First Nation. The protest, and the salience of the mostly negative media coverage it attracted, became a banner under which many Indigenous peoples across Canada found themselves able to gather under, and social media became a central means of organizing protests and disseminating information regarding treaty rights, environmental concerns, and traditional land use (APTN, 2016).

Although most mainstream Canadian newspapers represented the Elsipogtog protestors as a homogenous, violent threat to national security, the founders of the Elispogtog protest issued a statement outlining their concerns over corporate capitalist expansionism (APTN, 2016). At the core of their grievances was the fact that historically, Canada and the Mi'kmaq people had signed treaties in 1760 and 1761, and under the terms of those agreements, the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet signatories did not rescind or surrender their rights to Indigenous land and resources (LeBlanc, 2015). Thus, the Mi'kmaq remain sovereign control over the area of land that SNW Resources was proposing to extract from. As they sought to point out, the protests were therefore not an 'Indigenous issue', but a matter of Canadian law.

ON DISCOURSE

To better understand the relations of power at play in the context of the Canadian mainstream newspaper's representation of the Elsipogtog protests, one must turn to discourse theory and ideology. In Foucauldian terms, discourses are described as, 'groups of signs' that constitute 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1978: 49). Alternatively, we may say that they are 'socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258), representing both a social construction of reality and a form of knowledge (Foucault, 1978) that works to divide and classify the world according to subjective standpoints. Discourse enables the social production of knowledge, and by doing so privileges certain discourses while repressing others, facilitating the exercise of symbolic power[3] and constraining particular subjectivities (Bourdieu, 1990). Such subjectivities are often coercively subjugated and labelled undeserving of epistemological validation (Bourdieu, 1990), which serves to naturalise and universalise particular beliefs, thoughts, and actions, while excluding those deemed contentious.

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[3] Symbolic power is described by Bourdieu (1990) as 'the power of constructing reality which tends to establish a gnoseological order: the immediate meaning of the world, and in particular, the social world' (Ibid: 166).

Discourses are instruments of privilege for dominant class factions and those with the power to impose their own forms of knowledge and social realities. Indeed, they are 'capable of producing real effects without any apparent expenditure of energy' (Bourdieu, 1990: 170), and the naturalisation of specific imaginations of 'home' as a nation-wide virtue only serves to legitimise and reinforce existing power relations. Foucault's exposition on the obstacles of prison transformation (Foucault, in Smart, 1995: 323-325) is applicable to Canadian mainstream newspaper's discourses of the home and nation. Although explicit utterances of colonialist nationalism have long fallen out of common custom in Canada, ideas of the home and the nation persist because dominant social groups with the power to ensure its sustained existence benefit from this inequity. For example, in Canada, mainstream newspapers have enjoyed a long and reasonably stable lineage and continue to serve as a primary means of constructing national identities (Anderson and Robertson, 2011). If colonialism and discrimination is the foundation of Canadian society at its most fundamental level, one may reasonably expect associated ideological discourse to surface in the printed press, fortifying a Euro-Canadian imagination of the home and nation rather than recognizing a multitude of subjectivities.

POWER AND KNOWLEDGE

Foucault maintains that power is 'ubiquitous, diffuse, and circulating' (Foucault, in Pickett, 1996: 457), and the 'empowerment of social actors cannot be separated from their empowerment against other social actors' (Castells, 2009: 13). Relations of power are not divided between the powerful and powerless because 'truth isn't outside power, or lacking power... it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint' (Foucault, 1978: 22). Therefore, we may consider power to be thought of not only in negative instances where its sole purpose is repression, but also as a productive network (Foucault, 1990) where all communication and forms of knowledge are embedded in power. Although Foucault emphasises that power is a continuous product of social relationships, he does not ignore the fact that 'the essence of such relationships is that they exist at different levels, under different forms' (Lane, 2004: 461). The distinguishing factor between relations of power and states of domination is the ability of participants to 'invert the relation' so that roles are 'effectively and substantively reversed' (Lane, 2004: 461), minimising substantial domination over certain actors.

A significant way in which dominant groups implement control is through symbolic power and the subordination of subjective or antagonistic knowledges. With respect to media power, Couldry and Curran (2003) define it as the 'direct control over the means of media production' (Ibid: 4) resulting in the 'concentration of symbolic power' (Ibid: 4) used to

construct both facts and fictions in a given society through mediated channels. In this respect, mainstream Canadian newspapers hold considerable clout, as they serve both as the prime disseminators of scripts of power relations and in large part are responsible for determining their basic forms. The production of power and knowledge constructed through discourses can be witnessed in the construction of the notion of 'home' prevalent in the Canadian imagination where discourses and characteristics of the nation have not become polyvocal, legitimizing the denial of alternative discourses through symbolic violence and crystallised power relationships.

HEGEMONY

Similar to Foucault's view of discourse, Gramsci's concept of hegemony is one of power constructed through symbolic and ideological domination, rather than physical or coercive means (Gramsci, 1971). Thompson (1984) defines ideology as 'meaning in the service of power…[including] presuppositions that generally figure as presuppositions in texts' (Ibid: 14), which contribute to reproducing power in the form of dominance, a notion that relates well to Gramsci's concept and process of hegemony. Consent[4] within hegemonies is accomplished through the emphasis on 'common sense', an often ahistorical unification of dominant ideologies, naturalised and given importance within particular social environments (Ali, 2015). Hegemonies are established by persuading a social majority that the institutions, organisations, and discourses that regulate social life are relevant to their interests, and are naturalised so that they become an internalised and fundamental feature of dominant thinking (Gramsci, 1971). Discourses of the home and nation can therefore be understood as a hegemonic discursive construct, formed through societal consent and coercion and propelled by various discourses rendered subordinate. The danger of 'common sense' lies in the fact that it builds 'worldviews so concrete that challenging them would be [nonsensical]' and that 'collective political action will never recruit the masses unless its causes appear commonsensical' (Snir, 2016: 217).

In Canada, hegemonic discourses are circulated in mainstream newspapers and are used to legitimate the dominant status of the Euro-Canadian construct of 'home' over, and to the exclusion of, Indigenous peoples. Authors and dominant groups constructing mainstream discourses of the Canadian 'home' and 'nation' often do not label themselves as exclusionary or discriminatory and remain naive about the potential harm done by their actions (Anderson

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[4] Defined by Gramsci as 'not necessarily by way of explicit beliefs held by the people, but may be in the form of implicit, self-evident consent that rests on what seems natural from the point of view of everyday practices, traditions, and languages' (Snir, 2016: 271).

and Robertson, 2011), demonstrating how securely the notion of 'home' is rooted in the Canadian 'common sense'.

CANADIAN MAINSTREAM MEDIA

In terms of strategies of self-representation and mediated resistance, the Elsipogtog protest made considerable use of social media (namely Twitter (#Elsipogtog) and the Aboriginal People's Television Network (APTN)) to gain supporters, recruit activists, and mobilise grassroots Indigenous peoples in an effort to attain social and environmental justice. Nevertheless, despite the amplified message that social media affords activists, mainstream media[5] institutions maintain significant media power over Canadian imaginations of the home and nation[6].

The propaganda model of media power theorised by Herman and Chomsky (1988) asserts that mainstream media are instruments of power that function 'as central mechanisms of propaganda in capitalist democracies' (Klaehn, 2002: 148), and reflect the 'consensus of powerful elites of the state-corporate nexus' (Ibid: 149), simultaneously distracting agonistic debate concerned with concentrated wealth and unequal class representations. Similarly, Barry suggests one of the key functions of established political institutions is to enforce limits on the possibilities for dissensus (2001), and that what we call politics 'always has something of an anti-political impulse' (2001: 207). Accordingly, given the political and economic context in which mainstream media institutions function, they are predominantly institutions for the distribution of ideologies and values which sustain rather than confront existing institutionalised power relations, and act in unison with other ideological sectors to 'establish, enforce, reinforce, and police corporate hegemony' (Klaehn, 2002: 149).

According to the propaganda model, the five central factors that work to control media information and reduce antagonism within civil society include concentrated media ownership, profit-driven advertising, government and major business sourcing, anti-communist ideology, and flak[7] (Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Herman, 2002). These insights help to explain, in part, how Canada's privatised, corporate media ownership structure

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[5] The focus of this dissertation will specifically refer to mainstream Canadian newspapers, both print and online.

[6] In this context, mainstream media are understood as 'large scale and geared towards large, homogenous segments of audiences, state-owned organizations or commercial companies, vertically structured organizations staffed my professionals, and carriers of dominant discourses and representations' (Carpentier, Lie, and Servaes, 2003: 56).

[7] Defined by Herman (2002) as 'the ability to pressure the media with threats of withdrawal of advertising or TV licenses, libel suits, and other direct and indirect modes of attack' (Ibid: 102).

(Kozolanka et al., 2012) constraints the circulation of counter-hegemonic discourses denouncing of Canada's colonial history and character, or which challenge prevailing discourses of Indigenous peoples as the 'other' to naturalise dominant depictions of the Canadian 'home' and 'nation'.

Nevertheless, the propaganda model has been subject to both conservative and liberal critique. Lehrer (2004) suggests the model is faulty because it fails to take into account the diverse political positions of large media corporations, making theoretical assumptions regarding the existence of a unified ruling class. Similarly, Klaehn (2003) suggests the propaganda model implies the existence of homogenous elite interests, audience manipulation, and fails to recognise the existence of left-wing political support (Ibid: 364). Lehrer argues 'no reporter has ever won an award or gotten a promotion for a fawning profile of a local CEO' (2004: 76), and that highly critical publications do indeed exist and thrive.

Another criticism that has been levelled against the propaganda model is that it is deterministic (Schlesinger, 1992) and presents the media as a monolithic entity void of feasible dissensus (Goodwin, 1994). Likewise, theorists such as Lukes (1974) and Bourdieu (1990) view agency and resistance as questionable within a system of domination, assuming a binary relationship of the powerful and powerless among actors in the power network. Recognising that meanings are filtered by limitations that are built into the system, Cammaerts (2012) suggests activists can take advantage of 'media opportunity structures' (Ibid: 119) that refer to 'conditions in the environment that favour social movement activity and include factors such as the relative accessibility of the political system, stable or fragmented alignments among elites, the presence of elite allies, and the state's capacity and propensity for repression' (Ibid: 204). Similarly, Foucault's (1978) notion of power as existent in the entire social system allows for more inclusive view of agency and resistance as potentially including all agents within the power network.

One way to advance the propaganda model is to acknowledge agency attainable through media opportunity structures (Cammaerts, 2012): if mainstream media are receptive to activist engagements, mainstream coverage of dissenting action and discourse contains potential benefits of assisting a movement to gain validation and legitimacy among the public, in turn increasing the likelihood of mobilising larger protest movements. However, the presence of counter-discourses and counter-representations in mainstream media does not necessarily lead to positive reporting, less discrimination, nor revoke a dominant ideological discourse of the Canadian home and nation.

NO PLACE LIKE HOME: ORIGINS AND BELONGINGS

What exactly is 'the home'? Historically, the home has often been understood in terms of spaces of domesticity and intimacy, while the related notion of homeland described 'the landscape...that has been fought over, menaced, filled with the history of families, towns and villages' (Morley, 2000: 32). Whereas the notion of 'home as domesticity' involves intimate others, home as an 'imagined community' involves strangers, foreigners, and guests (Hobsbawm, 1991). The notion of home implies more than a 'homeland' or 'foreign place', and connotes belonging and security, whilst foreignness can refer to isolation and marginalization (Peck, 1992). According to Applegate (1992), the home is in fact not a physically perceptible place, but a device where 'strangers can be countrymen' (Ibid: 66), the central project of which is to 'find the village in oneself [and] make it part of one's identity' (Ibid: 73). Thus, home is an 'idea that masquerades as place...having a home within a nation, in particular, is not a geographical signpost, but an ideological signifier' (Sharma, 2000: 8).

While some scholars argue that the notion of home is rooted in historic, ethnic, or cultural bonds, and therefore encompasses a biological, essentialist foundation (Smith, 1998), most contemporary academics maintain that the home, on some level, is a social construct. Hall (1996) argues that the nation ought to be understood as a 'system of cultural representations' (Ibid: 612) that manufactures meanings about belonging to a specific place. Similarly, Di Stefano (2014) suggests we might think of home with reference to Anderson's (1991) performative concept of the nation as an 'imagined community', or an 'enacted space within which one is perpetually engaged in trying on roles and relationships of belonging and foreignness' (Di Stefano, 2014: 38). As for the role of media in this imagination, Anderson (1991) explains that the emergence of print-capitalism in sixteenth-century Europe played a significant role in facilitating the simultaneous integration of citizens across space and time, and allowing for the construction of a collective national consciousness. Di Stefano (2014) extends this argument and proposes that, because national discourses rest upon imaginations and representations of home, 'being at home may have more to do with how people interact with one another, how they understand and are understood by others' (Ibid: 32) as opposed to being in a geographical space. Heller (1995) therefore suggests that home is in fact where 'one participates in a language game' (Ibid: 18), and that signified meanings as such must be understood, accepted, or at least tolerated by a majority.

Habermas contends that communities may also be defined by allegiance to a state's democratic institutions, and that what unites people is not necessarily ethnicity or discourse,

but a form of 'constitutional patriotism' (2001: 74) reinforced through banal[8] practices such as pledging allegiance to a national flag or promoting homeland glorification (Billig, 1999: 38). However, whether the notion of home is primordial or socially constructed is perhaps irrelevant, in light of Anderson's (1986) critique that emphasises that 'true' communities do not exist, per se. According to Anderson (1986) 'communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined' (Ibid: 6). In the context of the Elsipogtog protests, the style in which the Canadian home has been discursively constructed in mainstream newspapers suggests there is an inextricable link between imagining the nation and Indigenous exclusion.

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF HOME SECURITY

Mainstream news discourses provide one of the channels through which the Canadian notion of 'home' may be imagined. Guibernau (2007) maintains that the home and nation are imagined 'collective sentiments' (Ibid: 11) founded on the belief of belonging to the same home and of 'sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations' (Ibid: 11). Therefore, the vocabulary of the home can be understood as the organization of discourses that produce a distinction between qualified and unqualified bodies, where 'qualification within the identity and territory of the nation presupposes an attachment to the nation in its linguistic, cultural, and political incarnations' (Manning, 2003: xv). One of the ways in which mainstream newspapers discursively construct imaginations of a unified home is through the discourse of security. Manning (2000) defines security as 'that which is intent on confining us to a center from whence identities are stabilized' (Ibid: 32), providing a homelike structure that protects individuals against 'the invasion of the other" (2000: 32). The desire to build a home that acts as protection from 'insecurity', in whatever form it is in turn imagined to take, results in an assimilative impulse whereby the promise of home becomes the 'vessel for the perpetuation of racial, gendered, and state-centered exclusions' (Manning, 2003: 31).

Originating within the Copenhagen School of security studies, securitization describes the function of speech acts that results in 'the establishment of a threat with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effects' (Buzan et al., 1998: 25). A prominent expansion to this approach is provided by the Paris School, which shifts the analysis to the 'institutional level of professionals involved in the [imagination] of threats and the technologies to govern them'

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[8] Billig's (1995) concept of 'banal nationalism' refers to 'ideological habits that enable the established nations of the West to be reproduced' (Ibid: 6). It is significant to note that banality is not synonymous with harmlessness, but is subject to violence and coercion (Ibid: 6).

(Van Rythoven, 2015: 5). The Copenhagen and Paris School offer helpful avenues for considering the discursive construction of home in Canadian mainstream newspapers, insofar as they recognise that discursive practices are inextricably bound to the production of knowledge about specific social groups, and that 'securitization is a political rendering of domain policy and politics in which fears of outsiders is both a political currency' (Huysmans, 2006: 52) and organizational principal of the imaginations of home.

The notions underlying imaginations of home are similar to Giddens' (1990) conception of 'ontological security', described as 'the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and in the constancy of their social and material environments' (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998: 24). This confidence is primarily affective, and grounded in the practices of banal, daily activities (Silverstone, 1994). Saunders (1986) similarly highlights the importance of routinized, banal habits, including discourses, in shaping imaginations of home security. Security therefore contains an affective dimension (Ahmed, 2004), and can be understood as a connection to a place or context that makes acting in that place possible (Giddens, 1990). Ontological security and comfort are thus simultaneously constructed both through mainstream discourses of the home and discourses of associated imagined threats.

THE OTHER: A THREAT TO HOME

The bounded discourse of the home implies that there simultaneously exists a foreign 'other' (Baumann, 1990), a continual threat to the security and integrity of those who share a common home. Home is security, and 'without it, one becomes subject to disorder, confusion, and desultoriness' (Amery, 1966: 94). The motivating force of 'home' and security is thus a need for rooted, bounded, pure, and authentic identity. Sennett (1971) contends, 'purification aims to secure both protection from, and positional superiority over, the external other' (Ibid: 15). This leads Berman (1983) to suggest that the home acts as a utopian ideal, that 'we yearn to grasp it, but it is baseless and elusive; we look back for something solid to lean on, only to find ourselves embracing ghosts' (Berman, 1983: 333), and that to feel a sense of belonging in one's home is to safeguard ownership of excluding identities from those deemed foreign.

Significant to the discursive construction of home is the process of 'othering' that casts the 'foreigner' as external to, different from, and separate to the hegemonic majority. 'Othering' can be understood as a process through which collective or individual identities are 'defined through the assertion of another's difference' (Baumann, 2004: 18), a process which invariably links to the process of 'selfing' (Ibid: 19). Although various theorists have analysed

how 'otherness' is articulated, Baumann's (2004) theoretical approach that othering occurs through three 'grammars' (Ibid: 18) provides a valuable model that identifies the primary means by which discourses employ strategies of hierarchical classification to segment and impose order upon society. Especially important in the context of Canadian mainstream newspapers is Baumann's grammar of 'orientalism', derivative of Said (1979), who argues that Western representations of orientalism work to construct the Oriental other as 'ontologically and epistemologically distinct from those in the West' (Ibid: 3). Baumann's grammar of orientalism functions through binary oppositions that can be both positive and negative, and establishes the self and other through a reversal: 'What is good in us is absent in them', but what 'is absent in us [still] remains present in them' (Baumann and Gingrich, 2004: 20).

Baumann's second grammar of othering is 'segmentation', which adopts Evans-Pritchard's (1940) notion that identities are shaped and represented at different societal levels[9]. By way of example, Evans-Pritchard's highlights how, over the course of an anthropological study of the Nuer people, tribal conflicts were temporarily suspended in an effort to resist the British occupation of Nuer land through a more cohesive front. Importantly, the segmentary grammar acknowledges that identities and processes of othering are contextually specific (Baumann, 2004). Finally, Baumann's grammar of 'encompassment' (2004) acts as a 'hierarchized inclusion of others who are thought, from a higher level of abstraction, to be really 'part of us'' (Ibid: 25), but that selectively omits those deemed unqualified.

Foucault famously asserted that 'where there is power, there is resistance' (1978: 95), and in Canada, solidarity among Indigenous activists during the Elsipogtog protests can be seen as illustrative of the segmentary grammar of othering in order to contest a Euro-Canadian conception of the home. This is what Spivak (2012) terms 'strategic essentialism', where various sub-groups cohesively unite in a specific, visible political interest. Although strategic essentialism may assist in unifying voices for Indigenous resistance, it risks 'self-orientalization' (Dirlik, 1996: 104) where members of a group participate in discourses that work to reinforce power and domination through depiction of an essentialised identity. Characteristic of an ideological discourse of the Canadian home and nation is the tendency to reduce others to simple, stereotypical characteristics (Morley, 2000), and self-orientalization thus carries the risk of simply reifying hegemonic practices of othering.

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[9] For example: Individual, familial, communal, national, ethnic, gendered, etc.

HOME AS POLITICAL EXCLUSION

If any power has been able to exert itself, it is because it has been recognized and accepted as legitimate in some quarters (Mouffe, 2009). The notion of 'home' can be said to be a form of symbolic and political violence because 'every consensus [of home] exists as a temporary result of a provisional hegemony' (Mouffe, 2009: 756), as maintenance of power necessitates othering and exclusion (Baumann, 2004). The political hazards of a discourse of 'home' transmitted through mainstream media stems from the fact that it works to legitimate majority interests while silencing, marginalising, and politically excluding minority subjectivities. Categories of 'majority' and 'minority' present in liberal social thought produce what Appadurai (2006) calls the 'anxiety of incompleteness', which is concealed in the project of national purity (Ibid: 8). The majority's fear and rage toward minority groups is owing to the fact that no modern nation, however multicultural it may claim to be, is 'free of the idea that its national sovereignty is built on some sort of ethnic genius' (Appadurai, 2006: 3), and that minority groups 'exacerbate [national] uncertainties and produce new incentives for cultural purification' (Appadurai, 2006: 7). As Said (1979) argues, discourses of the 'self' and 'other' are necessary to an imagined, national ethnos, the final resource by which it may exercise some degree control in an increasingly globalised world. Canadian mainstream newspapers, as sites of significant resources of media power (Couldry, 2000), are significant to constructing public imaginaries of the Canadian 'home' and 'nation', which in turn work to politically exclude minorities and subjugate them to the status of the other.

In the topic of participation and exclusion, it is important to consider the mainstream media's ability to facilitate diverse democratic debate. Habermas (1991) described this function through the normative ideal of the public sphere whereby civil society seeks rational consensus on matters of social or political significance. However, Habermas' initial model has been roundly criticised for being male-dominated (Benhabib, 1992), overlooking the significance of affect (Mouffe, 1999), and lacking emphasis on class exclusion (Curran, 1997). Mouffe (2009) goes as far as suggesting that the public sphere's emphasis on consensus is inherently exclusionary, suggesting, 'there is no unbridgeable gap between power and legitimacy' (Ibid: 753), and that every consensus exists as a 'stabilization of power that always entails some form of exclusion' (Ibid: 756). Mouffe (2009) maintains that civil society is not harmonious, but characterized by conflicts and irreducible pluralism of values. Therefore, she proposes the concept of 'agonistic pluralism' (Ibid: 745), whereby groups in conflict seek

conflictual consensus[10] (Ibid: 756), allowing for a temporary cessation of hostilities in lieu of a complete abandonment of opposing perspectives.

Agonistic pluralism advances public sphere theory by recognizing the inevitability of plurality and conflict, but it has been subject to critique. While Fraser (1997) acknowledges the importance of agonistic pluralism for its anti-authoritarian leanings and for exposing the power asymmetries inherent to deliberative democracy, she criticises Mouffe for overriding 'political-economic considerations' and 'valorizing agency within communicative practices without providing adequate attention to communicative constraints' (Karppinen, 2006: 12). Similarly, Karppinen (2008) questions Mouffe's inability to recognise that social movements and activists may not practice democratic citizenship, but rather communicate through coercive physical communication or other means. Thus, although agonistic pluralism addresses the realities of conflict and affect in politics, it fails to recognise that where a dominant, national discourse persists in mainstream media representations, efforts toward agonistic compromise may be overridden[11]. It is therefore possible that where media opportunity structures fail to provide space for pluralistic democratic discourse, agonistic mobilisation at a more fundamental level may be necessary.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Ideas of 'home' are ideological signifiers of belonging and exclusion, discursively constructed through processes of coercion and consent (Foucault, 1990: 95). In reflecting on differing forms of resistance, one must consider the positions of social actors within networks of power (Castells, 2009) and if unequal power relationships can be inverted (Foucault, 1978). That the Canadian notion of 'home' is a hegemonic construct sustained through the privileging of mainstream discourses is a central element to the foregoing argument. Theoretical concepts will be operationalised through the adoption of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), working under the assumption that discourse is constitutive of ideology, which both shapes and is shaped by social realities. To this end, the present study seeks to uncover instances of an identifiable discourse of 'home' in mainstream newspaper coverage of the Elsipogtog protest, with an eye to evidence of exclusionary practices of 'othering', which work to endorse, naturalise, and legitimate a Euro-Canadian 'common sense'.

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[10] Conflictual consensus: A model in which groups in conflict because of political disagreements seek out 'agonistic compromises' (Mouffe, 1999: 745) which allow a temporary cessation of hostilities rather than attempting to assimilate those of opposing interest into agreement.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This dissertation undertakes to critically analyse Canadian discourses of 'home' in mainstream newspaper articles pertaining to the Elsipogtog protest. Where prior studies have largely been confined to considerations of historic coercion, protest movements, and colonial reconciliation efforts, the present study aims to uncover tensions in the construction of identity by examining how discourses perpetuate and naturalise a 'common sense' of the Canadian 'home', and to what extent mainstream, privileged discourses override Indigenous counter-discourses, thereby perpetuating symbolic violence. To this end, the following research question is posed:

'To what extent does an identifiable discourse of the Canadian 'home' exist in mainstream Canadian newspaper articles about the Elsipogtog protest?'

The following sub-questions provide further framing and guidance:

1. To what extent do Canadian mainstream newspapers portray the security of the 'home' as compromised by Indigenous peoples associated with the Elsipogtog protest?

2. How do mainstream newspaper authors engage in national imaginaries of 'us' and 'them' ('othering') in their representation of the Elsipogtog protest?

3. To what extent do mainstream representations of the Canadian 'home' and 'nation' silence counter-discourses?

4. To what extent do mainstream newspapers contain a 'historical amnesia' regarding the history of Canadian colonialism?

5. To what extent do Canadian mainstream newspapers discursively construct and reverse blame for Indigenous socio-economic inequalities?

RATIONALE FOR STUDY

One of the apparent criticisms of analysing 'mainstream' discourse is the tendency of scholars to uncritically celebrate agonism and social protests, labelling marginalised and oppressed

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[11] As is such with the Elsipogtog Protest, where Indigenous concerns continue to be reduced to

peoples as possessing significant agency without adequately considering the influence of dominant structures (Hank, 2009). 'Rational' mainstream discourses of 'home' favour particular power establishments and exclude discourses of those deemed 'other', whose own voice is deemed 'irrational' and therefore unfit for inclusion (Foucault, 1971). Although individuals are always in 'the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power' (Foucault, 1971: 89), mainstream institutions produce ideological effects by 'concealing the function of division beneath the function of communication' (Bourdieu, 1990: 167), thereby legitimising hierarchical distinctions 'by forcing all other cultures (designated as sub-cultures) to define themselves by their distance from the dominant culture' (Ibid: 167). Silencing and muzzling agonistic discourse is symptomatic of home-making practices (Morley, 2000), and this silencing is the impetus for the need to critically examine the concept of 'home' from the discursive standpoint of the Canadian mainstream media.

Discourse constitutes and conditions social spaces through 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1978: 49). Discourse is not merely a form of representation, but a set of material conditions that enable and constrain the social imagination (McHoul and Grace, 1997). More importantly, the silencing of differing discourses is not merely an aspect of power which prevents or stifles conversation, but involves the power to simultaneously constrain and enable how particular discourses are expressed or can be 'known' (Foucault, 1972), which may lead to the marginalisation of authentic voices. Mainstream media's ability to produce discourse on a broad scale permits more than just an empowerment of speech, and comprises the power to control the structure and content of communication whilst silencing or overpowering marginalised voices. Through the analysis of mainstream discourses of the Canadian 'home', the present study aims to expose existing and enduring social power disparities that enable the marginalisation of Indigenous peoples while contributing to the literature that 'renders [nationalistic discourse] fragile' (Foucault, 1978: 101). In this way, analysing mainstream discourses of the Canadian 'home' is felt to be an important means of understanding how discourses come to naturalise and legitimise spaces of belonging while silencing agonistic counter-discourses which seek to challenge existing power arrangements.

RATIONALE: MAINSTREAM MEDIA

Anderson and Robertson (2011) contend that Canadian mainstream newspapers remain 'the mother of all mass media since the birth of the Dominion' (Ibid: 9), and continue to be

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problems with the Indigenous nation rather than the marginalization of minority groups.

significant influences of the construction of the Canadian home and nation. As of 2015, Canada's newspaper circulation stood at '5.1 million copies' per day and '30.4 million copies' per week (Newspapers Canada, 2016), which demonstrates that print media continues to be a significant distributor to national discourses. If exclusionary discourses have permeated Canadian society, or, in a sense, *are* Canadian society at its most fundamental level, in light of the nation's dispossessive colonial history, it is reasonable to assume that associated ideological discourses will surface in mainstream media coverage (Anderson and Robertson, 2011). Although counter-narratives exist and may be disseminated through such channels as social media, newspaper comment sections, or alternative media outlets, mainstream newspapers maintain substantial power, in both a material and symbolic sense, over discourses of the Canadian home and nation. The common perception of Canada as a place of multicultural acceptance is challenged by the analysis of mainstream newspaper reportage, which remains 'complicit in fortifying the cultural hierarchy and moral authority at the heart of an existing social order' (Anderson and Robertson, 2011: 6).

RATIONALE: METHODOLOGY

Given the conceptual framework of this study, a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was felt to be the most appropriate research method given its alignment with issues of social justice. While several approaches to CDA exist, Fairclough's (1995) dialectical-relational approach was felt to be the most applicable in light of the aforementioned research question, as it triangulates and extends beyond textual analysis to include broader discursive and societal considerations. This is achieved through an 'interpretation of the relationship of the text and interaction' (Fairclough, 2001: 91), and an examination of the 'relationship between interaction and societal settings' (Ibid: 91). The operationalisation of Fairclough's CDA model at the textual level of analysis is focused on constructions of 'home' and 'other', whilst the discursive level of analysis is focused on how the author promotes particular 'orders of discourse' (Fairclough, 2001: 23) that exemplify specific ideologies. The third stage of analysis analyses the relationship between discourse and society, and how discourses used to describe the Elsipogtog protest and the Canadian sense of 'home' work to maintain and naturalise existing power relations vis-à-vis Thompson's (1984) definition of ideology.

CDA is fundamentally interested in 'analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, and power and control as manifested in language' (Wodak, 1995: 204). To perform discourse analysis 'assumes you are concerned with the discursive production of some kind of authoritative account, and perhaps too about how that account was or is contested and with the social practices both in which the production is embedded and which it itself produces' (Rose, 2001: 142). Additionally, CDA

recognises that media are key dimensions of culture, and that the dynamics of culture cannot be assessed independent from the site of its production or mediation (Chouliaraki, 2008). CDA thus recognises that media are not benign mediators of discourse, but frequently reproduce pre-formulated ideologies (Foucault, 1972). While discursive strategies of mainstream discourses 'systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 1978: 49) CDA seeks to uncover how certain discursive practices help to 'naturalize what is taken for granted' (Wood and Kroger, 2000: 13), and determine the ways in which discursive power relationships are both 'socially constituted and socially constitutive' (Fairclough, 1995: 55), while remaining mindful of opportunities for alternative discourse. CDA's ability to uncover discursive and social inequalities are felt to make it an appropriate methodology for this research, which aims to address social disparities through mainstream representations of the Canadian 'home'.

However, certain criticisms have been levelled against CDA, including its unsystematic process and tendency for 'overtly subjective' (Deacon et al., 2007: 138) researcher bias. Specifically, CDA of newspapers is often critiqued for being 'shaped by the ideological concerns of the analysts...and for selecting data to prove its point' (Widdowson, 2004: 6). Similarly, critics contend that CDA and systemic functional linguistics (Halliday, 1985) reify social structures (Deacon et al., 2007) through language because it is 'shaped by the social function it has come to serve' (Wodak and Mayer, 2008: 27), supporting Habermas' claim that 'language is also a medium of domination and social force, often serving to legitimate relations of organized power' (1967: 259).

There is also the problem of interpretation. The hermeneutic circle, or the method of understanding and producing meaning-making relationships, suggests that the 'meaning of one part can only be understood in the context of the whole' (Wodak and Mayer, 2008: 22), further suggesting that discourses are socially contextual. Therefore, the interpretation of discourse necessitates precise documentation and reflexivity on the part of the researcher to recognise that discursive strategies are not universal. However, CDA recognises that discourses are often multimodally realized, not only through text and orality, but also through...images' (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 292) and has gravitated toward a more interdisciplinary approach, with 'richer contextualization, and attention to the multimodality of discourse' (Van Leeuwen, 2008: 16).

ETHICS AND CONSIDERATIONS

Although a valuable methodology for the research question posed in the present study, CDA contains ethical challenges related to the researcher's own subject position. In the interest of reflexivity and subject disclosure, I am a white, middle-class Canadian settler who has been raised in a province that contains significant Indigenous ostracism and marginalization. I am aware of my own, as well as my friends' family's, personal and institutionalised discrimination toward Indigenous peoples, and my interest in pursuing this topic stems from a desire to expose power asymmetries at play in my own 'imagined community'. Reflexivity of my subject position was especially helpful during sample selection and discourse analysis. Rather than being drawn to news pieces that merely supported my experiences, this engagement in reflexivity led to a wide-ranging selection of discourses. Samples were ultimately selected through random selection in an effort to avoid preferred meanings (Deacon, et al., 2007).

However, it is crucial to note that I cannot fully separate my own knowledge and thoughts from societal influences. As Foucault suggests, 'we must conceive of discourse as a violence we do to things' (1996: 354), and recognise that to claim knowledge is never a neutral exercise. Therefore, I recognise that my research is itself a production of power, and in its creation I have aimed to be as reflexive as possible.

Other ethical implications that need to be addressed include the sensitive nature of the research question of the study, such that there was a need for attentiveness in the selection of the corpus and throughout subsequent analysis. While choosing news articles, it was therefore necessary to be mindful of what was truly 'public' information, as authors of news blogs, op-eds, or websites may not consider the content of their online publications to be available for research purposes. Therefore, only mainstream newspapers with 'top hits' published both in print and online were considered during the corpus collection.

CORPUS COLLECTION AND SAMPLING

Table 1. Canadian Mainstream Newspapers Applied In Sample.

Ownership	Newspaper	Daily Circulation
F.P. Canadian Newspapers	Winnipeg Free Press	104,909
Globe And Mail Inc.	Globe And Mail	346,543
Halifax Herald Ltd.	The Chronicle Herald	91,152
Postmedia Network Inc./Sun Media	Edmonton Sun	39,918
	National Post	183,111
	Ottawa Sun	39,270
	Star Phoenix	43,593
	Toronto Sun	134,266

Source: Newspapers Canada, 2015.

The corpus collection (*n* = 11) was selected by searching through archived online Canadian mainstream newspapers to find articles that fit the following criteria: articles should contain stories about the Elsipogtog Protest (2013), have gathered mainstream media attention across various newspapers to ensure they contain dominant discourses, and include competing discourses of 'us' versus 'them' in the construction of the Canadian 'home'. Newspapers were selected to reflect popularity (i.e. daily circulation rates), geographical variety (six provinces are represented, while two newspapers are nationally distributed), and assorted ownership (five newspapers are owned by Canada's principal news distributor, Postmedia Network Inc., and five newspapers are produced by other companies). In an effort to devise a diverse sample, no discrimination was made against the political nature of the newspaper nor whether the tone of coverage towards the Elsipogtog protest was more positive or negative.

The timeframe analysed represents one month of mainstream coverage immediately following the Elsipogtog protest in order to analyse initial mainstream discourses during peak reporting. This timeframe falls between October 18, 2013 and November 14, 2013. Coding was applied to the sample, with an emphasis on identifying explicit and implicit

descriptions of 'us' versus 'them', descriptions of national community, descriptions and/or omissions of Canada's history of colonialism, and descriptions of resistance. A sample of coded articles can be found in Appendix A.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents findings on the discourse of 'home' in Canadian mainstream newspapers regarding the Elsipogtog protest, and is divided into three themes: home constructed through 'othering', discourses of security, and home through historical amnesia and the silencing of counter-discourses.

Grammars of Othering

Along with the perception of common history, traditions, and shared systems of cultural representation, a 'crucial element in the discursive construction of [home] and national identities involves the articulation of difference and contrast with respect to other nations and identities' (Szuchewycz, 2000: 498). The following articles demonstrate how the image of a unified, national home was established in mainstream coverage of the Elsipogtog protest, whilst discursively constructing the Indigenous other as in an 'atavistic stage of evolutionary development' (Anderson and Robertson, 2011: 262) compared to the dominant Canadian majority. The following excerpt discusses New Brunswick's decision to move forward with hydraulic fracking despite protests from the Elsipogtog Nation:

> *Extract 1*
> The reality is that we have the science, we have the facts behind us to understand what the reality is, and that's why we have made the decision to move forward with this very important industry in New Brunswick.

> *-The Globe and Mail*, November 14, 2013

At a textual level, the editors discursively position 'Canadians generally' as scientific, realistic, and factually-driven, in contrast to presumably 'less articulate' Indigenous peoples. At the discursive level, this positioning of 'us' and 'them' employs Baumann's orientalist grammar of 'othering' in which what is 'good in us' is 'absent in them' (Baumann and Gingrich, 2004: 20). This characterisation can be understood as miring Indigenous peoples as impeding (industrial) progress, static, and inferior compared to the more 'intelligent' and 'advanced' 'everyday Canadians'.

This echoes Said's (1979) articulation that all empires in their official discourse have claimed distinction from others with a mission to 'enlighten, civilize, and bring order to democracy' (Ibid: xvi), and that force is only a last resort. The result is that oriental grammar is inextricably bound to the production of knowledge about Canadian Indigenous peoples and works as a style for 'dominating, restructuring, and maintaining authority' over the other (Said, 1979: 3). The grammar of 'othering' is fundamental to the promulgation of colonial common sense and neo-liberal ideas that contend Canadian society is progressing and evolving, whilst Indigenous communities remain anachronistic.

> *Extract 2*
>
> Taking up endless activism is what leaders do to distract from their incompetent management...To rationalize and enable this man's ineptitude [Chief Sock] as many [media do] is a classic case of racism of lesser expectations. Reject this. Elsipogtog voters should vote out Sock next year and the public must stop giving lousy Aboriginal leaders a free pass.
>
> *-Edmonton Sun*, October 22, 2013

> Extract 3
>
> Elsipogtog Chief Sock was among those arrested and released. Sock said his community wants a 30 day period to reflect on what happened at 'cool off'.
>
> *-Winnipeg Free Press*, October, 19, 2013

As with the previous extract, these passages construct an artificial, oppositional binary between 'inept' Indigenous leadership and presumably more 'rational' and 'capable' non-Indigenous Canadian leaders. Ironically, in extract 2, the editor calls on 'Canadians generally' to discontinue the 'classic case of racism of lesser expectations' towards Indigenous populations, while producing discriminatory discourse by characterising all 'Aboriginal' leaders as 'lousy'. Such discourses utilise Baumann's 'segmentary' grammar of othering by using the broad and homogenising term 'Aboriginal', thereby reducing all Indigenous peoples to a singular homologous unit, and omitting discussion specific to the Mi'kmaq people, or of Elsipogtog more generally. This discourse conveys a favourable portrayal of the dominant 'Canadian' group, similar to what is referred to by Baumann (2004) as 'selfing', in which newsreaders are positioned as part of the 'us' standing in opposition to 'them', an out-group comprised of predictably homogenising characteristics such as 'ineptitude', a blind allegiance to 'their' people, and an anti-progressive mind-set, all of which propel an Orientalising

discourse of corruption among Indigenous leadership figures, used to contrast the comparably common-sensical, reasoned 'Canadian' behaviour.

Discourses of Security

Continuing Baumann's grammars of othering is the vivid framing of Indigenous peoples as a threat to Canadian national security, and to the comforts of 'home':

> *Extract 4*
> Anti-fracking protesters were armed to the teeth…Peaceful protests don't require a large police presence…When you get into a protest that has this type of criminal behaviour and criminal element, it requires a much different response.
>
> -*The Toronto Star*, October 18, 2013

> *Extract 5*
> Dozens of people were arrested Thursday after Molotov cocktails were thrown at police vehicles and RCMP officers…In no way can we as a country of laws condone the breaking of laws and violence.
>
> - *Toronto Sun*, October 18, 2013

> *Extract 6*
> On October 17, RCMP marched on a blockade of mostly Native protestors who were preventing SWN Resources workers from getting to their equipment…Guns, knives and homemade explosives were later found in their encampment….
>
> -*Ottawa Sun*, October 24, 2013

> *Extract 7*
> Protestors in Saskatoon are throwing their support behind Elsipogtog First Nation. Thursday [in New Brunswick], Molotov cocktails were hurled at officers, police vehicles were torched, and protestors sprayed with tear gas. Dozens of people were arrested.
>
> -*The Star Phoenix*, October 18, 2013

The above excerpts continue the trend of painting Indigenous protestors as the 'other' within Canada, but encompass a slightly different strategy for doing so: here, Indigenous activists are patently labelled as violent, radical security threats to the Canadian 'home'. At the textual level, the absence of an overt label of Indigeneity still suggests the '40 people' arrested for 'criminal acts of violence' are both Indigenous and assumed to be adequately representative of the entirety of Indigenous peoples. Vivid descriptions of Indigenous peoples as drunk, violent, and needy in everyday Canadian discourse (Anderson and Robertson, 2011) have transformed in tone only marginally, from a time when news language left little room for ambiguity, to a present-day situation in which it is considerably less 'acceptable' to apply such overtly discriminatory labels (Morrison, et al., 2014). For example, whereas there is no longer an inclination in Canadian mainstream newspapers to refer to specific Indigenous communities as 'squaws' or 'savages', as once was common parlance (Anderson and Robertson, 2011), in recent years, the framing of Indigenous peoples has been entrenched in behavioural terms rather than overt biological essentialisms. Thus, the archetypal 'savage' becomes one who engages in behaviours of savagery, but is not overtly referenced as such. By extension, if a person engages in acts of violence, namely 'breaking laws' and 'throwing Molotov cocktails', it matters little if one is labelled a savage or merely described as one (Morrison, et al., 2014). Arguably, the latter is a more effective threat to the security of the home because it requires behavioural evidence. This process of 'othering' operates by assigning essential behaviours to the other, which in turn signify the thing-in-itself (that is, 'Indigenous peoples'), which serves to propagate and maintain colonial imaginaries of the Canadian home and nation.

> *Extract 8*
>
> 'The last recorded unemployment rate for Elsipogtog is 32%. The New Brunswick number is 11%. Nationally it's 7%. Instead of focusing on building relationships with the local economy, Chief Aaron Sock is horsing around in the middle of the road playing 'warrior' with people who built IED's – for a cause that has nothing directly to do with his community'.
>
> *-Edmonton Sun*, October 22, 2013

Further propagating a discourse of the Canadian home is the discriminatory use of the term 'warrior', demonstrated in excerpt 8. However, As Alfred, a Kanien'kehaka (Mohawk) scholar suggests, contrary to the European 'militaristic and soldierly' (Alfred and Lowe, 2005: 5) signification of the term 'warrior', the English Kanien'kehaka translation, *rotiskenhrakete*, literally means 'carrying the burden of peace' (Ibid: 5). This leads Alfred and Lowe (2005) to clarify that there are numerous words at the core of traditional Indigenous cultures that, due to limitations of the English language, 'can only be translated using the single term 'warrior"

(Ibid: 5), which in turn, signifies violent behavioural characteristics. However, the Euro-Canadian 'warrior' contrasts with that of Indigenous 'warriors' who uphold a position of 'ideological commitment to defend land and communities from physical invasion by outside forces' (Alfred and Lowe, 2005: 8), purely utilizing violence as a last alternative to national protection. The dissemination of Indigenous discourse removed from its socially specific context serves to propagate understandings of Indigenous peoples as a threat to the security of the Canadian home, framing them as barbaric, violent 'others'.

The discourse of Elsipogtog protestors as a threat to national security also works to discredit and delegitimise the roots of protest, simultaneously legitimising authoritative violence as reasonable and necessary to 'defuse the situation' (Benford, 1997). This framing of insecurity is founded in 'settler governmentality' (Van Rythoven, 2015: 4), which codes Indigenous protest as threats that must be eradicated through the mechanisms of security to ensure the prosperity of the dominant settler society. In this context, the Canadian imagination of home is one of imperialism, as it shares this understanding of Indigenous 'others' as violent threats to the security of the home, which ultimately contributes to building common visions of the nation (Anderson and Robertson, 2011: 4).

Othering Through Amnesia

Articulating a vocabulary of the nation facilitates an imagination of 'home' that depends on a specific 'historical amnesia' (Manning, 2000: xxiii). Hobsbawm (1990) suggests this could not be otherwise, given 'that we are trying to fit a historically novel, emerging, changing, and...far from universal entities into a framework of permanence and universality' (Ibid: 6). The following extracts illustrate the construction of 'historical amnesia' when constructing the 'other' in mainstream editorials:

> *Extract 9*
> What the Elsipogtog residents are protesting simply isn't their business. It's got nothing to do with them. So let's get one thing straight: This has nothing to do with Aboriginal issues. The Elsipogtog protestors are just violent environmental activists.
>
> *-Edmonton Sun*, October 22, 2013

> *Extract 10*
>
> Southwestern Energy has been and will continue to work closely with local authorities and community leaders to conduct our operations safely and responsibly, and in full compliance with the law of the country and province.
>
> *-The Chronicle Herald*, October 18, 2013

Despite the claims in multiple mainstream articles that Elsipogtog Nation is made up of 'violent environmental activists', and that the protests were illegitimate because fracking 'isn't their business', history suggests it most certainly is 'their business'. As traditional Indigenous cultures were broadly deemed inferior by European settlers (Coulthard, 2014), settler authorities warranted North America legally vacant, a *terra nullius*, and 'sovereignty was acquired by the mere act of settlement itself' (Coulthard, 2014: 100). But as Alfred reminds us, 'the word 'Canada' is derived from a Kanien'kehak term, *Kanatiens*, which means 'they sit in our village', and that a contemporary translation of the term translates to 'squatter'' (Alfred, quoted in Corntassel et al.2009: 139). Therefore, in Indigenous understandings, Euro-Canadians are ultimately descendants of 'squatters' or 'trespassers', a turn of phrase that may help to remind setter-governments that the foundations of colonialism are ongoing.

Fundamental to this process of othering is a lack of specificities as to the Peace and Friendship treaties signed with the Crown in 1760 and 1761. Under these agreements, the Mi'kmaq and Maliseet signatories did not surrender rights to Indigenous land and resources, meaning that no lands were ever ceded. Thus, Canada is faced with an uncomfortable legal reality in which millions of acres of land are not legally recognised as ever having been acquired by the Crown, and that Canada does not in fact own the land that Elsipogtog Nation falls upon. Therefore, to discursively attest that Southwestern Energy will continue to conduct operations 'safely' and 'in full compliance with the law of the country and province' is to engage in historical amnesia by excluding and silencing substantial details of historical significance, strengthening the imagination of the Canadian home constructed through colonising practices.

> *Extract 11*
>
> As word got out on social media, sympathy protests sprang up in other parts of the country…Fighting for the 85% welfare status quo, and against potential jobs. Such is the proud legacy of the Elsipogtog First Nation.
>
> *-The National Post*, October 18, 2013

In extract 11, a form of historical amnesia again arises. In these instances, blame for Canada's colonial 'past' is reversed, as poor socioeconomic conditions on reservation lands are used to assemble the charge that the apparent ineptitude of 'Chief Aaron Sock' is preventing his ability to lead his peoples to 'progress'. Consider the statement that the proud legacy of the 'Elsipogtog Nations fighting for the 85% welfare status quo' instead of simply bowing and conforming to 'progressive' Euro-Canadian ideals.

Just as the process of othering can be considered a method of imagining Canada as 'home', treaties between the Canadian government and Indigenous communities further augment this relationship. This is notable when the author highlights Elsipogtog's high unemployment rate in order to contrast it with that of, presumably, Euro-Canadians. Despite having entered into treaties with the Canadian government as sovereigns within international law, Indigenous peoples are often constructed as dependent on Canada for their Aboriginal title, revealing a larger colonial agenda: to liberate them of their traditional livelihoods and land (Byrd, 2011). As Yellowknife Dene First Nation scholar Coulthard suggests, 'the averse effects of colonization demand more colonization' (Coulthard, 2014: 100), and in passages such as these, the Canadian government is constructed as the sole legitimate authority to determine which demands for Indigenous recognition are to be accommodated and which are to be silenced (Ibid: 100). The goal of sovereignty has been diminished as extermination and assimilation directives have eroded the rights and autonomy of Indigenous communities (Cook-Lynn, 1991), working to strengthen the homogenous imagination of the Canadian nation weakening all identities that threaten its existence.

CONCLUSION

The findings of the present study indicate that there are indeed significant, identifiable discourses of the Canadian 'home' in representations of the Elsipogtog protest in Canadian mainstream newspapers, and that this sense of 'home' is discursively constructed through orientalist and segmentary grammars, where 'behavioural evidence' is assigned to the Indigenous other – an exclusionary practice meant to safeguard colonial imaginations of the Canadian nation. Discourses of 'home' in relation to the Elsipogtog protest contain grammars of othering, security discourses, essentialising rhetorics which cast Indigenous peoples as primal, violent, and instinctual, and is underscored by a historical amnesia toward Canada's colonialist history. In response to mainstream newspaper articles regarding the Elsipogtog protest, Métis author Chelsea Vowel (2013) argues that it is essential Canadians 'dig deeper,

and form our opinions based on as wide a range of perspectives possible' (Ibid: 1) in order to expose ourselves to counter-narratives and underlying issues that reject homogenising national narratives. Vital to this is an acknowledgement of the abuses conferred on Indigenous peoples over the course of Canada's history – ongoing abuses which continue to propagate historical wrongs, and which provide the impetus for events such as the Elsipogtog protest.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has expanded the repertoire of empirical research on discourses of the Canadian home in relation to Indigenous peoples, and has demonstrated the extent to which mainstream newspapers produce and disseminate homogenous conceptions of Canadian 'common sense'. The study undertaken demonstrates but a portion of the multitude of homogenising discourses circulated through mainstream newspapers, and has restricted its focus to articles published between October 18, 2013 and November 14, 2013. In addition, this research has examined only one viewpoint in order to illustrate that underprivileged discourses are continuously subjugated within the mainstream Canadian mediascape. As such, the present study's methodology cannot claim to show evidence as to how discourses of the home are received or interpreted by audiences. Future research would benefit from investigating the active role of audiences in interpreting, reacting to, accepting, or resisting exclusionary representations of Indigenous peoples as violent 'others' by mainstream media. Focus groups and interviews with mainstream media editors and newsreaders could provide insights into the durability of Herman and Chomsky's (1988) Propaganda Model in depictions of the Canadian home. Furthermore, if discourses are constitutive of society, a significant aspect of addressing socioeconomic disparities in Canada will be addressing exclusionary discursive constructions of home which continue to propagate Indigenous marginalisation and dominant power structures that shape inequality. Contentious moments such as the Elsipogtog protest remain a significant aspect of challenging exclusionary discourses and unequal power structures perpetuated by mainstream institutions. Until exclusionary discourses of the Canadian home and nation are rejected, there can be, for Indigenous nations, no place like home.

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