

**Indigenous resistance
to resource extraction
in New Brunswick's
monopoly news environment**

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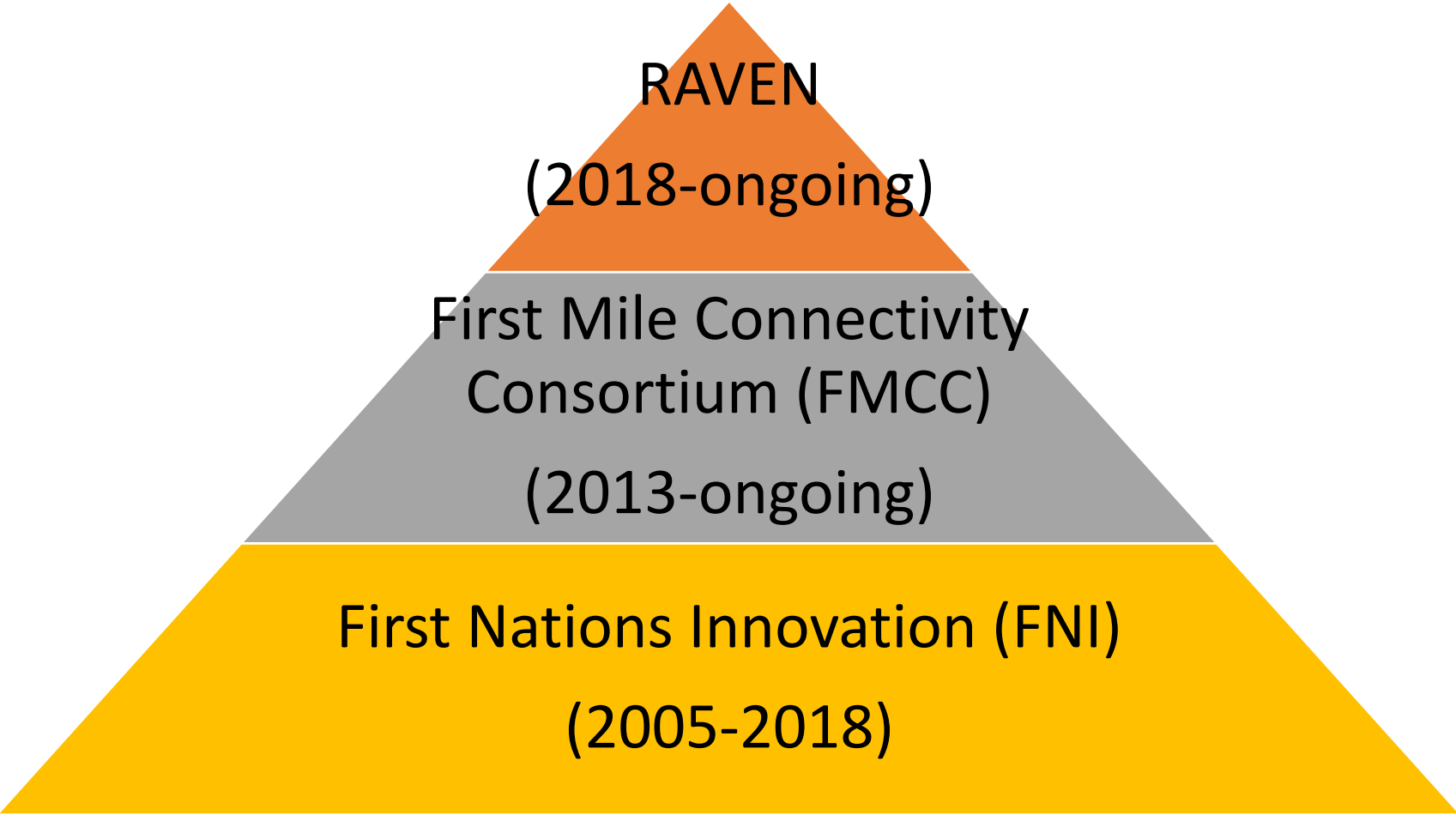
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Recognizing and honouring the
unceded traditional territories of
the Wolastoq Nation as the place
where I live and work.

Acknowledging that I am
presenting today on Treaty 4
territory.



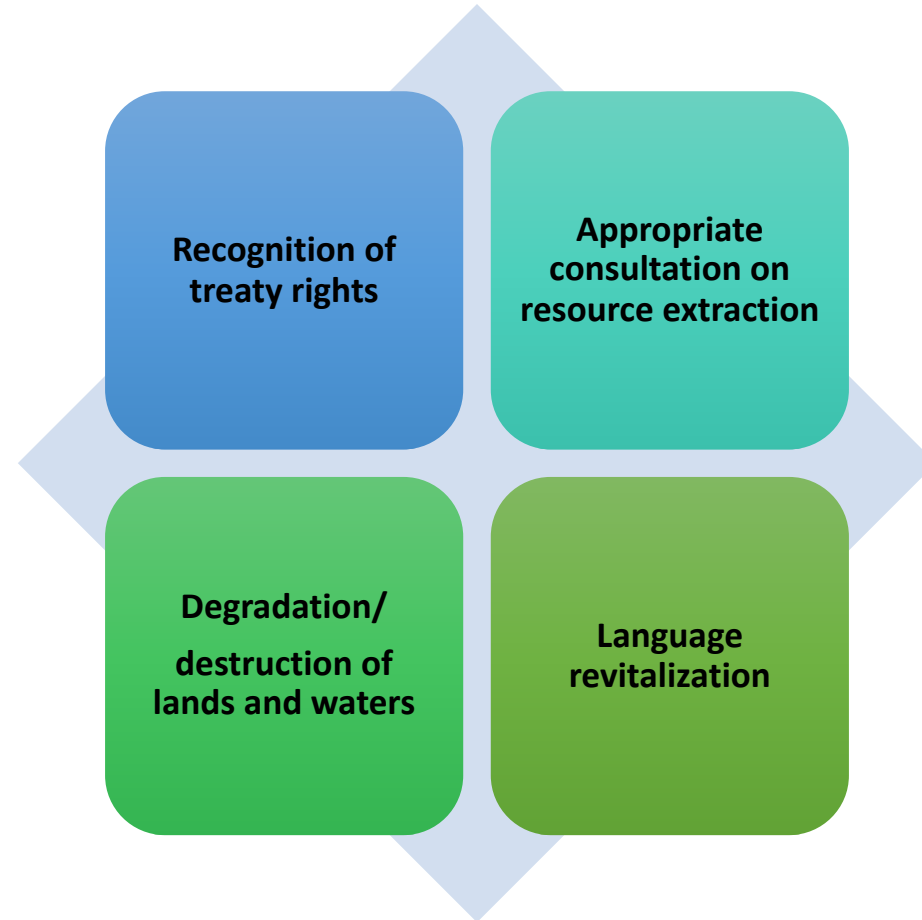
Theoretical framing

- Clarke (2003) and others: **pacification, criminalization of dissent**
- **Manufacture of consent**: mass media / propaganda function of the media (Herman & Chomsky)
- **Cultural hegemony** : the ruling class manipulates the culture of that society so that the ruling class worldview becomes the accepted cultural norm (Gramsci); also cultural imperialism, cognitive imperialism (Battiste)
- Leanne Simpson (2009); Taiaiake Alfred; Glen Coulthard on **Indigenous resurgence**

New Brunswick



Challenges for Indigenous communities in New Brunswick



State / corporate capture of NB

“Applied to the New Brunswick context, [state capture means that] firms that hold a monopoly manipulate political and economic systems so that only they can benefit from natural resources, with the cooperation of a few public officials. In essence, the province’s assets are ‘tunnelled out’ by companies who write their own regulations.” (Dudziak & D’Arcy, 2017)

The Irving complex

*“From a purely descriptive standpoint, what has emerged in New Brunswick over the last number of decades may be called a media industrial complex, one in which the single largest industrial presence in the region owns and controls a commanding majority of the province’s print media market.”
(Couture, CJC 2013)*

Brunswick News shapes discourse (Graphic: Couture, 2013)

Table 1: Brunswick News Inc. Print Media Holdings and Circulation (2010-11)

Dailies*		
Publication Title	Location	Average Circulation
Telegraph Journal	Saint John	30,998
Daily Gleaner	Fredericton	19,347
Times & Transcript	Moncton	33,951
Weeklies		
Publication Title	Location	Approx. Circulation
L'Étoile (French): Comprises 8 local editions throughout the Acadian Regions of New Brunswick	Chaleur Region	16,380
	Restigouche Region	19,048
	Dieppe	15,444
	Kent Region	15,567
	Shédiac	7,369
	Le Cataracte (Grand Falls)	5,278
	La République (Edmunston)	16,926
	Péninsule Acadienne	17,988
	Total Circulation	114,000
[HERE]	Fredericton, Moncton, Saint John	21,839
La Journal Madawaska (French)	Madawaska County	4,987
The Kings County Record (Semi-weekly)	Sussex	4,930
The Miramichi Leader (Bi-weekly)	Miramichi	9,700
The Miramichi Weekend	Miramichi	5,430
The Northern Light	Bathurst	4,183
The International Money Saver	Western New Brunswick and Northern Maine	Low '0,000s**
The Tribune	Campbellton	3,620
Wheels	Fredericton, Moncton, Saint John	30,000**
KV Style	Rochesay	Low '000s**
This Week	Moncton and Riverview	Low '000s**
The Post Gazette	Oromocto	15,500
Community Neighbours This Week	Greater Fredericton Area	N/A
Northside This Week	Fredericton Northside	N/A
Victoria Country Star	Grand Falls	2,504
Victoria Advertiser	Grand Falls	N/A
York County Connection (Bi-Weekly)	Woodstock	N/A

Notes: Source: CNA, 2011; *End-of-year 2011 for dailies; ** Estimate

Starting question:

How does the Brunswick News monopoly cover Indigenous protest in the province?

Study design

- Brunswick News articles for the three daily NB papers available in searchable text in online database since 2000
- Developed a Boolean search string:

("First Nation" OR "Indigenous" OR "Inuit" OR "Metis" OR Aboriginal) **AND** ("mining" OR "mine" OR "fishing" OR "hunting" OR "Energy East" OR "pipeline" OR "woodlot" OR "shale" OR "extraction" OR forest* OR protest* OR frack*)

Gross hits using Boolean string

Year	# of hits (gross) on Brunswick News	Years selected for study
2000	800	
2001	400	2001
2002	200	
2003	100	
2004	175	2004
2005	175	
2006	250	
2007	150	2007
2008	100	
2009	150	
2010	150	
2011	200	2011
2012	150	
2013	700	
2014	500	2014
2015	400	
2016	400	2016
2017	300	

Relevant article count

Year	# of articles	Out NB	ext	mine	fish	hunt	EE	pipe	wood	for	frack	shale	Protest (67 in final dataset inside NB)
2001	246	57	0	7	167	74	0	11	3	32	0	0	28
2004	115	30	0	11	41	25	0	3	0	51	0	0	12
2007	128	27	0	13	31	27	0	14	0	24	0	1	42
2011	127	24	5	31	32	17	0	22	2	25	13	18	28
2014	153	58	6	29	17	8	31	66	1	36	18	52	28
2016	149	49	7	20	16	10	66	95	1	14	12	20	24

N-Vivo Nodes

Name	Definition
Criminalization	Any reference to criminal proceedings being brought against someone. Arrests, court cases, sentences. (50)
Efforts to Maintain Peace	<p>Child node 1: Forceful Action (20)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Any reference to disruptive or forceful/violent action. Not limited to police/military but inclusive of any individuals and/or groups <p>Child node 2: Co-operation (19)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Any reference to non-violent action or forms of collaboration to solve or bring awareness to disputes.
Indigenous Voice	<p>Direct quotes cited within the articles that are known to be from member(s) of Indigenous groups.</p> <p>Child node 1: Frustration (36)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Any quotes that highlight themes of frustration, disappointment, struggle (for example) <p>Child node 2: Optimism (12)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Any quotes that highlight themes of being optimistic (such as discussing collaborations, hope, success, for example)

Analysis of news coverage

- Features pacification, criminalization of dissent – Yes, news focus on criminality, maintaining “peace”
- Supports cultural hegemony – Yes, both forceful action and cooperative action have the same result; both frustration and optimism have same result (resistance is futile)
- Supports Indigenous resurgence – No, except for limited hopeful Indigenous voices (also other articles on cultural practices)

Next question:

Can alternative media produced with rural communities and activists challenge the dominant discourse and support Indigenous resurgence?

Opportunities

Social media as the main source of news (?) in New Brunswick

Brunswick News behind a paywall, difficult to share on social media

Opportunity for independent, alternative media to produce content and share on social media



Featured

Return of the Wolastoq: Giving a river back its name

May 26, 2017, by Tracy Glynn

The Wolastoq Grand Council is supporting their youth's proposal to change the name of the Saint John River back to its original and proper name, the Wolastoq. Wolastoq means "beautiful [...]"



RAVEN research project

- **Rural Action and Voices for the Environment**
- SSHRC Insight (2018-2022), starting June (next week)
- Currently 7 faculty / 1 PhD student at UNB and NB Media Co-op
- Work with and train rural community members in digital video and film-making skills; co-produce digital media content that highlights, in their own voices, their visions for sustainable futures.
- Analyze the extent to which digital media content produced by rural community members supports solidarity and action toward rural sustainability.

Thank you / Contact

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