NEWSPAPERS AS A FORM OF SETTLER COLONIALISM: AN EXAMINATION OF THE

DAKOTA ACCESS PIPELINE PROTEST AND AMERICAN INDIAN REPRESENTATION

IN INDIGENOUS, STATE, AND NATIONAL NEWS

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The Supervisory Committee certifies that this ***disquisition*** complies with North Dakota State

University's regulations and meets the accepted standards for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

Settler colonial history underlies much of contemporary industry, including the extraction and transportation of crude oil. It presents itself in a variety of contexts; however, this disquisition applies a traditional Marxist perspective to examine how settler colonialism is present in news media representation of American Indian activists during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Rather than focus on the benefit of using colonized labor for financial gain, this disquisition pushes Marxism into settler colonialism in which the goal is to eliminate the Indigenous and continue to widen the gap between social classes.

This research is important for two reasons. First, the media are powerful, making it the perfect vehicle to disseminate inaccurate representations of American Indians. These incorrect representations come in the form of media frames that created an altered reality for news audiences. Second, the term settler colonialism, in particular its relationship with American Indian protest, has been little studied in the American field of communication.

A comparative qualitative content analysis was applied to media artifacts from the protest that occurred in North Dakota. Artifacts were discovered using a constructed week approach of two online versions of print publications—the *Bismarck* (ND) *Tribune* and the *New York Times*—and one digital only news site, *Indian Country Today*. One hundred twenty four artifacts were examined in total.

Five dominant frames emerged from the analysis: blame, cultural value, water, American Indian stereotypes, and confrontation. These frames were considered dominant due to the number of coded excerpts that appeared in at least 20% of the artifacts. The frames either contribute to or resist settler colonialism based on the publication in which it appears. The *Bismarck Tribune* contributed the most to settler colonialism; the *New York Times* neither

rejected nor acknowledged it while *Indian Country Today* resisted through recognition of

America's settler colonial past, sovereignty, and government-directed violence.

The implication of this research is that elimination of the American Indian is ubiquitous

in American news media. The mainstream media contributes to widening the gap between social

classes, ensuring the dominant class stays in power and Indigenous issues are ignored.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To say it takes a village to write a dissertation is a tremendous understatement, as this project could not have been completed without my family, friends, and committee at North Dakota State University. Indeed, each group contributed in numerous ways that I will forever appreciate.

First, my family. The only reason this dream came true is due to the patience and support of my husband, Stephen, and our daughters, Nora and Julia. They took over when I was busy studying and gave me encouragement when I felt overwhelmed. I am as proud of them as they are of me. My parents, Donald Olson and Ruth Severson, didn't always understand why I was pursuing this degree, but they pitched in whenever help was needed. This came in many forms, such as picking up kids from school or entering data into spreadsheets. My sisters, Dawn and Rebecca, always knew when to send silly texts when I desperately needed to take things a little less seriously.

Second, my friends. I have the good fortunate to have met many wonderful colleagues during this process, too many to name. They know who they are, however, as we met regularly for writing groups, shared ideas and frustrations, and supported one another through projects and exams. I also have to thank those friends that have been with me since my undergraduate days or even earlier. They keep me humble.

Finally, my committee. This dissertation could not have happened without the guidance of my advisor, Ross Collins, and my talented committee from communication and sociology. They provided excellent advice and helped me discover new perspectives in my own education and research. I am grateful for their time and expertise.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the American Indian activists who fought to preserve their

beliefs at the Dakota Access Pipeline protest.

"We stand for the water, we stand on our treaties,

we stand for *unci maka*—we stand and face the storm."

Ladonna Bravebull Allard, Sacred Stone Camp

PREFACE

As with any project, decisions must be made regarding a variety of topics. The decisions I faced when writing this dissertation will be briefly discussed in this section, as it will help the reader understand my choices. These decisions include semantics, grouping of Indigenous groups as one entity, and my participation as a white woman in this narrative.

One of the earliest decisions I had to make was regarding recognition semantics. The literature I reviewed used American Indian, Native American, or Native/American Indian to describe Indigenous people. This left me unsure of the generally accepted recognition. In an attempt to rectify my indecision, I reviewed numerous web sites ranging from Native American Journalist Association to the American Indian Movement. Indigenous media sites also used both terms and the Associated Press recommends using Native American. The preferred style for communication literature, however, did not give a recommendation.

I discovered my answer in Ruth Seymour's "Names, Not Nations" found in Carstarphen and Sanchez's *American Indians and the Mass Media*. This chapter focused on the semantics of naming a group of people. She reviewed the coverage of American Indian issues in two mainstream newspapers for one year. She discovered that each article seemed to refer to American Indians in a different way, such as "the Indians" or "the nation's Native American's" (Seymour, 2012, p. 75). Some choices were neutral while others were disrespectful; regardless, all name choices had semantic implications. The implication of her research is while the most appropriate choice is to name the tribe (they are sovereign entities, after all), when pan-tribal identification must occur she determined American Indian was most appropriate.

Chapter two discusses the simplification of the numerous Indigenous cultures in the media for ease of settler cognitive understanding. The generalization helped to create some of

the stereotypes examined in this research. I am aware that I have also generalized American Indians when numerous groups are present in the artifact. This is not to downplay the importance of each Indigenous culture or to perpetuate a stereotype, but for ease of discussion due to the hundreds of tribes showing their solidarity during the protest. However, I do attribute the tribe to specific individuals or groups when it is known.

Finally, as a white woman I realize I cannot possibly understand the issues facing the Standing Rock Sioux. I hope I do not come across in this dissertation as pretentious or as an attempt to dominate. I am well aware that I alone measurably benefit from this research at this particular time. I hope, however, that I can at least amplify the voice of the Standing Rock Sioux by using the message they created during the protest to help dominant audiences understand the importance of protecting land and water.

I also spent a great deal of time familiarizing myself with Indigenous history as I prepared for this disquisition. Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz's book, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, became my go-to reference throughout this research. Her book helped me understand Indigenous history and how it affects the lives of American Indians. I also turned to popular culture works by and about American Indians to help me understand Indigenous perspectives. This includes Kent Nerburn's *Neither Wolf Nor Dog*, Gord Downie's concept album *The Secret Path*, Chris Eyre's movie *Smoke Signals*, and works by Sherman Alexie to name but a few. Please note my education is not complete with the submission of this dissertation, as I will continue to experience fiction and non-fiction works regarding American Indians.

My goal is to take what I have learned about Indigenous culture and use it to decolonize my classroom as much as possible. To demonstrate, I have utilized *Neither Wolf Nor Dog* in my

Intercultural Communication classes. Students are required to read this novel and apply intercultural concepts to the issues raised in each chapter. Student evaluations of the novel are enthusiastic, as they are experiencing literature that is not whitewashed. It opened their eyes to new perspectives and I will continue using Indigenous resources.

In summary, my goal throughout this research was to provide a respectful tone towards American Indians and the Standing Rock Sioux. Their lives and livelihoods are at risk if the pipeline leaks and it is difficult for me to accept as a member of the dominant race I may be part of the problem. Therefore, I hope my efforts at understanding Indigenous ideologies will help spark awareness in those around me.

Kay M. Beckermann

June 2019

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Standing Rock Sioux Reservation the fall of 2016 opened my eyes to the media

misrepresentations of American Indians. What I found most interesting was how American

Indians were framed based on news organization proximity to the protest site. State news media,

for example, often portrayed American Indian activists as nuisances that were breaking the law.

National press, on the other hand, portrayed the indigenous population as frozen in an idealized

past, often describing a pastoral countryside dotted with tepees. In both cases the media ignored

the larger issue: that North Dakota's settler colonial history underlies today's oil extraction and

transportation needs.

The goal of my dissertation research is to identify how Indigenous, national, and state

newspapers represented American Indian activists during the DAPL protest. I will also explain

how the media processes support the structures of settler colonialism through their biased

framing of American Indian people. The aim of settler colonialism is to elimination of the native

through violence, assimilation, recognition, and a variety of other means. The media eliminates

the protests, voices, reasoning, and the humanity of the American Indian by framing and

continuous use of stereotypes, such as the noble savage, bloodthirsty savage, or generic

stereotype (Baylor, 1996). These media actions are continuing the ideology of the dominant (i.e.

Euro-American) class and repressing the true needs and identities of the American Indian.

This dissertation reflects a communication perspective because it focuses on journalism

and the power it has to alter realities of an event through media framing. Journalism as a cultural

artifact perpetuates ideologies such as settler colonialism. This research is important because the

American field of communication does little to address the media as a form of settler

colonialism. While settler colonialism and neocolonialism are related concepts, this research argues that settler colonialism is a somewhat different concept that arises from a different conceptual base. Certainly the work by neocolonialists inform the concept of settler colonialism, but in this research I maintain that settler colonialism moves in a slightly different way, and so will build my research using a different conceptualization of the term that I have established based on my research. Consequently, I will draw from sociology to explain how the media distributes dominant ideologies. It is important, I believe, to understand how the media work in tandem with other apparatuses to continuously repress society. Since repression is often successful, the needs of American Indians—the people that Euro-Americans have attempted to eliminate for centuries—often go under- or mis- represented in the media.

In order to fully understand the Dakota Access Pipeline protest and media representation, this chapter will give an overview of the protest, explore Indigenous fears of water contamination and destruction of sacred sites, review the importance of oil in the state of North Dakota, and explain how the media act as a public informant. The chapter will conclude with a summary of upcoming dissertation sections.

The Dakota Access Pipeline Protest

The Standing Rock Sioux first learned of the proposed construction of a pipeline that would cross near reservation boundaries in 2014. Concerned about the pipeline's affect on water and sacred sites, the Standing Rock Sioux began a years-long opposition (Stand with Standing Rock, n.d.-a). The Tribe voiced their concerns to numerous entities, including pipeline owners Energy Transfer Partners, state officials, and the United States Congress. The Tribe also met with and gained the support of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of the Interior, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Yet despite the backing of these

federal agencies, Energy Transfer Partners was authorized to begin construction on the Dakota Access Pipeline in July 2016 (Stand with Standing Rock, n.d.-a.).

A few months earlier, in April 2016, approximately 30 members of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe began demonstrating against the pipeline. Their numbers grew throughout the summer, reaching over 1,000 activists staying at the Oceti Sakowin and other camps by September (McKenna, 2016a; Stand with Standing Rock, n.d.-b). Unfortunately a demographic count was not recorded, but it is likely the early activists were Native American (McKenna, 2016a). In fact, this event is arguably the largest gathering of Indigenous Nations in decades (Stand with Standing Rock, n.d.-b). An August demonstration of American Indians on horseback mock charging police lines brought the demonstration to the national consciousness via mainstream and social media (McKenna, 2016c). Several weeks later a video showing guard dogs attacking demonstrators went viral, securing the legacy of the Dakota Access Pipeline protest.

With each passing month during the fall of 2016, the number of activists staying at the various camps increased, as did the number of demonstrations and violence. Case in point, hundreds of demonstrators were meeting near a police blockade in November. The response of the Morton County Sheriff's department included use of "rubber bullets, tear gas, concussion grenades, and water cannon" (Hawkins, 2016; McKenna, 2016b, para. 3). The standoff lasted well into the night during below freezing temperatures and over 300 activists were treated for wounds or hypothermia (McKenna, 2016b). The reason for the gathering or response of the local authorities is not clear based on artifacts examined for this research; however, the violence seemed excessive given the actions of demonstrators. The protest reached its climax December 4 with approximately 10,000 activists living at the camps (McKenna, 2016a). North Dakota's

notorious winter weather quickly drove many activists away, with only 1,000 remaining by mid-December (McKenna, 2016a).

Dakota Access and Water

The 1,200-mile Dakota Access Pipeline does not directly cross tribal land; however, it does cross the Missouri River less than a mile upstream of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation (Dakota Access Pipeline Facts, n.d.-b). The Missouri River is the main water source for the Standing Rock Sioux (McKenna, 2016a). The issue is not necessarily where the pipeline is located but the damage to the water supply if the pipeline were to leak. An inadequate water supply is already an issue for the Standing Rock Sioux, with many people relying on "poorly constructed or low capacity" (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, n.d., para. 37) wells. The problems with wells are numerous, including contamination, low quantities of water, and they are expensive to maintain (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, n.d.). Problems not only affect the availability of drinking water, but water used for agriculture and cattle, which are main industries of the tribe. Surface water is unpredictable, shallow groundwater is limited, and deep groundwater is highly mineralized. These issues reduce the amount of land available for grazing, which affects the number of livestock that can be raised on the land, which in turn affects the quantity of cattle available for slaughter (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, n.d.). The Missouri River provides a high volume of clean water to the reservation and areas downstream; without it the people and industry will suffer.

Dakota Access and Sacred Sites

The Standing Rock Sioux also feared the destruction of sites that had cultural or religious value to the tribe (Stand With Standing Rock, n.d.-a). Pipeline construction was essentially a 150-foot-wide road cutting through over 300 miles of prairie and had the potential to destroy

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hundreds of sacred sites (Colwell, 2016; Stand with Standing Rock, n.d.-a). According to the National Historic Preservation Act (1966/1992), federal agencies like the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers are required to consult with tribes when construction may disrupt sacred places. However, the Standing Rock Sioux refused to meet with the Army Corps of Engineers as the Corps refused to review all land that will be disrupted; Corps interest was only in the water crossing (Colwell, 2016). The Standing Rock Sioux were concerned about the safety of their sacred sites over the entire path of the construction, not just the water passage.

Archeologists did eventually walk the pipeline but the required tribal survey was not conducted. The issue with not having the tribal survey is archeologists view the land through a different perspective than American Indians (Colwell, 2016). Archeologists are scientific, searching for shards of pottery or buried villages, something tangible to explain the past. American Indians, on the other hand, view a space via multiple levels. These levels "layer time and place in a complex way, enlacing the real and tangible with the symbolic and representational" (Ferguson & Colwell-Chanthaphonh, 2006, p. 150). Therefore, a space can be replete with cultural meaning, such as a traditional area for gathering healing plants or a place where water is collected for ceremonies (Colwell, 2016). A space is more than the location of tangible artifacts.

Hence, federal agencies approved the construction of the pipeline without recognizing how American Indians view their own heritage. The National Historic Preservation Act was amended in 1992 to recognize the value of traditional cultural spaces, acknowledging the importance of American Indian history (NHPA, 1966/1992). Energy Transfer Partners skirted around these requirements, going so far as to exclude the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in their Environmental Assessment documents (Environmental Protection Agency, 2016). The

breakdown between federal agencies and the Standing Rock Sioux could have been avoided had

the government and corporation been willing to acknowledge American Indian perspectives.

Dakota Access and the Media

The Dakota Access Pipeline protest was reported across the globe. Top hits from the

Google search "Dakota Access Pipeline Protest 2016" includes reports from Inside Climate

News, New York *Times*, USA *Today*, CNN, NBC News, and The *Guardian*. It is clear from the

thousands of articles found regarding the protest the media served as a public informant, acting

as a conduit between those in power (oil companies, government agencies) and the masses.

The press has the responsibility to inform the public so informed decisions regarding

government actions can be made (Weston, 1996). This assumes, however, the press is sharing

accurate information. The Hutchins Commission (1947) stated the "freedom of expression does

not include the right to lie as a deliberate instrument of policy" (p. 10). To make an honest error

is forgiven, but the press may not deliberately misinform the public. To suppress the truth also

suppresses public discussion, which is important to a healthy society. The Hutchins Commission

(1947) further states that debate "elicits mental power and breadth; it is essential to the building

of a mentally robust public" (p. 9). This is an early formation of the public sphere as defined by

Habermas, Lennox, and Lennos (1974), in which newspapers and other forms of mass

communication exist to provide information to all people. Habermas et al (1974) states that in

order for public debate to occur in a large society, the media must exist as a way to distribute

information and "influence those who receive it" (p. 48). Nerone (2015) argues the values

expressed in the Hutchins Commission are important today; however, individuals realize that

news organizations are "unelected, unrepresentative (both demographically and politically),

generally profit-seeking and, even in crisis, more powerful than they ought to be" (p. 324).

Contemporary reporters follow the Code of Ethics established by the Society of

Professional Journalists, which states they should strive to "ensure the free exchange of

information that is accurate, fair and thorough" (SPJ, 2014, para. 1). This is accomplished via

four foundational principles: seek truth and report it, minimize harm, act independently, and be

accountable and transparent (SPJ, 2014). Included in these principles are guidelines that

encourage reporters to never "misrepresent or oversimplify" (para. 6) and to "avoid

stereotyping" (para. 18). However, as literature regarding the media and American Indian

representation points out, these guidelines are often blurred. When this occurs, according to

Arviso (n.d.), the reporting is inaccurate and adds to the "longstanding ignorance of non-Native

media as well as perpetuating stereotypes of Native Americans" (para. 5).

Oil and North Dakota

The history of oil production in North Dakota is relatively young as its discovery was in

April 1951 (State Historical Society of North Dakota, n.d.). Oil production in the state has since

increased significantly. Indeed, the average well in western North Dakota's Bakken Formation

can produce over 600,000 barrels of product over 45 years (State Historical Society of North

Dakota, n.d.). The state relies heavily on oil production to fund "schools, roads and

infrastructure, the North Dakota Legacy Fund, property tax relief, wildlife and natural resources,

and more" (Energy of North Dakota, n.d.). According to Energy of North Dakota (n.d.), taxes

paid for oil production and extraction was over $1.63 billion in 2017. It is easy to understand,

therefore, why the state government supports oil production to the extent it will ignore the needs

of its original inhabitants.

Some state representatives are known to accept substantial donations from oil companies

like Energy Transfer Partners. To illustrate, all three members of the North Dakota Industrial

Commission, the office in charge of the state's Oil and Gas Division, accepted sizeable donations from oil companies in recent elections. Agriculture Commissioner Doug Goehring received campaign donations from at least ten oil companies or their executives (Scheyder, 2014); Attorney General Wayne Stenhjem accepted $50,000 during his last race; and Governor Doug Burgum accepted over $100,000 from oil company executives (Dalrymple, 2017).

Acceptance of these donations is a conflict of interest between their duty to all people of the state and corporate interest. Governor Burgum shows his support of oil on the homepage of Dakota Pipeline Facts, stating the project has "faced months of politically driven delays and will allow for safe transport of North Dakota product to market" (Dakota Access Pipeline Facts, n.d.-a). He does not have a message supporting the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. It could be argued that acceptance of money from oil companies is a way to indicate their support of the oil industry in the state.

Summary

The media played an important role during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Through media framing of American Indian activists, newspapers reviewed in this research effectively rewrote the Indigenous narrative of natural resources inherently sacred to this population. My analysis of artifacts highlights North Dakota's dependence on oil revenue and its willingness to repress its American Indian population. Therefore the mainstream media acted as a form of settler colonialism, under-or mis-representing the issue to the benefit of oil companies rather than follow the rule of law. The inclusion of Indigenous media highlights the multivocality of Indigenous reporters as they recognize the numerous levels of history and place during the protest.

The first chapter of this disquisition argues that today's news media are a form of settler colonialism. Accomplished via media owners and boards controlling the narrative of American Indians, these men and women have the power to frame events in ways that will benefit the dominant class. The framing reinforces the structure in which American Indians are considered less superior by the dominant class. This leads to chapter two in which media framing is examined and explores how frames may influence audience perceptions. Chapter two also reviews the history of media bias against American Indians—and how this bias has not changed over the centuries.

Chapter three discusses the comparative qualitative content analysis and coding frame used to examine artifacts regarding the Dakota Access Pipeline protest and the framing of American Indian activists. Chapter four explores the research findings and providing analysis regarding the five dominant frames discovered in the artifacts. The analysis also leads to the answering of the research questions.

Chapter five concludes this disquisition, tying the chapters together to fully explain how settler colonialism is present in today's news media. Implications of settler colonialism in the media and the legacy of the Dakota Access Pipeline protest are also discussed.

CHAPTER ONE: COLONIALISM & SETTLER COLONIALISM

The term settler colonialism invokes pastoral images of pioneers crossing the open prairie in covered wagons, searching for a new life in America. Pioneers, or settlers, are often conceived of as young men eager to homestead in an effort to create an inheritance for future generations (Bowman, 1927). It goes without saying these young men are conceived of as white with a European ancestry following the ideology of a patriarchal social system (Veracini, 2013). It is also assumed these settlers will peacefully encourage the Indigenous population to resettle elsewhere (Ono, 2009). The reality of settler colonialism, in American and elsewhere, is significantly different from the popular conceptions noted above. It is a brutal act of elimination so embedded in society that it continues to repress today (Ono, 2009).

Several theorists will be discussed in this chapter, ranging from Karl Marx to Noam Chomsky. The selection of theorists is not random, despite their varying ideologies. Rather, each theorist contributes to the understanding of colonialism. To illustrate, Fanon's focus is post-colonialism. However, he understands post-colonialism via a historical lens, which contributes to Marx's historical view of oppression. Both scholars discuss capitalist expansion and the widening gap between colonizers and colonized. Compartmentalization of social classes helps to understand settler colonialism and the efforts to eliminate the Indigenous. Marx and Fanon also discuss the tension in the relationship between the colonizers and colonized, as each are dependent upon one another. The bourgeoisie and colonizers cannot increase financial wealth without the labor of the working class and colonized. Settlers, however, were both colonizers and colonized. They attempted to eliminate the Indigenous, as this population was not needed for financial gain. However, settlers were dependent on the upper classes and lawmakers to eliminate the Indigenous without facing legal repercussions.

This chapter will provide a brief overview of traditional colonialism before discussing settler colonialism and the part it plays in today's social structure before ending with a discussion of neocolonialism. The chapter will finish with a discussion of how the news media participate in settler colonialism via industry structure and how these actions maintain dominant ideologies.

Colonialism: Then and Now

Colonialism

This section focuses on colonialism, which is the concept from which settler colonialism emerged. Colonialism is capitalistic expansion from one territory to another in which the ideology of race works to form distinct social categories. The Marxist perspective is applied due to his belief that, like colonialism, the working class suffers under the ideologies of the dominant class. It is a viewpoint of historical oppression, in which colonizers benefit from the labor of the colonized. As this research will discuss, the dominant class in the United States has long oppressed American Indians.

European colonialism began in the Middle Ages with the goal of creating temporary or permanent settlements across the globe (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998). It is defined as "the implanting of settlements on distant territory" (Said, 1993, p. 41). The origins of colonialism emerged from imperialism, a concept in which the dominant ideology stems from a metropolitan area ruling from a distance (Ashcroft et al., 1998). Expansion from metropolises to distant territories occurs when consumer demand of the bourgeoisie for a product increases while local resources needed for manufacture of the product decreases (Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). Owners and manufacturers of the resources, or the bourgeoisie, compose a society's dominant class and it is in their interest to meet the consumer demands and find new locations for resource extraction. If expansion does not occur, wealth will be lost. Hence, colonialism is capitalistic at

its foundation, as the European bourgeoisie could no longer increase their wealth locally (Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). The bourgeoisie were forced to expand their resource extraction in distant territories in order to meet production demands. Philosopher and writer Frantz Fanon (1963), in his examination of colonialism, states "capitalism…regarded the colonies as a source of raw materials which once processed could be unloaded on the European market" (p. 26).

Capitalism also defines the relationship between the production of goods and social class (Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). History, it has been argued, is a continuous repetition of class struggle in which the bourgeoisie regularly exploit the proletariat (Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). The repetition is ceaseless as humans are social beings that are shaped by the culture in which they are raised. A variety of social classes existed and evolved for centuries, yet the mid-17th century European bourgeoisie, desiring to meet the demands of global markets, reduced the class system into two factions (Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). The two camps—bourgeoisie and proletariat[1]—exist in oppositional tension as they rely on one another for existence. Yet when social classes are divided so clearly, a compartmentalized world is created (Fanon, 1963). For example, the bourgeoisie recognized the necessity of global expansion to meet market needs; therefore, they began to settle in distant territories to create trade relationships, extract resources, and modernize production (Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). They also needed laborers, often

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[1] At this point terms regarding the dominant and working classes will start to merge into their final version: colonizer and colonized. The specific terms used by Marx to define the class categories are bourgeoisie and proletariat. The bourgeoisie are the dominant class, the owners and manufacturers of consumer goods. The proletariat is the working class, the individuals that create the goods in which they receive no benefit in return. Fanon's terms for class categories include oppressor and oppressed, which also translate to colonizer and colonized. Like the bourgeoisie, the colonizer/oppressor are the owners and manufacturers while the colonized/oppressed are the enslaved working class. While a variety of terms will be used to define class categories throughout this research, the preferred language will be colonizer and colonized.

individuals from the Indigenous population, for without them production would not occur and bourgeoisie wealth would not increase. Modernization, however, could lead to overproduction of goods that, in turn, may have a destructive effect on manufacturing. This results in decreased wealth of the working class due to overproduction (Marx & Engels, 1848/1964).

Ideology of Race

The ideology of race, in which the white race is considered dominant, is a defining factor in the development of colonization (Césaire, 1955; Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965). Like the class structure studied by Marx and Engels (1848/1964), Fanon (1963) states colonized societies consist of two categories: oppressors/colonizers and the oppressed/colonized. The oppressors (white European/dominant class) form the repressive state apparatus, the institutions necessary to create and enforce laws (Althusser, 1971; Fanon, 1963). The goal of the repressive state apparatus is to maintain the status quo established by the oppressors. The oppressed are the Indigenous that suffer under colonialist rule (Fanon, 1963). These categories of colonized societies are based on the ideology of race with the understanding that white is best (according to Christianity and white men of the dominant class). The capitalistic view of colonialism, with the understanding that class division combined with forced labor, creates an economic structure based on race (Fanon, 1963).

Colonial racism is the ongoing separation of the colonizer and the colonized (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965). The ideology of this separation means the colonizer is continuously degrading and reajusting the position of the colonized, making sure the gap between the two classes is always clearly defined. Colonial racism exploits this gap to the benefit of the colonizer (Memmi, 1965). This is accomplished through the subjection of the colonized to labor for increased profit. Additionally, the differences between the colonizer and the colonized is

considered by all parties to be absolute fact (Memmi, 1965). The construct of race and superiority of the white race is "a *sine qua non* of colonial life, but it also lays the foundation for the immutability of this life" (Memmi, 1965, p. 74). Fanon (1963) highlights the irony that while colonial racism considers the white race to be superior, it is also the race that is always the foreigner in the colonized world. The colonizers are from elsewhere while the colonized are considered "the other" (Fanon, 1963, p. 5).

Othering

Colonial attempts at "othering" include making the colonized appear uncivilized in the eyes of the dominant class (Césaire, 1955). This tactic is employed when violence, which is always present in colonial situations, pulls the colonizer "deeper into the abyss of barbarism" (Césaire, 1955, p. 9). However, rather than blame themselves, the oppressors endeavor to turn the colonized into the barbarian. This can be accomplished by public displays of the colonizer's virtue and attempts to appear heroic (Memmi, 1965). To illustrate, the colonizer may focus on their deep spirituality to indicate their faithfulness to a higher power; a spirituality they consider not possessed by the colonized. The colonizer also attempts to degrade the colonized, "using the darkest colors to depict them" (Memmi, 1965, p. 54). In other words, colonizers actively strive to ensure the colonized is seen as their direct opposite. However, the more the colonizer attempts to depict himself as heroic, the more he is aware of the unjust relationship between colonizer and colonized (Hanson & Hanson, 2006; Memmi, 1965; Weaver-Hightower, 2018). Rather than acknowledge the relationship, the colonizer continues to perpetuate the myth of their importance and the evil ways of the colonized.

Othering is also accomplished by viewing and treating the colonized as animals (Césaire, 1955; Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965). When the colonized are viewed as animals, the colonizer

dominates, turning "the indigenous man into an instrument of production" (Césaire, 1955, p. 42; Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). This is not unlike the use of oxen to plow a field or horses to pull heavy loads. Similarly, the colonizer views the oppressed as without values, "impervious to ethics, representing not only the absence of values by also the negation of values" (Fanon, 1963, p. 6; Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). The colonizer, therefore, views the colonized as an animal absent of all values, worthy only of production and labor that will allow the colonizer to profit.

Power and Domination

Colonized people do not willingly allow themselves to be oppressed (Fanon, 1963). They are turned into a workforce through violence, slavery, and other means of domination in order to increase the wealth of the colonizers. French philosopher Aimé Césaire (1955) explains this using Hitler as an example of domination and capitalism. Hitler considered the colonized country to be one that must be "a country of serfs, of agricultural laborers, or industrial workers. It is not a question of eliminating the inequalities among men but of widening them and making them into a law" (Césaire, 1955, p. 37). This is similar to Foucault's (1977) belief the human body serves as an instrument. When the body is used against one's will, i.e. a prisoner or colonized person forced to work, it is only to deprive the person of freedom. The body, then, is simply "caught up in a system of constraints and privations, obligations and prohibitions" (Foucault, 1977, p. 11). Forced labor affects the body in some way, such as starvation, injury, or confinement. Despite affects on the oppressed body, the forced labor increases wealth for the oppressor, as the body is political (Foucault, 1977). Those in power have the ability to use colonized bodies as the dominant class desires to "invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies" (Foucault, 1977, p. 25).

Power over bodies occurs in colonized territories, similar to Foucault's philosophy on prisoner bodies. The colonized body is in a relationship between power and economics of the colonizer. The body as labor power is only possible when subjected, meaning "the body becomes a useful force only if it is both a productive body and a subjected body" (Foucault, 1977, p. 26; Marx & Engels, 1848/1964). Subjection of the body occurs through violence or strategy by the colonizer (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965; Wolfe, 2006). Violence may be obvious to imagine, but the colonizer can strategically make life of the colonized unbearable through laws and other tactics to the point they have no choice but to submit to the oppression. If, as Foucault (1978) argues, truth is a function of power, then truth is built through knowledge/power systems. Not all people experience the systems in the same way, but they come to accept—by choice or by force—what is the truth. The truth eventually becomes a cycle of violence (Fanon, 1963).

Like the colonized do not bow to subjection voluntarily, neither do colonizers stop oppressing voluntarily. In fact, colonization ends when the oppressed join forces for violent opposition (Fanon, 1963). Societies that participate in decolonialism, or the "revealing and dismantling of colonist power in all its forms" (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998, p. 63), engage in a long process punctuated by frequent violence to achieve independence (Fanon, 1963). All characteristics of colonial power must be dismantled for liberation to occur. This is a difficult process as many aspects of colonialism are buried within the structure of society, laws, ideologies, and institutions.

Settler Colonialism

While settler colonialism emerged from colonialism, significant differences between the systems exist, in particular intentions regarding land, permanence, and Indigenous elimination -

all of which lead to settler colonialism being a structural aspect of society. Like traditional

colonialism, the goal of settler colonialism is to increase financial wealth through land

ownership. Settlers desire total control over the land, politically and otherwise (Macoun &

Strakosch, 2013). The reason is because land provides sustenance and livelihood: therefore, to

own land is to be provided for (Fanon, 1963; Wolfe, 1999, 2006). Agriculture is a common use

of land for settlers; however, it is also valuable for grazing, fishing, mining and forestry (Wolfe,

2006). Land often replenishes itself: fish repopulate, fields are replanted, grass regenerates for

grazing (Wolfe, 2006). Regardless of use, land ownership gives the settler access to resources

that will increase financial wealth. Settlers have the opportunity for permanence due to the

continuous revival of the land and its resources.

Settler permanence and relationship with the Indigenous in the colonized territory is

another difference between the concepts. Permanence is tied to land ownership as settlers arrive

with the intent to stay (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 1999). However, in order to stay on the land,

settlers had to first remove the Indigenous occupants (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 1999, 2006).

Operating under the principle of *terra nullius*, settlers could claim land if it was not already

occupied, if occupants granted permission, or if taken by force (Weaver-Hightower, 2018).

Settlers did not seek land-use permission from the Indigene. Rather, they worked to "'remove'

[Indigenous] to establish a better polity, either by setting up an ideal social body or by

constituting an exemplary model of social organization" (Veracini, 2010). In other words,

settlers bring their ideologies and customs with them to the new territory. The United States, for

example, excluded the American Indian from the "national racial identity" (Hoxie, 2008, p.

1164), or the dominant ideology that excludes all but the white race. Euro-American settlers

determined the national identity should consist of white individuals, whom they consider to be

racially and culturally superior to American Indians (Glenn, 2015; Hoxie, 2008).

Elimination of the American Indian

Since American Indians did not fit the racial identity of the nation, they were considered

an obstacle that needed to be removed in order to take the land to create a "new colonial society"

(Wolfe, 1999, 2006, p. 388). One way to remove them was through the agricultural narrative.

Some American Indians were highly agricultural prior to settler colonization (Dunbar-Ortiz,

2014; Hurt, 2002; Iverson, 1994; Wolfe, 2006). In an effort to justify land theft, settler discourse

framed the Indigenous as nomadic, never staying in one place and therefore removable (Iverson,

1994; Wolfe, 2006). Settlers then framed themselves as farmers and this narrative formed their

identity and economic base, which remains intact today (Hurt, 2002; Wolfe, 2006). The irony of

this reframing is the settlers were often landless (and assumed non-agricultural) prior to their

move to a colonized area (Wolfe, 2006). Not only did settlers steal occupied land, but they stole

the Indigenous identity as agricultural experts as well. This nomadic discourse and theft of

identity facilitated, in part, the dehumanization of the Indigenous in the eyes of settlers,

justifying elimination.

Direct and indirect violence as an elimination tactic became a way of life for both the

colonizer and the colonized. Case in point, settlers and the U.S. Army used forms of low-

intensity warfare. They would intimidate, slaughter, and destroy Indigenous people and villages

(Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Glenn, 2015; Wolfe, 2006). All Indigenous people would suffer regardless

of age or gender. Despite the fact settler colonialism was founded on violence, it was disavowed

once settlers occupied the land and the Indigene were, for the most part, eliminated (Veracini,

2010). Settler justification lies in their belief that violent acts were in self-defense as they attempted to cultivate vacant land (Veracini, 2010).

Another strategy aimed at the Indigenous economy includes the mass slaughter of millions of buffalo, which destroyed the "economic base of the Plains Nations" (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014, p. 142), and the separation of families via abusive boarding schools that attempted to erase the American Indian culture from the youth (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014; Feir, 2016; Glenn, 2015; Jacobs, 2005). The goal for these actions was to eliminate a culture.

Elimination strategies pushed American Indians west until they reached the Pacific Coast. At this point settlers turned to the micro-level of assimilation as an elimination option, focusing on the Indigenous individual as a person (Wolfe, 2006). Through total assimilation into white society, complete with forced relocation and boarding schools, the Indigenous would become extinct and therefore no longer a settler issue. This is a process of breaking down every part of Indigenous life, including "religion, speech, political freedoms, economic liberty, and cultural diversity" (Wunder, 1994, p. 17). Assimilation, argues Wolfe (2006), can be more effective than genocide.

Settler colonialism aims to remove the Indigenous population; to write them out of history through assimilation and other forms of elimination and to carry on as if this population never existed (Veracini, 2010, 2011). Elimination indicates the settler intends to stay on Indigenous land, preferring to remove those already inhabiting the space (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 1999). As Bird Rose (1991) famously notes, "people [Indigene] got in the way by just staying at home" (p. 46). The combined beliefs of permanent ownership of land and elimination of the Indigenous highlight the argument that settler colonialism is a structure, deeply embedded and unceasing, in society rather than a single event (Wolfe, 1999, 2006). This structure is formed via

the ideologies delivered by the settlers, ideologies they brought with them from their place of birth and now impose on others (Veracini, 2010; Wolfe, 1999).

Structure in Society

Structuration theory, developed by sociologist Anthony Giddens (1984), draws upon the tension between society's structure and agency by recognizing that they cannot exist separately. Social systems are created and reproduced by the relationship between structures and agents. This creates a duality of structure, indicating that society is formed by individuals and individuals create their society. Structure can be considered the institutional rules of society. Rules can both enable and constrain the agency, or capability of action, of individuals within society. For example, language is a form of communication between actors and "forms a 'structure' which is in some sense constituted by the speech of the 'language community' or collectivity" (Cassell, 1993, p. 102). Therefore, two people speaking the same language follow particular rules regarding sentence structure, meaning of words, and so on. When members of society follow the guidelines set in place by structures, they are essentially reproducing the social systems set in place by structure and agency.

Individuals within a society are raised with an awareness of rules and choose, consciously or not, to reproduce these rules in their daily practice. Rules are expressions of dominance and power, as the dominant class creates and maintains rules (Giddens, 1993). Through Western laws, for example, the dominant class in America recognizes, dehumanizes, assimilates, and eliminates the Indigenous (Morgensen, 2011). By recognizing American Indians via treaties and acknowledgement of sovereignty, a structure was formed. This structure is recognized today but only when it benefits the dominant class. However, the recognition mainly occurs when money

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is to be made. As soon as financial wealth is to be gained, the dominant class disregards the legal recognitions they, themselves, created (Morgensen, 2011).

Also, those in power often reproduce the rules without question (Cassell, 1993). This reproduction is known as a dialect of control, indicating that those in power, who wish to remain in power, willingly accept social structures. It does not benefit them to change social structures if it means they would lose the benefits offered to those in the dominant class. Biopower, or the activity that "inherits and transforms the deeply historical conditions of Western law" (Morgensen, 2011, p. 54), indicates the dominant class inherited settler colonialism.

Structure also determines a society's level of success based on its economy and relationship between social classes. Metaphorically speaking, structure is described as a building with an economic base (infrastructure) and two upper floors of superstructure (Althusser, 1971). The infrastructure is a unifying force in society because money is one thing all individuals and organizations need. One dollar bill has little value; however, a large quantity of dollar bills helps to determine that individual's social class. Additionally, the amount of money exchanged determine's the economic success of that society. A strong economic base with money being saved and exchanged determines the level of success of the superstructure. A poor economy, for instance, would be reflected through increased homelessless, unemployment, government assistance, and so on. That economy means the working class is not able to increase their own financial gain in addition to the wealth of their employer.

The superstructure consists of two levels: political/legal and ideological (Althusser, 1971). The political/legal superstructure is also known as the repressive state apparatus, or RSA (Althusser, 1971). Consisting of the military, prisons, police, and court system, the repressive state apparatus rules through mental or physical coercian and violence. It is important to note the

repressive state apparatus follows the leadership of the ruling class. Therefore, the repressive state apparatus wields "a monopoly of the means of force in capitalist societies and applied that monopoly to support capitalist class structures" (Wolff, 2005, p. 225). Threats to the capitalist class are repressed as quickly as possible.

The ideological state apparatus (ISA), the other level of the superstructure, guides society via ideology first followed by repression. Ideological state apparatuses instruct "children and adults with specific ways of imagining—thinking about and thus understanding—their places within and relationships to the societies within which they lived" (Wolff, 2005, p. 225). The variety of ideological state apparatuses—education, religion, family, communication—work together in order to be successful. Each ISA works in tandem with each other to encourage individuals to consider their relationship within each ISA and act according to ideological guidelines. This means individuals act accordingly or face discipline, either through the ideological institution itself or the repressive state apparatus. What is most interesting is Althusser's argument that individuals follow ISAs based on their own self-choosing rather than realizing the ideologies have been inculcated since childhood. This allows ISAs to serve capitalism because they can "interpellate subjects within meaning systems…that make them at least accept and at best celebrate capialist exploitation" (Althusser, 1971, p. 226). The work force is willingly accepting their own subjugation.

The combination of ideologies and social class distinctions create settler colonial structures that are deeply embedded into the weave of American culture and nearly impossible to change (Macoun and Strakosch, 2013). Settler colonialism is permanent and therefore part of America's repressive and ideological structures (Kauanui, 2016; Wolfe, 1999, 2006). Writing as a contemporary Indigenous scholar, Kaunaui (2016) "colonialism cannot be relegated to the

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past" (p. 10). When historicized, it means the past is being rewritten to the benefit of the dominant class. It "persists as a pervasive part of the contemporary normalization of settler colonialism" (Kauanui, 2016, p. 11). This is related to the education ideological apparatus as the dominant class whitewashes history to showcase their heroisim rather than their brutal takeover of land. For example, the settlers considered land as open and free for the taking once the Indigenous population was removed. The goal, then, was to eliminate the American Indians and proceed as if they never existed (Wolfe, 1999). The elimination of native societies means settler colonialism is not a one-time event, it is a permanent part of a society's structure.

Ideological Structure of News Media

The media—television, radio, newspapers—form Althusser's communication apparatus (Sevgi & Ozgokceler, 2016). The institutions within the apparatus contribute to settler colonialism as they recognize Indigenous populations; however, the industry controls the narrative of this community through media frames. Beyond these frames, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the narrative is controlled through the ideology and hegemony of media organizations.

Based on the ideology of objectivity, news media (theoretically) attempt to distribute accurate and unbiased information to the masses. However, the institutional structure of the media ensures the dominant ideology is being supported (Althusser, 1971; Mullen & Klaehn, 2010). Media owners and managers control the appearance of objectivity and "their forms of social control must be indirect, subtle, and not at all necessarily conscious" (Gitlin, 2003, p. 259). This is achieved through the hiring of personnel who are typically white and upper-middle-class, decisions as to who is promoted or otherwise rewarded, and organizantional

policies. The result is upper-level decision makers that were raised in the dominant ideology and share the "*core* [emphasis original] hegemonic assumptions of their class" (Gitlin, 2003, p. 260).

The media in America are ubiquitous, which makes it an ideal format for those in power to disseminate their ideology to the masses. The media are arguably the most "dynamic part of this ideological structure" (Gramsci, 2009, p. 36) as the dominant class works vehemently to maintain and defend their ideologies and use the press to circulate them to the masses (Gramsci, 2009). News stories that support dominant class ideologies are "reinforcing dominant social norms and values that legitimize the social system" (Gurevitch, Bennett, Curran, & Wollacott, 1982, p. 9)

The Propaganda Model investigates how norms and values become standardised in a society. It explores the "relationships between ideology, communicative power and social class interests" (Mullen & Klaehn, 2010, p. 217). Developed by Herman and Chomsky (1988) the model argues that news flows through multple filters, each designed to maintain dominant class power.   The Propaganda Model, particularly when viewed through the traditional Marxist lens and Althusser's ISAs, emphasizes the fact that media are influencers in the control of the dominant ideology (Sevgi & Ozgokceler, 2016). This is accomplished through the five filters of the Propaganda Model: size, ownership, and profit of mass media; advertiser influence; use of sources; flak; and anti-communision as a control mechanism (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). This research focuses on two filters in particular, the size/ownership/profitability of mass media and reliance of government or corporate sources.

The size/ownership/profitability (SOP) filter supports the institutional structural argument. The investment needed to start a media organization with significant outreach has grown to extreme proportions (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Media historian Ben Bagdikian

(2004) points out that historically, many different individuals ran the dominant media corporations in America. However, by 2003 only five firms controlled most of the 37,000 media outlets (Bagdikian, 2004). The Big Five,[2] as Bagdikian (2004) calls them, have access to the over $2 billion spent per year in advertising; money that helps them purchase and maintain the numerous media entities in their name. This trend continues, as 15 billionaires currently own 90% of American media (Vinton, 2016). This includes individuals such as Jeff Bezos, owner of amazon.com, who purchased the *Washington Post* for $250 million (Vinton, 2016). Prohibitive costs leads to reduced opportunities for small and/or alternative media to reach the masses as they typically do not possess the necessary capital (Goodwin, 1994).

Most media owners and boards of directors are extremely wealthy, full-fledged members of the dominant class (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). For example, current board members of the *New York Times* include 11 corporate executives of global companies, two *Times* executives, and one lawyer (New York Times Company, n.d.-a). Additionally, the average net worth of board members is approximately $2 million.[3] This is considerably more than the average net worth of the American worker, which is under $200,000 (Campbell, 2018). Board members are also closely aligned with brokerage firms and banks that, in turn, own stock in media organizations (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). If the news disseminated does not favor increased shareholder wealth, they may be inclined to sell stock or withhold advice (Bagdikian, 2004; Herman & Chomsky, 1988). This *quid pro quo* relationship indicates strong connections between dominant market forces.

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[2] Time Warner; Disney; Murdoch News Corporation; Viacom; Bertelsmann
[3] I only examined the net worth of board members that was publically available via Google search on February 21, 2019. This allowed me access to the information of six board members.

Not all boards are as beholden to market forces as declared by Herman and Chomsky (1988). While final decisions regarding story dissemination may rest with media owners and boards, not all decisions sway in favor of dominant beliefs (Lang & Lang, 2004). In fact, some media owners are willing to take risks to share alternative versions of major news events (Lang & Lang, 2004). British Broadcasting Corporation general director Greg Dyke, for example, raged against his government's consideration of allowing American companies more ownership in British media (Burrell, 2003). Calling American media coverage of the 2003 Iraq conflict "shocking" and "gung-ho" (Burrell, 2003, para. 1), Dyke felt additional ownership would decrease impartiality in British news coverage. He was willing to suffer the consequences of maintaining the objectivity of British news media.

Alternative perspectives to major news stories are rarely reported by dominant media (Bagdikian, 2004). Instead, these stories appear in smaller periodicals such as "The Nation" or "The Progressive" (Bagdikian, 2004, p. 95). Investigative journalists like I.F. Stone and George Seldes left major news organizations to found their own presses that would focus on alternative viewpoints (Holhut, n.d.; Osnos, 1989). The problem is that despite the popularity of journalists like Stone and Seldes, the smaller presses "telling anti-establishment truths cannot overcome the lack of wider recognition among average Americans" (Bagdikian, 2004, p. 96). Furthermore, individuals will seek archives of the dominant press (Bagdikian, 2004). This makes their ommission of alternative perspectives remain in perpetuity.

The other filter of interest explains how news organizations are dependent on sources, often government or corporate sources, for information (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). News organizations are in a symbiotic relationship with government and corporate bureaucracies. Sources need the media to disseminate information and the media need sources to deliver news.

Governments and large corporations are often considered to be credible sources, which reduces the need for investigative journalists (Boyd-Barrett, 2004; Herman & Chomsky, 1988). However, it is mainly large bureacratic organizations that can produce public information at this enormous scale (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). For example, the multi-billion dollar Koch Industries recently aimed to spend $10 million to "boost petroleum-based transportation fuels and attack government subsidies for electric vehicles" (Stone, 2016, para. 3). The average business owner does not have the resources to fund campaigns of this size, let alone hire the staff to successfully disseminate large amounts of information.

The practice of bureacratic organizations handing media everything they need for a story—advance copies of speeches, biographies, photo opportunities, usable language—indicates the powerful are subsidizing the media by reducing costs of seeking and producing news (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). At the same time, however, these organizations can withhold important information from the media entities critical of bureacratic actions (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). The Defense Department, for example, refused to participate in a National Public Radio debate that also featured critics of the department (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). This type of action prohibits news audiences from obtaining an important perspective of events.

Finally, when media strictly use government or corporate sources, they are allowing these organizations to frame the narrative (Boyd-Barret, 2004; Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Consider the framing of the U.S. Navy shooting an Iran Air passenger plane in 1983 as an example. The government distributed information stating the event was a tragedy, instituted a technical frame regarding this incident, and did not focus on victim identity (Entman, 1991). These frames minimized the incident and media, such as *Newsweek* and *Time*, also minimized the event (Entman, 1991). Therefore, audiences did not contemplate on the hundreds of passengers killed

due to American weapons and consider, instead, how there was a miscommunication or technical failure of equipment.

The Propaganda Model does not consider the credibility of sources (Lang & Lang, 2004). Public relations specialists, for example, are hired specifically to present a narrative that advocates on behalf of the bureacratic organization (Lang & Lang, 2004). Boyd-Barrett (2004) argue this phenomenon of organizations aggressively using their power as a source to alter perceptions and maintain social control is expected behavior. However, Herman and Chomsky do not address the fact that the process of producing news goes beyond simply receiving and redistributing information. This discredits the training of professional journalists.

The Propaganda Model offers the perspective that power is limited to the dominant class and the role of the media is to share the dominant ideologies (Boyd-Barret, 2005; Mullen & Klaehn, 2010; Sevgi & Ozgokceler, 2016). Elite interests must continuously be met, creating a media that represses stories that go against dominant beliefs (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). This means that groups that are in the minority—economically, racially, politically—will struggle to maintain a voice in American news media. In short, those who control the media control the masses (Sevgi & Ozgokceler, 2016).

Conclusion

This chapter argues that today's news organizations are a form of settler colonialism. This is accomplished through media owners and boards controlling the narrative of American Indians. The powerful dominant class regularly serve on the boards of powerful media organziations, such as the *New York Times*. Additionally, the wealthy have the means to purchase media organizations outright. This power allows them the option to disregard or diminish news unfavorable to their personal and financial interests. This indicates they control

the narrative of minority classes, such as the American Indian. Control of the narrative in the media is a contemporary form of settler colonialism as it is an attempt to distract the masses from real issues facing the Indigenous population. Rather, the media frame events in ways that will benefit the dominant class.

The ability of the dominant class to control the narrative supports the traditional Marxist perspective that capitalism is the foundation of class separation. The dominant class are able to purchase the resources and employ the working class to create goods, or news, for consumption. This power allows them to define the narrative of each social category. Marxism, then, supports the colonial system of distinct social classes and the enslavement of others for economic gain.

Settler colonialism maintains the class seperation. The difference is the colonizers intends to stay in the new territory, working to eliminate the indigene. Elimination is accomplished in a variety of tactics ranging from murder to assimiliation.

What is important is the realization that power plus media ownership equals structure. Because the media continously frame American Indians in ways beneficial to the dominant class, society does not understand contemporary issues facing today's American Indian population.

CHAPTER TWO: MEDIA FRAMING OF AMERICAN INDIANS

The previous chapter discusses the framing of the United States shooting of an Iran Air passenger jet in 1983. Military officials mistook the plane as a hostile target, releasing artillery that killed nearly 300 innocent people (Entman, 1991). In an effort to deflect criticism and maintain the myth of the American military hero, most United States news media framed the incident as an issue pertaining to the "complex problems of operating military high technology" (Entman, 1991, p. 6). While there is nothing inherently wrong with this media frame, it reduces the salience of other facts and opinions, forming a one-sided story that remains unchanged.

The Iran Air incident is an example of how framing can increase or decrease the importance, or salience, of an issue to news audiences. This section will discuss media framing in the United States, focusing on salience, how frames work, and the effects of frames. The section will then proceed with a review of how American Indians have historically been framed in the media. The historical framing agenda of American Indians has changed little in over 300 years, an issue which will be the center of this dissertation's research questions.

Media Framing

The foundation of media framing is the interaction between selection and salience. Framing scholar Robert Entman (1993) defines framing as the selection of "some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (p. 52). Therefore, news organizations select an issue and through a variety of techniques, make it most important in the minds of audiences. Referring to the Iran Air example above, media organizations framed the event as a tragedy and focused on highly technical

aspects of the equipment used by the U.S. Navy rather the reality: human error. This allowed the military to avoid accepting blame for their actions and maintain the hero myth in the press.

Through the four aspects of media framing—problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation—media frames diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe (Entman, 1993). The media coverage of the 1830 Indian Removal Act illustrates these concepts. It illuminates how government and communication apparatuses work in tandem to justify actions against American Indians. Framing begins with the act of defining the problem to media audiences (Entman, 1993). By 1830 the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole Nations were considered by state and federal governments as obstacles to development, and therefore the causal agent and problem (Coward, 1999). The second aspect in the framing process is to diagnose causes, or identify what is causing the problem (Entman, 1993). The Five Civilized Tribes, as the above nations were known, were considered obstacles by Euro-Americans because they had become too assimilated (Berkhofer, 1978; Wolfe, 2006). Through this assimilation some Indigene had become successful landowners and this did not coincide with the racial attitudes of the South at that time (Berkhofer, 1978; Coward, 1999). Furthermore, the Indigenous did not wish to cede their land, despite offers from the government for land west of the Mississippi River (Berkhofer, 1978).

The third aspect in the framing process is to make moral judgments, or to "evaluate cause agents and their effects" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). The 1830s Southern press used arguments of morality and the "vanishing Indian" (Coward, 1999, p. 68) to justify support of the Indian Removal Act. The press argued the American Indian was doomed, as they were the weaker class and their demise was inevitable (Coward, 1999). The press also indicated some American Indians were easily swayed by the vices of Euro-Americans, such as alcohol consumption and

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bad behavior. These moral judgments lead to the fourth aspect in the framing process, the

offering and justification of remedies. The press argued the only way to save the American

Indian from white corruption was to send him west. The press repeatedly published the vices

and virtues theory, which only solidified this idea of truth in the minds of audiences (Coward,

1999). This made Indigenous removal not only necessary, but also "a humanitarian act designed

to save what was left of the Noble American" (Coward, 1999, p. 70).

Media framing occurs when particular aspects of an event are selected and highlighted.

As indicated through the Iran Air and Indian Removal Act examples, the media diagnose,

evaluate, and prescribe through identifying a particular issue they wish to make more important.

This allows the media to create a perceived reality that, more often than not, benefits the

dominant class. Of particular importance to the success of media framing is salience.

Salience

Salience is the defining characteristic of media frames. It is the act of taking a piece of

information and making it more noticeable in a story through placement, repetition, use of

symbols, and textual characteristics (Entman, 1993). Doing so makes certain pieces of

information more "noticeable, meaningful, or memorable" (Entman, 1993, p. 53) to audiences.

The result is that news audiences mentally store this salient information and retrieve it when

necessary. Thus, increased salience leads to increased probability that audiences will remember

that information over others.

Salience can be increased or decreased based on the amount of material disseminated

surrounding a particular frame (Entman, 1991). For example, the *New York Times* front page for

March 12, 2019, features the worldwide grounding of several Boeing jets. The grounding

occurred after two crashes, augmenting concerns about safety. The March 12 story focuses on

safety issues, therefore increasing the salience of safety rather than, for example, the crash victims. Also, the amount of material published regarding a particular event increases or decreases the salience (Entman, 1991). The safety framing of the Boeing jets was repeatedly used in the *New York Times* for several days (March 11-13). This repetition increased salience for safety and decreased salience of other issues regarding the jets. With other news organizations also using the safety frame, audiences are likely to consider this issue first.

Omission of information can be just as important as what it highlights (Edelman, 1993). Omitting information changes the reality of an event, therefore creating a perceived reality. For example, by omitting human error in the writing about the Boeing or Iran Air incidents, audiences will most likely not consider that issue when discussing the topic. This helps corporations maintain relatively positive reputations and audiences will continue to fly these airlines. It also helps to exemplify how frames work on media audiences.

How Frames Work

Media frames are generally successful as audiences are not always well informed or cognitively active; therefore, the frames influence how some audience members think (Entman, 1991). Influence works on two different levels: mentally stored principles for information processing and characteristics of news text (Entman, 1991).

Mentally stored images, or stereotypes, apply when individuals don't care enough to deeply research issues and accept news at face value. Therefore, frames that enhance one's stereotypes will be salient and remembered more easily than frames that challenge that bias (Edelman, 1993; Entman, 1993, 2010). Indeed, the ability to draw on previous stereotypes aids in sense making when presented with new information (Entman, 2010). It helps individuals categorize information in ways that fit "into their understandings and feelings about the world"

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(Entman, 2010, p. 391). For example, some individuals may believe that stories about household economic distress indicate the poor are lazy and the causal agent of their own problems (Edelman, 1993). Despite the fact this may be untrue, the prejudiced population will be attracted to stories that highlight this bias. This acts to reinforce the truth they carry in their own minds.

The second level of how frames work includes characteristics of text, such as "keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images" (Entman, 1991, p. 7). These elements, when emphasized in the frame through repetition and/or placement, bring out the most salient issues. For example, the horse race metaphor is often used when discussing political campaigns (Entman, 1991; Ihlen & Nitz, 2008). By comparing a political race to the physical running of horses, audiences can draw from their previous racing knowledge and apply it to the political situation. Similarly, the continuous repetition of particular words or phrases, such as Crooked Hillary during the 2016 presidential election, increases the salience of that particular ideology (Vorberg & Zietler, 2019). Hence, the repetition and reinforcement of certain words and images creates themes that are salient to readers. (Entman, 1991)

How an individual initially understands a media frame will be repeated with each successful repetition of the frame (Entman,1991). This means that initial contact with the journalist and source, such as a reporter from the *New York Times*, determines how individuals will continue to think about a news event (Entman, 1991). This ties closely to the source filter of the Propaganda Model. Corporate and government offices flood newsrooms with official information they frame to benefit their reputation (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Boeing, for example, distributes only the information they wish to share with reporters, who then disseminate these details with audiences. The problem, however, is the reporters are not going

around the official sources to find other reasons as to why the company is dealing with safety issues. Therefore, an artificial reality is being created and shared with the masses.

Framing Effects

Media frames do not affect every person (Entman, 1993, 2010). This could be due to a number of reasons, including information that is framed against one's current bias (Ramírez & Verkuyten, 2011). This means they are more receptive to news organizations that increase the salience of issues that coincide with their personal beliefs (Edelman, 1993; Ramírez & Verkuyten, 2011). A member of a political party, for example, may tend to follow news that strengthens that political belief over others. However, Entman (1993) argues that framing does affect a large percentage of an audience.

Media frames are powerful in that audiences depend on the media in order to make sense of a world that is often ambiguous and confusing (Gitlin, 1980). This dependence makes the media an ideal place in which to distribute the ideologies of the dominant class. According to Entman (1993), "the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power—it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text" (p. 55). The ubiquity of the media indicates it has the attention of the masses; therefore, the media have the ability to shape what people think about (Entman, 2010). If, as Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue, the elite have control over news media through ownership and board participation, this means they have the power to persuade audiences to behave according to dominant interests (Entman, 2010). For example, audiences are more likely to support disruption to the public order when media frames highlight the expression of free speech (Ramírez & Verkuyten, 2011). Conversely, media framing that portrays public disorder as a negative phenomenon will reinforce the public's

willingness to maintain the status quo. Media framing, therefore, has the power to influence audiences and shape their attitudes in favor of the elite (Entman, 2010).

Framing occurs when the media selects particular elements of an event and, through repetition, stereotypes, and characteristics of news texts, increases the salience of these elements. The result is that frames help the masses make sense of a confusing and fast-paced world, despite the altered reality that is being created by the frames. The problem with the altered reality is that the frames may negatively affect real people and issues. Such is the case of the continuous and inaccurate framing of American Indians.

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Framing of American Indians

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Throughout history, the media have consistently framed the American Indian populations as "inferior and resistant to change" (Audette-Longo, 2018, p. 134). The result of this negative portrayal is a dominant public uneducated in the issues facing the Indigene on a regular basis. This section will discuss how American Indians are commonly framed in the media in addition to the consequences of this media bias.

Media Bias Against American Indians

As noted, the media frames American Indians as inferior and resistant to change (Anderson & Robertson, 2011). America's original inhabitants have been negatively portrayed since 1690 and this phenomenon continues today (Anderson & Robertson, 2011).

When major American Indian events occur, such as the mid-1970s violence at Wounded Knee II in Pine Ridge or the International Treaty Convention at Standing Rock, national news media find it too difficult to travel to these remote locations (Baylor, 1996). This is often based on the expense of sending a reporter to these remote locations. The result is they rely on coverage created by local news organizations; organizations already prejudiced against the

Indigene (Baylor, 1996). To cover events like Wounded Knee II or the International Treaty

Convention was not considered newsworthy as long as "they remained confined the to

reservation and did not spill over into surrounding white communities" (Audette-Longo, 2018;

Baylor, 1996, p. 250). However, inclusion of national news organizations may have opened

audiences to larger perspectives surrounding the events.

      The press often focuses on the violence of American Indians, concealing the years of

mistrust and misunderstandings regarding land use and trade agreements (Coward, 1999).

Through the media focus on violence, acknowledgement of white misdeeds goes unrecognized

while simultaneously negatively portraying the American Indian as the Other. Through

continuous use of violent news frames, media help the government in solving the "Indian

problem" (Coward, 1999, p. 5). The media were able to advocate for "white revenge and

genocide" (Coward, 1999, p.6) because the American Indians, as framed by the media, were

violent and must be disposed of in order for the country to expand to the Pacific Coast.

      If knowledge is power, as claimed by Said (1978), then the media have the power to

shape images in the minds of audiences (Sanchez, 2012). In other words, through knowledge of

an object one has power to dominate it; however, power also denies autonomy of the object

(Said, 1978). The object is known and exists only *as* one knows it and not the reality of the

object (Said, 1978). American Indians during the 19th century westward expansion were viewed

through the lens of white Euro-American settlers (Coward, 1999). Since the dominant class at

this time was focused on expansion and capital gain, it was impossible for them to view the

Indigene in any other perspective; the Indigenous were found wanting against these standards

(Coward, 1999). Therefore, media created images are embedded into the structure of American

society and become a "rhetorical shorthand" (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010, p. 320) for journalists and audiences to draw upon when reading about American Indian populations.

How American Indians Are Framed

American Indians are portrayed in the press and popular culture as romanticized, noble warriors or bloodthirsty savages (Weston, 1996). This discourse has continued for centuries because structurally nothing has changed; corporate and government power always usurps minority issues.

American Indians are framed through tone and language, organization, form, and selection. (Weston, 1996). Early in the 20th century, the tone and language of news stories often framed American Indians as comedic or overtly stereotypical language was employed. Today's media no longer incorporate the comedic representation of American Indians, however, they still use stereotypical language, as will be discussed later in this chapter. Words commonly used to describe the Indigenous through the 1960s include "chiefs," "braves," "squaws," and "papooses" (Weston, 1996, p. 13). Regardless of tone or language, the impact on readers was that nothing concerning American Indians was to be taken seriously.

Organization refers to how a news story is structured, including what quotes are used first, sources used most frequently, and where to place pertinent information. For example, the *Bismarck* (ND) *Tribune* often places quotes by official government sources early in the story, implying this information is most important. Additionally, readers often only read the first few paragraphs, indicating they will not read enough of the story to reach American Indian sources or information.

News stories come in a variety of forms. For example, straight news stories are often written in an inverted pyramid style, listing the most important news first. However, this format

often dismisses the larger cultural contexts of the event in its attempt to remain objective. Feature stories, on the other hand, have a more fluid form and are "vulnerable to distorting and trivializing unfamiliar Indian cultures and dress for bizarre and dramatic effects." (Weston, 1996, p. 13).

Selection refers to the types of stories distributed by news organizations. When news regarding American Indians is published, it often fits the definition created by the dominant class. The result is stories that portray the Indigene as "exotic, warlike, childlike, or improvident" (Weston, p. 13). This means that stories regarding treaty rights, land claims, sovereignty, or water issues are not prominently featured, therefore not educating the dominant class about the important issues of the community. The result of tone and language, organization, form, and selection is a perpetuation of misleading stereotypes regarding the American Indian population.

The first published instance of American Indian framing was in Boston, MA, in 1690. The publication, *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick*, featured eight stories regarding American Indians (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Sanchez, 2012). Of these stories, all but one framed the Indigene as barbarous, unreliable, killers, occasional ally, or having the potential to be converted to Christianity (Sanchez, 2012). It is through this publication the media frame of portraying American Indians as savages began, a media frame that continues through today (Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2010; Sanchez, 2012; Weston, 1996). The lasting effects of the savage media frame supports the argument that words are "the most powerful mode of understanding and knowing" (Sanchez, 2012, p. 16).

Consequences of Framing

The focus of nineteenth century America was progress "through Christian self-improvement, economic opportunity, and western expansion" (Coward, 1999, p. 3). The Indigene, as original inhabitants of the land, were considered an obstacle that could not match the standards set by the white dominant class. For example, *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley witnessed the culture of Indigenous men and women. He determined that while the women were industrious, the men were lazy and therefore the whole population was on the verge of extinction. The reality is that Indigenous culture was simply different from what Greeley was used to and considered appropriate. Greeley shared his thoughts with *Tribune* audiences, helping to shape the narrative that American Indians were obstacles to the ideology of hard work leading to wealth and a Godly life (Coward, 1999). Additionally, the press reflected the Manifest Destiny theme of expansion and economic growth, creating an ideology of "native inequality and white land claims, ideas ensuring that Indian identity in the press would be distorted and the tragedy of Indian removal would be obscured" (Coward, 1999, p. 66).

The consequence of repeated media frames, such as the Manifest Destiny theme, is the bias of coverage of American Indian issues. National news organizations rarely dedicate much time or space to American Indian issues (Baylor, 1996). This omission leads to reinforced stereotypes of this population in addition to continuing ignorance of white audiences regarding American Indian issues. Furthermore, reporters use frames they are most familiar with, i.e. general stereotypes regarding American Indians. Assuming audiences do not wish to learn about sovereignty or treaty rights, news media may focus on violence or romanticized images of events (Baylor, 1996).

This leads to the third consequence, in which media hinder the Indigenous cause by refusing to acknowledge real issues (Baylor, 1996). Rather, they turned to the familiar stereotypes that negatively portray American Indians. This relates to Herman and Chomsky's (1988) Propaganda Model filter of media ownership in which the wealthy elite are able to suppress news that is assumed to not be of interest to audiences. Without audiences to purchase subscriptions or support the organization in some way, the media will focus on the frames most easily understood by the masses.

The media frame of American Indian social movements is biased toward dominant class (Weston, 1996). This is due, in part, because news is often distributed via the lens of white, wealthy gatekeepers (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Weston, 1996). Consequently, American Indian issues are regulated to the periphery because the dominant class gatekeepers choose not to acknowledge the real issues, focusing instead on violence or other perspectives. American Indians, therefore, rarely have access to mainstream press or dominant influencers to change the media narrative.

Due to limited access to media influencers, American Indians may turn to tactics like land occupation in order to gain media attention. Occupations are successful in that they "disrupt and dispute the routine operation of power" (Wetzel, 2012, p. 152). This makes them sensational, forcing news organizations to cover the story. This can backfire, however, as the gatekeepers will still view the event through the dominant lens, refusing to review the deeper issues that are the true cause of the need for media attention. Land occupations and other sensational tactics to obtain media attention can be risky. Despite messages crafted by the American Indians to raise awareness of issues, the media still have to power to frame the narrative according to the ideologies of the dominant class (Baylor, 1996). Additionally, news

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organizations will rely on official government or corporate sources for information instead of American Indian groups (Baylor, 1996). This relates to the Propaganda Model filter regarding over-reliance on official sources, neglecting to obtain information from all parties involved.

Two case studies—the 1983 Fort McKay Métis blockade and the 1969 Alcatraz Occupation—highlight the consequences of biased media frames. In each case, the Indigene were forced to use risky tactics to gain media attention. Despite their best efforts to control the narrative, mainstream media framed the events to benefit the dominant class.

The Fort McKay Métis of Alberta, Canada, created a weeklong road blockade in an effort to obtain media attention regarding unfair use of land. Under the guise of protecting their children, the Métis created the blockade to stop numerous logging trucks from traveling through their community. The Métis used the media attention to demand land to replace that lost to oil fields, compensation for decreased wealth due to the land loss, and receive benefits like those of other communities that profited from the loss of Métis land (Audette-Longo, 2018).

During the blockade, media framed government and corporations as reasonable while the Fort McKay Métis were irrational (Audette-Longo, 2018). This is much like the colonial ideology of separation discussed by Fanon (1963) and Memmi (1965). In the case of the Fort McKay roadblock, the media acted as influencer for the dominant class and maintained social separation by continuously framing the Indigene as unreasonable. This supports the civilized/savage (civ/sav) dichotomy in which the "gentle" dominant class is considered to be superior to the "savage" Indigene (LaRocque, 2010). The result is a framework that aids the dominant population as they attempt to understand Indigenous culture, via their own perspective, of course. This paradigm, which "permeates colonizer texts" (LaRocque, 2010, p. 38) further

perpetuates the negative Indigenous stereotype and enhances the colonizer reputation as reasonable.

LaRocque (2010) argues that journalism works to dehumanize the Indigenous people. For example, protesters during the Métis blockade were framed in the media as "unpredictable and needing to be managed while state authorities are not seen as engaged in the process but above it, ensuring the dispute will not get out of hand" (Audette-Longo, 2018, p 139). This dichotomy ignores the settler colonial history that was essentially the reason for the blockade; it was the loss of Métis land for oil extraction. The media continue to frame the blockade via the civ/sav perspective, focusing on violence of protesters and the frustration of government officials trying to do their job (Audette-Longo, 2018). These frames served to "further normalize both the oil sands and settler colonialism" (Audette-Longo, 2018, p. 130). The consequence of the framing meant audiences did not view the blockade as an exercise in civil rights, but rather an illegal activity.

The American Indian protesters involved in the 1969-1970 occupation of Alcatraz Island in California faced a similar media frame. However, the focus was on the hierarchy of American Indians rather than civ/sav dichotomy. The goal of the Alcatraz occupation was to obtain media attention in an effort to educate white audiences about American Indian issues (Weston, 1996). During the first weeks of the occupation, local and national news reports discussed the event and people with compassion. Stories depicted the occupiers as relaxed, organized, playful, and physically attractive (Weston, 1996). The Alcatraz occupation was depicted romantically in the media using the noble savage frame; the Indigene was nobly attempting to reclaim traditional land and culture. Journalists were willing to portray the occupation in a positive light as long as

it did not affect the dominant class. However, reporters did not expect the occupation to last for 19 months, draining their energy and willingness to view the situation with compassion.

Portrayals of American Indians changed as the occupation stretched into its sixth week (Weston, 1996). The noble savage stereotype was replaced with the bloodthirsty savage portrayal (Weston, 1996). Stories began to focus on destruction and violence among the occupants, portraying them as "uncivilized brutes" (Weston, 1996, p. 140). By the end of the occupation the only education white audiences received was that of an unorganized and warlike people. Consequently, the goal was not met and white audiences were still uneducated about American Indian needs and issues.

Stereotypes

The press is powerful in that use of frames perpetuates stereotypes, or "false overgeneralizations made by socially dominant groups about socially oppressed groups" (Gorham, 1999, p. 229). Stereotypes in the press hinder social understandings and relationships as they help to construct and perpetuate power relations (Gorham, 1999). Lippmann (1922) famously discusses pictures in our heads. These pictures are used in combination with personal experiences and interactions with other sources to develop a stereotype. The stereotype is an easy cognitive shortcut that that people can draw on when necessary. Because stereotypes rarely come from personal experience but from other sources, the media have the power to perpetuate incorrect assumptions regarding socially oppressed groups (Gorham, 1999; Mastro, 2015). Additionally, audience's repeated consumption of the media indicates their personal views of a subdominant group will be reflective of the "media version of reality…regardless of the veracity of the messages" (Mastro, 2015, p. 8).

Development of American Indian Stereotype

American Indians are not and never have been a single entity practicing the same customs and languages. For example, the American Indians of the upper Midwest speak Siouan languages, such as Dakota-Lakota and Hidatsa, while those on the East Coast speak Iroquoian languages, such as Oneida or Seneca (Native Languages, n.d.). In fact, there are approximately 600 tribes currently recognized by the United States government, each with their own cultures and traditions (USA.gov, n.d.). However, settlers downplayed the numerous Indigenous cultures into a single entity for ease of description and cognitive understanding an unfamiliar population (Berkhofer, 1978; Weston, 1996). In other words, a stereotype was created.

The stereotype of the American Indian is a social construction developed by white settlers and maintained today (Berkhofer, 1978; Weston, 1996). Settlers created three interpretations of American Indians: generalization, deficient in white ideals, and moral evaluation (Berkhofer, 1978). Generalization is the grouping of all American Indian cultures into a single entity. As noted above, numerous Indigenous cultures exist, yet settlers felt the cultures were similar enough to generalize them into one unit (Berkhofer, 1978). The second interpretation is judgment of American Indians based on their inability to practice white ideals. Rather than celebrate diversity, settlers determined the Indigene were lacking in white practices and customs (Berkhofer, 1978). This outsider perspective is used in today's political, media and education systems (Weston, 1996). The interpretation of deficiency leads to the third generalization: judgment of moral character. Since settlers refused to educate themselves about Indigenous cultures, they compared the Indigenous practices to familiar white customs. Therefore, settlers found the Indigene to be uncivilized since they did not practice Christianity, speak suitable languages, or live in appropriate housing.

The third interpretation led to contradictory ideas of Indigenous culture. Settlers that maintained traditional customs perceived the Indigene as lacking, too different from white culture to be considered civilized, respectful, or worthy (Berkhofer, 1978). These beliefs led to negative stereotypes of American Indians as brutal, vain, and sexually promiscuous (Berkhofer, 1978). However, the settlers that were open to exploring new cultures found the Indigene to be hospitable, handsome, and dignified (Berkhofer, 1978). These beliefs lead to a positive stereotype of Indigenous culture. The contradictory stereotypes, however, continue in today's media, as American Indians are often portrayed as good or evil.

As discussed earlier, media has the power to perpetuate stereotypes (Baylor, 1996). Through the use of stereotypes, the media may affect audience perspectives regarding issues or populations (Baylor, 1996). However, it is important to note that media do not directly cause audiences to believe in a stereotype. Rather, the media are one factor in the construction of meaning and public opinion (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Part of the success in the construction of meaning is that stereotypes resonate with audiences (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). They are able to draw from past knowledge and respond to the stereotype.

American Indian Stereotypes in the Media

Contemporary media typically present American Indians as preserved in a past, always frozen in time despite centuries of contact with the now dominant class (Berkhofer, 1978; Brady, 2012; Morris & Stuckey, 1998). For example, American Indians are often presented in the news as exotic relics, participating in ceremonies while dressed in traditional regalia (Weston, 1996). Therefore the stories neglect to discuss the issue at hand and focus instead the physical appearance or jewelry of the Indigenous (Weston, 1996).

Commonly used American Indian stereotypes used in the media include: noble savage, ignoble savage, and generic. These stereotypes have been used since the 1690 publication of *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick* (Weston, 1996). These stereotypes remain unchanged today (Bird, S.E. 1996; Carstarphen & Sanchez, 2012; Weston, 1996).

The American Indian as good or evil (i.e. noble or ignoble) is a consistent stereotype found in the media (Baylor, 1996; Berkhofer, 1978; Brady, 2012; Coward, 1999; Miller & Ross, 2004; Weston, 1996). Attributes of the good American Indian, as featured in the media, include "friendliness, courtesy, handsomeness, dignity, tenderness toward family and children, independence, and a wholesome enjoyment of nature's gifts" (Berkhofer, 1978; Weston, 1996, p. 11). Indeed, these attributes are familiar to white audiences, as this is how they wish see themselves. The result is the good American Indian is worthy of time and attention from the dominant class. However, this stereotype is only valid insofar as American Indians cooperate with the dominant class (Berkhofer, 1978; Coward, 1999).

The noble savage stereotype fits into the "good" category. This is an American Indian that is always a savage, however, living in ways not completely understood by settlers (hence the description of savage); nevertheless, this individual is considered to be "pure and uncorrupted" (Coward, 1999; Weston, 1996, p. 11). The noble savage is also viewed romantically as a doomed individual, destined to be swept away by the tide of civilization (Brady, 2012; Coward, 1999; Weston, 1996). This stereotype indicates the Indigene will soon be extinct and therefore should be objects of pity, or at the very least tolerated until their impending demise.

The attributes and stereotypes of the good American Indian, however, subtly reinforce the standards of the dominant class (Bird, 1996). American Indians could be seen as the idealized other, the original environmentalist, the person in tune with nature that settlers wished they were.

Remember, the original settlers were landless or failed landowners while in Europe, coming to this country without a background in successful agriculture work (Wolfe, 2006).

The evil American Indian stereotype, on the other hand, "embodied European fears of savagery" (Weston, 1996, p. 11). This individual, in the eyes of settlers, was perceived as "naked, lecherous, promiscuous, constantly at war" (Berkhofer, 1978; Weston, 1996, p. 11). This ignoble savage, therefore, was uncivilized and could only be saved through conversion to the Christian faith or extermination (Weston, 1996). Additionally, the evil stereotype consisted of American Indians that fell for the vices of white society and therefore were an object of pity (Miller & Ross, 2004; Weston, 1996). American Indians were also considered evil if they were obstacles to America's westward expansion (Coward, 1999). This indicates they could not be converted or controlled by settlers (Coward, 1999).

The benefit to settlers with the ignoble savage stereotype is it created American heroes (Coward, 1999). Men like Davy Crockett or Daniel Boone became legendary in their ability to conquer the west, including the Indigenous people already inhabiting the land. Also, when the ignoble savage frame is used, it can be assumed the noble savage frame is absent (Baylor, 1996). Contradictory stereotypes would not justify the seemingly random acts of violence or disruption committed by American Indians.

More recently, the militant frame has emerged in the news media to represent the ignoble savage (Baylor, 1996). This stereotype focuses on violence conducted by American Indians, increasing the salience of weapons, disorder, and destruction of property (Baylor, 1996). It is interesting to note, however, that this frame is not used when discussing members of Althusser's repressive state apparatus, such as police, politicians, or the military. This is clearly an example of the dominant class controlling the narrative of an event in which American Indians are

involved.   The militant stereotype frame is often used in the media, as it is easy for masses to comprehend. It allows audiences to draw upon on past violence and therefore easily remembered frames of American Indians rather than constructing the knowledge themselves.

The generic frame reduces all American Indians into one entity, generalizing all cultures and erasing "differences in language, physical features, rituals, practices, and values among the various tribes and peoples" (Miller & Ross, 2004, p. 249). Indeed, this reduction of cultures is a media attempt at elimination. While reducing all cultures into one unit, the generic frame focuses on American Indian "artifacts, actions or characterizations" (Baylor, 1996, p. 245). This means the frame will discuss regalia, tepees, horseback riding, or characterize American Indians as drunkards or quiet observers (Baylor, 1996). This stereotype connects to the romanticized American Indian frame, the "noble Indian of a bygone era" (Baylor, 1996, p. 245). While it may inspire empathy in some audiences, it does not further American Indian issues. Like the militant frame, generic frame is easy for white audiences to comprehend (Baylor, 1996). These audiences can draw from past media representations, popular culture, literature, and so on to pull from what they think they know of American Indians.

The generic frame also creates an "us vs. them" dichotomy of dominant culture audiences [us] and the American Indian [them] as Other (Berkhofer, 1978; Miller & Ross, 2004). This indicates the Other is against the norms and values of mainstream society. Rather than pay attention to the needs of the Other, white society can turn American Indians into objects of curiosity, of individuals living in a time long past (Bird, S.E. 1996; Morris & Stuckey, 1998).

Simply stated, the press perpetuates stereotypes, influencing audience perceptions of events or people (Weston, 1996). The irony lies in the fact the press is supposed to be objective and unbiased (Hutchins Commission, 1947; SPJ, 2014; Weston, 1996). The result of these

inaccurate frames is that they distort reality, creating an alternate reality in which the dominant class is to be believed (Weston, 1996). Unless the media challenges the status quo, they inadvertently continue to reinforce these inaccuracies.

Conclusion and Research Questions

As noted in the previous chapter, structure can be considered the rules of society and these rules determine what behaviors and beliefs are considered appropriate. Despite being developed by the dominant class in ways that benefit only them, other classes participate in their own repression via the various ideological state apparatuses (Giddens, 1993). The wealthy elite own and participate in the operation of the news media, creating a system in which they both follow and reinforce society's structures (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In their effort to maintain society's structure, the media rely on centuries old framing of American Indians. This includes controlling the American Indian narrative via stereotypes and frames that contribute to the success of the dominant class. This activity reinforces structure in which minority communities are considered less superior than the white population (Memmi, 1965).

Media framing increases the salience of an event, issue, or person. In the case of American Indian issues, the media will focus on the population itself, like how they dress, speak, or practice customs. This increases the salience of the stereotypes that have been used for centuries in the press. Therefore, the importance of the issue decreases in the media, resulting in decreased importance in audiences. The result is an increase in ignorance regarding American Indian needs and issues.

This dissertation examines the media coverage of the Dakota Access Pipeline protest, in particular the media framing of American Indians. Three publications will be examined: the *Bismarck* (ND) *Tribune*, the daily newspaper based in the state's capital; the *New York Times*,

the highest circulating newspaper in America; and *Indian Country Today*, the largest online news site covering Indigenous issues nationwide. This research will focus on how American Indians are framed during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest, attempting to determine if the press focuses on the issue or continues to stereotype a population.

RQ_1: In what ways does media framing perpetuate settler colonialism in the *Bismarck Tribune* during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ_2: In what ways does media framing perpetuate settler colonialism in the *New York Times* during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ_3: In what ways does *Indian Country Today* resist media frames that perpetuate settler colonialism during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ_4: What differences exist between the *Bismarck Tribune*, *Indian Country Today*, and *New York Times* regarding media framing as a perpetuation of settler colonialism during the Dakota Access protest?

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

As discussed in chapters one and two, this disquisition reviews how settler colonialism makes its presence known via print news media. This is accomplished through media framing that contributes to the success of the dominant class. Using the Dakota Access Pipeline protest as a case study, this research reviews three publications over the period of five months to determine how media framing supports settler colonialism in the United States. The following research questions attempt to identity how this is accomplished:

RQ1: In what ways does media framing perpetuate settler colonialism in the *Bismarck Tribune* during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ2: In what ways does media framing perpetuate settler colonialism in the *New York Times* during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ3: In what ways does *Indian Country Today* resist media frames that perpetuate settler colonialism during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ4: What differences exist between the *Bismarck Tribune*, *Indian Country Today*, and *New York Times* regarding media framing as a perpetuation of settler colonialism during the Dakota Access protest?

This chapter will explain the research design developed to answer these questions before moving on to discuss the artifacts selected, coding frame, and data validity.

Research Design

This research utilizes a comparative qualitative content analysis to determine how media framing acts as a form of settler colonialism in the online versions of two newspapers—*Bismarck* (ND) *Tribune* and the *New York Times*—and one digital-only news site, *Indian Country Today*. This framework was selected as interpretation is required to discover the latent meanings found

in the newspaper artifacts (Schreier, 2012). This indicates the true meaning of the message is not obvious in the artifact and must be fleshed out through analysis. Unlike other qualitative methods, in which all aspects of an artifact must be described to find full meaning, qualitative content analysis determines that researchers only need to review artifacts to the point that research questions will be answered (Schreier, 2012). For instance, this research only reviewed the artifacts for examples of settler colonialism in media frames. Additional themes that emerge via examination, such as discourse in pipeline legal battles, will be set aside for future research.

Qualitative content analysis has three distinct characteristics, it is "systematic, flexible, and reduces data" (Schreier, 2012, p. 5). As a systemic form of analysis, the researcher must approach each artifact the same way at all times. As an example, the researcher must first review the artifact without coding and on second review apply descriptive codes. These two steps must be followed in this order for every artifact in an effort to create consistency, or reliability (Schreier, 2012). Reliability traditionally indicates the research instrument (e.g.: survey, observation, interview) will generate the same results every time it is measured (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012; Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). The goal is for consistent research processes to ensure the strongest research support is being conducted (Guest et al., 2012).

Generating similar results in qualitative content analysis is complex, as reality is always changing (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). A newspaper article indicating frustration towards activists in August, for instance, may not feature the same cause of frustration towards them in September. The researcher must be able to allow for altering realities and code appropriately based on the reality of each artifact. Consistency in approach to the artifacts allows the researcher to efficiently handle multiple realities.

Qualitative content analysis is a flexible method, meaning the researcher will continuously update the coding frame to the reality of the artifacts (Schreier, 2012). This incorporates validity into the research process as coding frames will always match the artifacts being examined. Also known in qualitative circles as credibility, the goal of validity is to eliminate inaccuracies and create a richer set of interpretations for the data (Gibbs, 2007; Guest et al., 2012). This can be accomplished through transparency of the research process (Guest et al., 2012). For instance, the process for this research has been carefully explained, allowing others to replicate the study if need be. In fact, replication can increase a study's strength if concurrent results exist (Guest et al., 2012). Related to transparency is use of an audit trail. An audit trail explains in detail the research process, such as why certain data were excluded or how code definitions were created (Guest et al., 2012). An audit trail assists the researcher as it is a helpful documentation of the process.

The flexibility of qualitative content analysis may cause analysis to stray, or drift. Drift occurs when a large number of artifacts must be reviewed, indicating the definition of the code may change as the researcher progresses through each item. This can be stalled, and reliability and validity strengthened, through constant comparasion of codes (Gibbs, 2007). Constant comparison is the action of comparing codes with "previous incidents coded in the same category" (Glaser, 1965, p. 439). It ensures that codes are applied consistently throughout the data. This is a process of developing a code definition, applying it to the artifacts, and then comparing the coded materials to the initial definition. Indeed, the code definition must be flexible enough to allow for multiple, yet similar, meanings (Schreier, 2012).

Constant comparasion also includes extensive use of memos (Glaser, 1965). As codes are applied, the researcher memos, or writes down, thoughts as to why this particular code was

utilized. This action will later aid the researcher when comparing codes to determe if particular

excerpts were coded appropriately and consistently (Gibbs, 2007). If this is not the case, the

researcher must reevaluate the excerpt to determine if a new code should be created or applied.

Qualitative content analysis reduces data in two specific ways (Schreier, 2012). First, the

researcher is only looking for data that pertains to the research questions. The research questions

in this disquisition pertain to media framing methods that perpetuate settler colonialism. This is

determined in each artifact through examination of word choice, use of sources, and source

location in the article, for example. Therefore, data that does not pertain to settler colonialism is

not thoroughly examined. It is, however, saved and memo'd for future research. The second

way in which data are reduced relates to flexibility. Coding categories must be abstract enough

to meet a variety of definitions yet concrete enough to maintain meaning (Schreier, 2012). For

example, this disquisition's coding definition for noble savage is:

> a person or place described as having attributes consistent with friendliness, courtesy,
>
> physically attractive, dignified, family-driven, environmentally conscious, pure, or good.
>
> Alternatively, this person or place may also be considered doomed or objects of pity,
>
> meaning their way of life will soon be destroyed (see Appendix A).

The definition provides numerous examples of the noble savage stereotype, yet is also abstract

enough the researcher could apply it to a variety of excerpts ranging from family-driven

individuals to an object of pity.

This research also employs a comparative analysis of artifacts to determine how the

different media frame stories in such a way that perpetuates settler colonialism. Comparative

analysis scholars Rihoux and Ragin (2009) use a path metaphor to explain comparative analysis:

different paths all lead to the same outcome. The *Bismarck Tribune,* for example, may use

concise language to explain an event while the *New York Times* may employ numerous descriptors. Regardless of language used, settler colonialism is apparent in both publications; the outcome is the same. The reason for utilizing a comparative analysis is to determine to what extent media proximity to the protest site affects viewpoint.

Artifact Selection

Two online versions of daily newspapers (*Bismarck Tribune*, *New York Times*) plus one weekly, digital-only news site (*Indian Country Today*) were examined for this research. The publications were selected based on proximity to the protest site, elevated circulation and reputation, or unique perspective based on American Indian ownership.

The *Bismarck Tribune* was selected for examination based on its proximity to the protest site and its status as the daily newspaper in the capital city of North Dakota. Geographically, Bismarck, ND, is approximately one hour north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. The relative closeness makes the *Tribune* the only news organization in this research that has an already developed relationship with the Standing Rock Sioux and Energy Transfer Partners, owner of the Dakota Access Pipeline. Predetermined relationships between sources and the media can make it difficult for criticisms to occur (Berkowitz & Beach, 1993; Neveu, 2002). To illustrate, criticism of local authorities can be difficult if they have a friendly relationship with the media, as reporting may be skewed. Relationships and knowledge of the community can create a structural bias in the press (Neveu, 2002). Rarely does local media challenge popular opinion, as that may lead in a decrease in circulation and credibility (DeLung, Magee, DeLauder, & Maiorescu, 2012; Neveu, 2002). Therefore, covereage given to opponents of local opinion may be reduced and less comprehensive and/or critical coverage of an issue may exist in an effort to maintain status quo and circulation (Neveu, 2002).

The *Bismarck Tribune* has been in existence since 1873, experiencing first-hand the movement of settlers across the Dakota Territory (Collins, 2011). The *Tribune*'s claim to fame is being the publication that broke the story regarding the June 1876 Battle of Little Big Horn (Collins, 2011; Bismarck Tribune, 1876). Mark Kellogg was the only reporter sent to cover the battle and notes found on his deceased body were used to write the article (Collins, 2011; Bismarck Tribune, 1876). One year later the *Bismarck Tribune* featured a narrative of the battle as told by Crazy Horse, Sioux chief of the Oglala tribe. However, the article appears to have originally been published by the Chicago *Tribune* (Bismarck Tribune, 1877). Currently, the *Bismarck Tribune* is owned by Iowa-based media conglomerate Lee Enterprises, which owns over 40 daily newspapers in 21 states (Lee Enterprises, 2019). The *Bismarck Tribune* (2019) has approximately 50,000 unique print and digital readers.

The award-winning *New York Times* is one of the highest circulating newspapers in the country and is known to be a highly factual and respected source of information (Media Bias Fact Check, n.d.). Indeed, it is for these very reasons it was selected for examination in this research. The *Times* has extraordinary reach with 150 million global readers and 4.3 million subscribers (New York Times Company, n.d.-b). Awards for their reporting are double that of other news organizations in the country (New York Times Company, 2019).

Washington, D.C.-based *Indian Country Today* is the largest online news site that covers Indigenous issues across the nation (Indian Country Today, 2018). Its inclusion in this research is based on its American Indian ownership, as this perspective differs from mainstream media. Unlike the *Bismarck Tribune* and *New York Times*, *Indian Country Today* is a nonprofit media organization that depends on supporters and advertising. It is currently owned by the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI); however, it was run by the Oneida Nation of New York

during the time of the Dakota Access Pipeline protest (NCAI, 2019). During that tenure, *Indian Country Today* interviewed former President Barack Obama, received numerous awards from the Native American Jounalists Association and the Society for Professional Journalists, and worked tirelessly to empower American Indians and correct historical inaccuracies (Indian Country Today, 2017).

A constructed week model was used to determine which artifacts to review. This sampling method is the random selection of days of the week for a set amount of time; in this case August-December 2016. The constructed week model allows the researcher to "construct a week that ensures that each source of cyclic variation—each day of the week—is represented equally" (Lacy, Riffe, Stoddard, Martin, & Chang, 2001, p. 837). Two constructed weeks per month provide a reliable amount of content, therefore this research used two constructed weeks per month (Hester & Dougall, 2007). Seventy days between August 1 and December 31, 2016 were examined (see Appendix B). Also, due to a highly publicized protest event that occurred on September 3, 2016, the days immediately before and after that date were purposefully selected.

Bismarck Tribune and *New York Times* articles were found via ProQuest Newstand. *Indian Country Today* articles were found via their website using the "site:url search term" format. Search terms used in all cases include "Standing Rock," or "Dakota Access," or "DAPL." A total of 408 articles were discovered. Articles were removed from the data set because they were duplicates within the publication or did not directly pertain to the Dakota Access Pipeline protest (e.g.: sports standings, obituaries, meeting minutes). Additionally, at least 90% of the article must be dedicated to the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Case in point: the *Bismarck Tribune's* Up and Down column, in which editors rate multiple events or

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individuals with a thumbs up or down, was excluded from the data set. Also, letters to the editor

were excluded from examination. While inclusion in the publication may contribute to the

overall tone of the situation, the authors are not trained journalists. Editorials and op-eds, on the

other hand, were included. The final article count included in the data set is as follows:

Bismarck Tribune (67 articles), *Indian Country Today* (32 articles), and *New York Times* (25

articles). The final selection of articles was imported into Dedoose, a web-based platform for

qualitative and mixed-method analysis. This platform was used to organize, examine, and

analyze artifacts.

Coding Frame

A coding frame was built using paragraph-by-paragraph segments, meaning one topic

was applied to entire paragraphs in the artifacts. While a paragraph may discuss multiple topics,

the researcher must determine which topic is dominant and code accordingly. The structure of

the coding frame for this research consists of a combination of concept- and data-driven

strategies; a common approach in qualitative content analysis (Schreier, 2012). The concept-

driven approach indicates a topic is already known based on a review of the literature (Schreier,

2012). In the case of this research, it was expected certain American Indian stereotypes would

be present in the artifacts, such as noble savage, ignoble savage, and generic stereotype.

Therefore, based on the literature, codes were created with these topics as a main category.

Not all codes can be known prior to the research, allowing for the utilization of the data-

driven approach (Schreier, 2012). This approach allows topics to emerge from the data,

providing new insight to the artifacts. For example, the code labeled "intent to stay" was

developed as several artifacts mentioned this type information. This code was unexpected and

could contribute to answering the research questions. If subcodes are required, a minimum of

two must exist for every main category (Schreier, 2012). The category labeled "blame," for example, features three subcodes indicating who is at fault: American Indian, corporation, or government. The use of multiple subcodes per category assists in the creation of a structurally complete coding frame (Schreier, 2012).

The development of a coding frame for this research began with defining codes that were expected to be present within the artifacts. Expectations were present based on literature regarding American Indian relationships with the press and previous Dakota Access Pipeline newspaper research. Predeveloped codes include blame, confrontation, generic stereotype, ignoble savage, noble savage, and water. Definitions for generic stereotype, ignoble savage, and noble savage were developed based on the literature. Definitions for blame and confrontation are from the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. Finally, the definition for water was developed by the researcher based on previous Dakota Access research. Full definitions for these codes and accompanying subcodes can be found in Appendix A.

The second step in creating the coding frame was an initial review of artifacts utilizing descriptive codes, in which a word or short phrase summarizes the core topic (Saldaña, 2013). Examples from this research include terms such as opposition, pipeline facts, or value. The descriptive code method allows the researcher to examine the topic of each segment to determine what media frame is being incorporated. Numerous memos were developed during the descriptive coding process, which assisted in memory recall during constant comparison contemplation. Codes were continuously evaluated to ensure they maintained the definitions developed in the codebook and to avoid drift. Definitions for these codes were developed based on investigation of the artifacts; see Appendix A for details.

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Pattern coding was utilized during the second cycle of review. Descriptive codes created in the first cycle were reviewed using this method to identify "an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation" (Saldaña, 2013, p, 210). Based on descriptive code use and number of articles in which they were used, the following patterns were discovered to be most prominent: blame, cultural value, and water. Frame elements, such as those just mentioned, may form patterns. Frames can only be realized, however, when patterns are noticed in multiple articles (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). It is at this point interpretation can begin as a frame has been established. It has been argued that through converting qualitative codes into quantitative measurements, reliability and validity can be strengthened (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). However, that approach does not account for interpretation of latent meanings in each frame, which is the purpose of qualitative content analysis. Rather, reliability and validity must be supported via triangulation of data and researcher reflexivity.

Researcher Reflexivity

Concerns have been raised regarding the reliability and validity of qualitative content analysis (Chowdhury, 2015; Scheufele, 1999). The concerns are due, in part, to the fact that it is nearly impossible to separate the researcher from the data (Matthes & Koring, 2008). Hence, unconcious bias of the researcher may influence interpretation. One way to combat bias is careful reflection on the part of the researcher.

Reflexivity, expecially when combined with validity and reliabity, aids in strengthening a research argument (Gibbs, 2007). Reflexivity is "a critical awareness, acknowledgement, and questioning of the ways in which the researcher's own attitudes or beliefs shape data collection, analysis, and interpretation" (Guest et al., 2012, p. 282). Since the background, experience, and knowledge of the researcher cannot be completely seperated from the research, reflexivity may

be important to document (Gibbs, 2007). To that end, I conducted a critical self-analysis

regarding the following points: artifact selection, geography, and white guilt.

Artifact Selection: The selection of the *Bismarck Tribune* is tied to geography. I know

Bismarck is the state's capital, its proximity to the protest site, and even the name of the daily

newspaper. Also, in a previous career I communicated information to the *Tribune* for

publication on a regular basis; however, this information was not related to the protest, oil,

American Indians, or settler colonialism. I do not have past interactions or intense familiarity

with the *New York Times* or *Indian Country Today.*

Geography: I grew up in North Dakota, fewer than four hours from the protest site, and

has visited the Bismarck area numerous times. Indeed, I am very familiar with the landscape and

attitudes of the state. While this familiarity assisted with the selection of the *Bismarck Tribune*

for examination, it did not interfere with interpretation.

White Guilt: This is the largest obstacle I faced when conducting this research. I am a

product of racism: a descendent of white settlers that squatted on American Indian land; a

graduate of an education system that glorifies a whitewashed history; and a silent observer of

prejudice. Moreover, I struggled repeatedly with the ethics of examining a population that was

displaced by my own ancestors. The guilt did surface during artifact examination, occasionally

allowing emotions (guilt, compassion, disgust) to surface. I feared these emotions could skew

the results and developed two techniques to combat guilt. First, the random review of

publications during examination kept me focused on data rather than emotions. To illustrate, I

alternated from one publication to the next during examination, rarely reviewing articles from the

same publication twice in a row. This practice helped keep my fresh as each publication had a

distinct tone. Second, I reviewed the artifacts numerous times during the research and coding

process. This helped as a variety of differences existed, such as time or day or location, which kept me focused on the task at hand. Additionally, comparasion of codes, review of memos, and audit trail assisted in keeping me as objective as possible.

Summary

The research questions presented at the beginning of this chapter attempt to determine how media framing perpetuates settler colonialism in two online versions of print publications and one digital only news site distributed during a five-month period in 2016. A comparative qualitative content analysis research design was developed using a constructed week model to select artifacts for review. The coding frame was created with content-driven and data-driven coding in mind. Additionally, descriptive and pattern codes were using to identify media frames in each publication.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The research questions inquire about settler colonial perpetuation and resistance that occur in three publications using the Dakota Access Pipeline protest as a case study. A comparative qualitative content analysis uncovered five dominant frames: blame, cultural value, water, American Indian stereotypes, and confrontation. These frames were prominent in at least two publications at any given time.

As this chapter will illustrate, the *Bismarck Tribune* incorporated the ignoble savage frame in their perpetuation of settler colonialism. The *New York Times* often fell in the middle, neither fully perpetuating nor rejecting settler colonialism. *Indian Country Today* completely rejected all thoughts of settler colonialism. The publications offer this research well-rounded perspectives with which to view the entire Dakota Access Pipeline protest. The following sections will examine the dominant frames that emerged from the artifacts and apply them to the research questions regarding each publication.

The following research questions were posed:

RQ$_1$: In what ways does media framing perpetuate settler colonialism in the *Bismarck Tribune* during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ$_2$: In what ways does media framing perpetuate settler colonialism in the *New York Times* during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ$_3$: In what ways does *Indian Country Today* resist media frames that perpetuate settler colonialism during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest?

RQ$_4$: What differences exist between the *Bismarck Tribune*, *Indian Country Today*, and *New York Times* regarding media framing as a perpetuation of settler colonialism during the Dakota Access protest?

Dominant Frames

Both concept- and data-driven approaches were used in building the coding frame. This means the codes were either already known based on review of the literature or emerged as artifacts were examined (Schreier, 2012). Several of the dominant frames were based on the literature, such as blame, confrontation, sterotypes, and water. However, the cultural value frame that emerged from the data was unexpected. This section will discuss the five dominant frames in order of prominence and their relationship in each publication.

Blame

Blame is both the assignment of fault and devaluing of others (Brown, 2006). Historically, blame was assigned to American Indians by settlers to justify their actions (Hanson & Hanson, 2006). Settlers were, in essence, blaming the victim; American Indians were at fault because settlers determined the Indigene were a dying culture (Hanson & Hanson, 2006). Given past experiences in which the federal government lied and mistreated American Indians, it is no surprise members of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe blame the government for the current situation. Indeed, it is because of these past histories that blame was a concept-driven code in this research. All publications assign blame; however, the publications took different trajectories.

Media frames allow those involved in an event to deflect responsibility (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2008). This means that a corporation aware of pollution caused by a manufacturing process, for example, may blame activists for blocking progress. This would be an attempt to redirect negative attention focused on the corporation. Yet the blame attribution goes both ways, as activists in the above example may also redirect negative attention away from themselves and towards the corporation. The media has the power to influence blame in its audiences

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(Sniderman, Brody, & Tetlock, 1991). Therefore, individuals or organizations that may be the focus of negative media publicity invest time in "deflecting, deflating, or diffusing blame" (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2008, p. 724).

The *Bismarck Tribune* is the only publication to develop a framing pattern of blaming American Indians for Dakota Access events. It blamed this population using three distinct arguments: morality, economics, and public safety. The *New York Times* and *Indian Country Today* both established a framing pattern of blaming various government entities, in particular the fact they ordered violence to occur. The *Times* did not focus on any other particular argument while *Indian Country Today* acknowledged the sovereign status of tribes.

Figure 1. Blame Patterns

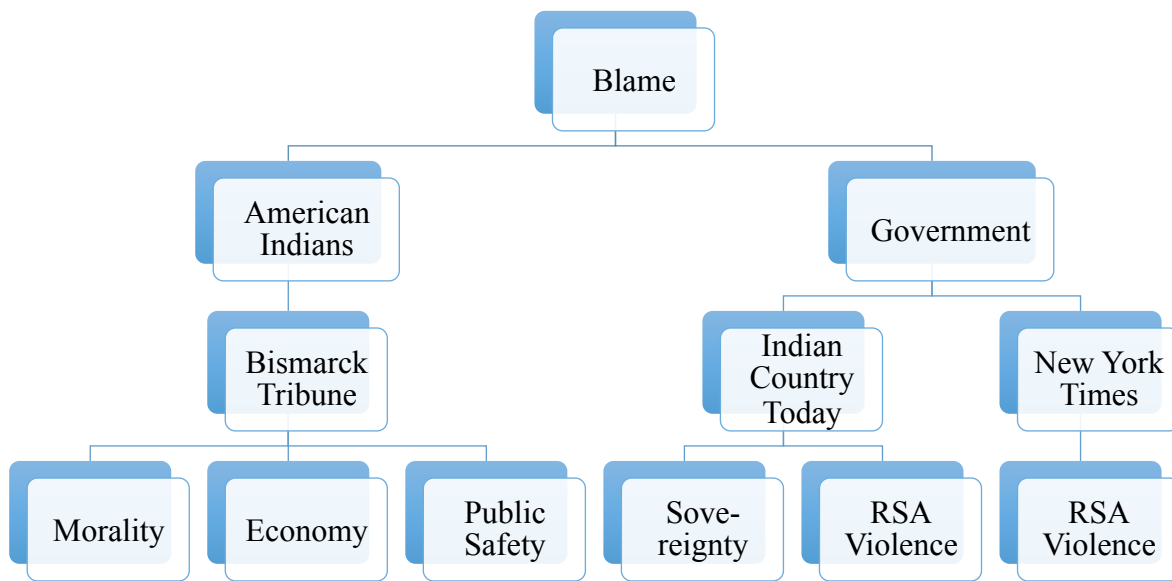### Blame Assigned to American Indians

The act of blaming another for a wrong-doing or immoral action makes the accuser feel superior (Brown, 2006). Indeed, by pointing out the inferiority of another the accuser is intentionally placing himself or herself higher on the scale of morality. The *Bismarck Tribune* regularly blamed American Indians for acting inappropriately or unlawfully. By doing so, the

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Tribune was able to raise the moral status of corporations or government entities. To illustrate, the *Tribune* stated American Indian activists behaved unlawfully, causing frustration for the law-abiding government officials:

> State and local officials argue the protesters are trespassing on the land where they are camped, have tried to use laser beams on aircraft, that there is a small faction among the protesters who want to create trouble and a number of laws have been violated (Tribune Editorial Board, 2016a, para. 6).

The *Tribune* also undermined the morality of American Indians by focusing praise on corporations, as indicated by Sheriff Kyle Kirchmeier's quote noting "the Dakota Access Pipeline Company has shown good faith in the legal process" (Bismarck Tribune, 2016a, para. 5). By not acknowledging good faith on the part of American Indian activists, Kirchmeier is implying they are inferior to the pipeline construction company.

The *Tribune*'s economic argument blamed American Indians for the costs incurred by the state and Energy Transfer Partners (pipeline owner) due to the protest. Costs came in the form of additional public and private security, increased jail expenses, and crammed court dockets. The economic argument was introduced in September and repeats through December. The first economic-blame argument occured in an editorial in which American Indians are faulted for increasing costs:

> They want to create delays in the construction work by Dakota Access Pipeline and they want to cost the company money. They don't mind if state and local law enforcement run up bills, in fact that's their goal. They want to up the costs in an effort of making the project unfeasible by delaying the work and driving away investors. Protesters want to

make protecting workers and making arrests cost prohibitive (Tribune Editorial Board, 2016c, para. 2).

The editorial board implied the goal of the protest was to make it so expensive for the state and Energy Transfer Partners that the pipeline construction cannot be afforded; consequently, they would determine it is easier to create a new route.

The economic-blame argument appeared again in November with a focus on the strained county court system. Nearly 600 activists were arrested during the protest, increasing the amount of labor necessary to not only jail individuals, but to defend them in court. This argument continued into December when the *Tribune* discussed court issues with lawyers, indicating they "know of no other time in which comparable strain has been placed on a court system, relative to its size, by such a surge of arrests" (Grueskin, 2016, para. 3). Incarcerating hundreds of activists in the county jail is also an economic-blame argument poised by the *Bismarck Tribune*. It was reported that "more than 570 arrests and millions in law enforcement costs" (Smith, 2016, para. 5) were incurred since the start of the protest.

Public safety issues due to the American Indian activists first appeared in the *Bismarck Tribune* in October. At this point the focus was not on activities occurring in and around the protest site, but reaching further geographically. For instance, the paper reported that "Morton County farmers and ranchers [are] being harassed" (Tribune Editorial Board, 2016b, para. 3) while on public roads. This statement may raise fear, intending to prohibit people from carrying out everyday activities due to anxiety about being harassed.

Public safety was also discussed in December, bringing the argument to the city of Bismarck: "A long-favored cop and kids shopping program for disadvantaged children will be altered this year due to Dakota Access Pipeline protest-related activities" (Eckroth, 2016, para.

1). Not only did this argument bring the protest within the city limits, it highlighted the fact that underprivileged children were being neglected this holiday season due to activists.

The *Bismarck Tribune* blamed American Indians for the disruptions caused during the protest in approximately 36% of artifacts examined. Using three distinct arguments—morality, economics, and public safety—the *Tribune* framed American Indians as lawless individuals acting without regard for state money and willing to risk the safety of the general public.

Blame: Government Entities

Indian Country Today and *New York Times* centered much of the blame toward government entities. Both publications acknowledged that violence could stem from the repressive state apparatus (RSA), a fact not mentioned in *Bismarck Tribune* artifacts. Additionally, *Indian Country Today* acknowledged the sovereign status of tribes, a fact rarely mentioned in the *Tribune* or *Times*.

Repressive State Apparatus and Violence. *Indian Country Today* and *New York Times* readily acknowledged the fact that violence can stem from those in authority, such as the military or law enforcement. It also acknowledged that the repressive state apparatus enact local, state, or federal government decisions. The *Times* acknowledgement of violence from the RSA is interesting as *Bismarck Tribune* artifacts suggested confrontations stem from American Indian activists. It is assumed, based on American history, that *Indian Country Today* would be critical of government actions.

The repressive state apparatus rules through coercion and violence to repress colonial uprisings as quickly as possible (Althusser, 1971). Indeed, the goal of RSA institutions, such as the military, court system, or police, is to enforce laws that regulate the masses (Althusser, 1971). The *Times* and *Indian Country Today* blamed the government for violence towards

American Indian activists. For example, *Indian Country Today* blamed the violence on the state's desire to preserve money collected from oil taxes:

> Ultimately, what has become increasingly clear at Standing Rock is the lengths at which publicly paid law enforcement is willing to go to in order to protect the private interests of one oil company. To date $6 million of taxpayer monies have been utilized to brutalize a people in order to protect an oil company (Indian Country Today, 2016c, para. 24).

Capitalism is at the heart colonialism; therefore, the state will continue to repress the colonized.   The above quote supports the argument that North Dakota desires oil money and will go to great lengths to "support capitalist class structures" (Wolff, 2005, p. 225). Like Fanon (1963) indicated, colonies are exploited because they are the source of the raw material needed for production. It appears North Dakota officials viewed oil as the resource it can provide regardless of harm to the people of the state. To demonstrate:

> They [RSA] drenched protesters with water cannons on a frigid night, with temperatures in the 20s. According to protesters and news accounts, the officers also fired rubber bullets, pepper spray, percussion grenades and tear gas. More than 160 people were reportedly injured, with one protester's arm damaged so badly she might lose it (Times Editorial Board, 2016, para. 2).

The *Times* was highly descriptive in its writing, using words like "drenched" or "frigid" and dramatizing the injury to an activist. *Indian Country Today*, on the other hand, shunned descriptions and focused on straight reporting: "Police have discharged weapons, using rubber bullets to shoot down drones being used to document the police activity and actions" (Indian Country Today, 2016a, para. 4). It seems clear the *Times* depended heavily on adjectives to spark interest and maintain engagement in readers.

Language in the *Times* is interesting as it both supports and represses American Indians simultaneously. The *Times* blamed the government for destruction of property at the protest camps, which indicated their support of American Indians. Yet they simultaneously repressed this population through descriptions of tepees and sweat lodges being destroyed by American military. These descriptions placed American Indians in a frozen past being repressed by those in power, as contemporary structures were also being destroyed; yet they were not mentioned. This is consistent with literature of the press portraying American Indians as frozen in time despite continuous contact with the dominant class (Berkhofer, 1978; Brady, 2012; Morris & Stuckey, 1998). To demonstrate:

> The shocking images of the National Guard destroying tepees and sweat lodges and arresting elders this week remind us that the battle over the Dakota Access Pipeline is part of the longest-running drama in American history -- the United States Army versus Native Americans (McKibben, 2016, para. 2).

Sovereign Status. The Standing Rock Sioux Tribe is a sovereign nation, meaning it has the authority to govern itself and participate equally in government relationships (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, n.d.). *Indian Country Today* noted, "the requirement of a government-to-government consultation process has not been met" (Indian Country Today, August 24, 2016, para. 21). Acknowledging this relationship between governments is recognition of settler colonialism; the *Bismarck Tribune* and *New York Times* rarely discussed sovereignty. Indeed, the *Tribune* mentioned sovereignty only four times and the *New York Times* never. Acknowledgement of sovereign status does not benefit the dominant class in America; therefore it is not often mentioned in the press.

Indian Country Today regularly mentioned the sovereign status of American Indian tribes. By doing so they are reminding readers the federal government is not the only authority involved in pipeline decisions. For example:

- If DAPL can go through and claim eminent domain on landowners and Native peoples on their own land, then we as sovereign nations can then declare eminent domain on our own aboriginal homeland (Indian Country Today, 2016a, para. 7).

- The requirement of a government-to-government consultation process has not been met (Indian Country Today, 2016b, para. 21).

- Remember that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe is a sovereign nation with its own laws, territory and government (Luger, 2016, para. 4).

Indian Country Today and the *New York Times* blamed government entities, in particular the repressive state apparatuses, for issues surrounding the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Unlike the *Bismarck Tribune*, they recognized that violence could stem directly from those in power; the *Tribune* focused their blame solely on American Indian activists. Additionally, *Indian Country Today* recognized the government is not acknowledging the sovereign status of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Despite the different forms of blame that occur in the artifacts, assignment of fault is a dominant frame in all publications.

Cultural Value

The cultural value of American Indian land and spirituality is central to the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Indeed, it is one of the main protest messages developed by the Standing Rock Sioux (Stand With Standing Rock, n.d.-a). Cultural value is a major frame found in *New York Times* artifacts as well as *Indian Country Today*, it was discovered in 60% and 40%

of the artifacts respectively. The frame appeared in 15% of *Bismarck Tribune* artifacts,

indicating it is not a major theme.

The cultural value frame found in the *New York Times* is the concept that damage to the

land is to damage the legacy of American Indian ancestors. The land under construction for the

pipeline is a "sacred space, used for burials and containing historically and culturally vital

information about their origins" (Ryzik, 2016, para. 3). As discussed earlier, American Indians

may view a space through many different levels. This means that while Energy Transfer

Partners viewed the land as a space they can physically manipulate in the name of progress, the

Indigenous felt the elimination of entire histories:

> But the people who stood at the gates of a construction site where crews had been
>
> building an access road toward the pipeline viewed the project as a wounding intrusion
>
> onto lands where generations of their ancestors hunted bison, gathered water and were
>
> born and buried, long before treaties and fences stamped a different order onto the Plains
>
> (Healy, 2016d, para. 3).

Indian Country Today also framed cultural value as damage to their legacy, yet they went

one step further and connected it to past colonial activities. The *New York Times* did not take

this step, focusing on legacy but not acknowledging the role of the dominant class in elimination

attempts. To illustrate, *Indian Country Today* compared the pipeline to past elimination attempts

while the *Times* stopped short of recognizing colonial history:

- This [common] thread is the tradition of living with the earth, the culture of holding

  nature as sacred, as well as their individual histories of brutality and violence met at the

  hands of colonialists in the name of civilizations expanse that discontinued the many

  indigenous lifestyles in as many areas (Perkins, 2016, para. 2).

- They say its route traverses ancestral lands - which are not part of the reservation - where their forebears hunted, fished and were buried (Healy, 2016c, para. 8).

The *Times* romanticized the past, discussing where ancestors hunted but did not explain the centuries of violence the dominant class inflicted—and the media reported—on American Indians. *Indian Country Today* focused on comparing history to the current situation, as colonial violence is a generational trauma that is experienced on a daily basis. Indeed, *Indian Country Today* chose to focus on keeping their culture alive while recognizing tradition.

Water

The phrase "Water is life" was heard across the nation during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. This message was created by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe to bring awareness to the fact that a pipeline leak would damage water necessary for consumption and industry (Stand With Standing Rock, n.d.-a). As noted in the Introduction chapter, the Standing Rock Sioux already face an inadequate water supply (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, n.d.). They rely on problematic wells for consumption and unpredictable surface water for livestock (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, n.d.). Indeed, it is not surprising the frame of water emerged in this research.

Both the *New York Times* and *Indian Country Today* developed a water frame; however, the frame was different in the publications. The *Times* almost always connected contamination of water with sacred sites. Yet their discussion did not indicate that water is sacred; rather, they talk about water and sacred sites as two different entities. *Indian Country Today* centered their frame on the importance and sacred nature of water and the need to educate the dominant class.

The *New York Times* water frame was covered in 36% of its articles, and did not change its message over the course of the period examined. As noted, the water frame was always tied to sacred sites and began in August 2016: "Protecting water and our sacred places has always

been at the center of our cause" (Archambault II, 2016, para. 9). It continued into the fall, as indicated by Skalicky and Davey (2016): "Native Americans and environmental activists, many of whom have gathered here, say the $3.7 billion pipeline threatens the region's water supply and would harm sacred cultural lands and tribal burial grounds" (para. 7).

Every water frame in the *New York Times* attributed the water contamination and sacred sites fears to American Indians or environmental groups. Yet *Indian Country Today* framed water as an opportunity to educate non-Indians about the importance of water for survival. A young Sioux woman, for example, is quoted as saying: "Without water we would all perish and suffer. [We must help] people understand who we are as indigenous people and why Unci Maka is important" (Houska, 2016, para. 11). She is suggesting the dominant members of society don't understand the importance of water for survival. She also indicated the importance of the educating the masses about her culture and why Unci Maka (Grandmother Earth) is important to all people.

Similarly, *Indian Country Today* discussed "the real world vs. the sacred earth" (Perkins, 2016, para. 4). Real world education—what is taught in public schools—shares knowledge about water cycles and the compounds that create water. Yet Indigenous education, according to Perkins (2016), focuses on the idea that water is a living network that connects people, plants, and animals to nature. This education disconnect is part of the problem, Perkins (2016) argued:

> Most Americans believe that we, in [a] dominating technologic age, with our advanced society can seemingly do without clean natural aquifers, clean air and non-toxic food; that we can continue to recycle and drink our own sewage with no repercussions, their belief being that water is not living and is simply compounds of basic chemistry (para. 6).

While the water frame appeared in the *Times* and *Indian Country Today*, it was rarely mentioned in the *Bismarck Tribune*. This is another example of settler colonialism, as the dominant newspaper in the region did not acknowledge the effects oil and construction might have on water necessary for consumption and industry.

American Indian Stereotypes

The media have historically framed American Indians as good or evil (Baylor, 1996; Berkhofer, 1978; Brady, 2012; Coward, 1999; Miller & Ross, 2004; Weston, 1996). These are handy stereotypes for media audiences, as they can pull from popular culture and previous experiences to determine how they perceive indigenous people. The ignoble savage portrays individuals as uncivilized combined with the more contemporary militant frame increases the salience of weapons, violence, and destruction (Baylor, 1996). The noble savage, on the other hand, is the original environmentalist, an individual that focuses on wisdom and family above all else (Berkhofer, 1978; Weston, 1996).

The ignoble savage and noble savage frames were used regularly in selected artifacts; however, each publication examined relied on one frame each. In other words, if the ignoble savage frame was utilized in a publication, the noble savage frame was not. The *Bismarck Tribune* incorporated the ignoble savage frame in 20% of the artifacts while the *New York Times* focused on the noble savage frame in 25%, creating a mix of contemporary and traditional characteristics. *Indian Country Today* did not center its articles on either frame.

Ignoble Savage Frame

The *Bismarck Tribune* consistently utilized the ignoble savage frame by indicating the American Indian activists are uncivilized and prone to violence. To illustrate, Morton County Sheriff Kirchmeier was quoted as saying "Security offers reported seeing numerous protesters

carrying knives; they also reported one protester with a pistol in his waistband" (Nowatzki, 2016, para. 10). Additionally, the security company hired by Dakota Access said they were "patrolling an area protecting equipment and we were then ambushed after a fence was torn down and workers and dogs hospitalized" (Dalrymple, 2016, para. 6). It is important to note the dates of the above quotes, as at this point the number of activists was mainly American Indian. The *Tribune* did not hesitate to frame them as violent and ready to use weapons:

> Authorities said at least nine vehicles were torched, including a construction company's bulldozer and two military-style trucks next to Backwater Bridge, just north of the main camp. On the nearby Morton County Road 134 bridge, protesters held police at bay for hours with a fire fueled with logs, branches and hay bales, then set a pickup truck full of wooden pallets and rubber boots on fire before they left. Both bridges remained closed Monday (Bismarck Tribune, 2016c, para. 8).

The *Tribune* focused on destruction of private property, violence, and weapons at the hands of activists. Even though the demographics of activists are unknown in November, the *Tribune* framed American Indians as it published names and tribes of those involved, such as Frank Archambault (Standing Rock Sioux) and Cody Hall (Cheyenne River Sioux). They did not publish the names of other activists who may be white or of a different race. The omission of other backgrounds indicates that all activists were American Indians. The *Bismarck Tribune* also rarely allowed space in the artifacts for American Indian response. Hence, the reader only notices the ignoble savage frame based on the perspective of the newspaper, which perpetuates the long-standing stereotype.

Noble Savage Frame

The *New York Times* utilized the noble savage frame in 25% of artifacts examined. It

established an interesting combination of traditional and contemporary individuals in the frame,

which is different from the literature reviewed. For example: "The Native Americans are the

only people who have inhabited this continent in harmony with nature for centuries. Its

traditional wisdom now chimes perfectly with the latest climate science" (McKibben, 2016, para.

14). Therefore, a traditional/contemporary relationship is created between being the original

inhabitants "in harmony with nature for centuries" and current issues with global warming.

The traditional/contemporary noble savage frame also appeared when the *Times*

discussed the protest as a new type of battle:

> Horseback riders, their faces streaked in yellow and black paint, led the procession out of
>
> their tepee-dotted camp. Two hundred people followed, making their daily walk a mile
>
> up a rural highway to a patch of prairie grass and excavated dirt that has become a new
>
> kind of battlefield, between a pipeline and American Indians who say it will threaten
>
> water supplies and sacred lands (Healy, 2016d, para. 1).

This is a curious mash up of the old—faces streaked with paint, long procession—

combined with the new type of battle. No longer the conventional battle of warriors and soldiers,

but of warriors and corporations. The battlefield is still the prairie but the focus is now on

resources below rather than those above the land. The *Times* continued with their descriptive

language in the above example to paint exotic images in the minds of readers, such as the "tepee-

dotted camp" and "patch of prairie grass."

The noble savage, as defined in the codebook, is a family oriented individual. This theme

was carried out in the *Times*, again combined in the traditional/contemporary frame: "On a stroll

through the camp, visitors meet young men on horseback, children playing in the grass and grandparents in camping chairs, some of whom have traveled from as far as California, Florida and New York." (Healy, 2016b, para. 10). Former Chief Dave Archambault quoted Sitting Bull in the traditional/contemporary noble savage frame: "'Let us put our minds together and see what life we can make for our children.'" That appeal is as relevant today as it was more than a century ago" (Archambault II, 2016, para. 13). In both examples, the traditional was highlighted via family as the focus through historic references and generational relationships. Yet the contemporary is also acknowledged via references to long-distance travel and time.

The traditional/contemporary frame was featured again when online donations were discussed: "Activists call themselves Water Protectors and are busy raising money online that is intended to help them operate an encampment near the protest area" (Rogers, 2016, para. 5). Mainstream media do not commonly use the phrase "Water Protectors." Indeed, it is a title used mainly by American Indians as noticed in the artifacts, Water Protector Legal website, Indigenous news organizations, and other documents. Therefore, use of the phrase indicates a noble savage and, in the quote above, a noble savage that understands online donations.

Confrontation

Confrontation occurs when two opposing parties behave in a hostile manner toward one another. This may be verbal, such as yelling or chanting, or physical violence, like punching or using rubber bullets. Regardless of form, confrontation may occur during a protest between opposing activists groups or, in the case of Dakota Access, between activists and law enforcement. Mainstream media used the confrontation between American Indian activists and law enforcement to enhance the ignoble savage frame and indicate shifting protest boundaries. Use of these frames assisted in explaining how settler colonialism is present in contemporary

media. *Indian Country Today* continued to resist settler colonialism by pointing out extreme government violence.

Confrontation is a concept-driven category directly placed into the coding frame prior to artifact examination. The codebook defines confrontation as a hostile environment or meeting with opposing parties (Dictionary, 2018). Instances of non-violent confrontation occurred in selected artifacts, most often in the form of court sessions. However, violence is a characteristic of settler colonialism and therefore of interest to this research.

Violence and Fear

The *Bismarck Tribune* and *New York Times* used actual and imaginary violence to create a sense of fear in dominant class audiences regarding American Indian activists. This was accomplished by incorporating the ignoble savage frame on a regular basis. To illustrate, the *Tribune* discussed actual violence against security guards: "Protesters assaulted one security guard, and when law enforcement arrived, they witnessed protesters carrying the guard for about 100 yards, the sheriff's office said" (Nowatzki, 2016, para. 5). The *New York Times* took actual violence at the hands of American Indian activists one step further by noting the violence took place on private—i.e. white-owned—land: "Last week, when protests flared into violence at a construction site for the Dakota Access pipeline, many white residents blamed protesters for breaking down a fence, rushing onto privately owned land and attacking pipeline contractors" (Healy, 2016a, para. 18). In both examples the ignoble stereotype was perpetuated as American Indians were portrayed as evil, destructive, angry, and disrespectful of authority. The publications would be able to increase fear in readers because the protest was creeping beyond the boundaries of the protest site and into private land and/or harming security guards.

Imaginary violence was discussed in the *Bismarck Tribune*, in particular violence that may harm the safety of children. Imaginary violence is defined in the codebook as acts of violence that are not threatening; however, it is believed it may happen despite no reason being offered (see Appendix A for full definition). The reason for documenting imaginary violence is that it may increase the ignoble savage frame. It also indicated the protest is no longer within the boundaries of the water crossing, but into the backyards of Bismarck residents. Case in point:

> A patrol car will meet the Mandan school bus at 6:45 a.m. on Aug. 25 and will escort the bus past the barriers and as far down as the Fort Rice Boat Dock and then back to school. The patrol car will escort students on the bus ride home later that afternoon (*Bismarck Tribune*, 2016b, para. 4).

The imaginary threat towards children occurred again in December when the cops and kids shopping program was canceled due to fears of violence, as noted earlier in this chapter. However, in neither case were American Indian threats towards children or their safety ever documented in the examined artifacts.

Police Violence

Indian Country Today established a confrontation frame in which the United States government was to blame for extreme violence against American Indians. This is made apparent when it discussed police militarization in general:

> The past few decades has seen a massive escalation in the weaponry and lethality of American law enforcement. Neighborhood sheriffs have metamorphasized [sic] into an invading military force that treats our communities like war zones and our people like enemies. Due to legal loopholes, there are little to no repercussions for law enforcement

officials who injure or kill civilians, even under incredibly dubious circumstances (Indian

Country Today, 2016c, para. 2).

The quote continued to note, "Native Americans are the group most likely to die in

confrontations with law enforcement" (Indian Country Today, 2016c, para. 4). Messages of

violence at the hands of the repressive state apparatus were not found in the *Bismarck Tribune*.

Indeed, it goes against its frame that American Indian activists are a threat to dominant society.

The *New York Times* also discussed police violence. Unlike *Indian Country Today*, the

Times focused the violence against American Indians at the Dakota Access protest rather than

violence in general. In particular, the focus was on horrific conditions experience by activists.

For example, it featured a quote made by former Chief David Archambault:

The use of water in freezing temperatures just goes to show that they're being more

aggressive and they're actually trying to hurt people," he said. "This is far more

threatening to human life than any other time of confrontation with law enforcement

(Bromwich, 2016, para. 14).

The *Times* also highlighted injuries to activists, such as "nearly 300 people were treated

for injuries resulting from the use of police force" (Mele, 2016, para. 13). As noted earlier in this

chapter, the *Times* appear to rely on highly descriptive language to maintain reader engagement.

Indian Country Today continued to resist settler colonialism by discussing violence

towards American Indians as a whole. It combined the Dakota Access pipeline violence with

violent acts against American Indians that have occurred through the country. The *New York*

Times also acknowledged police violence against American Indians; however, it ignored the

underlying problem that it occurs regularly and goes unreported in mainstream media.

Additionally, the *Times* may attempt to evoke fear by maintaining the ignoble savage frame. In

fact, it took the protest out of the water crossing and into America's backyards, making the possible attack of American Indian activists that much more real, however unlikely. Like the *Times*, the *Bismarck Tribune* attempted to perpetuate the ignoble savage frame, yet they relied on imaginary violence that may occur to white children. This frame is interesting as there is no documentation this would occur; however, the safety of children is of utmost importance to Americans and is helpful in creating a fearful enemy.

Discussion and Research Questions

As discussed in the previous chapter, the foundation of media framing is the interaction between selection and salience. Through the selection of particular word choices, sources, and story focus the salience of an issue increases for media audiences. The most salient media frames comprise the codes discussed earlier in this chapter. Therefore, the selection of these frames by the *Bismarck Tribune*, *New York Times*, and *Indian Country Today* create a perceived reality in which settler colonialism was perpetuated or resisted. Selection and salience are used to diagnose the problem, evaluate the situation, and prescribe treatment (Entman, 1993). This section will apply these characteristics to the artifacts examined and related it to settler colonialism in an effort to answer the research questions.

Research Question One: *Bismarck Tribune* Framing Perpetuates Settler Colonialism

The first research question asks in what ways media framing perpetuates settler colonialism in the *Bismarck Tribune* during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Through consistent use of the ignoble savage frame, the *Tribune* widened the gap between government officials and American Indian activists.

The first step in the framing process is to identify the problem. In the case of the *Bismarck Tribune*, the problem as that American Indians are obstacles to progress. The

publication routinely blamed American Indians for stopping pipeline construction and therefore putting the state's financial future at risk. Therefore, the *Tribune* supported the dominant class by incorporating the ignoble savage frame in a variety of instances.

The morality, economic, and public safety arguments are part of the blame-American Indians frame. The arguments are used in attempts to make American Indians appear uncivilized and widen the gap between social classes. This contributes to settler colonialism, in part, because colonial racism is accepted as part of a society's structure. Colonial racism occurs when the colonizer makes significant attempts to ensure the separation of classes (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965). In the case of the *Bismarck Tribune*, it used the arguments of morality, the economy, and public safety to maintain the separation of colonizer and colonized. In each of the arguments, the *Tribune* directly or indirectly blamed American Indians for lawlessness and disregard for the common good, meaning they are uncivilized. Never are corporations or government entities blamed; rather, they are often praised for their good sense and law-abiding actions.

Through continuous use of the ignoble savage frame, the *Bismarck Tribune* portrayed the Standing Rock Sioux as uncivilized and unable to understand the importance of oil transportation to the state of North Dakota. Consequently, the dominant class may have viewed American Indians as obstacles to America's ideology of progress (Coward, 1999). While the country is no longer seeking to expand boundaries to the west, economic gain by corporations can lead to global dominance in oil exports. North Dakota is heavily invested in the oil trade, relying on its billions in tax dollars to support a number of different projects. Therefore, it may be argued *Bismarck Tribune* reflected the state's long-embedded settler colonialism in which American Indians are seen as obstacles to progress.

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The reason the *Tribune* reflected settler colonialism might be because the state desires oil money. To illustrate, North Dakotans voted to create the Legacy Fund in 2009 as the most recent oil boom was in nascent stages. The purpose of the Fund was to create "a perpetual source of state revenue from the finite natural resources of oil and natural gas" (ND State Treasurer, 2019, para. 1). The Fund keeps 30% of all oil extraction and production taxes and the April 2019 balance was just over $5 billion (ND State Treasurer, 2019). State leaders are occasionally at odds with how Legacy Fund money should be used; however, all interest earned in the Legacy Fund after 2017 goes to the state's general fund. As of April 2019, that amount is approximately $44 million (ND Legislative Council Staff, 2019).

It could also be argued the *Bismarck Tribune*'s incorporation of the ignoble savage frame is a reflection of the state's long history of intrinsic racism against American Indians. North Dakota has the sixth highest population of American Indians (World Population Review, 2017), yet the state does not perceive this population as an integral part of society. For example, the state's voter-ID laws were changed after the 2014 election, invalidating the use of federal tribal identification cards when voting (Hadar, 2018). Many American Indians in North Dakota vote Democrat and requiring different identification when voting could benefit Republicans. One could argue the new legislation worked, despite district-court rulings stating it was "disproportionately burdensome on Native American voters" (Hadar, 2018, para. 6), as Senator Heidi Heitkamp (Democrat) lost the 2018 election.

Tribal Nations in North Dakota also suffer inexplicably high poverty rates, another example of the state repressing this demographic. The poverty rate in Sioux County, home of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, stands at 37.1%; the average rate for the state is 11% (Welfare Info, 2018). In fact, two additional counties in which reservations are present have poverty rates

over 30%. Counties that are predominantly white, however, have poverty rates less than 15% (Welfare Info, 2018).

The combination of repressive voter-ID laws, poverty, and broken treaties seems to indicate the *Bismarck Tribune* utilized the ignoble savage as a reflection of the conservative ideologies of elected officials. Also, by framing American Indians as the ignoble savage, the *Bismarck Tribune* was handing readers a scapegoat. If readers perceive American Indians as obstacles to progress they are less likely to be empathetic to the protest. Like the American Indians of the nineteenth-century, newspapers "kept Indians firmly identified as an inferior people" (Coward, 1999, p. 191). This occurred once again via the reporting of the *Bismarck Tribune* and contributed to ongoing settler colonialism in the media.

The *Tribune* often incorporated the actual or imaginary violence frame to assist in the creation of the ignoble savage. Violence is a key characteristic to settler colonialism and violence in the *Tribune* was always at the hand of the colonized. In every case in which violence is framed, the aggressor was always American Indian. This contributed to the impression the colonizer is heroic or reasonable. The *Tribune* also created imaginary violence to highlight the ignoble savage frame. By indicating American Indian activists would harm the children of the dominant class, the *Tribune* brought the protest into city limits.

In an effort to truly highlight the ignoble savage and violence frames, the *Tribune* featured government sources early in the artifacts. By doing so they were indicating to audiences the most powerful player in the situation. In fact, quoting a government source within the first five paragraphs of an article occurred nearly 45% of the time in the *Tribune*. Since newspaper readers do not always read past the first few paragraphs, placing the source at the top reinforces who should be considered experts in the situation.

To summarize, the *Bismarck Tribune* perpetuated settler colonialism by framing American Indians as negatively as possible. This is accomplished through consistent framing of American Indians as ignoble savages, prone to violence, and unable to recognize the fiscal importance of oil in the state.

Research Question Two: *New York Times* Framing (Mostly) Perpetuates Settler Colonialism

The second research question asks how the *New York Times* framing perpetuated settler colonialism during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. The *Times* varied in its framing, sometimes supporting American Indians while at other times supporting dominant frames. This may be due, in part, to the lack of identifying a clear problem definition. While the *Times* is not as blatant as the *Bismarck Tribune* in its perpetuation of settler colonialism, nor did it resist as strongly as *Indian Country Today*, it did contribute to the problem. In fact, there were three cases in which the publication subtly incorporated settler colonialism into its writing. These include use of the cultural value, confrontation, and noble savage frames.

Using the cultural value frame, the *Times* indicated government officials are not recognizing the cultural legacy of American Indians. The *Times* recognized the value of sacred spaces to the Indigenous, understanding the history that will be lost due to construction. However, it did not acknowledge past colonial activities in which American Indian artifacts were destroyed, focusing only on the situation with the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. While this could be argued as a form of concise reporting, it highlighted the fact the *Times* does not want to remind audiences of past instances of violence and destruction. Maintaining the status quo of the dominant class is a characteristic of settler colonialism.

Similarly, the *New York Times* discussed violence at the hands of law enforcement. It stopped short of discussing violence towards American Indians in general, though, which is a significant issue for this community. To illustrate, American Indians who were victims of violence by a non-Indian perpetrator is over 90% for both males and females (Rosay, 2016). However, in the case of Dakota Access protest reporting, the *Times* recognized that violence could occur at the hands of law enforcement. This is an important step in combating settler colonialism. However, it stopped short of discussing violence in general in this population. Again, this could be argued as concise reporting but by ignoring the important issue of violence it perpetuated settler colonialism.

The *Times* also subtly incorporated settler colonialism via the traditional/contemporary noble savage frame. This is a curious frame in which contemporary people are simultaneously portrayed as frozen in the past. It is almost as if the *Times* did not want to give full recognition to American Indians, arguably a trait of settler colonialism. By recognizing the American Indian as an individual, the *Times* would have threatened the status quo by identifying the Indigenous as modern-day human beings.

In summary, the *New York Times* would recognize American Indians and issues while simultaneously delegitimizing them. It falls directly between the *Bismarck Tribune* and *Indian Country Today* in its support of settler colonialism by subtly incorporating it into the writing.

Research Question Three: *Indian Country Today* Resists Settler Colonialism

Unlike the *Bismarck Tribune* and to an extent the *New York Times*, *Indian Country Today* actively resisted settler colonialism. This is not surprising; however, part of their resistance lies in educating the dominant class about the importance of water. *Indian Country Today* is similar to the *New York Times* in acknowledgement of violence and cultural value, but it also connected

these frames to the colonized history of American Indians. Additionally, *Indian Country Today* was the only publication to truly recognize the sovereign status of Indian nations.

The Indigenous focus on educating the dominant class regarding the importance of water is an interesting comparison to the *New York Times*. The *Times* attributed water issues to American Indians or environmental groups. *Indian Country Today*, however, understood the importance of the Indigenous educating the dominant class about the importance of water. The publication as able to view the whole picture, drawing from its ideology of water being part of a living network. The publication was actively resisting settler colonialism by acknowledging disruption via education of the dominant class.

Indian Country Today also acknowledged past colonial activities that damaged American Indian legacies. This is arguably a form of settler colonial resistance as they refused to ignore the past; recognition of the past means acknowledgement of wrongdoings. This is similar to *Indian Country's Today's* view of violence. The publication noted violence began with law enforcement. However, this goes against capitalism, which is a foundational characteristic of settler colonialism as violence is used to support financial gain of the colonizer. However, through acknowledgement of violence at the hands of the repressive state apparatus, *Indian Country Today* was resisting settler colonial themes. It refused to support the dominant class desire for the extraction of natural resources for financial gain.

Indian Country Today also incorporated the blame-government frame, accusing government entities for the Dakota Access Pipeline protest because the sovereign status of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe was not being recognized. Historically, settlers refused to acknowledge that American Indians had established legal customs (Dunbar-Ortiz, 2014). Additionally, early government officials would not follow tribal customs during treaty

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negotiations, resulting in negative consequences for American Indians. History was repeating itself with state government ignoring the sovereign status of the Standing Rock Sioux. The fact that sovereignty was used only in *Indian Country Today* indicates the mainstream media are either unaware of the sovereign status of reservations or by not recognizing the status they are delegitimizing the existence of American Indians. *Indian Country Today* declined to put federal government first, focusing on American Indian sources and issues.

Research Question Four: Differences Between Publications

It is clear the publications examined in this research offer varying support of settler colonialism. The *Bismarck Tribune* wholeheartedly supported settler colonialism, incorporating the ignoble savage frame in its effort to support government and corporation issues. The *Tribune* recognized the conservative nature of the state, declining to support anything that may disrupt the status quo. The following quote from the *New York Times* characterizes the population of the state and its relationship with American Indians:

> Where Native Americans see the camp as a scene of prayer and peaceful protests, Mr. Schaaf and other ranchers and residents in the conservative, overwhelmingly white countryside view the protests with a mix of frustration and fear, reflecting the deep cultural divides and racial attitudes in Indian country (Healy, 2016a, para. 2).

The *New York Times* occupied a middle space, neither whole-heartedly perpetuating settler colonialism nor rejecting it. When settler colonialism did appear, it was elusive, couched in other terms that redirect the attention to whatever cognitive bias a reader may hold.

Indian Country Today completely rejected settler colonialism, which is not unexpected as it reflects the ideologies of its readers. It was able to provide this research with a perspective that highlighted the ideologies of the American Indian. It recognized the colonial history of the

country, refusing to ignore past attempts of repression. Rather, *Indian Country Today* applied

those past attempts to the current situation, finding patterns in colonial behaviors. It also

respected the American Indian activists, applying no stereotype and respecting the wish to be

known as Water Protectors, a term they use willingly without attempts to delegitimize it.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This disquisition applied a traditional Marxist perspective to the media framing of American Indians during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Marxism was applied because it is a viewpoint based on historical oppression in which colonizers benefit economically. Similarly, in this case study oil companies and government officials benefit from the construction of the pipeline, despite the fact it may harm American Indians or their lifestyle. Instead of attempting to benefit from the labor of the colonized, however, this disquisition relates Marxism into settler colonialism in which the goal is to eliminate the colonized. Elimination takes a variety of forms, including media framing. As the communication apparatus, the media work in tandem with other apparatuses, such as education and religion, to maintain the oppression and elimination of the American Indian.

The ideology of race also plays an important role in colonialism and settler colonialism. Like the class structure defined by Marx and Engels (1848/1964), colonialism divides society into two separate classes: the colonizer and the colonized (Fanon, 1963). The colonizer strives to maintain and widen the separation of classes (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965). In the case of Dakota Access, mainstream media used particular frames to widen the gap between the dominant class and American Indians, therefore perpetuating settler colonial goals. One could argue other media, such as *Indian Country Today*, also attempted to widen the gap between classes. However, its goal was not to dominate, but to recognize colonialism, sovereignty, and government-directed violence while encouraging audiences to educate the dominant class.

As settler colonialism is disseminated in the press, it becomes embedded into the structure of society. Structure can be considered the rules a society follows, rules that are reproduced regularly as individuals go about their daily routines. Rules are also expressions of

dominance created and maintained by the colonizer (Giddens, 1993). This means when the colonized question the rules, their doubts are repressed as quickly as possible by the colonizer. During the Dakota Access Pipeline protest, the dominant class ordered the repression of American Indians in an effort to maintain structure in the name of peacekeeping.

The communication apparatus contributes to settler colonialism in its coverage of the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Settler colonial dominance is apparent in the media's attempts to recognize the American Indian. Indeed, it is through recognition the media are able to control the narrative of this colonized population. Mainstream media during the pipeline protest framed American Indians in a variety of ways that, when analyzed, highlight the settler colonial reflections of the dominant class. For example, incorporation of the ignoble savage frame by the *Bismarck Tribune* othered the American Indian, continuing a negative stereotype that has existed for centuries. Because the communication apparatus works in tandem with other ideological apparatuses, such as education or religion, use of the ignoble savage frame preserves dominance over the American Indian.

Media Frames

Media framing is the interaction between selection and salience. Framing scholar Robert Entman (1993) defines framing as the selection of "some aspects of a perceived reality and [to] make them more salient in a communicating text" (p. 52). This means an issue is selected by a news organization and made important in the minds of audiences. In other words, reality is altered. For example, both the *New York Times* and *Indian Country Today* used the government blame frame when discussing the Dakota Access protest. But each publication framed the government in slightly different ways, which then altered reality for each audience. The *Times* blamed government officials for ordering violence against activists to occur, therefore combining

blame and violence and making this aspect more salient than others. *Indian Country Today*, on the other hand, blamed the government for not recognizing the sovereign state of the Standing Rock Sioux, which indicated the Sioux were not invited to assist in the planning of the pipeline. The reality is that both situations occurred, violence and non-recognition of sovereignty, but readers of each publication receive an altered reality based on frames utilized.

Media framing is successful because some news audiences are not always well informed or care to become well informed. This allows media frames to influence audience perceptions based on two levels: mentally stored images for information processing and characteristics of news text (Entman, 1991).

Mentally stored images are stereotypes and history provides Americans with numerous examples from popular culture. Consider Tonto from *The Lone Ranger* or the Disney version of *Pocahontas*. One is a trusty sidekick to the white hero while the other is as comforting to white ideologies as Cinderella. Indeed, white audiences are able to accept these portrayals of American Indians (Bird, 1996). Poet and author Sherman Alexie epitomizes the popular culture misrepresentation of an American Indian:

All the Indians must have tragic features: tragic noses, eyes, and arms.

Their hands and fingers must be tragic when they reach for tragic food.

The hero must be a half-breed, half white and half Indian, preferably from a horse

culture. He should often weep alone. That is mandatory (Alexie, 1996, p. 94).

The American Indian stereotype was developed by white culture (Berkhofer, 1978; Bird, 1996). Indeed, the dominant class is controlling the narrative. The ignoble or noble savage frame, for example, is an easy concept for audiences to grasp as it has been incorporated into white general education, experiences, and culture for generations. Therefore, when the media

discuss events such as the Dakota Access Pipeline protest, dominant class audiences can make sense of these common, if incorrect, frames representing American Indians.

Salience is also increased through characteristics of the text (Entman, 1991). The *New York Times*, for example, uses highly descriptive language in its newswriting, which creates visual images in the minds of audiences. Therefore, when the publication regularly uses phrases such as "tepee dotted prairie" or "lonely high plains" to describe the protest, it is painting a mental image that freezes American Indians in a time long past. Similarly, use of quotation marks around words has a delegitimizing effect (Ashley & Olson, 1998). To illustrate, when the *Bismarck Tribune* used the title Water Protectors, it would put the term in quotation marks or preface it with "self-described 'water protectors'" (Nowatzki, 2016, para. 6). These techniques inform audiences that the title should not be taken seriously. *Indian Country Today*, on the other hand, regularly used Water Protectors to describe activists without delegitimizing the title, letting its readers know the title is reasonable and legitimate.

Media frames are powerful. First, the media are ubiquitous, dispersing frames in numerous formats to global audiences. A recent study indicates that 78% of news consumers prefer to receive their news on television or online (Mitchell, 2018). This means that 24-hour news programs and online news sites are always available when the consumer is interested in receiving information. Second, media frames help audiences make sense of a confusing world (Gitlin, 1980). Since reality is altered based on the framing provided by a news source, consumers viewing different sources will receive slightly different angles; this can make an already complex situation even more confusing. *Indian Country Today*, for example, placed blame on government entities during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest while *Bismarck Tribune*

placed blame on American Indian activists. Neither frame is incorrect, yet each provides a slightly different perspective.

Settler Colonialism and Dakota Access

Several media frames are employed in the publications examined regarding the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Through these frames it was discovered that each publication may or may not support settler colonialism to varying degrees. The *Bismarck Tribune* reflected North Dakota's settler colonial history mainly through the American Indian blame and ignoble savage frames. These frames widened the gap between the colonizer and the colonized, ensuring the American Indian is portrayed as evil and an obstacle to progress. Additionally, the frames are highlighted through featuring government sources early in the artifacts. This practice allows the government to frame the narrative to their benefit (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In this case, negative frames of American Indians may reinforce the already held ideologies of some audiences, which could have allowed pipeline construction to proceed with little interference.

Through the use of cultural value, confrontation, and noble savage frames, the *New York Times* contributes to settler colonialism, although not to the degree of the *Bismarck Tribune*. This may be due to the fact the *Times* is considered a highly reliable publication (Media Bias Fact Check, n.d.). The *Times* focused its reporting only on the protest while incorporating a traditional/contemporary noble savage frame. This contributes to settler colonialism as it simultaneously portrays a contemporary population frozen in the past. This assumedly helps audiences cognitively understand the situation by referring to previously held biases or cultural references, all while perceiving an American Indian as created by the dominant class.

Additionally, the artifacts reviewed do not indicate the *Times* acknowledgement of America's settler colonial history. For example, the publication discusses violence at the hands

of law enforcement, but does not apply the current situation to centuries of repressive state apparatus violence towards American Indians. If the *Times* had made that connection, however, it would mean it is accepting collective responsibility for past actions (Kamau & Giner-Sorolla, 2013). This goes against settler colonial ideologies in which history is altered to benefit those in power. Recognition of the past would be a step towards decolonization; an idea the *Times* seems reluctant to completely share in the artifacts examined.

Implications

Land, capital gain, and elimination of the Indigenous are at the heart of settler colonialism. In the case of the Dakota Access Pipeline protest, an oil corporation worked closely with government officials to secure land to transport a natural resource, all while attempting to ignore American Indian land.

In order to use North Dakota land for construction of an oil pipeline, Energy Transfer Partners attempted to eliminate the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. This was initially accomplished by removing the reservation from maps submitted to the Environmental Protection Agency. If Energy Transfer Partners had succeeded in this deceit, they could have continued with construction as if American Indians did not exist. This would reduce the number of required assessments, partnerships with various agencies, and overall workload. Through not acknowledging the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, Energy Transfer Partners could put the pipeline construction on the fast track to completion.

Energy Transfer Partners was not the only organization attempting to eliminate the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. Mainstream media also framed the Dakota Access Pipeline protest to continue the representation of American Indians as good or evil.

Elimination via Mainstream Media

The mainstream media contributed to the elimination of the American Indian during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. This was accomplished via two distinct methods, depending on the publication. The *Bismarck Tribune* embraced settler colonial methods to eliminate the American Indian while the *New York Times* incorporated more subtle techniques in its attempt.

The *Bismarck Tribune* incorporated the ignoble savage frame, perpetuating the American Indian stereotype as incapable of being a productive member of society. Indeed, the *Tribune* used the frame to support its argument that American Indian activists are obstacles to progress. The *Tribune's* support of settler colonialism allows prejudice to thrive, solidifying its place in society's structure. Continuous use of the ignoble savage frame as an obstacle to progress remains part of the communication apparatus; ensuring audiences remember this frame according to the region's ideological guidelines.

The *New York Times* participated in elimination via a traditional/contemporary noble savage frame. This frame is a combination of acknowledging current issues while simultaneously incorporating language that places the American Indian in a time long past. It is as if the *Times* did not want to fully acknowledge the repression American Indians have faced at the hands of the dominant class. As noted, acknowledgement would be a step towards decolonization, which goes against capitalistic ideologies.

Similarly, the *Times* eliminates the American Indian by only halfway recognizing the seriously of contemporary issues. For example, violence towards the Indigenous is a serious problem, not just an event that occurred during the Dakota Access protest. Yet the *Times* never quite brought the discussion to the point of national conversation. Rather, it continues to focus on violence at the hands of law enforcement during the protest. No doubt that focus on an issue

is a form a good journalism, but it is also missing the larger story. Had the *Times*, at least in these artifacts, acknowledged larger issues of Indigenous society dominant society may have begun the discourse necessary to help solve the problems.

Resistance via Indigenous Media

Indian Country Today resisted settler colonialism, which is to be expected based on the ideologies of its ownership and audience demographics. *Indian Country Today* focused much of its attention on encouraging readers to educate the dominant class about the importance of water. Like the *New York Times*, water is a frame utilized by *Indian Country Today*; however, the *Times* stop short of discussing the importance of water. *Indian Country Today*, on the other hand, encouraged audiences to educate the dominant class about Indigenous ideologies. The publication draws from its ideology that everything is connected and to disturb one element, such as polluting water with an oil leak, the entire network of life is at risk. Indeed, encouraging media audiences to educate the dominant class about Earth as a living network is an attempt at Indigenization education. Education is arguably a form of resistance.

Indian Country Today is the only publication that recognized the sovereign status of Tribal Nations, another form of resistance. As noted earlier, if mainstream media were to recognize sovereignty or past injustices at the hands of the powerful, that would be a step towards decolonization. Decolonization, however, means the dominant class will lose power and wealth, something they have no desire to relinquish. While *Indian Country Today* discussed sovereignty regularly, it is a small, online publication that does not have the power of *New York Times* or even *Bismarck Tribune*. Therefore its impact is limited.

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Legacy

Despite the efforts of American Indian activists, the Dakota Access Pipeline was completed in June 2017. Indeed, overturning the Obama Administration's imposed delays on the pipeline was one of the first acts of the newly inaugurated Trump Administration that spring. While this seems to indicate the new administration's view of American Indians, it also showcases its support of settler colonialism, as pipeline transportation is one of the safest ways to move oil (Dakota Access Pipeline Facts, n.d.-a; Morris, 2016). Hundreds of thousands of barrels of oil have since flowed through the pipeline, generating billions of dollars in revenue for the state of North Dakota.

The protest will not soon be forgotten, however. Its legacy will remain intact for three reasons: the show of solidarity from American Indians, First Amendment challenges, and increased American Indian representation in all levels of government. The Dakota Access Pipeline protest is the largest gathering of American Indians for this century (McKenna, 2016a). Hundreds of tribes showed their solidarity through letters, public announcements, and physically protesting at the site and locations around the nation (Stand With Standing Rock, 2016c). The quantity of American Indian activists helped bring the discussion of oil transportation into the national spotlight, a discussion that is currently taking place with Enbridge Line 3 in Minnesota and the various states involved with the Keystone XL pipeline.

The Dakota Access Pipeline protest also created challenges to the First Amendment. Policing the protest cost the state of North Dakota $38 million, a cost that is a cause of concern in other states working with oil transportation (Nicholson, 2017). Therefore, several states are working to create legislation that severely punishes activists, hoping to detract potential protests. Six states passed laws in 2019 that restrict the right to protest near or on oil transportation

projects (Kelly, 2019). A bill in Texas, for example, states that oil or gas activists could face a charge of third-degree felony and up to 10 years in prison; this is comparable to the sentence a drive-by shooter would receive (Adams-Heard & Natter, 2019). Similarly, Energy Transfer Partners filed a $900 million lawsuit against Dakota Access Pipeline activists, relying on "defamation law and the Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act, a federal statute designed to prosecute mob activity" (Morrow, 2019, para. 3). The combination of severe punishment and costly legal battles creates a chilling effect, which weakens the First Amendment.

Finally, the Dakota Access Pipeline protest has inspired individuals to continue their activism regarding renewable energy. In fact, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez made the decision to run for Congress during her visit to Standing Rock (Solnit, 2019). Now, as a representative of New York's 45th district, Ocasio-Cortez is promoting the Green New Deal. Much like the Indigenous belief of protecting the earth, the Green New Deal calls for an environmentally sound and sustainable economy (Green Party, n.d.). Similarly, Tulsi Gabbard, presidential 2020 hopeful and Congressional representative from Hawaii, attended the protest at Standing Rock. This moved her to propose the Off Fossils Fuels for a Better Future Act (Nobel, 2019).

The protest in North Dakota has inspired increased American Indian participation in government. The lieutenant governor of Minnesota is Peggy Flanagan, a member of the White Earth Nation of Ojibwe (Office of Governor, n.d.). Flanagan is now the highest-ranking American Indian woman in an executive office (Nobel, 2019). Recently elected North Dakota Representative Ruth Buffalo actively promotes awareness of missing and murdered Indigenous people, introducing bills ranging from law enforcement training to collection of data regarding missing persons (ND Legislative Branch, 2019). Only two American Indian women serve in the

United States Congress; both actively promote renewable energy and climate change correction (Nobel, 2019). Clearly, the Dakota Access Pipeline protest sparked movements that go far beyond the fall 2016 protest.

This research indicates that despite political gains made by American Indian politicians, mainstream media will continue to control the narrative. The implication of this dominance is continued ideologies of those in power and the suppression of American Indian voices. However, if one act of activism can inspire people like Ocasio-Cortez, Gabbard, Flanagan, and Buffalo to fight for renewable energy and protection of American Indians, there may be hope for appropriate media messaging.

Limitations and Future Directions

The main limitation in this research is the lack of concrete data regarding the demographics of activists at the Dakota Access Pipeline protest. Several sources, including Standing With Standing Rock, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, and the North Dakota Indian Affairs Commission, were contacted in an effort to discover if a census was recorded. Unfortunately, no response was received. This means that actions of activists discussed in the publications could be those of American Indians or participants of another race. Therefore, I tried to determine who was most active during the protest based on images and text. For example, based on Amy Goodman's video from September 4, 2016, I was able to visually determine the American Indian ethnicity of activists at that time (Goodman, 2016). Granted, this is only my best guess and it is difficult to visually guess one's background.

I also relied on textual clues from the artifacts to determine if the activists being discussed were American Indians or not. For example, I would review sources to determine if tribal affiliation is acknowledged, as that would indicate the focus of the story. I would also

review surrounding paragraphs to determine what was being discussed and if that would give me an idea of the race of the activist(s) in question. Finally, I also knew from the artifacts and research that the number of protesters substantially increased throughout the fall; therefore artifacts from October and November were carefully reviewed to ensure the focus was on American Indian activists rather than activists as a whole.

The second limitation is the lack of a second researcher early in the process. A second researcher helps to strengthen validity and reliability. The reason a second researcher was not initially used was my own belief there was not time to do so. However, I did eventually invite another student to review 20% of the artifacts to determine accuracy of my coding. Initial review of these artifacts was at 80% accuracy; a discussion was held reviewing each discrepancy until we reached 100% consensus. The drawback to utilizing a second researcher later in the process is that I had to re-evaluate and re-analyze some artifacts. This was time consuming; however, it helped to reinforce code use and strengthen validity and reliability.

Finally, conclusions were made regarding media organizations based only on the materials examined. I did not examine dates beyond the randomly selected constructed weeks. Therefore, the media could have been presenting other viewpoints on unexamined dates. While this is unlikely, it may weaken some general conclusions made in this research.

Future Directions

The goal of this dissertation is to identify settler colonial actions in American media during the Dakota Access Pipeline protest and bring it into the American communication literature. Not only is settler colonialism new in the field, but also the case study is relatively new. This research is important because it will bring awareness of settler colonialism in the media to the communication literature. To illustrate, two powerful words to describe American

Indians—nation and sovereign—are rarely used in mainstream media (Seymour, 2012). Reporters are most likely aware of the implications these words have, as they will provoke questions from readers as they consider the position and power of Tribal Nations. Yet recognition of this power could lead to changes in the dominant class. A dramatic concept, yes, but inconceivable? No. Therefore these words are rarely used, essentially rhetorically disempowering American Indians (Seymour, 2012).

This research aims to change that narrative. My goal is to continue to review media artifacts for instances of settler colonialism and share results in the field, adding to the literature. For example, conflicts over land rarely take place on the land itself for long periods of time. Rather, they are brought to court and left for a judge to decide how to proceed. Research regarding legal land conflicts between corporations and American Indians, indeed, environmental racism as a whole, could bring settler colonialism out of the media and into the court system.

Media framing of the Dakota Access Pipeline protest exists as a display of power and dominance of those in authority. The protest is only an example of how mainstream media can alter the reality of an event to benefit the dominant class. A variety of social issues—health care, voting rights, or immigration—may be impacted by media framing that does not benefit the minority population. Indeed, this is research that must be continued in an effort to help media audiences understand that knowing how to think about a topic is not necessarily the best way to think.

Finally, media framing as a form of settler colonialism is censorship. Realities are being altered not only through frames like blame or cultural value, but also through omission of information. To illustrate, sheriffs in the southwest United States recently approved use of a

technology called Inmate Recognition Identification System (IRIS). The device scans the details of an inmate's eyes, placing this information into an online database that is available to immigration agencies. However, few news reports have focused on the IRIS technology, let alone the implications of its broader use by immigration agents. Rather, the news regarding the border focuses on the proposed border wall (Paneral & Macek, 2018). Omission is a slight of hand, media's magic trick to distract audiences long enough to frame the story to benefit those in power. Organizations like Project Censor attempt to uncover these omissions and media framing researchers must always be aware of what is being omitted. To quote George Bernard Shaw "all censorships exist to prevent anyone from challenging current conceptions and existing institutions. All progress is initiated by challenging current conceptions, and executed by supplanting existing institutions. Consequently, the first condition of progress is the removal of censorships" (Shaw, 1894/1902, p. 7)

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APPENDIX A: CODEBOOK

Code	Definition
Activism	Acts of peaceful opposition: singing, marching, dancing, chanting, and so on. No violence, expected or otherwise.
Blame	Assign responsibility for a fault or wrong
American Indian	Fault or wrong assigned to American Indian(s)
Corporation	Fault or wrong assigned to corporation
Government	Fault or wrong assigned to government entity (local, state, federal)
Colonialism	Words or deeds that imply any form of colonialism
Confrontation	A hostile environment or meeting with opposing parties
Nonviolent	Nonviolent actions conducted by American Indians or RSA
Nonviolent/Legal	Nonviolent actions that take place in a court of law
Violent (Actual)	Violent acts actually occur. This code must be paired with Blame, indicating who is assumed to be at fault in the situation.
Violent (Expected)	Violence is expected to occur, with or without threat of incidence. This code must be paired with Blame, indicating who is assumed to be at fault in the situation.
Violent (Imaginary)	Acts of violence are not threatened; however, it is believed it may happen despite no reason being offered. This code must be paired with Blame, indicating who is assumed to be at fault in the situation
Generic Stereotype	People or places described as having attributes consistent with being the "Other," meaning differences in language, rituals, customs, values, and practices are recognized. The person or place exists in a time long past; not of present time. The difference between Generic Stereotype and Noble Savage is the Generic describes a group while Noble Savage describes an individual.
Historical Reference	Referring to past harms inflicted on American Indians via treaties, land theft, and so on

Code	Definition
Ignoble Savage	People or places described as having attributes consistent with being uncivilized, unfriendly, ugly, undignified, anti-family, obstacle to progress, violent (actual, expected, imaginary), promiscuous, unclothed, militant, evil.
Injuries	Harm or damage inflicted on a person or persons
Injury to activist	Injury inflicted upon American Indian. It is assumed injury was caused by the RSA
Injury to RSA	Injury inflicted upon law enforcement, politician or other member of the RSA. It is assumed injury was caused by American Indian.
Intent to Stay (IS)	The individual(s) involved plan to stay the course
IS-American Indian	American Indians plan to protect land/water as long as necessary
IS-Corporation	The oil corporation plans to continue construction regardless of obstacles
Lecture	Occurs when publication explains how activists/corporations/governments need to behave. Often comes in the form of editorial.
Noble Savage	A person or place described as having attributes consistent with friendliness, courtesy, physically attractive, dignified, family-driven, environmentally conscious, pure, or good. Alternatively, this person or place may also be considered doomed or objects of pity, meaning their way of life will soon be destroyed.
Pipeline Facts (PF)	Factual information regarding pipelines in general or DAPL.
PF Source: Environmental Org.	Pipeline information is coming from environmental organization
PF Source: Oil Companies	Pipeline information is coming from oil company
Public Safety	Instances when authorities cite public safety as justification for actions

Code	Definition
Racism	Prejudice against a person of a different race, assuming one's own race to be superior
RSA are Good	Publication indicates the repressive state apparatuses (police, politicians, military) are protecting the larger population.
Solidarity	Expressions of support between American Indians or between non-Indian and American Indian; support must be directed towards Standing Rock Sioux in particular
Sovereignty	Publication recognizes the sovereign status of American Indian lands
Threats	Threats, violent or nonviolent, directed at American Indians or RSA
Value	Relative worth or importance of something that can be tangible or intangible
Capital	Money to be gained or lost by the local economy, corporations, or government due to the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline
Cultural	The intangible worth of American Indian land, beliefs, or spirituality
Water	In particular, the fate of the Missouri River
Fear of Contamination	American Indian fears the pipeline will leak and contaminate water of the Missouri River
Importance of Water	Secular or spiritual reference of the necessity of water
Weapons	Mention of weapons used against American Indian activists

APPENDIX B: CONSTRUCTED WEEKS

August 2016

- 11, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31

September 2016

- 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22, 24, 27

October 2016

- 4, 9, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 29

November 2016

- 1, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29

December 2016

- 2, 3, 6, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24