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Canadian-American Value Differences: Media Portrayals of Native Issues

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A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the Department of Sociology

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ABSTRACT

One of the defining debates of sociology is the nature of the relationship between the individual and society. One sociologist, Seymour Martin Lipset, investigated this relationship through his analysis of Canadian and American value differences. Lipset (1964) argues that Canadian and American values are different and have remained parallel to each other over time. The following dissertation tests Lipset's thesis of cross-national value differences through seven hypotheses derived from Canadian and American media portrayals of Native issues. Testing these hypotheses is accomplished through quantitative and qualitative measures to determine if Canadian and American media content support or refute Lipset's thesis. Documenting each country's values was achieved by a content analysis of articles from a leading newsmagazine from each country, *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*, and comparing their presentations of Native issues.

This research found that the majority of Lipset's pattern-variables did not accurately predict cross-national media portrayals of Native issues. However, Lipset's approach to studying national values is applicable far beyond those defined by the 49th. parallel. His typology could be applied to the study of value differences between nations and offer valuable insights into national value systems and what makes them different. Applying Lipset's approach to societies beyond those in North America would add to our understanding of the individual's relationship to society through a fuller appreciation of their values.

Electronic Retrieval Terms: Lipset, Values, Pattern-variables, Canadians, Americans, Media, Content Analysis.

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Acknowledgements

I thank my Supervisor and mentor, R. Alan Hedley for his integrity, dedication and patient guidance. I thank my parents, Nello and Shirley for their love and support and for giving me the ability and confidence to succeed. I thank my partner, Sacha for helping me close this chapter of my life and inspiring me to open another.

Chapter 1
Introduction

One of the defining debates of sociology is the nature of the relationship between the individual and society (Brym with Fox, 1989:4). One sociologist, Seymour Martin Lipset, investigated this relationship through his analysis of Canadian and American value differences. Lipset (1964) argues that Canadian and American values are different and have remained parallel to each other over time. Although Lipset's research interests go beyond the study of Canadian-American differences,[1] this dissertation focuses entirely on his theory of cross-national value differences.

In *The First New Nation* (1963:285) Lipset investigated the values of four industrialized societies: Great Britain, Australia, Canada and the United States. This analysis represents his first attempt to apply the pattern variable typology to an investigation of the national values of these four countries. Table #1 illustrates Lipset's attempt to situate national values along *value-continua*, for example, elitism ↔ egalitarianism. He based the classification on a relative ranking where "1" situates the society at the extreme left of the pattern variable schema and "4" the extreme right. For example, Great Britain is the most elitist, ascriptive, particularistic and diffuse of the four societies measured, while the United States is generally the least. At first these results may seem surprising as these countries share a common heritage, democratic ideology, and level of industrialization; however, Lipset (1963) argues that different values derive from each country's founding moment.[2]

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[1] See Lipset, 1993; 1990a; 1990b; 1990c; 1989; 1986; 1985; 1970; 1968; 1965; 1964; 1963a; 1963b; 1950.

[2] The *founding ideology* argument became the foundation for Lipset's later focus on Canadian and American value differences.

Table #1				
Lipset's Cross-national Value Comparisons				
	US	Australia	Canada	Great Britain
Elitism-Egalitarianism	3	4	2	1
Ascription-Achievement	4	2.5	2.5	1
Particularism-Universalism	4	2	3	1
Diffuseness-Specificity	4	2.5	2.5	1

(Source: Lipset, 1963:285)

Lipset advanced the notion that the more elitist British society is built on a social hierarchy, whereas the more egalitarian American society, is grounded upon the theory of equal rights for all. He found the British more ascriptive because they follow a system of inherited social status and power, and the Americans more achievement-oriented because they value hard work and individual achievement. British society is more particularistic because it recognizes individual differences, (e.g., race and ethnic affiliation), whereas American society is more universalistic in that it endorses an ideology that everyone should be judged by the same criteria. Finally, the British value and protect the rights of the collective (i.e., society) over those of the individual, while Americans defend individual rights over those of the collective (Lipset, 1963:285). Australian and Canadian values fall somewhere between the British and American extremes.

Investigating national value systems helps researchers understand the origins of national identities and values and why they differ (Reitz and Breton, 1994:1-3). Lipset's profound interest in Canadian-American value differences became the focus for much of his life's work. He suggests (1990a:42) that the search for a national identity is the quintessential Canadian issue. For example, when asked what it means to be Canadian, most Canadians reply, "Not American" (1990a:53; 1986:123). Conversely, Americans, having no such identity crisis, better understand who and what they are. Richard Hofstadtler (cited in Lipset, 1990a:19) wrote, "it has been our [American] fate as a nation not to have ideologies but to be one".

Lipset argues (1990a:8; 1986:114; 1985:110), that like the British, Canadians are

more elitist, ascriptive, particularistic and collectively-oriented than Americans: they grant those in authority more respect and social deference; they acknowledge social position at birth; they support and appreciate racial and ethnic diversity, and they focus on protecting society's collective rights. For Lipset, these values permeate Canada's national identity and make it distinct from those of the United States.[3]

One way to determine whether national value-differences exist is through an analysis of cross-national media content. The mass media are the conduits through which much of the world defines reality, and by extension, values:

> Of all the institutions of daily life, the media specialize in orchestrating everyday consciousness -- by virtue of their persuasiveness, their accessibility, their centralized symbol capacity. They name the world's parts, they certify reality as reality (Gitlin, 1980:2).

The pervasiveness of media and their capacity to reflect national values makes them an appropriate means by which to test Lipset's cross-national value-differences thesis. If his theory is correct, Canadian and American value differences should be evident through an analysis of cross-national media content. To test Lipset's thesis, I took a common social issue in both countries and investigated how each country's media presented it. The social issue I chose as the basis of comparison was Native issues.[4]

In this dissertation, I test Lipset's thesis of cross-national value-differences through seven hypotheses derived from Canadian and American media portrayals of

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[3] Lipset also notes "Americans and Canadians vary in religious affiliation, populism, e.g., offices and policies open to elections, violent crime rates, extent of abuse of drugs and alcohol, per capita number of guns owned, ratios attending higher education, extent of government ownership, the scope of their welfare states, degree of concentration in industry and banking, per capita number of lawyers, savings rates, life insurance coverage, trade union density, proportion of university graduates with degrees in business and management and the natural sciences and engineering, teenage pregnancy, etc." (Lipset, 1990b:269).

[4] The term "Native" is used to describe the indigenous populations of North America. This terminology was selected over others (e.g., Aboriginal, First Nations, Amerindian, Indian) as it is the standard in contemporary literature (see Francis, 1992:9).

Native issues. To test these hypotheses, I employ both quantitative and qualitative measures to determine if Canadian and American media content support or refute Lipset's thesis. Using both quantitative and qualitative analyzes grants a unique perspective to evaluate Lipset's overall thesis of Canadian and American differences. The objective of this research, then, is to test Lipset's theory of cross-national value differences through an examination of Canadian and American media portrayals of Native issues.[5]

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[5] While there has been research into the media's portrayal of Natives, it has been sparse (Singer, 1982:350-351) and theoretically limited (see Barelson and Salter, 1946; Hartmann and Husband, 1974; Haycock, 1971; Singer, 1982).

Chapter 2
Lipset's Canadian-American Differences

Canadian-American differences fascinate Canadians (Lipset, 1990a:53; 1986:123), and particularly Canadian sociologists (Brym with Fox, 1989:18,24 Clark, 1942; Clement, 1975; Porter, 1965; Reitz and Breton, 1994). Indeed, Lipset's career is based largely on his study of what makes Canadians and Americans different (Tiryakian, 1991:1040; Waller, 1990:380). Lipset's book, *Continental Divide* (1990a) summarizes and consolidates his almost forty-five years of research on Canadian-American differences; in it he justifies his research, arguing that:

> Knowledge of Canada or the United States is the best way to gain insight into the other North American country. Nations can only be understood in comparative perspective. And the more similar the units being compared, the more possible it should be to isolate the factors responsible for differences between them. Looking intensively at Canada and the United States sheds light on both of them (1990a:xiii).

Canadians, historically at least, defined themselves by what they were not -- Americans (Lipset: 1990a:53; 1986:123). Lipset wrote, "an American long concerned with Canada, my interest has stemmed in large measure from a desire to understand the United States better" (Lipset, 1990a:xvii). For Lipset, the primordial event generating the different founding ideologies of Canada and the United States is the American Revolution (Lipset, 1990a:8; 1986; 114; 1985:160; 1963:239). The United States emerged from the Revolution as a manifestation of the classic liberal state rejecting all ties to the throne, ascriptive elitism, *noblesse oblige*, and communitarianism (1986:114). On the other hand, English Canada fought to maintain its imperial ties through the explicit rejection of liberal revolutions (Lipset, 1986:115). Canadian identity was not defined by a successful *revolution*, but a successful *counterrevolution* (Lipset, 1993:161; 1990a:42). America, on the other hand, was defined by a rigid and stable ideology Lipset called *Americanism*

(1955:181).[6]

Lipset argued (1986:123) that Canadian and American founding ideologies are evident in each country's literature. American literature concentrates on themes of winning, opportunism, and confidence, while Canadian writing focuses on defeat, difficult physical circumstances, and abandonment by Britain (Lipset, 1990a:1; 1986:123). Lipset cited well-known Canadian novelist, Margaret Atwood, who suggested that national symbols reveal a great deal about the values a nation embraces. For Atwood, the defining symbol for America was "the frontier" that inspired images of vitality and unrealized potential; she stated that the symbol of "survival" summed up Canada's national character: "Canadians are forever taking the national pulse like doctors at a sickbed; the aim is not to see whether the patient will live well but simply whether he will live at all" (Atwood, 1972:33 cited in Lipset, 1986:124). Lipset argued that the symbols, attitudes, and values of a people do not exist in a vacuum, rather that social and political institutions embody and reinforce them (Lipset, 1990a:xiv; 225; 1986:114, 119; Baer et al., 1990:693). For Lipset, values were the basis upon which society built its social and political structures, and different value systems would manifest themselves in all social realms, not just literature (Lipset, 1990a:xiv).

Lipset's doctoral dissertation, *Agrarian Socialism* (1950), investigated the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) of Saskatchewan. In 1944, the CCF, a social democratic party, became the first socialist government to be elected in North America. Lipset was interested in explaining social movements, and in so doing, account for the failure of similar socialist movements in the United States. He based his explanation of the CCF's success on a materialist approach where the forces of social change are found within the economy:

> It is impossible to understand why an avowedly socialist party should have won a majority vote among supposedly conservative farmers unless one

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[6] An ideology is a system of beliefs, common ideas, perceptions, and values held in common by members of a collective (Parsons,1952:349). Ideology can be thought of as the filter through which we interpret the social world.

> recognizes how often the social and economic positions of the American wheat-belt farmer, in the United States as in Canada, has made him the American radical (Lipset, 1950:3).

This quote captures Lipset's original argument that economic forces inspire social change. However, in later writings, (e.g., *The First New Nation* (1963) and *Continental Divide*, (1990a)), he rejected simple economic explanations for social phenomena and relied more heavily on comparative methodologies to demonstrate social change (1963:139). *The First New Nation* marks Lipset's transition from an economic-based analysis to one grounded on a *cultural interpretation* of national values as determinants of social structure (Brym with Fox, 1989:31). Lipset argued that social structures reflect a society's values and beliefs (Baer, Grabb and Johnston, 1990a:693; Grabb and Curtis, 1988:129,137; Lipset, 1963:210). To understand the importance of culture in determining a society's social structure, Lipset incorporated Talcott Parsons' pattern variables typology (Lipset, 1963:210).

Lipset maintained that Parsons' pattern variables are sensitive to the social and structural dynamics between nations at the same end of the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* continuum (1963:239; Peabody, 1985:77).[7] For Parsons, the pattern variables offer a method for analyzing and categorizing the structures behind social systems at the *role level* and explain how individuals interact with the social system. However, Parsons originally developed the pattern variable schemata to study individual micro-level phenomena, not the collective macro-structural analyses that typify Lipset's application of them (Peabody, 1985:77). While Parson's analysis began as an investigation into individual social processes, over time it grew into a more general theory of social action

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[7] Parsons was not convinced that Lipset's use of the pattern variables was appropriate for Lipset's research interests. Parsons wrote, "in a very broad way the differentiations between types of social system do correspond to this order of cultural value pattern differentiation, but *only* in a very broad way. Actual social structures are not value-pattern types, but *resultants* of the integration of value-patterns with the other components of the social system" (cited in Hamilton, 1985:144). Parsons did note, however, that Lipset's application of the variables provided an appealing empirical focus to his schemata (1977:321-322; see also Peabody, 1985:75-79).

(1977:245; see also Dubin, 1960:459). Parsons found (1952:12; 1960:468) pattern variables useful for studying the articulation between cultural tradition and social action, an approach paralleling Lipset's interest in how values determine social structure (1990a:225; 1986:114). Parsons offered five pattern variables to study how individuals interact with the social system (see Table #2).

Lipset (1963:240) argued that Parsons' pattern variable typology provided researchers with a method for classifying social values that was more sensitive to cultural variation than the older polar concepts of sociology such as folk-urban, mechanical-organic, and primary-secondary. However, when Lipset first applied the pattern variable schema in *The First New Nation* (1963:285), he refined Parsons' typology in two ways: 1) he substituted Elitism vs. Egalitarianism for Affectivity vs. Affective neutrality and, 2) he omitted Parsons' Self vs. Collective pattern variable (see Table #2).

Table #2
Parsons' and Lipset's Pattern Variables Compared

	Parsons (1952)	Lipset (1963)
I.	Affectivity vs. Affective Neutrality	Elitism vs. Egalitarianism
II.	Ascription vs. Achievement	Ascription vs. Achievement
III.	Particularism vs. Universalism	Particularism vs. Universalism
IV.	Diffuseness vs. Specificity	Diffuseness vs. Specificity
V.	Self-Orientation vs. Collectivity-Orientation	

Since testing Lipset's propositions regarding Canadian and American value differences is the objective of this dissertation, a brief review of each pattern variable and how it relates to both countries is useful.

1) Elitism vs. Egalitarianism

Lipset (1963:241; Peabody, 1985:76) argued that some societies give their citizens respect simply because they are human beings while others grant greater respect to those

who hold positions of power and authority. An elitist society assumes that a hierarchical social organization is inherent in any society (Lipset, 1963:87); members of high social rank deserve (and are therefore given) more respect than they would be in non-elitist societies (Lipset, 1990a:7,156; 1965:241). Conversely, an egalitarian society attaches little importance to distance between people of low and high status, and does not grant the higher status person social deference (Lipset, 1963:241). The latter approach to social organization attempts to abolish all forms of privilege, aristocracy, and primogeniture (Lipset, 1963:87).

Elitism, wrote Lipset (1985:144), explains why Canadians accept government intervention in social and economic affairs more than Americans. Canadians accept government's decision to impose "equality of result" at the expense of individual interests in order to secure collective well-being. Americans hold the reverse perspective, valuing "equality of opportunity" and the ability to pursue individual interests. Americans judge any differences in the success or material condition of people resulting from fair competition as acceptable and desirable. Therefore, social injustice only occurs when the state imposes an "equality of condition" not grounded in individual criteria (see Baer et al., 1990a:696). Lipset (1990a:156) found that Canadians are more committed to redistributive egalitarianism (helping those who cannot help themselves) than Americans who stress competition and equality of opportunity (helping those who can help themselves).[8]

Lipset (1990a:32) saw the Canadian practice of appointing judges for life, rather than the American system of electing them for set terms, as an example of Canadian elitism. He argued that Canadians trust their authority figures and hold them in more deference than do the more egalitarian Americans who distrust all state authority (see also

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[8] The American Congress recently reinforced egalitarian principles when it defeated an Equal Rights Employment Amendment (August 1, 1995) because it interfered with an employer's ability to hire the "best" candidates despite their individual characteristics or affiliations (i.e., race, ethnicity, or creed) (NBC Nightly News, August 1, 1995).

Dimbleby and Reynolds, 1988:18).[9] Following this line of reasoning, then, Canadians apparently view their political leaders more positively than do Americans. However, if one extends this logic to leaders of minority groups, an interesting situation emerges. On the one hand, Lipset argued that Canadians view leaders more positively than Americans, while on the other, minority leaders who placed their needs ahead of Canadian society, would be viewed negatively (Lipset, 1990a:37-38,173-174).

2) Ascription vs. Achievement

Society usually grants status in two ways: 1) on the basis of birth or family (ascribed status) and, 2) on the basis of accomplishment (achieved status). For example, a millionaire's children were born into their social position while a self-made millionaire had to achieve it.

Lipset (1960:821) viewed achieved status as the foundation for a society that deemed everyone, of every background, can and should try to succeed. Americans, according to Lipset (1990a:159), possess a stronger desire to achieve than do Canadians and are more *ends* - than *means-oriented* (Lipset 1990a:95; 1960:822). The American emphasis on success can lead to the attitude that "the game must be won, no matter what methods are employed to do so"-- an *ends-orientation* (Lipset, 1960:822). He found that Canadians, however, embrace the value of a *fair game* over *winning*.[10] This Canadian *fair-play* attitude explains the tax-funded social welfare safety-net -- a *means-orientation*. Lipset (1990a:94-97) concluded that this *means-orientation* explains why Canadians are more law-abiding (have lower crime rates) and rarely experience the mass criminal behavior that Americans do.[11] He suggested that because Americans are so achievement-oriented, and their desire to win so strong, they are less concerned with how they win,

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[9] See Baer et al., (1990a:702,707) for a critical assessment of whether Canadians place more trust in government officials.

[10] Demonstrated recently by Canadian athletes' approach to Olympic competition. See "Our Last Hurrah", *Globe and Mail*, July 20, 1996, p.D1.

[11] For a brief review of some of the problems using comparative crime rate data between Canada and the United States, see Lenton (1989).

even to the extent of breaking the law (Lipset, 1990a:97).

Canadian and American orientations toward criminal activity permeate each country's political system. Lipset (1990a:93) argued that the fathers of Canadian Confederation concentrated on designing a social system securing "peace, order, and good government" -- a social design implying control of and protection for the entire society. The *crime-control model*,[12] characteristic of the Canadian legal system, was based on the conservative reaction to Enlightenment thinking. Edmund Burke, a noted theorist and conservative eighteenth-century constitutionalist (Osler, 1993:61), suggested that protection of civil liberties can only occur in an orderly society -- in direct contradiction to Milton and Locke who argued that individuals have natural and inalienable rights. Thus, the crime-control model focuses on the repression of criminal conduct and holds that only through the preservation of an orderly society can individual personal freedom be assured (Hagan, 1988:426). This perspective typifies the Canadian judicial system in that it would sooner incarcerate the innocent than let the guilty go free (Hagan, 1990:187-188). [13]

The American founding fathers were more concerned with guarding "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" -- a social design stressing the preservation of individual rights. The American commitment to the preservation of personal rights is characteristic of the *due-process model* of criminal justice. This model imposes various legal restrictions on the power of the police and prosecutors in order to guarantee the rights of

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[12] A classification originally developed by Herbert Packer (1964).

[13] The desire to maintain an orderly Canadian society was clearly illustrated in the Clayoquot Sound hearings in British Columbia (Bouck, 1993:A5). In his decision Justice Bouck stated:

> Underneath it all, contempt proceedings are taken primarily to *preserve the rule of law*. Without the rule of law democracy will collapse. Individuals will then decide which laws they will obey and which ones they won't. Government by the rule of law will disappear. People will then be controlled by the rule of the individual. The strongest mob will rule over the weak. Anarchy will prevail (Bouck, 1993:A5 emphasis added).

the accused. The due-process model ensures the preservation of individual rights and is less occupied with "law" and "order" than is the crime-control model of Canada (Lipset, 1990a:91).

Hagan (1988:426) noted that the due-process model originated during the Enlightenment in the writings of John Milton. Milton, a deeply religious man, grounded many of his arguments for the development of a more liberal society on his belief that people must choose between good and evil as part of their personal struggle for salvation (Osler, 1993:55). To enable a person to exercise free will the legal system must guarantee individual rights. Writing a generation after Milton, John Locke, was also suspicious of the state and its authority (Osler, 1993:58). The due-process model reflects John Locke's suggestion that law is an effective tool to defend "natural" and "inalienable rights" and incorporates procedural safeguards to ensure the rights of the accused (Hagan, 1988:426). The American judiciary typifies this social control strategy in that it would sooner have the guilty go free than the innocent incarcerated (Hagan, 1990:187).

There is, then, an interesting contrast. The due-process model views the individual as inherently good and in need of protection from society, while the crime-control model views the individual as inherently bad and that society needs protection. These differences evoke the concepts of Type 1 and Type 2 errors. In the social sciences, hypothesis testing can yield only two outcomes: 1) fail to reject the hypothesis, and 2) reject the hypothesis. A TYPE 1 error (termed alpha error) occurs when the true hypothesis is rejected, while a TYPE 2 error (termed beta error) occurs when the false hypothesis is not rejected (Agresti and Finlay, 1986:148). For example, when a crime is committed, a court of law must determine (test) whether the person charged with the crime (the hypothesis) is in fact guilty. Here, some would argue that committing a TYPE 1 error, (not convicting the guilty party, thus rejecting the true hypothesis), is warranted because the legal system does not want to risk convicting an innocent person. However, preferring this choice increases the chances of committing a TYPE 2 error of letting a guilty person go free. The Canadian legal system would sooner err in the direction of incarcerating the innocent (for the preservation of the common good), than would the

American (for the preservation of individual rights). Lipset and Hagan suggest these opposing views about the rights of the individual are central to what separates the Canadian and American models of social control. Although both the American and Canadian legal systems try to ensure order, they use different approaches to achieving this goal. Lipset found that these different approaches to social control derive from each country's distinct ideological foundations.

Hagan (1990) claimed that these social control strategies were evident during the settlement of the American and Canadian West (see also Lipset, 1990a:52). He cites Quinney (1970) and Inciardi (1975) who point out that American settlers had little protection from law enforcement agencies which forced them to rely on their individual abilities. Conversely, the Canadian government controlled much of its settlement of the West by enacting a federal criminal code allowing the use of a more determined and focused social control strategy (McNaught, 1975 cited in Hagan, 1990:186). The Canadian approach helped Canadians develop a deeper respect for law than Americans and discouraged the development of individualism and disrespect for authority that characterizes the United States (Lipset, 1990a:52,94-100):

> While Canadians incline toward the use of "lawful" and institutionalized means for altering regulations that they believe are unjust, Americans seem more disposed to employ informal, aggressive, and sometimes extralegal means to correct what they perceive as wrong (Lipset, 1990a:94).

Consequently, Lipset concluded that Canadians were more lawful than Americans. His thesis, therefore, would predict that Canadians should respond more critically to illegal behavior than Americans because crime challenges the social order.

These different value-orientations may help explain why Americans are more likely to view the poor as people who do not try hard enough, while Canadians assume some social responsibility for the plight of those they perceive as underprivileged (demonstrated by Canada's more comprehensive social welfare programs; see Baer et al., 1990a:695-696; Ravelli, 1994:467-468). Following this reasoning, Lipset (1990a:39) argued that while America is the wealthiest nation in the world, it also has the highest

proportion of people living in poverty among the developed nations. He suggested that Americans argue the only way to help these people is to emphasize individual educational opportunity (a good education would help them get a job) (1990a:159; 1986:138; 1985:144-145). According to Lipset's reasoning, this orientation toward the poor derives from the American ideal of fostering individual achievement and opportunity. In contrast, Canadians, help the disadvantaged through government-sponsored redistribution programs like unemployment insurance and welfare (Lipset, 1986:138; 1985:145). Thus, if Lipset's thesis is right, Canadians should view redistribution programs more positively than Americans.

3) Particularism vs. Universalism

Lipset (1963:240) held that a particularistic society values treating people differently according to their personal qualities or group memberships, and therefore, recognizes and encourages racial, ethnic and cultural diversity -- i.e., Canada. A universalistic society treats everyone according to the same standard, and therefore, appreciates and supports homogeneity -- i.e., the United States. These different values manifest themselves in each society's treatment of racial and ethnic minorities. According to Lipset (1986:142), Canadians support a mosaic ideology that promotes the cultural survival of all minority groups and may result from Canada's need to maintain English and French subcultures. Lipset (1990a:180; 1986:144) argued that the Canadian government's commitment to cultural pluralism was demonstrated by a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963 and a federal ministry responsible for promoting multiculturalism established in 1973 (Palmer, 1993:171). Americans, however, support a melting pot ideology that encourages racial and ethnic assimilation (Lipset, 1993:154-155; 1990c:27-28; 1986:142; Bush, 1991:411; Lemon, 1990:371; Reitz and Breton, 1994:5). Lipset (1990c:27) argued that the United States was the archetypical universalistic society.

We can predict from Lipset's thesis that Canadians should support the mosaic model of ethnic and racial integration more than Americans.

4) Diffuseness vs. Specificity[14]

Lipset [15]argued that Canadians endorse the collective while Americans promote the individual. Canadians emphasize the rights and obligations of the community over those of the individual (1990:93), while Americans emphasize the rights and obligations of the community to the individual (1990a:93,104-105). These value differences are evident in the *American Constitution* and the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Lipset, 1990a:104-105). As previously discussed, as a young revolutionary republic the United States suspected any and all state authority and adopted a Bill of Rights emphasizing due process (Lipset, 1990a:20; Tiryakian, 1991:1040). Following the Westminster model, Canada implemented a Charter that bases power on parliamentary majority (Lipset, 1990a:xiii).

Media regulation offers one example of how the diffuseness vs. specificity orientation continues to influence Canada and the United States. The Canadian agency responsible for monitoring media, the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC) established in 1968, oversees all public and private broadcasting initiatives. The Commission set an early precedent for extensive media supervision by establishing rigorous monitoring and licensing procedures (Browne, 1989:366; Boyle, 1983:94-95): "Its mandate [the CRTC] includes administrative regulation, the promotion of the national interest, and the advancement of social and cultural values" (McPhail and McPhail, 1990:157). To accomplish these goals the CRTC regulates all mass media in Canada. The power of the CRTC, coupled with the government-subsidized radio and television network, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), assures direct state-involvement in most areas of Canadian media.

The American version of the CRTC, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), has a less intrusive mandate (Adams, 1978:16). The FCC's directive does not

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[14] Although Lipset labels this pattern variable Diffuseness vs. Specificity, in effect he is analyzing Self vs. Collectivity orientation.

[15] See Lipset, 1990a:8,93,113; 1990c:28; 1989:380; 1986:128; 1985:128-129; 1965:240.

include preserving national identity as is the case in Canada, but is intended to limit unfair competition by ensuring all media operators equal opportunity. To achieve this, the FCC operates under the *Fairness Doctrine* requiring that all issues be presented in a fair and unbiased manner (Adams, 1978:16).

A comparison of the CRTC and the FCC reveals something about the larger social systems in which they operate. The FCC has traditionally been concerned less with content and, in laissez-faire fashion, more with preventing conflicts and misuse. The CRTC, on the other hand, serves widely separated and diverse areas while trying to promote national interests and advance social and cultural agendas (McPhail and McPhail, 1990:157). These Canadian and American regulatory agencies reflect the different value systems of each country (Boyle, 1983:99). The CRTC's aggression in fulfilling its cultural mandate is predictable, considering Canada's collective orientation; the FCC's focus on fairness to individual media players reflects American concentration on the individual.

Lipset's thesis suggests that if Canadians are more collectivity-oriented than Americans, then Canadians should be more protective of collective concerns (e.g., cultural content) than individual ones (e.g., fair media competition). Were Canadians to feel their collective interests challenged, they would be more critical of those responsible than would Americans who are less preoccupied with protecting cultural cohesion.

Summarizing Lipset's thesis of cross-national value differences, Canadians are more elitist, ascriptive, appreciate racial and ethnic variation, and are more community-oriented than Americans.

Lipset is a dominant figure in North American sociology[16] and his Canadian-American pattern-variable research has been the subject of much interest and debate. Table #3 summarizes the research investigating Lipset's general pattern-variables thesis.

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[16] As demonstrated, in part, by his election as President of the American Sociological Association for 1993-1994.

Table #3
Selected Survey Findings on Lipset's Pattern Variables

Source	Sample	elitism/ egalitarianism	ascription/ achievement	particularism/ universalism	diffuseness/ specificity
Downey (1960)	regional	---	---	---	no
Pineo & Porter (1973)	national	yes	---	---	---
Arnold & Tigert (1974)	national	---	yes	---	no
Presthus (1974)	political elites	yes	---	---	yes
Rokeach (1974)	university undergraduates	no	yes	---	no
Truman (1977)	political activists & university undergraduates	---	---	---	no
Crawford & Curtis (1979)	mid-west, small town	yes	yes	---	no
Guppy (1983)	national	yes	---	---	---

(Adapted from Brym with Fox, 1989:33)

The first critical comments on Lipset's comparative framework began in the early 1960s (Downey, 1968[1961]; see also Truman, 1971; Horowitz, 1973; Romalis, 1973). Lawrence Downey (1968[1961]) surveyed Canadian and American educators and asked them about the goals of education. Downey found that Canadian educators stressed that public schools should serve individual aspirations while American teachers viewed education as serving social ends (Downey, 1968[1961]:214). These results contradict Lipset's assertion that Canadians should be more collectivity-oriented than Americans (Brym with Fox, 1989:30).

Other early research also employed new survey results to test Lipset's thesis (Truman, 1971; Horowitz, 1973; Romalis, 1973). While only a few aggregated surveys were available to Lipset during the 1950s and 1960s, he incorporated those that fit his paradigm (McGuigan, 1990:100). Lipset's self-serving use of data was demonstrated by the way he put a positive spin on otherwise negative situations. For example, Lipset suggested that high American crime and corruption rates indicated superior American individualism and a drive for personal achievement. Lipset also neglected to see American social problems as problems and instead interpreted them as indicators of the success and pervasiveness of American democratic values (see Bell and Tepperman, 1979:27; Horowitz, 1973:342; McGuigan, 1990:112; Romalis, 1973:220; Truman,1971). Further, Gad Horowitz (1973:328) accused Lipset of confusing American "values" with "interests" and assuming them to be the same. To Horowitz, Lipset's implicit assertion that "the behavior of America is identical, and at all times, consonant with the belief system" resulted in a "substitution of ideology for sociology" (Horowitz, 1973:328; see also McGuigan, 1990:113).

Craig Crawford and James Curtis (1979) attempted to test Lipset's assertions by gathering data from two small towns within a half-day drive from the Canadian - American border. Their results refuted Lipset's assertion that Canadians are more collectivity-oriented than Americans, but confirmed his prediction that Americans are more achievement oriented and less elitist than Canadians (Crawford and Curtis, 1979:31). Later research by Gary Bowden (1989) challenged Lipset's conclusion that

greater union density in Canada indicated a higher level of collectivity. Bowden's analysis found that Canadians saw unions as too powerful, and were more likely to blame them as the cause for inflation than were Americans (1989:734).

Other researchers (see Baer et al., 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1993; Curtis et al., 1989, 1992; Grabb and Curtis, 1988) have also attempted to test Lipset's thesis but have faced several difficulties, the most prominent being:

1) Lipset's research is based on subjective data that are not subject to refutation;
2) Lipset's categories are contradictory and often suggest Canadian-American differences opposite to what his thesis would predict;
3) Lipset fails to recognize the important role social change plays in influencing Canadian and American values;
4) Lipset's approach ignores regional value variation;
5) Lipset fails to offer alternative explanations.

Exploring these criticisms will help develop Lipset's thesis more fully and provide guidance on appropriate methods for testing it.

1) Interpretation of Data

The first criticism of Lipset's research questions his selection and interpretation of data.[17] This criticism states that Lipset's discussions are often subjective and poorly argued, and result in different and even contradictory inferences being drawn from the same data. Lipset uses crime rates, divorce rates, statistics on educational expenditures, and comments by journalists to reveal national values and beliefs. While these are important social indicators, they do not necessarily demonstrate a society's beliefs and values (Nevitte et al., 1992:245). Forcese and Richer (1975:32-33) suggest that Lipset's "evidence" is more characteristic of "illustrations":

> Such illustrations do not constitute measurement, Lipset never adequately operationalizes the pattern variables. Rather than employ consistent measures he uses illustrations to lend credence to his arbitrary assignment of

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[17] See Brym with Fox, 1989:29-30; Baer et al., 1990a:693; Baer et al., 1990b:88; Baer et al., 1990c:273; Curtis, Grabb and Baer, 1992:149; Horowitz, 1977:101; Teevan and Hewitt, 1995:34; Truman, 1971:525.

> the pattern variable's scores. Thereby his work is ultimately one man's judgement, very much open to criticism.

According to Lipset's critics, impressionistic interpretation characterizes both his early and more recent works. For example, in *The First New Nation* (1963:286) Lipset wrote:

> To demonstrate that such differences really exist [between Britain, Australia, Canada, and the United States] would involve a considerable research program. However, I have drawn on a considerable number of writings which have argued and given some evidence that these differences are as they are presented here and, for the time being, we must depend on such impressionistic evidence to support the discussion to follow.

Later, in *Continental Divide* (1990a:7-8) he noted:

> This book focuses on the sources and nature of the cultural and value differences between the two countries. It does not pretend to be an objective study. Rather, it is what the anthropologist Clifford Geertz calls an interpretive essay. In it, I try to interpret aspects of North American cultures as reflections of their key organizing principles derived from their varying histories and ecologies.

The *interpretive essay* Lipset refers to forms part of an intellectual movement in anthropology some have called *New Ethnography* (Mascia-Lees et al., 1991:7).[18] Lipset's research emulated the new ethnography in that it tried to demonstrate Canadian and American values through whatever means possible. However, did this approach allow Lipset to adequately "test" his propositions? Did Lipset's interpretive approach allow his

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[18] In traditional ethnographic monographs, the ethnographer perceives the target culture as *Other* (de Vries and MacNab-de Vries, 1991:490). This ethnographic style characterizes a modernist perspective that has dominated ethnography since Branislaw Malinowski who argued that the ethnographer could "grasp the native's point of view" and thus the ethnographer's interpretation of the culture was *reality* (regardless of the native experience) (Kirby, 1991:399). New Ethnographies engage with cultural events more reflexively than traditional ethnographic monographs (Mascia-Lees et al., 1991:7). To be reflexive, ethnographers try to see and feel the entire social and cultural milieux of the people they are studying and attempt to incorporate the native voice in their research (see Coombe (1991) and de Vries and MacNab-De Vries (1991)).

hypothesis to stand, fall, or did it merely "save the theory" in the face of contradictory evidence? Baer et al., (1990c:273) state:

> We think that Lipset's response to our article reveals a "save the hypothesis" attitude and fails to consider that new empirical findings or theoretical criticisms that might provide the occasion for rethinking the whole problem of national differences. In criticizing our empirical findings, Lipset subverts his own thesis. After first citing survey results that apparently support the thesis, he summarily dismisses survey data on the grounds that cross-national attitude comparisons are hazardous, because of contextual and methodological difficulties. Now, it is not for us to deny Lipset this recourse, but it means that the most compelling empirical evidence in support of his interpretation is thereby disqualified.

Lipset's interpretive approach is evident in his comparison of Canadian and American post-secondary participation rates and his conclusion that Canadians are more elitist than Americans. He argued (1986:138) that since Canada is a more elitist state it would have lower participation rates because education is a mechanism for social mobility, and thus, a threat to the elite. The more egalitarian Americans, however, would have higher participation rates because education allows all gifted students to compete equally, regardless of how rich or poor they are (1986:138). Lipset (1963:297) found that 27% of the American population aged 20 to 24 attended post-secondary institutions, compared to only 8% of Canadians the same age. However, Tom Truman (1971:498-499) challenged Lipset's conclusion that Canadian participation rates indicated a more elitist society than the American. Truman argued that a better indicator of a society's commitment to education was the percentage of national income it spent on education. Using this criterion, Canadians are clearly more egalitarian than the Americans, since Canada spends approximately 8.5% of its national income on education and the United States only 6.5% (Truman, 1970:500). Truman's criticisms forced Lipset to reevaluate his analysis of the education system by placing less emphasis on participation rates and more on overall social patterns (Lipset, 1990a:217-218; 1986:138).

2) Contradictory Categorizations

The second criticism of Lipset's work centres on the difficulty of testing his

propositions due to their overlapping and often contradictory nature (see Baer et al., 1990b:87, 1990c, 1993; Brym with Fox, 1989:29-30; Clark, 1975:26; Davis, 1971:16; Fenwick, 1991:251; Horowitz, 1973; McGuigan 1990:31; Romalis, 1973:222). Arthur Davis (1970:16) went so far as to suggest that Lipset's formulations were "so laced with invalid claims it [wa]s a waste of time to refute [them]."

Bruce McGuigan (1990:31) questioned the value of Lipset's value-categories, finding them not mutually exclusive, poorly defined, and often contradictory.[19] Examples of Lipset's contradictory conclusions are evident when Lipset compared the pattern variables *Particularism vs. Universalism* and *Specificity vs. Diffuseness*. Lipset argued that Canadians are more collectivity-oriented than Americans, but then suggested that Canadians more frequently support a multicultural society that protects racial and ethnic autonomy. This contradiction raises an interesting question: what would Lipset's thesis predict if minority rights challenged the rights of the collective, e.g., Native land claims? Given this situation, whose rights would prevail, the minority's or the collective's?[20] Some question whether multiculturalism can exist within a social structure based upon a collectivist ideology (Baer, Grabb and Johnston, 1990b:87). I suggest that in this situation, Lipset would argue that the rights of the collective transcend those of a minority group, since the collectivity-orientation is a more central Canadian value than minority rights. In fact, Lipset argued that the collective vs. individualistic nature of Canada and the United States exemplifies their national differences (Lipset, 1990:8,104; 1986:114,137,142; see also Bush, 1991:411; Lemon, 1990:371; Baer, Grabb and Johnston, 1993:14-15; Baer, Grabb and Johnston, 1990a:693-696).[21]

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[19] Also a problem with Parsons' pattern variables, and one Parsons acknowledged (Parsons cited in Hamilton, 1985:135).

[20] This contradiction is not addressed by Lipset and has received very little attention in the literature (see Baer et al., 1990b).

[21] While Baer, Grabb and Johnston (1990a:697) recognize this contradiction in Lipset's thesis, they do not develop their critique according to contemporary ethnic conflicts, but instead rely on historical analyses. My cross-national analysis of Native issues addresses this limitation in the literature.

3) Inadequate Consideration of Social Change

The third criticism of Lipset's theory suggested that it is ahistorical and cannot account for social change (Brym with Fox, 1989:30). As previously noted, Lipset argued that the American Revolution was *the* defining event for both nations and one that continues to shape national values. This assertion begs the question of whether a two-hundred-year-old event can continue to influence contemporary social phenomena. Baer et al., (1990c:274) argue that:

> It is difficult to take seriously his [Lipset's] claim that most [value] differences are direct consequences of the American Revolution. Is he really claiming that the lower levels of teenage pregnancy in Canada are the outcomes of Loyalist conservatism that was implanted at the time of the revolution?

Whether or not Lipset's *founding event* hypothesis is correct, many argue that his proposition that Canadian and American values are different was more applicable before the Second World War than it is today (Clark, 1975:26; Curtis and Lambert 1980; Brym with Fox, 1989:29-30). Lipset (1990a:55) does agree that there has been some convergence in certain areas of Canadian and American values:

> Canada and the United States have both followed the general tendencies of most western nations toward greater acceptance of communitarian welfare and egalitarian objectives, a decline in religious commitment, smaller nuclear families, an increase in educational attainment, a greater role for government, continued economic growth, a higher standard of living, more leisure, increased longevity, growing urbanization, and a shift in the composition of the economy from primary and secondary industries toward tertiary and high-tech and information-based ones.

However, he goes on to state (1990a:212):

> The interesting fact is that, despite the development of both countries into industrialized, wealthy, urbanized, and ethnically heterogeneous societies, the dissimilarities, particularly the cultural differences, of the past continue. To reiterate an analogy, the two are like trains that have moved thousands of miles along parallel tracks. They are far from where they started, but they are

still separated.

4) National Orientation

The fourth criticism of Lipset's thesis highlights his focus on national values at the expense of regional ones. Lipset argued that there are greater value differences between Canadians and Americans than there are within either country. His theory minimized, and sometimes ignored, the wide variations within Canada and the United States in virtually every aspect of social organization. Many authors argue that the values in one part of a country cannot be applied to people in another (Brym with Fox, 1989:31; see also Baer et al., 1993, 14,22; 1990a:704; 1990c:276; Curtis et al., 1989:383; Teevan and Hewitt, 1995:33).

Baer et al., (1993:15) argued that Lipset's thesis treats Canada and the United States as essentially homogeneous but separate national cultures. The authors question this assumption in light of recent research showing that nations are becoming increasingly integrated along political and social lines (see also Chodak, 1989; Nevitte et al., 1992:252). The nation state may not be an autonomous entity anymore, and if not, Lipset's thesis of lasting national value differences is suspect (Baer et al., 1993:15). Baer et al's (1993) research did not find any strong cross-national differences identifying the Canadian-American border as an important cultural boundary. This argument suggests that Lipset's thesis does not adequately address regional value differences within Canada and the United States.

5) Lack of Alternative Explanations

The fifth and final criticism of Lipset's thesis focuses on his lack of alternative hypotheses. Robert Brym (Brym with Fox, 1989:31) concluded that Lipset "did not seriously entertain plausible alternative explanations for political, economic, and other differences between the US and Canada, despite the fact that many alternatives are straightforward and obvious." Lipset fails to consider other explanations for social, political, and economic differences between Canada and the United States, nor does he try to weigh the importance of cultural versus other factors in explaining given phenomena (see Baer et al., 1990c:276; Grabb and Curtis, 1988:127). Irving Horowitz's

(1977) culture lag hypothesis[22] offers one alternative to Lipset's explanation. Culture lag occurs when technological developments outpace society's ability to adjust to them. Horowitz argued that any value differences between Canadians and Americans are more likely the result of Canada's slower technological development than its response to the American Revolution. As Canada becomes more industrialized, its values should become more like the American (see also Lipset, 1986:146).

Clark Kerr et al. (1964[1960]) offer another view of social development in *Industrialism and Industrial Man* in which they discuss universal changes occurring when industrialism enters a society for the first time (see also Hedley, 1992:55). Their argument suggested that because industrialism is so efficient, and the changes it requires from society so profound, societies incorporating industrialism will become more alike over time. This proposition is known as the "convergence thesis" (Kerr et al., 1964 cited in Hedley, 1992:57) and if correct, would see Canadian and American values becoming more alike over time, not remaining parallel, as Lipset's thesis would predict.

In spite of such pointed criticism, sociologists generally agree that Lipset's fundamental proposition that Canadian and American values are different, is sound (see Brym with Fox, 1989:16-18; Clark, 1975:26; Baer et al., 1990a:708; 1990c:276; McGuigan, 1990:127; Ogmundson and Fisher, 1994:196). Baer et al., (1990c:276) state:

> We should make clear that, by challenging Lipset's thesis, we are in no way arguing that Canadians and Americans are the same. On the contrary, we believe there are sound empirical grounds for concluding that the two peoples are different.

Lipset's approach continues to influence Canadian social research through a "cottage industry" dedicated to challenging his thesis of cross-national value differences (Ogmundson and Fisher, 1994:196). My research builds on this tradition by applying a test of Lipset's proposition that Canadian and American values are systematically different and not resistant to change. Rather than using an *interpretative essay* approach

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[22] Originally formulated by William F. Ogburn (1922).

to studying these differences, this research incorporates a fair and demanding research design to allow Lipset's thesis of Canadian-American value difference to stand or fall.

To address these foregoing criticisms, an ideal comparative research strategy would:

1) Isolate a particular social phenomenon common to both Canada and the United States;
2) Offer a set of testable and falsifiable hypotheses developed from Lipset's thesis;
3) Employ a longitudinal research strategy to determine whether values change over time;
4) Be sensitive to regional and national value differences; and
5) Offer alternative theoretical explanations.

One way to evidence Canadian and American values is to study a single social phenomenon common to both countries and see if value differences are evident. Monitoring how Canadian and American media present a common and familiar issue should illustrate national value differences to the extent they exist. After all, media are becoming *the* conduit through which much of the world define and reflect values (See Adams, 1978:30; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989:3; Herman and Chomsky, 1988:2; Parenti, 1993:23; Smith, 1992:210).

Further, since both Canada and the United States have a long history of Native-White contact, I propose Native issues as the social phenomenon for study.

Concerning a set of testable and falsifiable hypotheses, I have formulated seven hypotheses flowing directly from my examination of Lipset's 4 pattern variables (see pp. 8-15) (see Table #4).

Table #4 Testing Lipset's Thesis	
Pattern Variable	**Hypotheses**
Elitism-Egalitarianism	1a) Canadians will view political leaders more positively than Americans
	1b) Canadians will view minority leaders more critically than Americans
Ascription-Achievement	2a) Canadians will support government-sponsored redistribution programs more than Americans
	2b) Canadians will criticize lawlessness more than Americans
Particularism-Universalism	3) Canadians will support the mosaic perspective more than Americans
Diffuseness-Specificity	4a) Canadians will support the collectivist perspective more than Americans
	4b) Canadians will criticize minority challenges to the collective more than Americans

These seven hypotheses provide a fair test of Lipset's thesis of Canadian-American value differences. Since the hypotheses test all four pattern-variables, they represent an appropriate test of Lipset's overall thesis of Canadian and American value differences (see Peabody, 1985:70-72). Also, because the hypotheses are falsifiable, they permit alternative theoretical explanations.

With regard to a longitudinal strategy sensitive to both regional and national variations, I deal with these in the following chapter on research design.

Chapter 3
Research Design

Research designs provide the structure and organization to systematically test propositions (Babbie, 1995:83). Lipset used a cross-national comparative research design to investigate Canadian and American value differences and suggested that by comparing various value indicators (e.g., crime rates) he could demonstrate national value differences. However, Dennis Forcese and Stephen Richer (1975:32-33) question whether Lipset's comparative approach provides an adequate test of his hypotheses, i.e., can his research design prove his thesis wrong? Given Lipset's subjective approach to data, it is unlikely. Although many researchers have tested specific value differences hypothesized by Lipset,[23] they have not tested his more general thesis of Canadian and American differences. To test the seven hypotheses generated from Lipset's general theory of cross-national value differences, I rely on a longitudinal comparative research design.

Longitudinal research designs are preferred over static cross-sectional designs because measurements over time reduce the influence of particular historical and social events (Babbie, 1995:95; Campbell, 1957; Hedley, 1984:160). For example, a longitudinal approach could investigate one medium for an extended period, say, fifty years. Although this approach would study only a single medium, it could track trends in the data over a longer time frame. These trends would demonstrate if value differences between Canadians and Americans have changed over time. Therefore, to test Lipset's thesis of cross-national value differences, one would ideally analyze all media at all points in time (see Gamson and Modigliani, 1989:10-11).

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[23] As previously discussed, but also national bias (Baer et al., 1993), voluntary memberships (Curtis et al., 1992), social control and individual rights (Grabb and Curtis, 1988, Hagan, 1988;1989; Hagan and Leon, 1980), and occupational prestige (Guppy, 1983; Pineo and Porter, 1973).

Table #5
Ideal Research Design

	MEDIUM		ORIGIN OF THE MEDIUM ——→PRESENT
CANADA	PRINT	NEWSPAPER	(1752)[24]——→
		MAGAZINE	(1780s)[25]——→
	ELECTRONIC	RADIO	(1920)[26]——→
		TELEVISION	(1948)[27]——→
UNITED STATES	PRINT	NEWSPAPER	(1704)[28]——→
		MAGAZINE	(1741)[29]——→
	ELECTRONIC	RADIO	(1920)[30]——→
		TELEVISION	(1939)[31]——→

As evidenced in Table #5, this research design is impractical: studying all media would yield an overwhelming amount of data. Analyzing the content of all newspapers, magazines, radio and television broadcasts is beyond the ability of any single researcher.

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[24] Halifax *Gazette* (Vipond, 1992:2).

[25] *Nova Scotia Magazine and Comprehensive Review of Literature* (McPhail and McPhail,1990:88; Vipond, 1992:3).

[26] Toronto station XWA (later, CFCF) (Vipond, 1992:39).

[27] Although there were experimental stations in Toronto during the 1920s and 1930s, it was not until 1948 when the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) introduced television service, and even then only in urban markets (McPhail and McPhail, 1990:14).

[28] *The Boston News* (Johnson, 1995:673).

[29] *American Magazine* published in Philadelphia, PA (Peterson, 1994:169).

[30] Pittsburgh station KDKA (Johnson, 1995:673)

[31] New York station WNBT (now WNBC-TV) (Brown, 1977:150).

Further, the availability of microfilms and tapes to chronicle media content is limited, and where available, inconsistent and sporadic.[32] Therefore, a more realistic and practical analysis requires a representative sample of one medium over time.

Selection of Medium

Choosing which medium to study was an important decision, as the selection would provide the data to test the seven hypotheses. While much contemporary media research focuses on television (McPhail and McPhail, 1990), I suggest that print media offer two advantages over electronic:

1) Print media have a longer history than electronic media (see Table #5). In fact, commercial television has only been available in Canada since 1948, and even then, only in urban areas (McPhail and McPhail, 1990:149). Since I propose to use a longitudinal research design, I must be confident that the medium I select is available over a long term (e.g., 50 years). This time frame removes most of the electronic media from consideration.

2) Print media produce hard copy that is more amenable for study than electronic.

With these concerns in mind, I chose a fifty-year analysis of newsmagazines as the duration and medium for study. Newsmagazines reflect mainstream majority values and have little imported content (Vipond, 1992:27,78,128) ensuring the content reflects domestic values not imported ones. Further, Neumann et al. (1992:58-59) argue that newsmagazines provide a rich source of "contextual information":

> The analysis of the contextualization of news indicates that coverage in weekly newsmagazines contains a greater number of contextual and expository elements than either of the other media [television and newspapers]. On average, the longer magazine stories include more references to expert sources, definitions of terms and concepts, and more analysis of the causes, consequences, and possible policy outcomes of the issues than either television or newspaper coverage . . . people learn more from magazine coverage because readers are provided with more contextual information.

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[32] Confirmed by reference librarians at the Universities of Victoria, British Columbia and Simon Fraser.

Because newsmagazines offer more *contextualization* and *framing* than other media sources, an analysis of newsmagazine articles should reveal national values more readily than other media forms, including radio and television. Newsmagazines have a long and prosperous history, are available in hard copy, and have an established tradition of editorial independence. Thus, I offer a comparison of one Canadian and one American newsmagazine to see if the content indicates any value differences in their portrayal of Native issues. To suggest that media define and reflect social reality is to state the obvious, but to describe how they do so is far more difficult.

Michael Parenti, in *Inventing Reality* (1993), argues that the media may not mold our every opinion, but they do mold *opinion visibility* (Parenti, 1993:23; see also Gamson and Modigliani, 1989:3). In effect, journalists, reporters, and news anchors set our *perceptual agenda* (a view shared by Adams, 1978:30; Osler, 1993:40; Smith, 1992:210). Parenti states, "the media may not always be able to tell us what to think, but they are strikingly successful in telling us what to think about" (1993:23; see also Smith, 1992:210). It is not so much that the media construct opinion, it is enough that they give legitimacy to certain views and illegitimacy to others (Parenti, 1993:24). This ability has important implications for how media define and reflect our perceptions and guide our interactions with the social world by effectively constructing news supporting dominant values (Parenti, 1993:69). Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky explore this issue in *Manufacturing Consent* (1988).

Herman and Chomsky suggest that the media intentionally create a social environment favourable to the dominant classes. The media create this atmosphere by *manufacturing consent* through their filtering of stories (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:xi,2). This filtering may take two forms: 1) deciding not to cover a story, and 2) presenting a story in such a way as to diffuse or bias its content. This filtering influences how people see and interpret the social world because it defines their reality. Herman and Chomsky suggest that the primary role of mainstream media is to ensure popular support for the economic, social, and political agenda of the privileged classes (1988:298). Their *propaganda model* reveals many of the techniques media use to manufacture consent, but

David Tetzlaff's research (1992) goes further and explores how media convey dominant values to the mass audience.

Tetzlaff (1992:49) argues that media use social and semiotic fragmentation (the deconstruction of meaning) to reinforce the views of the dominant classes. If we agree that social reality is the product of human interaction, then we can appreciate Tetzlaff's semiotic fragmentation, and the *reality-fragmentation*[33] it inspires. Fragmented reality is like looking through a crystal; one sees not a single image but many disjointed ones. Tetzlaff suggests that if the dominant classes presented a singular reality (say conservatism), people would unite and challenge it. Instead, the dominant classes present multiple visions of reality via media so no single interpretation can act as the locus for unified resistance. When media present radical messages - be they peace demonstrations or anti-logging blockades - they reposition these events into the discourse of the dominant classes. In the same way flu shots contain small doses of the flu virus, media present small doses of radical messages to *inoculate* society against alternative or conflicting values. The inoculation is the means by which media frame a given issue that in turn defines society's reaction to it (Curtis and Lambert, 1994:62-63; Ponting, 1990b:92-93).

This brief summary of how media reflect and define a society's values reinforces the selection of media as the vehicle by which to test Lipset's thesis of cross-national value differences. However, to suggest that a newsmagazine's content reflects a country's dominant ideology, we must be confident that the newsmagazines are representative of each country's national values. I employed four selection criteria to assess newsmagazine's representativeness.

Newsmagazine Selection Criteria

1) The newsmagazine must be seen as a journalistic leader and be available to the entire country.

To infer that a newsmagazine demonstrates national values requires confidence that the newsmagazine is reputable. This quality ensures that the newsmagazine consistently reflects the views (and values) of the majority of its readers. Further, since my interest in

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[33] Not a term used by Tetzlaff, but one that summarizes my reading of his work.

newsmagazines is to see if they demonstrate *national* values, the newsmagazine must be distributed to the entire country. This will also help control for region-specific publications that may not reflect national values.[34]

2) The newsmagazine must focus on national news coverage and reflect regional values.

The newsmagazines must focus on national issues that would demonstrate national values if they were present. The newsmagazine must also provide coverage of social and political issues instead of other areas of contemporary life. For example, *Sports Illustrated* is not appropriate as its mandate is to provide sporting news, not the social issues of contemporary society where values are most likely to be represented.

The newsmagazine must also be able to demonstrate regional values. To properly test Lipset's thesis that North-South value differences are more pronounced than East-West or regional differences, the newsmagazine must have regional bureaus providing coverage of local and regional issues. Analyzing articles written from different regions would demonstrate regional value differences to the extent they were present.

3) The newsmagazine must focus on traditional news reporting.

Traditional news reporting is presenting events in a clear and concise manner without resorting to *pop* coverage. Pop coverage is exemplified by the American magazines *People* and *Rolling Stone*.

4) The newsmagazine must have been published for more than fifty-years.

As my study requires a longitudinal analysis, the newsmagazine must have a publishing history longer than fifty-years.

According to these selection criteria, I selected *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* as the two newsmagazines for study.

Employing the Selection Criteria

1) The newsmagazine must be respected and available to the entire country.

Both *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* are regarded as journalistic leaders (see Roy,

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[34] For example, *BC Report* or *Alberta Report*.

1990:510; van Driel and Richardson, 1988:38) and attract national audiences. *Maclean's* is the largest newsmagazine in Canada with a distribution ranging from 750,000 in the early 1970s to between 550,000 to 600,000 in the 1990s (*Maclean's* editorial staff, personal communication; McPhail and McPhail 1990:111). Although *Time* is the largest American newsmagazine with a circulation of over 4 million (Johnson, 1995:311), it is not appropriate for this study.[35] *Newsweek* is the second largest American newsmagazine with a circulation of over 3 million (Johnson, 1995:311).

2) The newsmagazine must focus on national news coverage and reflect regional values.

Both *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* cater to domestic news events. In fact, *Maclean's* cannot exceed 20% of foreign content or it loses federal tax exemptions (Osler, 1993:169). Though no similar condition exists for *Newsweek*, there is no reason to question its commitment to domestic American news coverage.

Unfortunately, neither *Maclean's* nor *Newsweek* provide enough regional coverage to adequately investigate regional value differences. Because both of the newsmagazines service a national audience they cannot represent the values of any single region over those of any other for fear of alienating readers. I am not aware of any national newsmagazine that could consistently represent both regional and national values.[36]

3) The newsmagazine must focus on traditional news reporting.

Maclean's and *Newsweek* each feature traditional news reportage covering both social and cultural events.

4) The newsmagazine must have been published for more than fifty years.

Maclean's was first published in 1905 and *Newsweek* in 1933, thus satisfying the fifty year longitudinal requirement. The total number of editions for the fifty year period,

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[35] Until 1976, the *Time* magazine distributed in Canada (and thus, most practical for study) was a *Canadianized* version of the American edition, and thus, not appropriate for this study. *Times'* branch-plant magazine took advantage of sympathetic taxation laws for foreign periodicals -- in 1976 those tax incentives were removed.

[36] In fact, I am not aware of any medium capable of such flexibility.

is roughly 1,280 for *Maclean's* and 2,600 for *Newsweek*. The discrepancy occurs because *Maclean's* was published monthly until 1976, while *Newsweek* has always been a weekly.[37]

As discussed previously, one of the criticisms leveled at Lipset's propositions is that they were difficult to test since they were often convoluted and contradictory. While this criticism is valid, my research accounts for these criticisms by employing seven falsifiable hypotheses to test Lipset's thesis of national value differences. The hypotheses presented in Table #4 are reconstituted in Table #6 with the predicted outcomes for both newsmagazines, given Lipset's thesis.

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[37] In 1976 the federal government introduced legislation that gave Canadian periodicals tax-incentives over their American competition. This legislation ultimately forced the Canadian edition of *Time* to close. This opened a large enough segment of the Canadian periodical market for *Maclean's* to begin its weekly format (Osler, 1993:168).

Table #6 **Testing Lipset's Value Differences**				
Pattern Variable	Elitism vs. Egalitarianism	Ascription vs. Achievement	Particularism vs. Universalism	Diffuseness vs. Specificity
Hypothesis	1a) *Maclean's* will portray political leaders more positively than *Newsweek* 1b) *Maclean's* will portray Native leaders more critically than *Newsweek*	2a) *Maclean's* will portray government redistribution more positively than *Newsweek* 2b) *Maclean's* will portray Native lawlessness more critically than *Newsweek*	3) *Maclean's* will portray the mosaic perspective more positively than *Newsweek*	4a) *Maclean's* will portray the collectivist perspective more positively than *Newsweek* 4b) *Maclean's* will portray Native challenges to the collective more critically than *Newsweek*

Chapter 4
Research Methodology

This chapter outlines my methodology to ensure a rigorous test of the seven hypotheses. I begin by discussing my sampling frame and then describe my method for analyzing the articles.

Sample

My sampling frame includes all articles referring to Natives in *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* from 1943 to 1993. To locate the articles, I first consulted the *Library of Congress* subject heading and found the subject title, *Indians of North America.* I used the subject title to manually search the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* (*Reader's Guide*) and the *Canadian Periodical Index* (*CPI*). Both sources were necessary as neither indexed both newsmagazines from 1943, although *Reader's Guide* does index *Maclean's* from 1978, and *CPI Newsweek* from 1988. Where overlap in coverage occurred, I cross-referenced both indexes.[38] Once I began searching, however, I realized that there were other citations occurring under individual native group names (e.g., Inuit or Cree) that did not appear in the larger, more global, subject heading. As there were dozens of separate native groups referenced, I decided to include a search for the five largest (by population) native groups in Canada and the United States as well as the subject *Indians of North America.*[39] The five largest Native groups in Canada are:[40]

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[38] This cross-referencing produced a further 47 entries in *Maclean's* and 2 in *Newsweek.* See Appendix 1 for a complete listing of all articles.

[39] I also kept track of other band names as I read the articles and assigned a code after a band was mentioned in 4 articles. This resulted in a total of 10 bands being coded for in *Maclean's* and 8 for *Newsweek* (see Appendix 2).

[40] Determining the populations of individual native groups in Canada was not possible. The only data Statistics Canada collect are whether or not an individual is aboriginal. Further, the Department of Indian and Northern Development stated that a listing of native ethnic affiliation and population size does not exist. The selection of the five largest native groups in Canada is based on personal knowledge of native populations as well as conversations with native groups, demographers, and employees of the Department of Indian and Northern Development.

1) Inuit
2) Cree
3) Iroquois
4) Mohawk
5) Ojibwa[41]

The five largest Indian bands in America are:

1) Cherokee
2) Navajo
3) Chippewa
4) Sioux
5) Choctaw (Reddy, 1993:233)[42]

By searching the subject heading and the ten individual band names from 1943 to 1993, I located 296 articles in *Maclean's* and 96 in *Newsweek*. Once I gathered the articles,[43] I used content analysis to provide the method for determining if there were systematic differences between *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* in their coverage of Native Issues.

Content Analysis

Content analysis comprises a set of procedures to study text (Weber, 1990:9), and is appropriate for most forms of communication (Babbie, 1995:307). Through the use of content analysis I was able to investigate themes in media content that went beyond those explicitly stated. Robert Weber (1990:9) suggests that content analysis of media can reveal international differences and uncover the cultural patterns of groups, institutions, or societies. The ability to look beyond the text makes content analysis well-suited for a cross-national analysis of value differences in media (Babbie, 1995:315).

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[41] In 1992, the Native-Canadian population was 531,981 or about 1.2% of the Canadian population (Frideres, 1993:128).

[42] In 1990, Native population was 1.959 million or about 0.8% of the American population (Reddy, 1993:233).

[43] My first task was to number the articles as they appeared chronologically. For example, the first *Newsweek* article from 1943 was number "1".

My review of *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* was from two perspectives, the first a quantitative examination testing whether Lipset's value differences were evident, the second a qualitative exploration to detect themes speaking to Lipset's thesis. The quantitative analysis provides statistical measures to test Lipset's thesis, while the qualitative analysis allows greater sensitivity to detect themes in the articles pertaining to Lipset. By using both quantitative and qualitative approaches, my research employs the *triangulation* method which stipulates that one should study a single phenomenon using various techniques to control for systematic errors inherent in any single technique (Campbell, 1957; Denzin 1989[1970]:26; Hedley, 1984:160,168).

The content analysis of the articles from *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* necessitated three separate readings of each article. The first was an informal reading where I briefly noted any themes or trends I detected in the articles. My second reading focused on developing key categories to later code the articles. Because I did not arbitrarily select categories before reading the articles, I allowed categories to surface from the data (articles), and in so doing, gained confidence that my selection of categories was consistent with grounded theory:

> A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon . . . One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:23).

Grounded theory stresses the need to develop theory from data and provided the basis for my selection of categories and their coding.

Coding is the compilation, manipulation (or making sense) of research data -- in this case, the contents of *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*.[44] Coding breaks the data down into units that are easier to summarize, conceptualize and understand and is well-suited for large amounts of data (Charmaz, 1990:1162; Strauss and Corbin, 1990:57). For example, to

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[44] See Appendix 2 for a copy of the Code Book.

compare *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* and their portrayal of Native issues, I collected the visible and rudimentary components of the articles (e.g., length, subject, Native group involved) that could indicate the relative importance each magazine placed on Native issues. My quantitative coding also included coding the seven hypotheses testing Lipset's overall thesis of cross-national value-difference (see Appendix 5). For example, when an article discussed Political Leaders (pertinent to hypothesis 1a), I noted every reference to them in the text as either positive, negative, or indeterminate on the margins of the article.[45] When I completed my coding, I added the number of positive, negative and indeterminate references and determined an overall coding for that article. For example, if the article had 15 positive statements about the political leader, 3 negative and no indeterminate, I concluded it was a "Supportive" article (see Appendix 5 for the coding results). An obvious concern at this point is how confident am I that my coding is reliable?

Research is deemed reliable when the particular research technique, applied repeatedly to the same phenomenon, yields the same results (Babbie, 1995:124). I am confident my coding is reliable for two reasons. First, there were no instances where totals for the three possible codings (i.e., PL+, PL-, PL?) were within 10% of each other. This indicates that the article's editorial bias (or lack of one) was readily apparent. Second, even though I was the only person coding the articles, I re-coded a ten per cent random sample of the articles (30 articles from *Maclean's*, 10 from *Newsweek*) six months after I completed my initial coding. The coefficient of reliability between these codings was 72%.[46] Since coefficient values over 60% are deemed reliable (Jackson, 1995:72), I am confident my codings reliably reflect the article's (and by extension, the newsmagazine's) editorial bias.

My third, and final reading, involved a qualitative coding of the articles. Qualitative

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[45] Positive statements about Political Leaders were coded as PL+, negative as PL-, and indeterminate as PL?

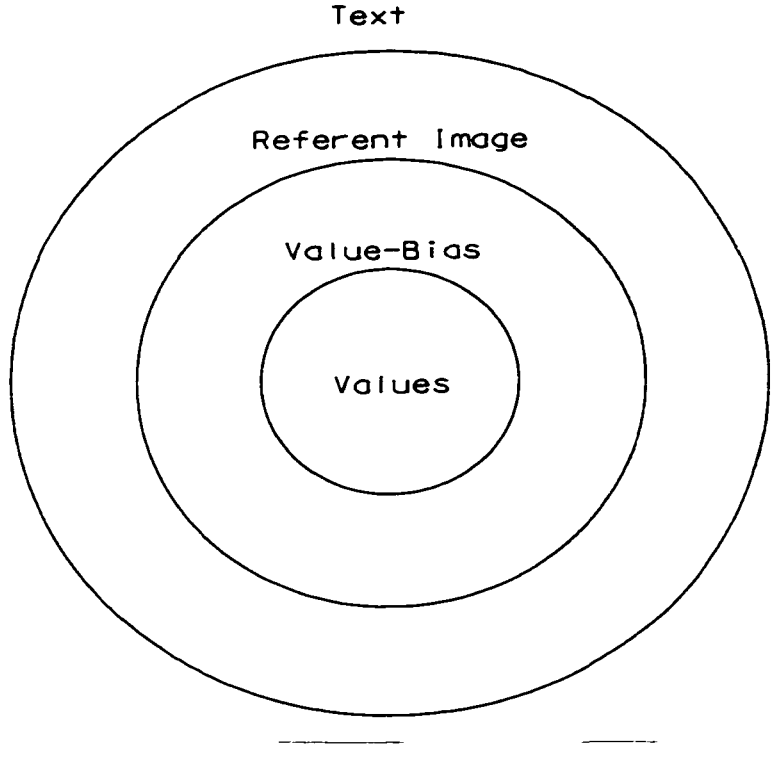
[46] Coefficient of reliability = number of units in identical category (171) / total number of units (238) = 71.8%

coding entailed an investigation of the underlying themes and meanings in the text, and while more difficult, often revealed a fuller understanding of the text (Babbie, 1995:312). Coding the articles according to qualitative measures was accomplished through the article's *referent images*. Amy Binder (1993:755) describes referent images as the means by which media frame an issue so that the story resonates with the audience. Referent images are common cultural frames (or themes) situating a story within the larger interpretive landscape. For example, a story about unscrupulous used-car salesmen is easy for an audience to interpret because it fits the public image of used-car salesmen being dishonest. Images like this help media writers bring their stories to life by locating them within a society's existing values and beliefs, but also allows readers a common reference point by which to form opinions.

The selection of a story's referent image is important to the writer who wants a story to resonate with the audience, and to the readers who need a context in which to interpret the story. Binder (1993:756) asserted that the writer's selection of a referent image is subjective and influenced by national values (see also Skea, 1993:16-17). Since national values influence the selection of referent images, Binder's research presents interesting possibilities for studying how *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* frame Native issues.

By examining the articles from different perspectives, I hoped to offer a more informed look into value differences between *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* than was possible through independent quantitative or qualitative analyses. Reading each of the 392 articles at least three times provided me with an intimate knowledge of how each magazine presented Native issues and whether the approach was consistent with Lipset's thesis of cross-national value differences. By immersing myself in the articles, I uncovered consistent themes in both magazines' presentations of Native issues. Figure #1 illustrates my qualitative approach to the articles.

Figure #1
Qualitative Approach to Text



The diagram's concentric circles illustrate the different levels of analysis possible when applying a qualitative approach to text. The text outside the circle represents a basic reading allowing one to become familiar with the articles (and provided the basis for my quantitative analysis), but not to investigate the meanings or messages beneath the surface of the text. To investigate social values through newsmagazine articles then, involves peeling away layers of the text to analyze themes in the subtext. This deeper understanding becomes possible only after multiple readings and a subsequent analysis of the article's *referent images*.

My selection of an article's referent image was based on my impressions of the article.[47] These impressions were generally formed by the article's "tone" and how it

[47] These impressions were documented in my field notes.

presented the issue at hand. For example, when *Maclean's* referred to Political Leaders (Hypothesis 1a) the article more often than not portrayed them as *negligent* and *incompetent* (for example #10, 59, 143, 226, 257, 294). *Newsweek*, however, presented Political Leaders as morally corrupt and framed them negatively as *politicians* (for example #6, 17, 50, 89). While individual article's framing is important, to adequately test Lipset's thesis I compiled cumulative referent images for each of the 7 hypotheses.[48]

My generalized referent images for each hypothesis are the compilation of my impressions of editorial bias from all the articles. While my selection of one general referent image may appear subjective, I am confident my selections accurately represent general editorial biases because they are based on multiple readings of the articles and my intimate understanding of each magazine's presentation of Native issues over time.

Therefore, if Binder's assertion that referent images reflect values is correct, an analysis of the referent images used by *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* to present Native issues would reveal Canadian and American values, and thus, provide a test of Lipset's thesis. This *interpretive* analysis maintains Lipset's approach and acknowledges his suggestion that a true test of his thesis should go beyond simple hypothesis testing and explore the *logical consistency* of his argument (Lipset, 1990a:*xvi*). Therefore, I suggest that to fully understand *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*'s presentation of Native issues requires both quantitative and qualitative methodologies.

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[48] To be discussed more fully in Chapter 6 - Qualitative Analysis.

Chapter 5
Quantitative Profile and Analysis

This chapter begins with a brief quantitative description of *Maclean's* and *Newsweek's* articles covering Native issues. This overview provides a general orientation to the articles and is not intended as a direct test of Lipset's thesis of cross-national value differences. Instead, the discussion contributes to a more informed comparison of *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*. Once the overview is complete, I test each of the seven hypotheses to determine if newsmagazine content supports or refutes Lipset's thesis. The chapter concludes with an analysis of Canadian and American value differences over time in an attempt to test Lipset's contention that these differences remain constant over time.

Quantitative Profile

The following is a summary of the key quantitative attributes of *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* and their presentation of Native issues.

1) **Number of Articles**[49]

The number of articles written about a given topic is a good measure of how important the newsmagazine finds them. Over the fifty years, *Maclean's* printed 296 articles referring to Native issues and *Newsweek* 96. This suggests that *Maclean's* viewed Native issues as a more important social issue than did *Newsweek* but the differences between the magazines were not statistically significant.[50]

2) **Length of Articles**

The length of an article offers another indication of how important the magazine deems the issue being covered. The mean length of articles in *Maclean's* was 4.17 (where 4.00 = articles between 501 and 1,000 words) and 3.97 for *Newsweek* (where 3.00 = articles between 251 to 500 words) and was statistically significant.[51] Interestingly,

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[49] See Appendix 4 for a summary of the quantitative profile.

[50] Number of articles by newsmagazine was not significant at the $P<.05$ as $X^2 = 0.462$.

[51] Length of article by newsmagazine was significant at the $P<.01$ as $X^2 = 0.014$.

Maclean's article length, plotted over time, revealed a moderately strong non-linear relationship (See Appendix 6). For example, *Maclean's* articles were much longer during the 1940s and 1950s, decrease during the 1960s and 1970s, and then increase again from the 1980s to today. The length of articles in *Newsweek* when plotted over time did not reveal any discernable trend.

3) **First Page of Articles**

Where the first page of an article appears in a magazine can demonstrate its importance relative to other articles. In newspapers, readers assume that articles appearing closer to the front are more important than those closer to the back. On average, *Maclean's* introduced articles about Native issues on the 28th. page (mean=27.94) and *Newsweek* on the 50th. (mean=50.48).[52] Initially, this suggests that *Maclean's* gave Native issues more relative importance than did *Newsweek*, but note that it is the *relative* position that is important. Between 1943 and 1993, the mean length for an issue in *Maclean's* was 67.67 pages and *Newsweek* 104.29.[53] When one controls for magazine length (by dividing the mean page number by the average length of the magazine), the results suggest (0.41 for *Maclean's* and 0.48 for *Newsweek*) little difference between the relative importance of Native issues in magazines as determined by mean page of origin.[54]

4) **Geographical Location of Story**

The most popular geographical location (defined as the site where the story originated) for *Maclean's* was *national* (23%). The prevalence of articles on the *Far*

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[52] First page of article by newsmagazine was significant at the $P<.01$ as $X^2 = 0.0001$.

[53] These averages were attained by randomly selecting five years and 10 editions from each year, then counting the number of pages.

[54] The case could be made that knowing the magazine's length is not important, but how close to the front cover the story appears. This is more applicable for newspapers than it is for newsmagazines (Singer, 1978). Newsmagazines synthesize a week's events instead of a day's, plus, the *cover story* does not appear on the first page but, generally, near the middle.

North, the second most prominent location (21%) was largely the product of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposal (#68, #75, #77, #84, #117).[55] *Quebec* proved the third most prominent location for stories (18%). The most common locations for articles about Indians in *Newsweek* was the *Midwest* (26%), *National* (23%), and the *Sun Belt* (22%).

5) **Band Affiliation**

Maclean's coverage most often reported on all Native groups (23%), or more than one at a time (16%). When specific groups were identified, the *Inuit* received 13% of the coverage and the *Mohawks* 12%. *Newsweek* focused on more than one Indian band at a time in 33% of their articles, while 17% of their coverage mentioned Indian groups that were not one of the eight coded. That 50% of all articles discussed more than one Indian group, or ones people may not have heard of before (e.g., Kickapoo (#68) Lumbees (#13) or Tuscarora (#60)), suggests *Newsweek* gives more attention to covering specific events at the expense, perhaps, of National ones (7%). Table #7 summarizes the quantitative profile of the 2 magazines.

Table #7
Quantitative Magazine Profiles

	Number of Articles	Mean Length	Mean First Page	Most Frequent Location of Story	Primary Band Affiliation
Maclean's	296	4.17	27.94	National (21%)	National Focus (23%)
Newsweek	96	3.97	50.48	Midwest (26%)	More than one listed (33%)

6) Type of Article

To understand the portrayals of Native issues in *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*, it was important to code the types of articles in which the issues appear. For example, if a story

[55] These numbers correspond to article designations found in Appendix 1.

is presented as the personal view of the author, readers are more likely to ponder their own feelings about the issue. However, if the story is presented as a *news report*, readers are more apt to interpret it as fact, thus giving it greater significance. My coding included ten classifications capturing all article types in both magazines.

1) Editorials were defined as articles written by staff writers offering personal analyses of the issues. Establishing whether or not an author worked for the magazine was difficult since early editions of *Newsweek* rarely included the author's name (see Appendix 1). In this situation, it was assumed that the article was written by a staff writer, as the magazine would probably publish a freelance author's name. Non-staff writers were distinguished in two ways: 1) their articles usually appeared under separate headings in the magazine, e.g., "My Turn" and, 2) their occupations were listed at the end of the article (for example, *Newsweek* #93). Staff writing tended to focus on general news, for example, a stage show opening featuring all Native actors (*Maclean's* #126).

2) Opinion Pieces were defined as articles written by non-staff writers that included editorial reflection on a given social issue. Opinion pieces, some argue (Binder, 1993:757; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989:20) make content analysis easier, more precise, and more valid because they present articulate arguments that expose the social values of the author (Binder, 1993:757; Osler, 1993:69-70). For example, in 1983 *Newsweek* presented an opinion piece called "For My Indian Daughter" (#71). In it author Lewis P. Johnson, a native Indian, discussed what it meant to be Indian in the hope his young daughter would benefit from his experiences and not suffer from racism and self-doubt, as he had. This piece offered a personal perspective on a particular issue.

3) Investigative Reports were defined as exposé pieces resulting from long-term research commitment by the author(s). The research may have included interviewing experts, contacting informants, or background archival research. For example, in 1976 (#75) Marci McDonald wrote a story in *Maclean's* about the occupation of the Stoney Indian Band office in Morley, Alberta. In her article, McDonald reported on a concerted effort by the American Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to subvert a Canadian cell of the American Indian Movement (AIM) responsible for the occupation. McDonald's

analysis suggested that the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (R.C.M.P.) worked together in an attempt to subvert AIM before it could interfere with construction of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline.

Another example, a 1971 *Newsweek* article (#29) entitled "An Indian in the City," reported the American government's attempt to relocate Indians from reserves to cities, thereby removing them from federal responsibility and support. If Indians left the reserve, the government provided free housing for 10 days, but after that, all support stopped: "And since the first check is too often the last, the Indian finds himself cut loose in a strange world with no place to turn" (#29:16).

4) Straight News reports offered little or no interpretation or analysis of the event or issue reported, for example, the opening of a gallery show dedicated to Native art (e.g., *Maclean's* #76) or the excavation of an Indian archaeological site (e.g., *Newsweek* #87). This reporting was often specific and usually brief.

5) Overlap between some categories necessitated combining Opinion Pieces and Investigative Reports. Overlap occurred when an opinion piece included some investigative research or when an investigative story offered the personal views of the author. One article demonstrating this category was Peter Gzowski's 1963 article titled, "This is Our Alabama" (*Maclean's* #26). In it, Gzowski interviewed people in rural Saskatchewan and found many with deep-seated racism against Canadian Natives. Gzowski provided detailed background on native-white race relations in Saskatchewan, and compared them to black-white race relations in Alabama.

In 1978 *Newsweek* reported on white backlash against American Indians (#51). The authors, Richard Boeth and Jeff Copeland, reviewed many specific legal challenges by whites who felt Indians received preferential treatment from the American government. In the article, Boeth and Copeland suggested that Indians have all the rights, but none of the responsibilities that white people do (#51:40). The article provided journalistic investigation, but also express the personal opinions of the authors.

6) A photo exposé (for example, *Maclean's* #31) used pictures instead of words to present a story.

7) An Interview was defined as a series of questions and answers with a particular person or group (see *Maclean's* #179, 182, 228).

8) A spotlight was defined as an article that highlighted a particular person or group but did not follow the question and answer format of an "interview." An example was *Maclean*'s 1985 (#169) review of Justice Thomas Berger's influence on Canada's social landscape, and *Newsweek*'s 1967 report on an Indian Episcopalian minister from Chicago who helped fellow Indians adjust to city life (#22).

9) Book Reviews discussed the release, or review, of any book relating to Native issues (see *Maclean's* #263 and *Newsweek* #25).

Figures #2 and #3 illustrate the reporting formats used by *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* to present Native issues. The most common type of article used by both magazines to present Native issues was *straight news* reporting (61% and 68% of coverage, respectively). The second most common type for *Maclean's* was the category combining *investigative reports* and *opinion pieces* (12%) and for *Newsweek Spotlight* (8%). These findings suggest that both magazines employ roughly the same editorial format to cover Native issues. Another method to determine whether the magazines portrayed Native Issues similarly requires a look at the subjects covered.

Figure #2
Type of Article

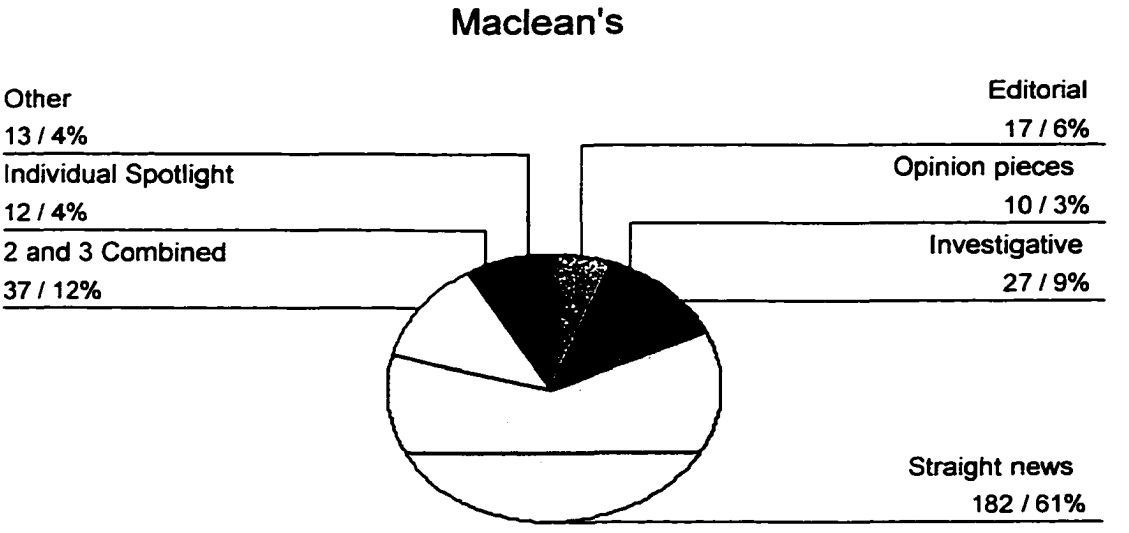
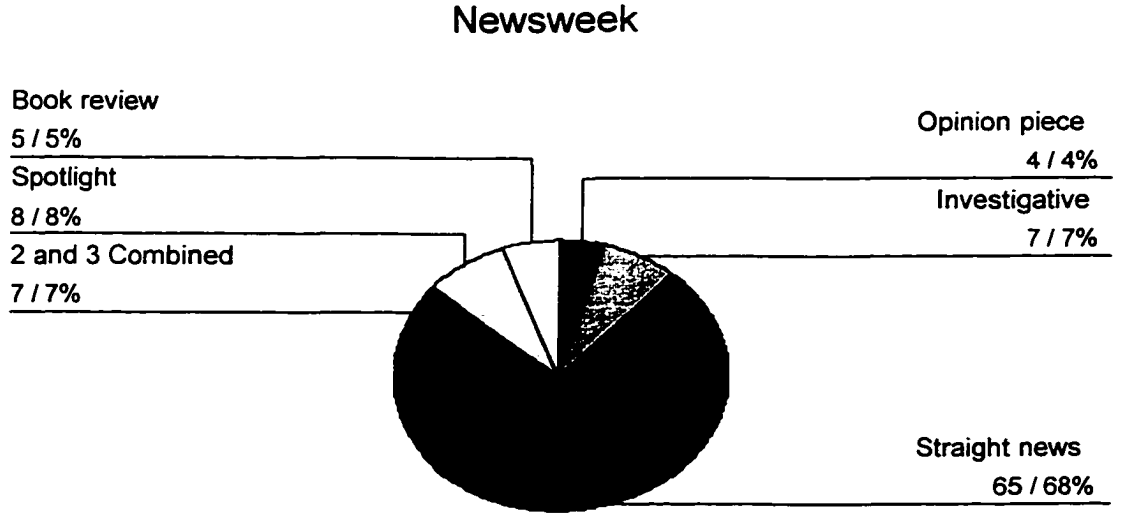


Figure #3
Type of Article



7) Subject of Article

When classified by subject, articles from *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* were found to have virtually the same coverage.[56] In fact, the top four topics in both newsmagazines were the same: Sovereignty, Current Conditions, Land Claims, and Race Relations (see Figures 13-16 in Appendix 4).

Quantitative Analysis

The articles were also coded on the basis of noticeable value-bias speaking to Lipset's thesis. Upon the detection of a positive or negative bias towards Natives, the article was coded according to that *value-bias*. A basic assumption in the study of media is that the framing of news stories is subjective (Neumann, 1992:37); therefore, the way the newsmagazine authors framed issues demonstrates their values and beliefs. For example, an article offering a positive portrayal of Native or political leaders might concentrate on their personal abilities and qualities while a negative portrayal might focus on their limitations and incompetence. Both situations were evident in *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* articles. These value-biases, and the "frames" that manifest them, established one avenue where Lipset's value differences should be apparent.

Maclean's portrayed Native leaders positively in 1976 when it reported (#71:18): "Ottawa has taken note of the Nishga's determined but always polite struggle to make their [land claim] case within the Canadian legal system," and called them "a reasonable people always ready to negotiate rather than confront." *Maclean's* also portrayed Native leaders negatively in an article discussing how land claims were stalled because Natives leaders had a "long, dark record of internal squabbling" (#96).

Newsweek, on the other hand, presented a positive portrayal of political leadership in 1960 (#15) when it reported how successful the federal government's investments of Navajo oil revenues were. "Under the eagle eye and benign handling of the Indian Affairs Bureau in Washington, Jones & Co. have carefully funnelled money into projects that meant new income and more jobs for their 80,000 charges [the Navajo]." *Newsweek*

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[56] One should note that any article may deal with several subjects and therefore the total number of "cases" will exceed the total number of articles.

also clearly displayed a negative portrayal of political leadership in its coverage of a Navajo lawsuit against the United States government in 1961 (#19). The author painted a picture of the Navajos as poor and helpless because they were being cheated of what was rightfully theirs by the American government. The author suggested that taking the government to court offered the Navajos' only chance of securing a better future for their children.

After coding the articles according to their value-bias, I analyzed the data to determine whether they supported or refuted Lipset's thesis. Appendix 5 illustrates the codings for each of the seven hypotheses and how the results were calculated. The first table in this appendix (Elitism vs. Egalitarianism) is divided into twelve cells, each corresponding to the individual articles fitting that category. For example, articles #7 and #9 from *Maclean's* portrayed Native leaders **positively**, whereas articles #32 and #36 from *Newsweek* presented Indian leaders **negatively**. Articles #13 and #18 of *Maclean's* and #11 and #14 of *Newsweek* were classified as **indeterminate**. An indeterminate coding meant that the article discussed the issue in question (in this example, Native leadership) but without evidence of a clear value-bias.

To determine if differences in codings were statistically significant, the results from the codings were entered into the software package, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) as separate variables. For example, the number of words in an article was coded according to a five-point value system ranging from "1" to "5".[57] A variable for article length was defined in SPSS and the values entered.

Statistical significance is an objective yardstick against which we can estimate the significance of associations between variables (Babbie, 1995:439). Significance tests are based on measures of association determining whether two variables are related. One of the most common measures of association used by sociologists to analyze nominal level

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[57] Where 1 = less than 100 words and 5 = more than 1,000 words. See Appendix 2 for a copy of the Code Book.

data is Chi Square (x^2).[58] The Chi Square statistic (with a range of zero to infinity) provides a measure of how close the observed frequencies are to the frequencies we would expect if the variables were independent of each other. To interpret Chi square, sociologists frequently report a "P value" that indicates whether the correlation is the result of chance (Hagedorn and Hedley, 1994:50). Generally, sociologists suggest that if $P < 0.05$ the finding is unlikely to be the result of chance (Agresti and Finlay, 1986:147). The Chi square test, with an alpha level of $P<.05$ was used to assess if differences supported or refuted Lipset's thesis.[59]

Table #8
Percent of Articles Addressing Each Hypothesis

Hypothesis		#1a	#1b	#2a	#2b	#3	#4a	#4b
Maclean's N=296	% of Total[60]	80	64	54	30	93	91	74
	% with Value-bias[61]	72	70	72	66	72	95	77
Newsweek N=96	% of Total	83	73	78	29	98	98	81
	% with Value-bias	67	60	63	71	69	99	82

[58] Two characteristics of x^2 are important to note: 1) although x^2 demonstrates how certain we can be that the variables are dependent, it does not tell us how strong that dependence is and, 2) large sample sizes can affect x^2 values (Agresti and Finlay, 1986:211, Babbie, 1995:437-439).

[59] Alpha is a numerical designation for how certain we want to be in rejecting the null hypothesis. The alpha level $P<.05$ is a standard level of confidence in the social sciences (Agresti and Finlay, 1986:147).

[60] Refers to all articles pertaining to the variable in question, including indeterminate codings. Note: the total percent on any one row exceeds 100 because a single article may pertain to more than one hypothesis.

[61] Those articles discussing the variable and demonstrating a positive or negative value bias (i.e., no "indeterminate" codings are included).

Table #8 shows the percentage of articles in *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* addressing each of the seven hypotheses; in addition, this table reports the percentage of articles offering a value-bias. The first set of percentages compiled from *Maclean's* range from a low of 30 for hypothesis #2b (Native Lawlessness) to a high of 93 for hypothesis #3 (Mosaic Perspective). Value-biases were detected in 66 percent of the articles about Native Lawlessness (#2b) and in 95 percent of the articles with a Collective or Individual framing (#4a). Although it had fewer articles (thus possibly inflating relative percentages), *Newsweek* had similar results. The percentages of articles referring to the hypotheses ranged from 29 for Indian Lawlessness (#2b) to 98 for both Mosaic Perspective (#3) and Collective or Individual Framing (#4a). Those articles demonstrating a value-bias ranged from 60 percent for Native Leaders (#1b) to 99 for Collective or Individual framing (#4a). Overall, these results indicate that *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* were similar in the percentage of articles addressing the hypotheses, as well as the percentage of articles demonstrating value-bias. The articles demonstrating value-bias pertinent to Lipset's four pattern variables are the empirical foundation for my quantitative tests. That is, Lipset's thesis will be tested on its ability to correctly predict the value biases *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* use to present native issues. My analysis of article bias generated the following results.

Pattern Variable : **Elitism vs. Egalitarianism**

Hypothesis #1a : *Maclean's* will frame political leaders more positively than will *Newsweek.*

I define political leaders as non-native elected officials from all levels of government.[62] Seventy-two percent of *Maclean's* 237 articles covering political leaders presented a bias while 67% percent of *Newsweek*'s 80 articles discussing political leaders showed a bias.

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[62] Political leaders who were also Native (e.g., Elijah Harper) were coded as Native leaders.

Results

Of the 237 articles discussing political leaders in *Maclean's*, 4% presented a positive bias while 68% were negative.[63] *Newsweek*'s coverage of political leaders was similar to *Maclean's;* 10% of the articles presented a positive bias while 58% demonstrated a negative. The most striking finding was the amount of negative coverage non-native political leaders received during the Oka crisis of 1990 and the Wounded Knee uprising in 1973.[64]

For example, one 1990 (#224) article from *Maclean's* presented federal Indian affairs Minister Tom Siddon's approach to negotiations as ineffective:

> One reason for the Indians' displeasure with Siddon's response was that, by his own account, the 48-year-old minister had offered the Oka Mohawks little that was new. In fact, the minister said that his proposals merely repeated ones that he had made several months ago - and that the Mohawks had already rejected (#224:13).

To report that Siddon had nothing new to bring to the bargaining table framed him negatively. One 1973 article (#39) from *Newsweek* presented President Richard Nixon's administration[65] in a similar light:

> But the Indian guns at Wounded Knee were also trained on the Nixon Administration, whose bright rhetoric and significant expansion of Indian appropriations have so far done just about nothing to reverse the effects of the white man's 450-year history of mendacity and oppression (#39:22).

Positive portrayals of political leaders, while limited, did occur. For example, in 1986 (#182) *Maclean's* interviewed David Crombie, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The interview began with the preface:

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[63] The remaining 27% were "indeterminate".

[64] To be discussed more fully in the qualitative analysis

[65] And by extension, Nixon himself.

> After 18 months as minister of Indian affairs and northern development, David Crombie has met with virtually all Indian groups in Canada - usually on their own turf. Crombie, 49, has also travelled widely in the Canadian Arctic and visited Greenland. His enthusiasm has won him praise from the more than 360,000 status Indians and 28,000 Inuit (#182:6).

Presenting Crombie as a dedicated and hardworking politician who was admired by Natives was clearly a positive portrayal. An article from *Newsweek* in 1989 (#81) reported on the growing practice of looting Indian grave sites and the progressive steps politicians were taking to stop it.

As discussed, Lipset's thesis predicts that *Maclean's* would have more positive portrayals of political leaders than *Newsweek* since Canadians defer to authority figures more than Americans. However, these results show that both *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* portrayed political leaders negatively. Although the statistical relationship between magazine and portrayal of political leader was significant at the $P<.05$, since Chi square was 0.021, the results are in the *opposite* direction to Lipset's prediction (i.e., *Newsweek* had a higher *proportion* of positive portrayals (10%) than *Maclean's* (5%)).

Support for Lipset's Thesis?	:	**No**
Pattern Variable	:	**Elitism vs. Egalitarianism**
Hypothesis #1b	:	*Maclean's* will frame Native leaders more negatively than will *Newsweek*.

I define Native leaders as hereditary or elected officials from all levels of municipal, provincial, federal or aboriginal governments or political associations.[66] Sixty-four percent of *Maclean's* articles addressed Native leaders with 70% demonstrating a bias. *Newsweek* covered Indian leaders in 73% of their articles with 60% displaying bias.

Overall, *Maclean's* was supportive of Native leadership. Of the 133 articles containing an overt value-bias regarding Native leaders, only 16% were critical. The

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[66] For example, Ovide Mercredi, Grand Chief of the Assembly of First Nations and Elijah Harper, member of Manitoba's legislature, were coded as Native Leaders.

distribution over time[67] reflects a general increase in the number of articles portraying Native leadership positively. Remembering the images of masked "warriors" from the summer of 1990 at Oka, it is interesting to note the level of support Native leaders received during the siege. *Newsweek*'s coverage of Native leaders was critical in 19% of the articles presenting a bias.

Newsweek's 1989 article (#82) is an example of a critical portrayal of Indian leaders, in this case, Navajo Chief Peter MacDonald. The article reported that once MacDonald became Chief he was committed to building a new age of self-determination for the Navajo. While his leadership brought business opportunities to the Navajo, the article stated, "With power came a taste for private planes, limousines and bodyguards" (#82:32). The article also suggested that MacDonald's leadership was tainted by accusations of tax-fraud and receiving kick-backs from companies dealing with the Navajo.

These results show that *Maclean's* portrayed Native leaders *less* negatively than *Newsweek*. A Chi square value of 0.529 suggests that there are no significant differences between magazine and the portrayal of Native leaders at the P<.05 level. However, because the results *oppose* what Lipset would predict, they refute his thesis.

Support for Lipset's Thesis?	:	**NO**
Pattern Variable	:	**Ascription vs. Achievement**
Hypothesis #2a	:	*Maclean's* will support government-sponsored redistribution programs more than *Newsweek*.

I define government redistribution programs as any government initiative that redistributes wealth or opportunity to the less fortunate. Examples include social assistance (i.e., welfare) and adult job-training. Support for government redistribution programs was granted if the article focused on the merits of the program and the problems it was intended to address. Seventy-two percent of *Maclean's*' 160 articles discussing

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[67] See Appendix 6.

redistribution programs presented a value-bias compared to 63% of *Newsweek*'s 75 articles.

An example of *Maclean's* support for redistribution programs occurred in 1981 in an opinion piece by David Porter, vice-chairman of the Council for Yukon Indians (#122). Porter urged the federal government to pressure the Canadian Radio and Telecommunication Council (CRTC) to approve an application by the Council of Yukon Indians and the Dene Nation to produce radio and television broadcasts for the people of the North. Porter argued that communication technology, and the larger social conscience developing from it, was necessary for Native peoples to take an active role in their own development: "Our people are at a crossroads. On one hand, we are the product of a rich and ancient culture. On the other, we are forcibly determined by a modern society. The struggle is visceral; the direction taken is crucial" (#122). This opinion piece supported government redistribution programs as it demonstrated the positive social, cultural and financial influence communication would have on the Native peoples in the North.

An instance of *Newsweek* supporting redistribution is a 1991 article reporting on some Indian tribes trying to lure jobs onto their reservations by leasing land to waste disposal companies to construct landfill sites (#88). Although the article discusses some of the environmental concerns associated with landfills, it supports the need for Indians to be able to pursue economic opportunities to decrease unemployment rates (often as high as 85%) and break the cycle of poverty so characteristic of Indian reservations (#88:36).

No support for redistribution programs was assigned when the portrayal of a program questioned the costs or the negative influences social assistance had on the recipients. For example, Barbara Amiel's columns in *Maclean's* (#147, 1983 and #243, 1990) condemned all government "handouts" for Native Canadians. She suggested that preserving Native culture through a guaranteed welfare structure caused horrible social disruption to Native communities (#147). Amiel argued that the only way for Natives to reap the benefits of our wealthy society was to join it and forgo "special status". *Newsweek* mirrored this perspective in an article from 1980 (#60) that described a court case by a group of people claiming to be descendants of the Tuscarora and Delaware

Indians. A successful outcome would qualify them for more government aid. The article reported that historians suggest there was little merit to the claim, and presented the Indians as "gold diggers" along with 62 other groups who were also petitioning the government for Indian status. *Newsweek* presented these Indians as opportunists.

Results

Of the 116 articles in *Maclean's* presenting a value-bias toward government redistribution programs, 92% supported them. Further, support appears to have grown through the 1980s (see Appendix 6). *Newsweek* supported redistribution programs in 96% of the 47 articles displaying a value-bias. These results were not statistically significant at the P<.05 level since Chi square was 0.426, and Lipset's thesis incorrectly predicted that *Maclean's* would offer more support for government redistribution programs than would *Newsweek*.

Support for Lipset's Thesis?	:	**No**
Pattern Variable	:	**Ascription vs. Achievement**
Hypothesis #2b	:	*Maclean's* will frame Native lawlessness more critically than will *Newsweek*.

I define Native lawlessness as any activity that contravenes Canadian or American Criminal Codes. Coding for this value difference was based on whether the article supported Native lawlessness or was critical of it. Of the 89 articles covering Native lawlessness in *Maclean's* 66% demonstrated a value-bias as did 71% of *Newsweek*'s 28 articles.

A supportive framing of Native lawlessness presented the illegal behavior as the product of social and economic injustices by white society. Offering background information on the events preceding the illegal activity could create or suggest compassion for the Native situation and thus, tacitly at least, support the illegal activity. One example of supportive framing was found in *Maclean's* coverage of the Mohawk confrontation at Oka, Quebec in 1990. Peter C. Newman's editorial (#258) suggested that the Oka crisis was inevitable, the outcome of years of neglect by white society. Newman wrote:

> The issue is dignity and pride, a retroactive attempt to compensate for centuries of neglect by white Canadians who have treated Indians like the unwanted residues of a geographical accident: they may have got here first, but they have ranked last in our national priorities. Indians are the lively ghosts of Canadian history. They're always there, like the vegetation or the weather, but up to now, no one has taken their complaints or aspirations seriously. To be Indian in this country is to be dispossessed (#258).

A critical portrayal of Native lawlessness was apparent when an article only discussed the illegal activity itself and did not investigate any preceding events. An article also displayed a negative portrayal when it discussed divisions within the Native community resulting from an illegal activity (see *Maclean's* #203, 204, 216). For example, in 1988, *Maclean's* reported on the shooting of a young Native boy who was trying to rob a grocery store on the Kahnawake reserve south of Montreal. The author, Hugh Wilson, suggested that a larger issue behind the shooting was bootlegging on the reserve:

> The store, like most others on the reserve, is usually manned by an armed Mohawk salesman. This is because it is part of a multimillion-dollar business that has been nicknamed "bootlegging": the large-scale transport by Mohawks of duty-free cigarettes from the United States to Canada, where they are sold at discount rates to non-natives. That has resulted in millions of dollars in lost taxes for the federal, Ontario and Quebec governments, which say that the trade is illegal (#203).

The article reported that the shooting of the young boy was the result of "bootlegging" and was the logical outcome of the illegal activity.

Results

Of the 59 articles *Maclean's* published on Native lawlessness, 27% demonstrated a value-bias critical of the illegal behavior,[68] while 55% of *Newsweek's* 20 articles

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[68] Support for the Mohawk stand at Oka continues. On August 15, 1995 a coroner's report on the death of Marcel Lemay, an officer shot during Oka, condemns the government's handling of the conflict and charges the police with inciting the riot where Lemay was killed (CBC *Newsworld*, August 16, 1995).

demonstrating a value-bias were critical.

These findings do not support Lipset's predictions. *Newsweek* should be *less* (55%) critical of Native lawlessness than *Maclean's (27%)*.[69] The Chi square value is 0.026 and significant at the P<.05 level and suggests the magazines do portray Native lawlessness differently, but in a manner *opposite* to what Lipset's thesis would predict.

Support for Lipset's Thesis	:	**NO**
Pattern Variable	:	**Particularism vs. Universalism**
Hypothesis #3	:	*Maclean's* will support the mosaic perspective more than *Newsweek*.

A "mosaic" society appreciates and values racial and ethnic variation within society; a "melting pot" society attempts to integrate all groups into a unified whole. A mosaic framing was evident in an article that presented an issue from a perspective appreciating racial and ethnic variation. Alternatively, a melting pot perspective was evident in an article that discussed the merits of racial and ethnic integration and assimilation. Seventy-two percent of *Maclean's*' 275 articles applied a clear value-bias, while 69% of *Newsweek*'s 96 articles did.

An example of an article supporting the mosaic was *Maclean's* 1992 (#289) article on the history of Native land claims in Canada. The article reported that missionaries during the 1880s forced the government to ban West Coast potlatches as they were pagan festivals not worthy of Christians. To the Natives of the Northwest, the potlatch was the locus of their social and economic lives (Piddock, 1965:244). The government lifted the ban sixty-seven years later in 1951, but it was too late: the ban had fragmented tribal communities, some beyond repair. The article quotes Donna Grescher, a University of Saskatchewan Law Professor:

> Non-aboriginal Canadians cannot pretend that the past does not exist. If non-aboriginal Canadians truly believe in justice for aboriginal peoples, we must face up to our responsibility for the profoundly racist policies of the past -- and for their continuing legacy (#289:23).

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[69] As discussed, percentages will not total 100 since "indeterminate" codings are not included.

A *Maclean's* article by Bruce Wallace in 1986 (#157) opposed the mosaic perspective. Wallace covered the success stories of Native groups who were running their own businesses (for example, the Cree of Northern Quebec who were partners with the Yamaha Motor Company of Japan to build motorized canoes). The Cree also owned an airline (Air Creebec), construction company (Cree Construction) and an investment firm (Waskaganish Enterprise Development). The article pointed out the positive influence these economic opportunities had on the Cree, for example, decreasing alcoholism rates in the area. Over all, the article painted a picture of how successfully the Cree were being assimilated into white society, and that this was a positive move.

Newsweek's reporting of Indian issues was more supportive of the cultural mosaic than the melting pot ideology. For example, the first article from *Newsweek* in 1943 (#1) discussed Indians' educational needs and the desire of one government official to incorporate traditional Indian perspectives into the educational syllabus. Wanting to change the educational system to accommodate Indian concerns, and the subsequent reporting of it, demonstrated an appreciation for maintaining Indian cultural heritage -- a *mosaic* view of race relations. Another article (#89), written by an Indian woman, discussed Christopher Columbus's discovery of North America and its impact on indigenous peoples. She maintained that native people's participation in the 500th anniversary, "will be its own best evidence of the effectiveness of 500 years of colonization, and should surprise no one" (#89:32). Another report (#93) examined the practice of using Indian names for sports teams. "The American Indian has lost so much to the white man since 1492. Must we also be used as mascots? If we cannot get back the land, will you at least give us back our dignity?" (#93:8).

Results

Ninety-two percent of *Maclean's* articles demonstrating a value-bias supported the mosaic social structure while only 8% presented a view more consistent with the melting pot orientation. Of the articles in *Newsweek* displaying a value-bias, 83% presented a mosaic perspective while 17% presented a melting pot orientation.

The magazine's portrayal of the mosaic perspective was statistically significant at the P<.05 level since Chi square was 0.027 and supports Lipset's prediction that *Maclean's* would be more supportive of the mosaic perspective than would *Newsweek.*

Support for Lipset's Thesis?	:	**Yes**
Pattern Variable	:	**Diffuseness vs. Specificity**
Hypothesis #4a	:	*Maclean's* will be more supportive of the collectivist perspective than will *Newsweek.*

I define a *group* as a collection of ten or more people. For example, a story discussing problems facing immigrants upon their arrival to Canada has a collectivist frame because it involves all immigrants. If, however, the story highlights one person's difficulty emigrating to Canada, it has an individualist frame. A collectivist perspective was evident when an article focused on issues of *group* rather than *individual* concern. Ninety-five percent of *Maclean's* 269 article's focusing on these issues demonstrated a collectivist/individualist value bias while 99% of *Newsweek*'s 94 articles did.

An example of collectivist framing was found in *Newsweek*'s editorial by Peter Matthiessen in 1979 titled, "The Price of Tellico" (#57). Matthiessen recounted an ancient Cherokee legend that predicted the end of the Cherokee Nation would occur when the valley of the Little Tennessee River flooded its banks. In 1979, the prophecy almost came true when a proposal was submitted to dam the Little Tennessee and flood the valley. Matthiessen argued that flooding the valley exacted a price that *all* Americans had to be willing to pay:

> But the Tellico [the name of the proposed dam] is a transgression against all of us. If the valley is filled, let them drain it again; let the dam stand as a monument, not to short-sightedness and greed, but to the wise avoidance of a national calamity (21).

An example of an individualist frame was *Maclean's* 1951 article titled, "I Married an Indian (#8). The article recounts the personal experiences of a white woman who moved to Canada after marrying a Native Canadian during the War. In the article she

reflects upon her experiences of being married to one of the "red men" (#8:28). Her story was a personal one that offered little reflection on the larger social and economic conditions facing Native Canadians during the 1950s.

Results

Seventy-four percent of the articles in *Maclean's* demonstrating a bias presented a collectivist-orientation as did 77% of *Newsweek*'s articles. This result contradicts Lipset's prediction that *Maclean's* would be more supportive of the collectivist perspective than would *Newsweek.*[70] These differences were opposite to what Lipset would predict and were not statistically significant at the P<.05 level since Chi square was 0.541.

Support for Lipset's Thesis	:	**No**
Pattern Variable	:	**Diffuseness vs. Specificity**
Hypothesis #4b	:	*Maclean's* will be more critical of Native challenges to the collective than will *Newsweek.*

I define a Native challenge to the collective as any action by Natives that threatens the rights or resources of mainstream society (the collective). Seventy-four percent of *Maclean's* articles discussed native challenges with 77% presenting a value-bias. *Newsweek* mentioned Indian challenges in 81% of its articles with 82% demonstrating a bias.

Land claims are one example of a Native challenge to the collective, as settlements often remove land, and its resources, from the public coffer, and thereby detract from the material wealth of the collective (Jhappan, 1990:21). The armed military insurrection at Oka offered another instance: the Mohawk confrontation directly challenged the legal, political and military foundations of the dominant society.

Maclean's presented a supportive portrayal of a Native challenge to the collective in a 1988 article on the Lubicon's political demonstrations during the Calgary Olympics (#196). These demonstrations were meant to draw attention to the Lubicon's land claim

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[70] A small difference (3%) like this reinforces the need for supplementary qualitative analysis to adequately test Lipset's overall thesis.

negotiations with the federal government. The article presented the Lubicons as a patient people who have waited fifty years for the government to make good on a land claim settlement promise.

Newsweek's 1973 article (#37) covering the Wounded Knee incident in South Dakota offered a negative portrayal of Native challenge to the collective. As will be discussed in more detail, the Wounded Knee conflict between the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) climaxed years of tension between the Oglala Sioux and law enforcement agencies. The article offered no support for the Indian cause and questioned the sincerity of AIM's leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks. When AIM leaders tried to end the dispute, the article (#37) suggested that:

> hope had been dashed often before in the siege, and some combat-weary Federals had begun to doubt that a settlement was what the AIM *war party* really wanted. "This is guerrilla theatre," said a Justice Department official in Washington. "Its purpose is not to negotiate a solution to the problem but to continue the confrontation." (emphasis added)

The presentation of AIM's leaders as a "war party" who were not sincere in their request to end the dispute challenged AIM's credibility.

Results

Seventy-seven percent of *Maclean's* 218 articles reporting on Native challenges to the collective demonstrated a value-bias, as did 82% of *Newsweek*'s 78 articles. *Maclean's* value-bias toward Native challenges to the collective was critical only 5% of the time, and *Newsweek's* 19% of the time. These findings contradict Lipset's thesis that *Maclean's* would present a higher proportion of critical portrayals of Native challenges to the collective than would *Newsweek.* The differences between *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*'s presentation of Native challenges to the collective was statistically significant at $P<.05$ level as the Chi square value was 0.001. This result, however, is in the opposite direction than Lipset's thesis would predict.

Support for Lipset's Thesis : No

Table #9 Summary of Quantitative Analysis				
Hypothesis	Pattern Variable	Hypothesis	X^2	Result
1a	Elitism vs. Egalitarianism	Political Leadership	0.021*[71]	Reject
1b		Native Leadership	0.529	Reject
2a	Ascription vs. Achievement	Redistribution Programs	0.426	Reject
2b		Native Lawlessness	0.026*	Reject
3	Particularism vs. Universalism	Mosaic Perspective	0.027	Support
4a	Diffuseness vs. Specificity	Collectivist Orientation	0.541	Reject
4b		Native Challenge to Collective	0.001*	Reject

Table #9 summarizes the results of the quantitative analysis of my seven hypotheses testing Lipset's thesis through newsmagazines' portrayal of Native issues. Only one of the hypotheses is supported while six are not. Clearly, there is only marginal quantitative support for Lipset's overall thesis of cross-national value differences as demonstrated through newsmagazine content. However, another element of Lipset's thesis bears mentioning, his contention that value differences remain constant over time (Lipset, 1990a:212). Researchers have challenged this proposition because it is ahistorical and cannot explain value-change over time (see Baer et al., 1990a:709, 1990b:95, 1990c:276; Brym with Fox, 1989:30; Grabb and Curtis, 1988:130; Nevitte et al., 1992:254). Thus, if Lipset's thesis is correct Canadian and American values should remain parallel over time (1990a:212).

To test Lipset's proposition each of the seven hypotheses were plotted over the 50 years (see Appendix 7). To demonstrate if values changed, the articles from *Maclean's*

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[71] * Indicates that results are statistically significant at the P>0.05 level but in the *opposite* direction Lipset's thesis would predict.

and *Newsweek* that presented a value bias supporting Lipset were compared. The resulting percentages were then plotted to construct trend lines demonstrating value change over time. Trend lines from one period to the next could either support Lipset's thesis (i.e., be in the same direction or within 5% of each other over the period) or refute it (i.e., be in opposite directions). A summary of my results are presented in table #10.

Table #10
Hypotheses Over Time

Hypothesis	Support	No Support	Total Time Periods
1a	0	4	4
1b	1	2	3
2a	1	3	4
2b	1	2	3
3	1	3	4
4a	3	1	4
4b	0	2	2
Total (%)	7 (29)	17 (71)	24 (100)

These results suggest Lipset's thesis of parallel value change between Canadians and Americans is only supported by hypothesis 4a - Collectivist Orientation. The remaining 6 hypotheses refute Lipset's thesis.

Hypothesis 1a - predicted *Maclean's* would view political leaders more positively than *Newsweek*. However, all trend lines for both newsmagazines are in opposite directions.

Hypothesis 1b - predicted *Maclean's* would present Native leaders more critically than *Newsweek*. My analysis found that only one trend line (1974 to 1993) is parallel for both *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*.

Hypothesis 2a - predicted *Maclean's* would be more supportive of government-sponsored redistribution program than *Newsweek*. When plotted over time however, the

only period demonstrating parallel value change is 1974 to 1993.

Hypothesis 2b - predicted *Maclean's* would be more critical of Native lawlessness than *Newsweek*. However, the only parallel period is 1964 to 1983.

Hypothesis 3 - predicted *Maclean's* would be more supportive of the mosaic perspective than *Newsweek*. My research suggests that only one of the four trend lines shows parallel change (1943-1963).

Hypothesis 4a - predicted *Maclean's* would be more supportive of the collectivist perspective than *Newsweek*. This is the only hypothesis supporting Lipset since the period 1964-1983 is the only period *not* parallel over the 50 years.

Hypothesis 4b - predicted that *Maclean's* would present more critical portrayals of Native challenges to the collective than *Newsweek*. My results show no support for Lipset's thesis since trend lines between *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* are opposite to each other.

These results offer little support for Lipset's thesis of parallel cross-national value change. Nor do these findings support Clark Kerr's (1964 cited in Hedley, 1992:57) convergence thesis or Irving Horowitz's (1977) culture lag hypothesis, discussed earlier. Instead, Canadian and American values, as demonstrated by newsmagazine coverage of Native issues, seem to be highly variable over time, an uncommon finding in contemporary literature (see Baer et al., 1993:15; Chodak, 1989:2; Lipset, 1990a:55,212). Although my quantitative analysis of 50 years of newsmagazine content offers little support for Lipset, I argue his thesis should not only be tested by cell frequencies, Chi square values and trend lines, but also be examined by the same means Lipset himself used as the basis of his argument: the *interpretive approach*. I offer a qualitative analysis of the newsmagazine articles as a response to Lipset's position that statistical analyses are wrought with too many sources of error to be trusted (Lipset, 1990a:*xvi*). Therefore, during my qualitative analysis I was sensitive to themes speaking to Lipset's general thesis of cross-national value differences as well as my seven specific hypotheses.

Chapter 6
Qualitative Analysis

This chapter includes a qualitative review of each of the 7 hypotheses testing Lipset's thesis of cross-national value differences. As discussed, my qualitative analysis attempts to explore an article's subtext to reveal any themes pertaining to Lipset's thesis.

Qualitative Review of the Articles

Pattern Variable	:	**Elitism vs. Egalitarianism**
Hypothesis #1a	:	*Maclean's* will portray political leaders more positively than will *Newsweek.*
Referent Images for Political Leaders	:	*Maclean's* - Negligent and Incompetent
	:	*Newsweek* - "Politicians"

Overview

As indicated by the quantitative analysis, both magazines framed articles about political leaders negatively. *Maclean's* focused on the political mismanagement of Canada's Native peoples, and frequently revealed how poorly politicians have treated Native Canadians. *Maclean's* portrayed provincial and federal politicians as giving Native Canadians a *raw deal* when Natives confronted the white legal system, went to school, or negotiated with federal and provincial governments. *Maclean's* often depicted government officials as ineffective (for example, *Maclean's* coverage of Native Affairs Minister Thomas Siddon) (#224, 249, 257, 268). *Newsweek*'s portrayal of political leaders, although as critical as *Maclean's*, presented them differently, with coverage suggesting that political leaders were more concerned with re-election than with solving Indian problems. Rather than the moralistic perspective *Maclean's* used to frame articles on political dealings with Natives, *Newsweek* framed articles from the political perspective inherent in any dealings with Indians. For example, when *Newsweek* discussed a politician's involvement with Indian issues, the article usually focused on the politician's political aspirations instead of the merits of the Indian claim or challenge

(e.g., *Newsweek*'s article on U.S. Interior Secretary, James Watts (#70)).

Case Studies

A 1966 article from *Maclean's* titled, *The Executioners* (#39) by Farley Mowat, showed government's inability to appreciate Native needs. Mowat's article scathingly indicted the "white" legal system in the North as not reflecting either the needs or the values of the Natives living there. As a case in point, Mowat reviewed the murder trial of two young Inuit men. The accused were from an Inuit hunting band who lived for generations in a village called Cape Dorset. In 1934, the Hudson's Bay Company decided it needed more trappers in a place called Dundas Harbour and moved the entire village.[72] At first the people of Cape Dorset resisted, but they were finally convinced that the new village would be better for them. When they arrived, the small group faced terrific hardships in their new "home". Their traditional subsistence pattern was hunting and fishing and they found it impossible to adjust to trapping that was required to survive in the new location. The company, disappointed by how poorly they could trap, moved the group three more times (1937, 1947, and 1953) trying to maximize fur yields. By 1953 only 18 families survived.[73]

Following the first move in 1934, the people of Cape Dorset faced starvation because they could not feed themselves by trapping. The government was aware of their situation, but, Mowat suggested, because they were so far away from Ottawa, the government forgot them and left them to their own devices. One woman, named Soosee, spent her entire life on the verge of starvation, and for Mowat, became the embodiment of her people's pain and suffering.

Soosee had a tough life and it showed. Doctors in Edmonton diagnosed Soosee as "insane" in 1964 and sent her home untreated. In July of 1965, after 31 years of exile from her home at Cape Dorset, she became delusional and tried to kill her youngest son

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[72] Mowat (#39:10-11) suggested politicians knew families were being "prevailed upon" to leave their home but did not care enough to prevent it.

[73] The article did not mention the original size of the band.

and destroy her family's hunting gear. During her rampage her family fled to a nearby island where they faced certain starvation without their supplies. The two fittest men, one Soosee's son, the other a nephew, approached Soosee hoping to gather some of their gear. Soosee attacked the boys and was killed during the struggle.

Mowat argued that Soosee's murder indirectly resulted from years of neglect by white society and that charging the boys with murder, with no regard for the extenuating circumstances, was a travesty of justice. The boys were ultimately found guilty and given suspended sentences (a decision the crown considered appealing). Mowat stated that the suspended sentence could not make up for the human tragedy the people of Cape Dorset had endured for almost 35 years (#39:24).

In 1967, *Maclean's* covered the death of a young Ojibwa boy named Charlie Wenjack, who died of exposure while trying to walk home from a residential school (#40). Government legislation forced Charlie to attend the "white school", that he disliked intensely. In the two years Charlie had gone to the school he had not learned to read or write. He died trying to read a map so he could return home and be himself -- an Ojibwa. *Maclean's* consistently framed these, and other stories, to portray the government, and its leaders, negatively.

Thomas Siddon, a federal cabinet minister for Indian Affairs, was pictured as neglectful, ineffective and incompetent (#224, #249, #257, #268):

> In Quebec's native affairs ministry, some officials privately nicknamed Siddon "the mollusk" because, they say, he retreats into a protective shell at the first sign of controversy. Many Indians clearly share that opinion, and they claim that Siddon has made little attempt to understand their concerns . . . one of the Indians privately called him the "worst cabinet minister we have ever dealt with." That opinion is shared by others. Said Patrick Nadjiwan, a 24-year-old native and law student who spent the summer working for Siddon's department: "I have a great deal of difficulty speaking nicely about Thomas Siddon" (#249).

Peter Newman wrote of Siddon:

> But pretending that the Indian problems will go away or placing ineffective

> idiots like Tom Siddon in charge of Indian Affairs will only perpetuate the current crisis. (Siddon already proved his incompetence as fisheries minister, but unlike fish, Indians can talk back) (#257).

Maclean's also reported on the four First Minister's conferences between 1983 and 1987 dedicated to entrenching Native rights in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms -- all of which failed -- and suggested their failure was due to political posturing by the provincial premiers.[74]

As previously mentioned, *Newsweek* also presented political leaders negatively, but in a significantly different way - what some politicians would do to get re-elected.[75] For example, a book review of Peter Matthiessen's book, *The Spirit of Crazy Horse* from 1988 (#79), suggests politicians will go to great lengths to protect their political careers. *The Spirit of Crazy Horse* is an investigation into the Pine Ridge confrontation between the FBI and AIM that left three people dead, one Indian and two FBI agents.[76] Matthiessen concluded his research by suggesting Leonard Peltier was "railroaded" when he was convicted of killing the FBI agents (#79:47). The article states that the former governor of South Dakota, William J. Janklow, used his political influence to block the release of the book for five years because it portrayed him as a racist and rapist (#79:47). The article is critical of governor Janklow and situates him as just another corrupt politician trying to preserve his re-election hopes.

The content in *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* demonstrate both North American societies have an aversion to politicians, albeit for different reasons. Therefore, this analysis rejects Lipset's hypothesis that Canadians are more deferential to their non-native political leaders than are Americans.

Support for Lipset's Thesis? : No

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[74] See *Maclean's* #96, 104, 106, 110, 127, 135, 140-143, 146, 158, 159, 166, 170, 177, 192, 239, 264, 265, 282, 287.

[75] See *Newsweek* #1, 3, 4, 25, 27, 29, 34, 42, 54, 59, 64, 66, 67, 79, 88

[76] Roughly two and a half years after the Wounded Knee confrontation.

Value Difference	:	**Elitism vs. Egalitarianism**
Hypothesis #1b	:	*Maclean's* will portray Native leaders more negatively than will *Newsweek*
Referent Images	:	*Maclean's* - Patient Victims
	:	*Newsweek* - Media warriors

Overview

Maclean's coverage over fifty years emphasized the patience of Native leaders as victims of changing political winds. *Maclean's* stressed that Native leaders were at a disadvantage when they confronted political leaders who were in office for only four-year terms. To address Native issues adequately takes longer than a single government term, and so Natives and their leaders were continually given short shrift: "In that light, last week's native opposition to the Meech Lake accord was more than just a demand for a foothold in the country's constitution. It was also a profound and resounding cry of frustration and anger" (#239:29). Native frustration with the political system was also evident in *Maclean's* coverage of Native leaders George Erasmus and Ovide Mercredi (#87, 151, 165, 262, 267, 270, 271). *Newsweek*, on the other hand, was less supportive of Indian leaders and portrayed them as interested more in publicity than in finding solutions to their problems. This perspective appears in the treatment of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, who were depicted as Indian leaders out for media attention (#36-38, 43, 52, 69).

Case Studies

One Native Canadian leader, George Erasmus, received attention from *Maclean's* in 1978 when he spoke out against a land agreement between the federal government and the Committee for Original People's Entitlement's (COPE) (#87). Erasmus argued that the agreement gave away too much land and set a damaging precedent for other bands negotiating land claims. The framing of the article highlighted Erasmus' confidence and intelligence. In 1982, Erasmus was elected as the National Chief of the First Nations, responsible for leading negotiations with the federal government to entrench Native rights in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms (#165). During these early negotiations *Maclean's* complimented Erasmus' attempts to unify the deeply divided Assembly of First Nations.

In 1983, Erasmus resigned his presidency of the Dene, and *Maclean's*, reflecting on his leadership (#151), stated that although it had been fraught with confrontation (among his own people, other Native leaders, and politicians), it had also raised the profile of the Dene. *Maclean's* coverage showed recognition of the Natives' plight and patience when dealing with the government.

Another article in *Maclean's* framed Native leader Ovide Mercredi positively (#262, #267, #270, #271), calling him patient, soft-spoken, and intelligent, with just the right balance between traditional values and political savvy (#270). He was a "new style" of Native leader, having traditional Native values and a law degree. In a 1991 article (#270) about Mercredi's election as National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, *Maclean's* made it clear that he did not support armed confrontations like those at Oka, but that he did see civil disobedience as a legitimate political weapon (#270).

Newsweek was less supportive of Indian leaders than was *Maclean's*. Often, *Newsweek* portrayed Indian leaders as more interested in gaining media attention than in solving the issues for which they were fighting. For example:

> As in the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz Island and late fall's seizure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, the militants had gained national media attention in what was essentially a media manoeuvre (#38).

Negative framing was clear in *Newsweek*'s depiction of American Indian Movement leaders, Dennis Banks and Russell Means, as *media warriors* (#38).

Newsweek highlighted Dennis Banks in 1983 (#69) in an article about his continuing struggle against South Dakota Governor, William Janklow. The conflict began in the early 1970s when Banks was the leader of AIM, and had authorized various demonstrations to bring attention to the plight of the American Indian (e.g., the BIA occupation, a riot in South Dakota, and the 71-day takeover of Wounded Knee). In 1974, Banks charged Janklow in tribal court for sexually assaulting Janklow's 16 year old Indian babysitter. Janklow, running for state attorney general at the time, did not face federal prosecution charges since officials did not find enough evidence to prosecute.

However, the tribal court found "probable cause" and barred Janklow from practicing law on the reservation. Eight months later, after winning his election as state attorney general, Janklow returned the favor to Banks and charged him with inciting a riot and assault without intent to kill. Before being sentenced, Banks jumped bail and fled to California. Janklow issued a state fugitive warrant but "Jane Fonda, Marlon Brando and a host of other liberals led a campaign to save him" (#69:28). Janklow suggested that Banks' desire for special treatment was hypocritical, stating that:

> one of the key things people like Dennis Banks complain about is the dual standards of justice in this country -- and if we allow him to go free because he has friends like Jerry Brown and Marlon Brando, we would be playing right into the accusations of duality (*Newsweek*, #69:28).

In the end, California Governor Jerry Brown allowed Banks to stay in California, and soon, Banks became a "favorite" of the establishment as a law-abiding citizen who often lectured at Stanford University. Janklow continued to pressure Brown to extradite Banks but at the time of the article (1983), Banks had moved to New York (staying at the Onondagas reservation), and New York Governor, Mario Cuomo, had not decided how to handle the situation. The article was critical of Banks for "running from the law" and using his Hollywood friends to gain public sympathy.

A similar frame was used to present another AIM leader, Russell Means. In an interview during the Wounded Knee uprising in 1973 (*Newsweek* #38:27), Means stated:

> The government has two choices. Either they [FBI agents] attack and wipe us out like they did in 1890, or they negotiate our reasonable demands.

Later, in 1978 (#52) Means re-entered the media spotlight when he confronted Senator Edward Kennedy at an Indian Rights rally. Kennedy, while driving past the demonstration, decided to stop since, believing himself to be a recognized advocate of Indian rights, the crowd would embrace him. However, Means challenged Kennedy because he supported a bill Means argued would revoke tribal lands and Indian authority. The crowd began booing Kennedy and forced him to make a hasty exit. *Newsweek*

presented the Indian demonstration positively but portrayed Means as a "radical" driven by the need to seek media attention.

The article (#52) suggested that the demonstration was justified because the Indians needed to bring attention to a series of Congressional bills that, if passed, would seriously undermine their access to land, resources, and self-government. The most controversial bill, called the Native American Equal Opportunity Act, would cancel all government treaties with Indians. Calling this bill an "Equal Opportunity Act" by taking away land and resources is germane to Lipset's argument that Americans would prefer a "level-playing field" for everyone. Although the bills did not pass, *Newsweek* suggested that the Indians had every right to be upset. There was, however, some coverage targeting internal dissension among Indian leaders (see #33, 39, 74, 75, 84). This was prevalent in *Newsweek*'s framing of an article on AIM's involvement at the Wounded Knee uprising (see #36-38, 43)[77], and the land disputes between the Navajo's and Hopi of the American Southwest (#33).

The qualitative analysis of *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* showed no support for Lipset's thesis that Canadians would portray Native leaders more critically than Americans, and in fact, the *opposite* was true. This finding supports the earlier quantitative analysis that found no support for Lipset's contention, and suggests that Lipset's elitism-egalitarianism hypothesis be rejected.

Support for Lipset's Thesis?	:	**No**
Pattern Variable	:	**Ascription vs. Achievement**
Hypothesis #2a	:	*Maclean's* will support government-sponsored redistribution programs more than *Newsweek*
Referent Images	:	*Maclean's* Redistribution as a National Duty *Newsweek* Redistribution as Legal Obligation

[77] Wounded Knee will be discussed in more detail shortly.

Overview

Again, as the quantitative results demonstrated, both *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* supported government redistribution programs, but in different ways. *Maclean's* framed articles about redistribution programs as part of the continuing national obligation toward First Nation's people - as a *National Duty*. The coverage of redistribution programs by *Maclean's* implied that the contemporary Native situation resulted from white society's neglect. Coverage further suggested that Canadians should try to right historical wrongs through redistribution programs, particularly those dedicated to redesigning educational curricula to better fit Native students' needs. *Newsweek* also supported redistribution programs designed to help Indians compete equally in American society. However, a subtextual undercurrent in the articles implied that redistribution programs were merely the government's legal obligation. Presenting redistribution programs in this manner undervalued the reason for their need in the first place - Indian poverty stemming from neglect. This framing accentuates the desire for a *level-playing field* for everyone and is germane to Lipset's hypothesis that Americans want to ensure everyone has the same opportunity for success (Lipset, 1990a:159; 1986:138; 1985:144-145). This perspective was evident in reports covering various groups trying to petition the government for Indian status (see *Newsweek* #60).

Case Studies

Maclean's showed concern for Native welfare through its coverage of Native cooperatives between 1950 and 1970 (#18, 24, 45, 66). Originally, the federal government established cooperatives to introduce Natives to the money economy where profits could be used to purchase personal goods. *Maclean's* noted that, "the brightest benefit of the co-ops, though, may not be economic at all, but political. They are the first real indication that Eskimos can be taught, and can then teach themselves, to run their own affairs in the twentieth century." (#24:4) Although patronizing, this approach supported the basic principle behind redistribution -- helping those in society who needed it. Alternatively, *Maclean's* columnist Barbara Amiel, saw all redistribution programs to Natives as an abject failure.

In the early 1980s Amiel's right-wing conservative opinions stood in stark contrast to *Maclean's* predominantly liberal editorial content (#147, 242). Amiel suggested that Natives received too much government support and that the only way the country could survive financially was to end the current welfare system upon which so many Native people depend. She argued that special consideration for, and redistribution to, Native people was wrong, and that Natives should not receive special consideration when allocating the national wealth (#147:17). Amiel's perspective differed noticeably from other editorials by Peter C. Newman, Peter Gzowski and Farley Mowat, who supported Native redistribution programs (Newman #112, 157, 256, 258, 265, 275, 288, 292, 299; Gzowski #25, 26; Mowat #15, 39).

Newsweek's 1980 presentation on a group from Maine called the Ramapough offered a good example of how it marginalized redistribution programs (#60). The Ramapough petitioned the government for Indian status because they argued they were the direct descendants of the Tuscarora and Delaware Indians and therefore eligible for supplementary government aid. The article criticized the challenge and cited many historians who suggested that Ramapough were not related to either band. Further, the article found Ramapough typical of 62 other groups seeking similar claims, and termed them "gold diggers". This portrayal devalued their case and described it as an underhanded attempt to "get something for nothing". The article further stated that even if the Ramapough won their case, the government would grant them their just benefits because it had to, not necessarily because it wanted to.

As discussed previously, one area of governmental redistribution in which Lipset was particularly interested was education (1990a:159; 1986:138; 1985:144-145). *Maclean's* supported governmental attempts to improve Native educational programs (see #46, 109, 128, 214, 249, 256, 289). In 1969, an article outlined problems facing Natives in the predominantly white educational system; e.g., fewer than 50% of Native students went beyond Grade 6 and only 3% graduated (#46:7). In 1980, *Maclean's* presented a glowing report on a program by the Saskatchewan government to redesign school curricula to reflect the needs of Native students (#109:21). *Maclean's* also supported the

government of the Northwest Territories in 1982 when it also changed the education system to better suit Native needs by giving more control to local Native bands (#128:50). Native communities welcomed the changes as they felt they could respond to Native needs better than the government (#128:50).

Newsweek also supported equal educational opportunities for Indians (see #1, 4, 30, 35). The first article from 1943 described John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, as a vocal advocate of reforming the Indian education system since the early 1930's (#1:80). A report from 1947 (#3) suggested that little had changed and that American Indians continued to receive poor education that was often outdated and parochial. In 1949, for example, a new school opened in Arizona to teach the Navajo. The curriculum for the residential school stated, "the girls for example, will be taught to cook on three kinds of stoves -- electric, in case they find work in homes with such ranges, and coal and oil for their own home use" (#4:77). This framing implicitly suggests that one way to improving the Indians' lot in life is to teach them marketable skills - i.e., cooking (#4). Although cooking may be an important skill, this approach to Indian education can be seen as condescension. Further, the framing situates the need for Navajo education as a state obligation to provide life skills to Indians (#4:77).

Maclean's clearly supported redistribution programs and framed them as a "National Duty"; thus supporting Lipset's thesis. However, *Newsweek* also supported most government redistribution programs which at first glance appears to contradict Lipset's proposition that Americans would be less supportive of redistribution programs than Canadians. However, *Newsweek*'s presentation of the programs as a legal obligation detracted from their support. To undermine the merits of the programs in this manner supports Lipset's thesis that *Maclean's* would support redistribution programs more than *Newsweek.*

Support for Lipset's Thesis? : Yes

Pattern Variable	:	**Ascription vs. Achievement**
Hypothesis #2b	:	*Maclean's* will be more critical of Native lawlessness than will *Newsweek*
Referent Images	:	*Maclean's* - lawlessness as inevitable
	:	*Newsweek* - lawlessness as lobbying tactic

Overview

Overall, *Maclean's* justified Native lawlessness, and depicted it as the inevitable result of years of neglect by white society. Their portrayal of Native lawlessness in this manner was evident in the framing of the earliest articles in the 1940s and 1950s. *Maclean's* argued that Canadian Natives had a healthy and viable culture lost to them upon the arrival of the Europeans, and that we should not be surprised when they stand up for themselves. This viewpoint accords with *Maclean's* depiction (analyzed earlier) of Native leaders as patient but "human" people who eventually take a stand, exemplified in the overwhelming support *Maclean's* gave the Mohawks during the Oka crisis. *Newsweek*, on the other hand, was more critical of Indian lawlessness and often described it as a lobbying tactic to gain political leverage. This perspective did not support the position that Indian lawlessness was the result of their poverty or historical neglect.

Case Studies

Frequently, *Maclean's* sympathized with Natives who were forced to break *white law* to bring public attention to their concerns (#102, 111, 115, 180, 224, 227). *Maclean's* coverage of the Mohawk confrontation in 1990 demonstrated that support. Initially, *Maclean's*' described the Mohawk warriors as "radicals" and "militants" responsible for the confrontation, who did not represent most Mohawks (#221). The early coverage focused on the internal Native struggle (#221-238), while later coverage targeted how the confrontation brought Native people together (#227:25). Therefore, as *Maclean's*' coverage evolved, emphasis moved away from the radical nature of the Mohawks, toward the neglect they had suffered at the hands of the government, and suggested that it was only a matter of time before some kind of confrontation took place. Peter C. Newman suggested that Canadian politicians had never given Natives the respect they deserved. He stated that Natives "may have got here first, but they have ranked last in our national

priorities" (#257:40).

In one editorial (#252), *Maclean's* George Bain explored media coverage of the Oka crisis and argued that Canadian media were squarely behind the Natives (see also, Grenier, 1993; Skea, 1993): "A first possible, and likely, explanation of the bias noted is simple sympathy with a native population that has not had a fair shake" (#252:55). Bain felt that media demonstrated genuine sympathy for what Canada's Native peoples have endured, and interpreted this sympathy by suggesting that media *objectivity*, no longer fashionable, was being replaced by a doctrine of "fairness and balance" (#252:55).[78] In Bain's view, then, the contemporary media support for the Mohawks at Oka was intended to compensate them for their lack of historical support.

Generally, *Newsweek* was more critical of Indian lawlessness than was *Maclean's*, defining the more volatile confrontations as lobbying tactics by Indians to gain public support and political advantage. This frame could marginalize Indian problems in the United States and group them with all the other self-interest groups in American society. In 1958, *Newsweek* presented a positive portrayal of Indian lawlessness when a group of Indians stood up to the Klu Klux Klan (#13). The article supported the Indians because they were on the "warpath" to protect themselves. However, *Newsweek* only gave this support when Indians confronted other socially peripheral groups, like the KKK, or each other (see #32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 74, 75, 91). When American Indians challenged the government, the portrayal was far more critical.

Three of the more prominent conflicts between American Indians and the law have been the occupation of Alcatraz Island, California (1969), the occupation of the offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, DC (1972), and the armed confrontation at Wounded Knee, South Dakota (1973).

1) Alcatraz Island, CA.

On November 9th, 1969, 300 American Indians peacefully invaded the deserted prison-Island of Alcatraz in San Francisco Bay, California, offering local representatives

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[78] Very similar to the FCC's mandate discussed previously.

$24 worth of glass beads and cloth as payment for the Island.[79] The Indians wanted the government to turn Alcatraz into an institute for Native American Studies, but after 10 months federal marshals removed the 80 remaining Indians, fearing that occupying government offices was becoming a fad (#28).[80]

2) Washington, DC.

In November of 1972, the American Indian Movement (AIM) organized a political demonstration in Washington, DC that culminated in a week-long occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) offices. By the end of the week, damage was estimated at more than $2 million. *Newsweek* consistently depicted AIM members negatively, labelling them as "radicals," "raiders," and "militants" (see #32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 47, 67, 69, 79). One article quoted Chief Webster Two Hawk, of the Rosebud Sioux, saying, "Those were not tribal Indians in there. They left the reservations to become revolutionaries" (#32:37). Most media attention focused on other Indians who saw the occupation as a mistake and one that would set the American Indian Movement back years. This type of commentary peripheralized the issues underlying the confrontation and situated them as political rather than moral issues.

3) Wounded Knee, SD

Less than a year after the BIA occupation (February, 1973), another confrontation between Indians and white society occurred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, a community that holds an important place in American history: 300 Sioux men, women and children were slaughtered there by the U.S. Cavalry in 1890. The "Battle of Wounded Knee" became the final chapter in America's bloody *Indian Wars* (*Newsweek* #38). The catalyst that triggered the confrontation 83 years later was the case of a white man, charged only with manslaughter, although he had clearly murdered an Indian. To draw attention both to the case and to generations of mistreatment by white society, 300

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[79] A reference to what the Indians of New York were paid for Manhattan Island.

[80] Within months of Alcatraz, other Indian groups occupied Fort Lawton in Seattle, Washington, Ellis Island, New York, Rattlesnake Island in Clear Lake, California, and a lighthouse in Hiawatha National Forest in Michigan (#28:39).

Indians, some of whom were AIM members, seized a small church at Wounded Knee. Their demands were: 1) the establishment of a Senate committee to investigate the government's mistreatment of Indians, 2) the initiation of a formal review of the 371 signed treaties Indians feel have been violated, and 3) the removal of the Sioux's elected council, considered by AIM to be government puppets, particularly the leader, Richard Wilson (#38:23). The occupation of the church lasted 70 days, with AIM and the government each claiming partial victory. AIM succeeded in forcing the government to establish a Senate subcommittee to investigate tribal government and finances (#39:23); the government felt AIM would not survive after losing much public support during the occupation (#43:32).

Newsweek's coverage of Wounded Knee suggested that the confrontation was a media ploy (#36, 37, 39). For example, *Newsweek* reported that the Indians, in order to slaughter a cow for food, needed help from a network camera operator because none of them knew how. This reportage portrayed the Indians as incompetent in their traditional ways and could have undermined their credibility -- after all, *real* Indians should know how to butcher an animal. By applying this type of frame *Newsweek* may have hindered the Indians' ability to secure public support.

One observation particularly relevant to *Newsweek*'s coverage of Wounded Knee is that it provided far less coverage of the conflict than *Maclean's* did of Oka. *Newsweek* had only four articles covering Wounded Knee; *Maclean's* had 26 on Oka. After controlling for the differences in the total number of articles, *Maclean's* still published twice the number of articles about Oka than *Newsweek* did about Wounded Knee. This is interesting in that it highlights the observation that Native issues may play a more pivotal role in Canadian society than in the American.

As discussed, Lipset's thesis would predict that *Maclean's* would portray Native lawlessness *more* critically than *Newsweek*. This analysis showed the reverse -- *Maclean's* was *less* critical of Native lawlessness than *Newsweek*, thus reinforcing the quantitative findings that rejected Lipset's thesis.

Support for Lipset's Thesis? : No

Pattern Variable	:	**Particularism vs. Universalism**
Hypothesis #3	:	*Maclean's* will support the mosaic perspective more than *Newsweek*
Referent Images	:	*Maclean's* - Mosaic as a defining symbol of Canada
	:	*Newsweek* - racial and ethnic recognition

Overview

Maclean's presented most of its articles (62%) from a mosaic perspective, i.e. one showing appreciation and support for Canada's racial and ethnic diversity. In fact, *Maclean's*' content suggested that a mosaic society is a defining characteristic of Canadian culture. In the fifty-year period that was studied, only Barbara Amiel's writings questioned the merits of a multicultural Canada. More typically, *Maclean's* investigated the effects of racism in Canada, and encouraged Native writers to tell their own stories.

Newsweek also framed articles from the mosaic perspective, a surprise, given Lipset's hypothesis. Although *Newsweek* appeared to appreciate cultural diversity, the reasons for doing so differ from those of *Maclean's*. *Newsweek*'s coverage of Native issues seemed to imply that racial and ethnic diversity was important because minorities had legitimate grievances that should be heard and recognized. *Newsweek* supported racial and ethnic recognition, not because of the inherent value of diversity, but because racial and ethnic minorities demanded *recognition.*

Case Studies

In 1969, *Maclean's* (#47:18) quoted Harold Cardinal, then president of the Indian Association of Alberta:

> The Canadian mosaic supposedly allows for the growth of different cultural groups as the basis for building a better Canada. . . . The stronger the tiles within the mosaic, the stronger the mosaic as a whole. Before I can be a usefully participating and contributing citizen I must be allowed to develop a sense of pride and confidence in myself as an Indian. I must be allowed to be a red tile in the mosaic, not forced to become an unseen white tile.

This quote typifies *Maclean's* approach to coverage of native issues between 1943 and

1993: Natives form a vital part of Canada's cultural heritage.

One of the first reports to bring racial issues to *Maclean's* readers was Peter Gzowski's 1963 article titled, *This is Our Alabama* (#26). Gzowski suggested that while Canadians abhor the treatment of Blacks in the United States, the record is not much better with respect to the treatment of Canada's First Peoples.[81] Gzowski outlined racial tension in the Canadian prairies and condemned both provincial and federal governments for lack of concern over the plight of Native Canadians.

In 1973, a series of articles written by Native Canadians appeared in *Maclean's*. One of the authors, Maria Campbell, a Métis, remembered growing up outside mainstream (White) society. She recounted that in her childhood, Native families would gather in the summer to hunt and pick berries, and that these were happy times. She also described going into town:

> I noticed a change in my parents' and other adults' attitudes. They were happy and proud until we drove into town, then everyone became quiet and looked different. The men walked in front, looking straight ahead, their wives behind, and - I can never forget this - they had their heads down and never looked up (#63:92).

Over time, the men began to drink in town and to return to camp at night and beat their wives. Maria found that the delight of the summer camps eroded over time. She suggested that drinking was an expression of self-hatred and that alcoholism would remain a damning disease for her people until they regained their pride in being Natives. The article described many government attempts to address Native social problems -- all of which failed.

The Multicultural Act of 1971 officially designated Canada as a multicultural (within a bilingual framework) country (Lipset, 1990a:179-180). Later, in the 1970s and 1980s, the government attempted to address Native rights by incorporating them into the

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[81] Although some African Americans were able to vote as early as 1870 (Luhman, 1994:474), it was not until 1965 that the vote was secured for all Blacks (Marger, 1991:236). Canadian Natives were given the right to vote in 1960 (#112).

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982). *Maclean's* reported that one of the primary stumbling blocks to accomplishing this aim was a definition of Native self-government (#239:29). The ultimate failure to incorporate Native Rights into the Charter has led to increased resentment of government by Natives (#239).

Elijah Harper, a member of Manitoba's legislature, represented native frustration when he singlehandedly defeated the Meech Lake Accord. The Accord was the federal government's attempt to include Quebec into Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, but again, ignored Native concerns. The Quebec and Federal governments asked Natives to support Quebec's distinct society clause, while at the same time Quebec refused to grant Natives the same recognition. *Maclean's* coverage demonstrated support for entrenching Native rights in the Canadian Constitution (see #239:29).

Newsweek's reporting of Indian issues also showed more compassion and appreciation for the cultural mosaic than the melting pot. Even considering the critical coverage during events like the BIA occupation and Wounded Knee, the *majority* of *Newsweek's* reports supported cultural pluralism. Indeed, the first article from 1943 (#1) discussed Indians' educational needs and the desire of one government official to incorporate traditional Indian perspectives into the education syllabus. The desire to change the educational system to accommodate Indian concerns, and the subsequent reporting of it, displayed an appreciation for maintaining Indian cultural heritage -- a *mosaic* view of race relations.

Newsweek clearly demonstrated racial tolerance and understanding in 1983 by printing an open letter by an Indian father to his young daughter (#71). The father wrote of his own journey to understand and appreciate his Indian heritage and his desire that these insights would help his daughter as she grew up. Ultimately, however, he knew that his daughter:

> must pass through pain and solitude to discover her own inner self that is unlike any other and come through that passage to the place where she sees all people as one, and in so seeing may live her life in a brighter future (#71:8).

Another article in *Newsweek* (#93), examined the use of Indian names for sports teams:

> We have just entered the year when American history will be scrutinized, analysed, euologized, criticized and sterilized. It is the year of Christopher Columbus. More accurately, it is the year of the Indigenous people of the Western Hemisphere, of those with red skin. It is the year the non-Indian should form a new awareness based on mutual respect. That respect will never be honest until we, as American Indians, are included in the race of human beings . . . The American Indian has lost so much to the white man since 1492. Must we also be used as mascots? If we cannot get back the land, will you at least give us back our dignity? (#93:8).

These quotations exemplify *Newsweek*'s mosaic approach, that recognized and supported legitimate claims for racial and ethnic diversity.

While *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* both supported the mosaic perspective, *Maclean's* was *more* supportive. Even though *Newsweek* presented articles from the mosaic perspective, my analysis suggests that this recognition stemmed not so much from a belief in the inherent value of racial and ethnic diversity, but from an acknowledgment of the growing strength of minorities who demanded racial recognition and that civil liberty be extended universally. From this viewpoint, each magazine's content supports Lipset's thesis.

Support For Lipset's Thesis?	:	**Yes**
Pattern Variable	:	**Diffuseness vs. Specificity**
Hypothesis #4a	:	*Maclean's* will support the collectivist perspective more than *Newsweek*
Referent Images	:	*Maclean's* - a collection of common national themes
	:	*Newsweek* - a collection of unrelated, isolated events

Overview

Maclean's focused more on the social collective than did *Newsweek.* Although both magazines featured national stories designed to appeal to the largest possible audience, their approaches differed noticeably. *Maclean's* presented stories from a more integrated and *national* perspective than did *Newsweek.* A national perspective was an

approach investigating how issues affected society as a whole.[82]

Maclean's national perspective was clear in its coverage of the Constitutional negotiations attempting to entrench Native rights.[83] It framed articles to present the negotiations as being of vital interest to all Canadians because treatment of Natives reflected upon all Canadians. This level of self-reflection was not present in *Newsweek*'s coverage of Indian issues. *Newsweek*'s coverage was more factual and presented the issues as individual and isolated events with little commentary on how they affected society as a whole. For example, one article written by an Indian woman discussed the devastating consequences Columbus' discovery of America had on indigenous cultures (#89). Although the article was written from a collective perspective in that it looked at race relations throughout America, it never linked racial conflict or injustice to the national consciousness as clearly or as completely as did *Maclean's*. Viewing magazine content in this light suggests that *Maclean's* reinforced common national themes, i.e., Native Canadians as an integral part of "Canada." *Newsweek*, on the other hand, seemed to present a collection of individual issues not linked by a common national focus.

Case Studies

Maclean's coverage of the Constitutional negotiations to entrench Native rights, arguably presented the clearest demonstration of its collectivist orientation. In this coverage, *Maclean's* not only supported Native rights being incorporated into the Charter, but claimed that the negotiations presented a rare opportunity to improve the condition of Canada's Native peoples that should not be missed:

> The fiery language [used by Native negotiators], in turn, reflects a profound mistrust which is the product of more than a century of broken promises during which the federal government tried first to conquer, then assimilate and finally accommodate native people (#140).

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[82] In this instance, I use the terms "national" and "collective" interchangeably.

[83] See *Maclean's* #96, 104, 106, 110, 127, 135, 140-143, 146, 158-159, 166, 170, 177, 192, 194, 239, 264-265, 282, 287.

Further:

> The opportunity to make real and lasting changes to the fabric of native life was never more within reach than during the First Ministers' Conference. Most observers agreed that the politicians had a historic opportunity to begin to reverse a century of government policy that at best represented bleeding-heart blundering and at worst, indicated racism (#140).

Newsweek's coverage, while generally sympathetic to Indian concerns, framed stories as newsworthy events, not issues confronting the larger American society. The article by the Indian woman discussing the influence Columbus' discovery of America had on Indians (#89) emphasized the point that although *Newsweek* printed stories about racial and ethnic diversity, it did so by using editorials and opinion pieces written by Indians themselves (#71, 89, 93). This practice is positive in that it gave Indians a voice, but it may also have limited *Newsweek*'s ability to present Indian concerns from a collectivist perspective. *Newsweek*'s coverage of Indian affairs read more like a series of unrelated articles; *Maclean's* coverage continually reinforced the theme that Natives play a key role in defining Canadian society.

Maclean's presentation of Native issues from a perspective that recognized their role in defining Canadian society, and *Newsweek*'s discrete analysis of individual Indian events, supports Lipset's contention that Canadians are more collectivity-oriented than Americans. *Newsweek*'s presentation focusing on Indian editorials and opinion pieces reinforces Lipset's proposition that Americans are more individualist-oriented than Canadians.

Support for Lipset's Thesis? : Yes

Pattern Variable	:	**Diffuseness vs. Specificity**
Hypothesis #4b	:	*Maclean's* will portray Native challenges to the collective[84] more critically than *Newsweek*
Referent Images	:	*Maclean's* - fair and overdue
	:	*Newsweek* - "backlash"

Overview

Generally, *Maclean's* supported Native groups when they challenged the collective while *Newsweek* did not. *Maclean's* reporting suggested that it was time to give Natives what they deserved, and that therefore, when Natives challenged white society, Canadians as a whole should have seen the requests as fair and overdue. The most poignant example of *Maclean's* support for Native challenges appeared in its coverage of land claim negotiations. *Newsweek* tended to frame Indian challenges to the collective negatively. When Indians demonstrated for their rights, *Newsweek* often criticized their special status and the consequent social benefits (e.g., paying no taxes and increased welfare privileges). *Newsweek*'s recent coverage of Indian challenges focused on the white backlash Indians faced.

Case Studies

Land claims offer one example of a Native challenge to the collective. These claims challenge society because settlement of the claims often removes land, and its resources, from the public coffer, that decreases the resources of the collective (Jhappan, 1990:21). Editorial support for native land claims in *Maclean's* appeared in the writings of Peter C. Newman (#112, 157, 256, 258, 265, 275, 288, 292, 299).[85] Newman argued that one

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[84] As previously discussed, this hypothesis contradicts Lipset's suggestion that Canadians are more protective of cultural rights than are Americans (1990a: 104-105; 1990c:28; 1989:380; 1986:144; 1985:128-129). However, when one considers Lipset's overall thesis it is clear he argued Canadians value the collective more than cultural pluralism

[85] One might ask if the number of articles Newman wrote influenced the overall results of the coding. Three points are of interest here: 1) Newman was Editor-in-Chief of Maclean's from 1971 to 1982 (*Maclean's* web-site request) and thus would influence content even if he were not writing articles; 2) since there were 296 articles from

reason land claim negotiations were difficult was because they did not receive priority on any politician's agenda, (#112) and he suggested Natives deserved better settlements than they had received from the federal government of Canada (#157).

An article about the Nishga claim in British Columbia in 1976 (#71) portrayed the Nishga as *determined* and *polite* in their approach to negotiations, that could set an example for how other Native groups might approach them (#71).[86] *Maclean's* showed similar support for the Cree and Inuit in their negotiations with the Quebec government.

Arguably, the most interesting analysis of land claims by *Maclean's* was the coverage of the James Bay settlement among the Inuit, the Cree, and the federal and Quebec governments. The agreement was to pay the Cree $90 million over 20 years (upon which the Quebec government reneged; the Cree later sued for damages [#133]) (#80). According to the agreement, even where the Cree held land title, the Quebec government maintained all mineral rights and the liberty to dam any rivers with hydroelectric potential (#80:42d). The agreement reads, in part, "The James Bay Cree and the Inuit of Quebec hereby cede, release, surrender and convey all their native claims, rights, titles and interests, whatever they may be, in and to the land in the territory" (#80:42d). Many other Native groups, particularly the Dene, viewed the James Bay agreement as a betrayal, because it weakened their ability to negotiate future claims for self-government (#84:19; #119) by setting a precedent for the exchange of land for money (#119). *Maclean's* support during this process was squarely for the Natives.

The most visible challenge to American society by Indians was their continuing struggle for land. The American model for dealing with Indian land claims has always differed from the Canadian. Beginning in the seventeenth century, the American

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Maclean's his 10 articles would not greatly influence the overall results; and 3) the fifty-year analysis would control for the influence of any single author or historical event.

[86] *Maclean's* provided similar coverage to other land claim agreements (for example, the Dene and Métis in the NWT (#134, 160, 209), the Yukon Indians (#135), the Lubicon Cree of Alberta (#191, 207), the Gitskan and Wet'suwet'en of British Columbia (#206), and the Teme-Augama Anishnabai of Ontario (#217)).

government signed more than 374 treaty agreements with various Indian bands (#46:58). In one landmark case, Cherokee Nation vs. The State of Georgia (1831), Judge John Marshall held that Indian tribes were neither independent foreign nations nor domestic political entities, but rather, *domestic dependent nations* (#46:58). Following that decision, the federal government assumed jurisdiction over all Indian matters, including land claim negotiations.

The American government signed the last treaty with the Indians in 1871 (*Newsweek*, #46:58), but formal agreements did not end the conflict. For example, the Gold Rush of 1874 occurred on land held through treaty by the Sioux, and a dispute arose over who had sovereign control of the area -- the Sioux or the government. Initially, the government tried to negotiate, but the Sioux refused. After lengthy negotiations, however, the Sioux offered access in return for $70 million. When the government offered $6 million, the Sioux nation erupted in the now famous *Battle of Little Big Horn* (#11:75). Later, in 1920, the Sioux sued the federal government for $118 million in damages (#11:76). *Newsweek*'s coverage of the conflicts generally supported the Sioux claim and often criticized the American government (#11). The Sioux claims were important because they established a procedure for settling similar claims, like the Alaskan settlement of 1971.

Newsweek reported that the Alaskan land claim settlement was the largest in American history (#54:62). Negotiations were originally prompted by oil company executives who wanted all land claims settled before they began construction of the Alaska pipeline. Congress agreed, and passed the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* (ANCSA). ANCSA ceded 44 million acres and $962 million in cash to Alaskan Inuit. What made this claim so interesting, besides its size, was how the American government distributed the money. The American government directed most of the cash to establish 225 independent corporations to be owned and managed by the Inuit. "The purpose [of these corporations]: to improve the lot of the hunters and fishermen who make up the majority of native Alaskans, and to ease their transition from a barter-based culture to a modern cash economy" (*Newsweek* #54:62). Although the government had noble

intentions, its perspective was clearly paternalistic and assimilationist. Unfortunately for the Inuit, most of the corporations became financial disasters.

These corporations failed because the Inuit had little business acumen and little (if any) experience managing profit-motivated businesses. *Newsweek* reported that managers had difficulty teaching the shareholders about such simple concepts as *profit* (#54:62) and *assets* (#64:10). Further, the Inuit tradition of rule through consensus often clashed with the need for strong, decisive decision-making (#54:62). When the American government made its final payment to the Inuit in 1982, many Inuit were still waiting to become *rich* (#64:10).

Newsweek's coverage of the plight of Alaskan Inuit, although sympathetic, was also extremely paternalistic. The question then, becomes whether this perspective supports or refutes Lipset's thesis? One way to answer this question involves examining how *Newsweek* presented public reaction to the claims. After all, settling these claims required diverting resources away from other public spending. Although *Newsweek* did not report any public resentment over the Alaskan agreement, it did cover a strong public *backlash* against Indians during the 1970s and 1980s.

Newsweek suggested that through the largely unsuccessful Indian movement of the 1960s, Indians had finally earned the ultimate badge of minority success - "a genuine and threatening white backlash" (#51:39). This backlash inspired a legislative bill called the *Native American Equal Opportunity Act*, intended to rescind all Indian treaties with the government (#52:27). Indians reacted to this proposal by organizing a 5-month protest march from San Francisco to Washington that they called *The Longest Walk* (#52).[87] *Newsweek* presented the march from a perspective favourable to the Indians, focusing on how peaceful the demonstrations were. The article ended by suggesting that the march was important because it unified Indians in the face of white backlash.

Although *Newsweek*'s early land claims coverage supported the Indian challenge, later articles concentrated on the white backlash and presented a perspective more

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[87] A reference to the *Trail of Tears* (1838), where 4,000 Cherokee died while being force-marched to their reservation (Oswalt, 1988:39-40).

consistent with Lipset's predictions. As discussed, *Maclean's* supportive portrayal of Native challenges was *opposite* to Lipset's predictions.

Support for Lipset's Thesis? : No

Table #11
Summary of Qualitative Results

Pattern Variable	Hypothesis	Results
Elitism vs. Egalitarianism	1a - Political Leadership	Reject
	1b - Native Leadership	Reject
Ascription vs. Achievement	2a - Government redistribution programs	Support
	2b - Native Lawlessness	Reject
Particularism vs. Universalism	3 - Mosaic Perspective	Support
Diffuseness vs. Specificity	4a - Collectivist Orientation	Support
	4b - Native Challenge to Collective	Reject

Table #11 summarizes the results of the qualitative analysis in which four of the seven hypotheses are rejected. While most of the qualitative analyses confirmed the quantitative results, some reached opposite conclusions (i.e., hypotheses 2a and 4a). To determine an overall level of support for Lipset's thesis, I combined both quantitative and qualitative results.

Chapter 7

Summary and Conclusions

My dissertation tested Lipset's thesis of cross-national value differences through an examination of Canadian and American media portrayals of Native issues. I proposed that by isolating one social phenomenon common to both countries and studying each country's reaction to it would demonstrate value difference, to the extent they existed. I chose Native issues as the social phenomenon for study since both countries have a long history of native-white contact.

Documenting each country's values was achieved by gathering articles from a leading newsmagazine from each country, *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*, and comparing their presentation of Native issues. Because newsmagazines are imbued with contextual information, they allowed me to examine the articles from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective. Employing both methodologies helped me go beyond a literal translation of text and delve into themes emerging from the articles speaking to Lipset's thesis. I suggest both methods were necessary to adequately test Lipset's thesis. The quantitative analysis employed statistical measures while the qualitative applied an *interpretive* approach that was consistent with Lipset's own research strategy. I offered seven falsifiable hypotheses to evaluate Lipset's thesis and if it could predict each newsmagazine's presentation of Native issues. To gain an appreciation of both the quantitative and qualitative results, a brief summary should prove useful.

Pattern-Variable: **Elitism vs. Egalitarianism**
Hypothesis #1a: **Political Leadership**
Hypothesis #1b: **Native Leadership**

Lipset (1990a:7,156; 1965:241;1963:87) argues that an elitist society supports a hierarchical social order where members of high social rank deserve more respect than they would be in non-elitist societies. Conversely, an egalitarian society attaches little importance to social distance, and does not grant higher status people social deference

(Lipset, 1963:241). Given this argument, I offered two hypotheses.

Hypothesis #1a - *Maclean's* would portray political leaders more positively than would *Newsweek*. This hypothesis was rejected by both the quantitative and qualitative analyses. *Maclean's* presented political leaders as *negligent* and *incompetent* while *Newsweek* portrayed them negatively as *politicians*.

Hypotheses #1b - *Maclean's* would portray native leaders more critically than would *Newsweek*. This prediction was also rejected by the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Native leaders we seen as *patient victims*, and deserving more respect and recognition by *Maclean's*, but as *media warriors* out for personal gain by *Newsweek*.

Pattern-Variable: Ascription vs. Achievement
Hypothesis #2a: Government Redistribution
Hypothesis #2b: Native Lawlessness

Lipset (1960:821) views achieved status as the foundation for a society where everyone, of every background, can and should try to succeed. Americans, according to Lipset (1990a:95,159; 1960:822), possess a stronger desire to *win*, no matter the cost, than do Canadians. Canadians, on the other hand, endorse the *fair game* more than winning and helps to explain Canada's social welfare policies and greater respect for the law (Lipset, 1990a:94-97).

Hypothesis #2a - *Maclean's* would be more supportive of government redistribution programs than would *Newsweek*. This hypothesis was rejected by the quantitative analysis and supported by the qualitative. The qualitative analysis found *Maclean's* supporting redistribution programs as a *National Duty*, while *Newsweek*'s coverage portrayed the programs as a *National Obligation*, and by doing so, challenged their merit.

Hypothesis #2b - *Maclean's* would be more critical of Native lawlessness than would *Newsweek*. Lipset's prediction was rejected by both quantitative and qualitative analyses. The qualitative analysis found that *Maclean's* framed Native lawlessness as *inevitable*, the result of historical injustice, while *Newsweek* saw the motives behind the

illegal activity as a *lobbying tactic*.

Pattern-Variable: Particularism vs. Universalism
Hypothesis #3: Mosaic Perspective

Lipset (1963:240) suggests that a particularistic society treats people differently according to their personal qualities or group memberships, and therefore recognizes and encourages racial, ethnic and cultural diversity -- i.e., Canada. A universalistic society treats everyone according to the same standard, and therefore, appreciates and supports homogeneity -- i.e., the United States.

Hypothesis #3 - *Maclean's* would support the mosaic perspective more than *Newsweek*. Lipset's prediction was supported by both quantitative and qualitative analyses. The qualitative analysis found that the mosaic perspective of racial and cultural integration in *Maclean's* was a *defining symbol* for Canadians. *Newsweek*, while also presenting a mosaic perspective, framed stories in a way suggesting racial and cultural integration occurred not because of its virtue but because of the growing strength of minorities demanding social and cultural *recognition* and integration.

Pattern-Variable: Diffuseness vs. Specificity
Hypothesis #4a: Collectivist Perspective
Hypothesis #4b: Native Challenges to the Collective

Lipset (1990:93) argues that Americans promote the individual while Canadians endorse the collective. Canadians emphasize the rights and obligations of the community over those of the individual, while Americans stress the reverse (1990a:93,104-105).

Hypothesis #4a - *Maclean's* would be more collectivity-oriented than would *Newsweek*. This hypothesis was rejected by the quantitative analysis, but supported by the qualitative. *Maclean's* presented Native issues from a *national* perspective that emphasized their importance to all Canadians. Conversely, *Newsweek* presented Indian issues as *unrelated* and *isolated* events.

Hypothesis #4b - *Maclean's* would be more critical of Native challenges to the collective than would *Newsweek*. This hypothesis was rejected by both quantitative and

qualitative analyses. The qualitative analysis of *Maclean's* showed support for Native challenges to the collective because their coverage framed the challenge as *fair* and *overdue* thus contradicting Lipset's thesis. *Newsweek* on the other hand, focused its coverage of Native challenges on the resulting white *backlash* that negated any legitimate justification behind the challenge. Table #12 summarizes the results of both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Table #12
Qualitative/Quantitative Results Summary

Pattern Variable	Hypothesis	Quantitative Results	Qualitative Results
Elitism vs. Egalitarianism	1a - Political Leadership	Reject	Reject
	1b - Native Leadership	Reject	Reject
Ascription vs. Achievement	2a - Redistribution Programs	Reject	Support
	2b - Native Lawlessness	Reject	Reject
Particularism vs. Universalism	3 - Mosaic Perspective	Support	Support
Diffuseness vs. Specificity	4a - Collectivist Perspective	Reject	Support
	4b - Native Challenge to the Collective	Reject	Reject

Six of the seven quantitative results fail to support Lipset's thesis. Statistical differences existed between *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* and their presentation of Native issues, but the differences were often in the opposite direction to what Lipset's thesis would predict. Qualitative results were similar to the quantitative in that 4 of the 7 hypotheses rejected Lipset's thesis. There were, however, consistent themes used by *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* that supported Lipset's belief in cross-national value differences.

Determining an overall level of support for Lipset's thesis was facilitated by a decision making matrix.

Table #13 **Quantitative/Qualitative Decision-Making Matrix** **For Lipset's Thesis**			
Quantitative Result			
Qualitative Result		Support	Reject
	Support	*Support*	*Indeterminate*
	Reject	*Indeterminate*	*Reject*

The matrix provides a method for combining quantitative and qualitative results. When quantitative and qualitative results reached the same outcome, the hypothesis was either *Supported* or *Rejected.* When the analyses reached different outcomes, an *Indeterminate* category was used (e.g., hypotheses 2a and 4a). Table #14 illustrates where each of the test results fit into the decision-matrix.

Table #14 **Quantitative/Qualitative Results**			
Quantitative Results			
Qualitative Results		Support	Reject
	Support	Hypothesis #3	Hypothesis #2a Hypothesis #4a
	Reject		Hypothesis #1a Hypothesis #1b Hypothesis #2b Hypothesis #4b

Table #14 shows hypotheses 1a, 1b, 2b and 4b reject Lipset's thesis, hypothesis 3 supports it, and hypotheses 2a and 4a are indeterminate. However, to provide an overall test of Lipset's pattern variables, individual test results must also be combined. Lipset's pattern variable will be supported if the majority of the test results confirm his predictions.

1) Elitism vs. Egalitarianism - is **not supported** as all four tests reject Lipset's hypothesis.
2) Ascription vs. Achievement - is **not supported** as three of the four tests refute Lipset's hypothesis.
3) Particularism vs. Universalism - **is supported** as both tests support Lipset's hypothesis.
4) Diffuseness vs. Specificity - is **not supported** as three of the four tests reject Lipset's hypothesis.

These conclusions suggest Canadian and American values do vary, but not in a manner consistent with Lipset's pattern variable thesis. The only pattern variable to be supported was *Particularism vs. Universalism* that suggests Canadians do recognize and encourage racial and ethnic diversity more than Americans. While my research found little support for the 3 remaining pattern variables, it did find both quantitative and qualitative evidence to support the common experience that Canadian and American values are different (see Reitz and Breton, 1994).

This, brings me back to where I began, my attempt to contribute to one of the defining debates of sociology: the nature of the relationship between the individual and society. Lipset's cross-national methodology for studying value differences is applicable far beyond those defined by the 49th. parallel.[88] Cross-national analyses of value differences provide a valuable and revealing contribution to our understanding of the individual's relationship to society (Peabody 1985:136-137). Because national values do influence peoples actions,[89] a better understanding of values would further our attempts at explaining individual perceptions and motivations, and by extension, the individual's relationship to society.

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[88] As Lipset (1963) himself demonstrated in his analysis of Great Britain, Australia, Canada and the United States.

[89] As described in the dissertation, see pages 5-28.

Appendix 1
Listing of Articles

Cumulative Index for *Maclean's* *Canadian Periodical Index*					
Case#	Year	vol#/date	Page(s)	Article Title	Author
1	1947	60/Oct1	22	Eskimo's Don't Worry	S. Dodds
2	1947	60/Oct15	24	Lost Souls of Ossossane	J.H. Cranston
3	1949	62/Nov15	19,38-39,41	My papooses got pyjamas	H. Elliott
4	1949	62/Dec15	8-9,51-52	We went baby-hunting in the Arctic	R.W. Harrington
5	1950	63/June1	8-9,52-55	But the Red Men didn't Vanish	R.B. Fraser
6	1950	63/Dec15	18-19, 52-53	There's no down payment on an igloo	D. deBow
7	1951	64/July1	16	The brave they fought with cannons	A. Cooper
8	1951	64/Dec1	26-28	I married an Indian	A.R. Paudash
9	1954	67/Oct15	32-33, 78-80	High-flying braves of Caughnawaga	K. Johnstone
10	1955	68/Nov12	24-5, 92-98	Unconquered Warriors of Ohsweken	E. Stabler
11	1955	68/July9	10-11, 44-49	My husband ate his boots	S. Stringer
12	1956	69/Dec8	22-23, 119-122	Tragic case of a man who played Jesus	A. Phillips
13	1957	70/Jan5	16-21, 27-30	Checkered career of an Arctic Priest	A. Phillips
14	1958	71/Feb1	22-23	Changeling Eskimos of the Mountain San	F.E. Croft
15	1959	72/Jan31	12-15, 42-46	Two ordeals of Kikik	F.M. Mowat
16	1960	73/Sept24	24-25, 40	How man first came to North America	F. Russell
17	1961	74/Aug12	53	Why some Eskimos with everything commit suicide	

18	1961	74/Sept23	75	Success Story from far North: Eskimo co-ops	
19	1961	74/Dec2	73	Three-town box score on prejudice against Indians	
20	1962	75/May19	77	Northern Report: squalor and hope at Eskimo point	
21	1962	75/July14	4	Indians got the vote this year, but fear kept many of them away from the polls	S.E. Mair
22	1962	75/Aug25	20-21, 31-32	City man's diary on an Eskimo seal hunt	R. Hedlin
23	1963	76/Mar9	65	Native art in '63	
24	1963	76/Ap20	3-4	Co-op profits: food, cash and a new wave of tough Eskimo businessman	H. Bruce
25	1963	76/July6	4	Last chance to head off a showdown with the Canadian Indian (editorial)	P. Gzowski
26	1963	76/July6	20-21, 46-49	This is our Alabama	P. Gzowski
27	1964	77/Mar7	56-57	Ookpik: the strange little Arctic owl that means "Canada" around the world	P.C. Newman
28	1964	77/May16	13-15, cover	Battle of Nouveau Quebec	B. Fraser
29	1964	77/July4	16-19	These magnificent carvings may keep these Eskimos in the stone age - where they like it	E. Iglauer
30	1964	77/July4	49	World's oldest market survey: testing canned whalemeat on Eskimos	
31	1964	77/Oct17	24-27	Arctic hunt: A cruel contest where the prize is survival	
32	1965	78/July3	45-46	Rescue of a prairie Stonehenge	R. Fullock
33	1965	78/July24	24-25, 34-36	This is Canada's instant language	M.J. Young
34	1965	78/Aug7	4	Why northern Quebec's Eskimos may have to learn French - even under protest	B. Fraser
35	1965	78/Sept18	52	A treat from the North	I. Sclanders

36	1965	78/Nov1	45	American Indian cuisine - new style	I. Sclanders
37	1965	78/Nov1	2-3	Indians (almost) success story	B. Beckett & I. Adams
38	1966	79/Feb19	2	Rent the Mohawks have to eat	S. Barnes
39	1966	79/July2	7-11, 24-26	The Executioners	F.M Mowat
40	1967	80/Feb	30-31, 38-39	Lonely death of Charlie Wenjack	I. Adams
41	1967	80/Feb	31	Kenora just one year later	
42	1967	80/Mar	19, 41	Happy Birthday, paleface	R. Garrison
43	1967	80/Oct	2-3	Backstage in the Arctic: Why Nanook of the North still can't read	B. Fraser
44	1969	82/July	1	Lo, the new Indian leader: he's shrewd, he's able - and he gets results	H. Tennant
45	1969	82/Aug	36-42	Steinmann of the North	J. Fleck
46	1969	82/Sept	7	Why do Indians think they're inferior?	
47	1969	82/Dec	18-22	What the Canadian Indian wants from you	J. Ruddy
48	1969	82/Dec	11	Why Robert Stanfield was whooping it up at Frog Lake	
49	1970	83/May	6, 8	Progress comes to an entire people, and a few of them wonder if it was worth the price	P. Carney
50	1970	83/May	8	Why we should shape our own future guided by our northern lights	C. Tower
51	1970	83/Nov	6, 8	Indian self-help at Trout Lake	P. Carney
52	1970	83/Nov	1-2	Of the North, by the North, for the North	P. Carney
53	1970	83/Nov	2-3	The triumph of Tuktoyaktuk	P. Carney

54	1970	83/Nov	3-4	The failure of Fort Rae: It was election day but no one voted	P. Carney
55	1971	84/June	47-48	It is no longer possible to be an Indian	J. Henry
56	1973	86/Feb	30-33, 60	Pond Inlet: excerpts from forthcoming book One Woman's Arctic	S. Burnford
57	1973	86/May	26, 68	Declaration for understanding	D. Redbird
58	1973	86/May	48	Beets of wrath	S. Airhart
59	1973	86/May	3	Learning from the Indians: justice, survival and the state of grace	P C. Newman
60	1973	86/May	28, 46	Manifesto for survival	G. Manuel
61	1973	86/May	25	Native condition: a Canadian tragedy	
62	1973	86/May	29	Public Indians	
63	1973	86/May	27,92,94	Lessons of defeat	M. Campbell
64	1973	86/Oct	11	Picks and axes build a melting pot in Kenora	W. Stewart
65	1974	87/Dec	108	Indians: Shoot-out at Anicinabe park: another skirmish in a long war	H. Robertson
66	1975	88/Sept	68a-d	Souvenir that grew up	S. Littman
67	1975	88/Nov17	74	White man's justice	
68	1975	88/Dec1	44i-j, 44l	Lust for gas	I. Urquhart
69	1976	89/Jan12	49	Playing the White man's game - and winning	M. Escott
70	1976	89/Jan12	17	Condemned of Kabont	A. Ferrante
71	1976	89/Feb23	17-18	Way of the Nishga	H. McCullum
72	1976	89/May3	18-19	Judgement at Yellowknife: end of part 1	N. Cooper
73	1976	98/July	17	Red man's burden	
74	1976	89/Oct 4	27-28	Call out the Cavalry	N. Cooper

75	1976	89/Oct18	26-39	The riddle of Nelson Small Legs	M. McDonald
76	1977	90/Mar21	78	Bringing back the past - at today's prices	J. Labreche
77	1977	90/May30	18-20	Now the scheming starts	I. Urquart
78	1977	90/May30	19	Land: is this the end of first-come, last-served?	R. Lewis
79	1977	90/Sept19	20-21	Minor rebellion, to be sure - but a rebellion, nonetheless	D. Thomas
80	1977	90/Oct31	42b, 42d	Mutiny on the tundra	D. Thomas
81	1978	91/Feb6	23	Case of not-so-fine kettle of fish	K. Watt
82	1978	91/Mar20	17-18	Yukon: strange things done	C. Hume*
83	1978	91/Sept4	19	Alberta: a wing and a prayer	S. Zwarun
84	1978	91/May29	19-20	North: beyond trinkets and beads	I. Urquart
85	1978	91/Oct9	14	Is there a shaman in the house?	
86	1978	91/Sept25	20-21	Quebec: something old, something new	G. Fraser
87	1978	91/July24	17	Something for everybody	J. Labreche
88	1978	91/Nov27	51-52	Mud above, the dig below	M. Budgen
89	1978	91/Nov20	27-28	British Columbia: a fiery wrinkle in welfareland	D. Morberg*
90	1978	91/Nov27	54-55	Wasteland - Canada: our own urban ghetto	P. Carlyle-Gordge
91	1978	91/Dec4	8	Might-be politician's view from the saddle	J. Gladstone
92	1978	91/Dec11	52c-d	They have the ring of mystery	T. Dickinson
93	1978	91/Dec25	12-13	Baubles, bangles bright shiny beads	S. Zwarun
94	1979	92/Jan22	24-28	New Age of Indian art	C. Hume
95	1979	92/Jan22	26	Sweet bird of success	B. Plevan & J. Trudeau
96	1979	92/Mar12	24	Make that three founding nations	

97	1979	92/Nov5	27-28	Now who shall keep the peace	D. Thomas
98	1979	92/July30	40-41	Island unfit for man or beast	J. Labreche
99	1979	92/Oct15	18,20	Case for rights in the far North	J. Plaskett
100	1979	92/Dec24	38-39	Ever smaller minority share: Yukon's Indians	P. Koring* **
101	1979	92/Oct29	26	Landlord and green fees: Musqueam Indians vs. Canadian government in lease agreement over Shaughnessy Golf and Country Club	T. Hopkins* **
102	1979	92/Nov5	28	I could hear my limbs cracking: treatment of Indians by R.C.M.P	S. Zwarun*
103	1980	93/Ap14	56-58	Happy rebirth of an intricate art	T. Hopkins* **
104	1980	93/Dec8	22	Toward the next Spike	P. Carlyle-Gordge* **
105	1980	93/July21or Jan	30+	Blood money after good	S. Zwarun* **
106	1980	93/Dec15	22-23	The Constitution: more time for more talk	J. Hay
107	1980	93/Nov3	17+	Island of woe	E. Gray* **
108	1980	93/June30	18-19	Third World on the doorstep	I. Anderson* **
109	1980	93/Mar31	21	Cooling the racial pressure cooker	D. Eisler* **
110	1981	94/Nov30	26-27	Unfinished Charter	I. Anderson*
111	1981	94/July27	23	Quebec: fighting fire with fire	M. Ouellette
112	1981	94/June1	3	Enough of the forked tongue: it's time for fair treatment	P.C. Newman
113	1981	94/Nov16	52d,52f	Momentos for the visitors	G. Legge
114	1981	94/Feb23	30-31	Playing tricks on a blind man	R. MacGregor

115	1981	94/June29	18-20	Big guns for little fishes	D. Thomas* **
116	1981	94/Sept28	14	An ancient injustice revisited	D. Folster* **
117	1981	94/May4	40+	A growing sense of Norther deja vu	G. Legge*
118	1981	94/Feb9	23-25	Longhouses in high country?	T. Fennell* **
119	1981	94/June1	3,49+	This land is whose land	R. MacGregor*
120	1981	94/June15	36	Indian harvest white man's style	G. Legge* **
121	1981	94/Nov2	60	Connection to Carthage	M. Clugston*
122	1981	94/Mar23	8	Give us a chance to be equals	D. Porter*
123	1981	94/Mar2	28-29	New light on an old culture	W. Lowther* **
124	1981	94/June8	26	Red faces in Alice Arm	M. Gray*
125	1981	94/Mar30	45-46	Toxic sludge in Davy Jones's locker	L. McQuaig & R. Mickelburgh *
126	1981	94/Mar9	66+	When south is north and north is south	M. Czarnecki* **
127	1982	95/Mar8	23-24	Airing the dirty linen in London	I. Anderson* **
128	1982	95/Ap19	50-51	Failed marks in the N.W.T.	A. Prodanou*
129	1982	95/May3	20-21	The fine lines in a far-flung land	G. Legge*
130	1982	95/July19	13	Incident on Skye Mountain	S. Kimber*
131	1982	95/Feb1	30	Toward a common front	G. Legge*
132	1982	95/Ap26	27-28	The true North Strong and split	J. Goddard*

133	1982	95/July5	16	A $90 million make-good, long denied	I. Anderson* **
134	1982	95/Sept13	18-19	Pride and Politics over land claims	S. Souchotte* **
135	1982	95/Dec27	11	A settlement for the Yukon	L. Cole* **
136	1982	95/Jan25	48	From legend to history	D. Gustein*
137	1982	95/Aug2	14-15	A first for First Nations	D. Eisler*
138	1982	95/Oct25	8+	Tourist invasion ends islands' solitude	M. Grey*
139	1982	95/Nov15	66-67	TV lights on the North	J. Goddard*
140	1983	96/Mar21	46-48+	A confrontation on the White man's turf	L. Diebel* **
141	1983	96/July11	14	A deal of native rights	G. Legge* **
142	1983	96/Mar28	12	First Nations, first ministers	J. Hay*
143	1983	96/May9	45	The high price of candor	G. Goar*
144	1983	96/May16	47-48	The war on fake carvings	J. VanDusen
145	1983	96/Sept12	52b	All in the family, Canadian-style	G. Steward
146	1983	96/Nov14	68	A manifesto for self-rule	D. Eisler* **
147	1983	96/Ap11	17	This land is whose land?	B. Amiel* **
148	1983	96/Dec5	35	A crucial vote in the N.W.T.	S. Souchotte*
149	1983	96/Nov7	66-67	A charge of neglect	B. Woodworth * **
150	1983	96/Mar7	58	The rise of a native paper	A. Walmsley*
151	1983	96/Sept19	22	The Dene after Erasmus	S. Souchotte* **
152	1983	96/Jan31	13	The band that pushed back	G. Legge*
153	1983	96/Jan17	14	Brotherly welcome for an exile	G. Legge*

154	1984	97/Mar5	62-63	Salute to a vibrant revolutionary	G. Mackay*
155	1984	97/May21	52,54	Bringing the children home	M. Brosnahan* **
156	1984	97/Oct15	68d,68f	Labrador's noisy wilds	C. Jackson
157	1984	97/May28	48	The bold creation of opportunity	P.C. Newman
158	1984	97/Mar19	19	A deadlock on native rights	P. Hluchy*
159	1984	97/Feb6	14	Progress on native rights	S. Souchotte* **
160	1984	97/May14	72	The mapping of memories	B. Dacks* **
161	1984	97/Sept24	20	A healing hand on history	P. Hluchy* **
162	1984	97/Oct1	36-37	Restoring native pageantry in scenes for all seasons	
163	1984	97/Aug20	50-51	The fur industry under siege	G. Legge*
164	1984	97/July2	13	A long wait for redress	* **
165	1985	98/Aug12	13	The bitter native split	C. Barrett* **
166	1985	98/Ap15	12-13	Failing to right old wrongs	K. MacQueen*
167	1985	98/Sept23	8f,8h	Teaching native ways	P. Kome
168	1985	98/Dec9	58	The battle for an island forest	J. O'Hara
169	1985	98/Aug12	56	The man who made Canadians think	A. Fotheringham*
170	1985	98/Ap8	19	A meeting to right wrongs	K. MacQueen* **
171	1985	98/Ap29	28	Pricing Indian rights	K. MacQueen* **
172	1985	98/Dec9	12	Capturing a dream	K. MacQueen* **

173	1985	98/Sept16	15	Closing a fiercely fought case	C. Barrett*
174	1985	98/Aug5	15	A official's dismissal	C. Wood*
175	1985	98/Nov4	22-23	A controversial meeting	M. Gee* **
176	1985	98/Mar4	6+	The Pope and the Dene	A. Walsley*
177	1985	98/Feb25	27	Redressing an injustice	T. Hargreaves* **
178	1986	99/July7	47	Paintings steeped in tribal magic	J. O'Hara*
179	1986	99/July14	26-27	White man's passion	R. Corelli* **
180	1986	99/July14	20-21	Crime and punishment, native-style	R. Corelli* **
181	1986	99/Ap28	14	Alleging a coverup	K. MacQueen*
182	1986	99/Mar24	6+	Loosening the ties	K. MacQueen* **
183	1986	99/July14	24-25	Independent Inuit	D. Earl
184	1986	99/July14	17	Old ways in the jet age	C. Wood
185	1986	99/July14	22-23	The politics of power	R. Corelli* **
186	1986	99/Feb24	20	Portrait of a winning lobby	K. MacQueen* **
187	1986	99/July14	18	Finding a future in the North	B. Wallace* **
188	1986	99/June23	32-33	Forging a new alliance	T. Tedesco* **
189	1986	99/July14	2, 12-27	A Canadian tragedy [cover]	* **
190	1986	99/July14	19	Tough struggle back	S. Aikenhead* **
191	1987	100/Nov9	52+	Culture and conflict	P. Young*
192	1987	100/Ap6	21-22	Tasting bitter failure	P. Gessell* **

193	1987	100/Dec28	32-33	Salvation of a homeland	M. Richardson
194	1987	100/Nov9	8d,8f	Gambling on a casino	P. Kaihla
195	1987	100/Mar23	20	An awkward visit	D. Smith* **
196	1987	100/Nov16	20	A people's last stand	J. Howse* **
197	1987	100/Feb2	24	Seeking a new direction	C. Barrett* **
198	1987	100/Oct19	69	Legends on the stage	D. Taylor* **
199	1988	101/Jan25	54-55	Haunting relics from the native land	J. Howse* **
200	1988	101/Nov28	56	The spirit soars	C. Wood*
201	1988	101/Nov28	N2	Native justice on trial: witnesses claim the police are prejudiced	P. Kopvillem
202	1988	101/Nov7	N2, N4	At war with the fighters: to Labrador's Innu, NATO is an enemy	G. Allen
203	1988	101/Ap25	10c-10d	Cigarettes and money	H. Wilson
204	1988	101/June13	14	A prophecy of violence	M. Janigan* **
205	1988	101/Mar21	15	Taking the offensive	M. Clark* **
206	1988	101/May9	67	Cry from the native land	C. Benjamin*
207	1988	101/Oct31	10-12	Making a land deal	J. Howse* **
208	1988	101/Oct31	12	Becoming a household name [Bernard Ominayak]	P. Kaihla
209	1988	101/Sept19	13	The northern rights	P. Kopvillem* **
210	1988	101/May23	16	Reaching a compromise	D. Earl* **
211	1988	101/Mar21	34	Stalking Canada's wild fur industry	A. Walmsley*
213	1989	102/Nov13	78+	Spirits in the gallery	P. Young* **

214	1989	102/Oct16	67-68	Haidas on the Seine	N. Jennings*
215	1989	102/July3	40-41	In search of pride	B. Came* **
216	1989	102/May1	55	The new North	J. Howse* **
217	1989	102/Sept18	21+	Gambling and guns	M. Clark* **
218	1989	102/Nov20	76-77	The 112 year war	R. Corelli* **
219	1989	102/Sept11	16	A death in Winnipeg	P. Kaihla*
220	1989	102/Nov13	22	A final act of despair	B. Pergman*
221	1990	103/May21	55	Creating a new way of life: changes threaten Cree traditions	D. Jenish
222	1990	103/Aug6	22-23	An ancient warrior code: the Mohawks' militant rules	D. Burke
223	1990	103/July23	19	Under siege: slipping behind the warrior lines	A. McLaughlin
224	1990	103/July23	20-21	A legacy of Defiance: the Mohawks revive a martial past	B. Bergman
225	1990	103/July30	12-15	Dangerous Standoff	G.W. Taylor
226	1990	103/Oct8	34	Following the OKA example	M. McDonald
227	1990	103/Sept17	24-25	Apocalypse in waiting	
228	1990	103/Aug6	24-25	Fury in the ranks: the Indians are determined to win	P. Kopvillem
229	1990	103/Sept10	28-29	The dangerous next step	B. Bergman
230	1990	103/Oct8	32	The burden of history: a legacy of violence breeds distrust	B. Came
231	1989	102/Oct2	23	An unfolding tragedy	P. Kopvillem*
232	1990	103/May7	22	Gunfire and gambling	C. Wood* **

233	1990	103/May14	14-16	Tribal warfare	P. Kopvillem* **
234	1990	103/Feb19	52-54	Tribal tribulations	B.D. Johnson* **
235	1990	103/Aug6	21	A ravaged town	D. Jenish
236	1990	103/Sept17 [or24]	24-25	An angry deadlock	B. Came* **
237	1990	103/Aug13	18	Barricades of hate: tensions mount over the Mohawk blockade	D. Burke*
238	1990	103/July23	4, 16-23	The battle of OKA [cover]	G.W. Taylor* **
239	1990	103/Sept10	14	A critical election: Manitoba's parties lure native candidates	J. Howse* **
240	1990	103/July2	28-29	Drumbeats of anger	B. Bergman* **
241	1990	103/June25	12	Elijah Harper versus Meech	B. Bergman* **
242	1990	103/Sept10	4, 16-20+	The fury of OKA [cover]	* **
243	1990	103/Sept10	11	The gun barrel created this land	B. Amiel* **
244	1990	103/Aug20	12-13	Higher stakes	D. Burke* **
245	1990	103/Aug27	12	Law and disorder: rioters attack an unpopular police force	D. Burke*
246	1990	103/July23	22-23	Looking for lost dignity	E.K. Fulton* **
247	1990	103/July16	13	A new native hero: Elijah Harper dominates a post-Meech summit	J. Howse* **
248	1990	103/Aug6	18-25	Rough Justice	G.W. Taylor* **
249	1990	103/Sept3	16-19	Sending in the troops	* **
250	1990	103/Oct8	28-32+	Starting over	* **

251	1990	103/Oct1	18	Tear gas and fury	B. Came* **
252	1990	103/Sept24	55	Tilting the balance away from objectivity	G. Bain*
253	1990	103/Nov12	26+	A time for healing	B. Came* **
254	1990	103/Sept10	20	Fear and fury	B. Wallace
255	1990	103/Ap23	18-19	Cash, land and power	B. Bergman* **
256	1990	103/Sept10	46	To Indians, land is not real estate	P.C. Newman* **
257	1990	103/Oct8	31	Sudden wealth	J. Howse* **
258	1990	103/Aug6	40	Haunted by history's lively ghosts	P.C. Newman* **
259	1990	103/Sept3	19	The aftermath of OKA	E.K. Fulton* **
260	1990	103/Sept10	26-27	Legacies of mistrust	A. Wilson-Smith & G. Allen* **
261	1990	103/June4	14-15	Northern agony	B. Bergman* **
262	1991	104/July22	41,43	Echoes of Murder	V. Dwyer
263	1991	104/Oct7	24	A betrayal of aboriginals	G. Allen*
264	1991	104/Aug5	50	A book - under the gun	B. Bergman*
265	1991	104/Sept9	30	Bourassa is just as distinct as Mercredi	P.C. Newman*
266	1991	104/July15	19	The hard road to unity	A. Wilson-Smith*
267	1991	104/Sept2	14-15	Promises to keep	G. Allen* **
268	1991	104/Sept2	16-17	The "small indignities"	E.K. Fulton* **
269	1991	104/Sept2	17	Siddon stands on his record	
270	1991	104/Sept9	47	As long as the rivers flow	

271	1991	104/June24	26	A soft-spoken chief	D. Brady* **
272	1991	104/June10	23	A troubled agenda	B. Bergman* **
273	1991	104/Nov25	22-24	Drawing lines in the sand: separation carries high stakes	B. Came
274	1991	104/Aug12	10-12	Colliding cultures	B. Came
275	1991	104/Sept16	38	Beaching of a great whale	P.C. Newman
276	1991	104/July1	95	Songs of pride: Kashtin's lyrics celebrate an ancient culture	N. Jennings* **
277	1991	104/July24	42	"Give me a medal"	D. Jenish*
278	1991	104/Sept9	12	A scathing indictment	B. Bergman*
279	1992	105/May4	52-53	Dark reflections	G. Allen* **
280	1992	105/Sept14	14+	The end of the silence	P. Kopvillem* **
281	1992	105/Mar16	14-20+	Drumbeats of rage [cover]	* **
282	1992	105/Ap20	53	Songs that sear	D. Tusbide
283	1992	105/Mar23	19	Setting a new deadline: the provinces and natives force Ottawa's hand	E. Kaye Fulton
284	1992	105/Mar16	20	Breaking out of the mould: a BC band enjoys self-government	H. Quinn
285	1992	105/Mar16	18-19	A tale of two sites: U.S. and Canadian natives are worlds apart	P. Kaihla
286	1992	105/May4	20-21	Test of will: a boundary dispute becomes a much larger issue	B. Bergman
287	1992	105/Mar30	18	The Great Divide: Quebec reacts bitterly to native activists	B. Came* **
288	1992	105/Mar30	36	A new province for First Nations	P.C. Newman* **

289	1992	105/July27	30+	Verdict on trial	B.D. Johnson*
290	1992	105/Mar16	22-24	Lonely cries of distrust	M. Janigan* **
291	1992	105/Aug24	25	A struggle for recognition	B. Bergman* **
292	1992	105/Mar23	32	A well-deserved honor for Riel	P.C. Newman*
293	1993	106/Feb22	44-45	Pride and prejudice	H. Quinn*
294	1993	106/Mar29	14+	Lasagna unmasked: Ronald Cross speaks out about OKA	B. Came*
295	1993	106/Feb15	18	Horror in Davis Inlet	T. Fennell*
296	1993	106/Mar1	14+	A sweetgrass ceremony	*

* Compiled from *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*

** Cross-referenced with *Canadian Periodical Index*

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3	1947	30/Dec22	18	Unhappy hunting ground	
4	1949	34/Sept19	77	For Navajo knowledge	
5	1950	36/Sept25	90	Mogollon mummies	
6	1951	37/Mar19	52	Medicine behind the brush	
7	1953	42/July20	84-85	City archaeologist	
8	1953	41/Ap20	43	Whose Sioux? Bones of Sitting Bull	
9	1955	46/July4	76	8,000 year old clue	
10	1956	48/Aug27	68	Return of the Redskins: Inter-tribal ceremonial	
11	1956	48/Nov19	75-76	Sioux don't give up	
12	1956	47/Ap2	82	Hapless and hopeless	
13	1958	51/Jan27	27	North Carolina: Indian raid	
14	1959	53/Mar23	66	War on the reservation [refers to Canada]	
15	1960	56/July18	72-73	Plenty wampum	
16	1961	57/June26	32-33	In wild onion town	
17	1961	58/July17	49-50	Indian summer	
18	1961	58/July17	22	The lonely trail: Sioux Indian graves	
19	1961	57/May1	42-43	Navajos, a $600,000 gamble to win millions	
20	1964	64/July27	72	The sick Navajos	
21	1965	66/Dec27	27-28	Off the reservation	
22	1967	69/Jan23	91	Chicago's Indian Priest	
23	1967	70/Nov6	101-102	Moon maidens: five part Indian ballerinas	
24	1968	72/July22	85	When the West bloomed	
25	1969	74/Oct13	122	Custer died for your sins	V. Deloria Jr

26	1969	74/Dec8	52	Tribal rock; group of Indians claim Alcatraz	
27	1970	76/July20	18	First Americans	
28	1970	76/July6	38-39	None but the brave; government tightens squeeze on the rock	
29	1971	77/June14	94+	An Indian in the city; effects of relocation	
30	1971	77/May31	55	Red power in Maine; TRIBE high-school for Indian dropouts	
31	1971	78/Nov29	79	False faces	
32	1972	80/Nov20	37	Drums along the Potomac	
33	1972	79/Ap24	28	On the warpath	
34	1973	81/Jan15	69-70	Rounding up the Indians	S.K. Oberbeck
35	1973	81/Feb12	71-72	For Indians, by Indians: community colleges Lakota reservations in South Dakota	
36	1973	81/Mar26	22	Birth of a nation	
37	1973	81/Ap9	38	Guerrilla theater	
38	1973	81/Mar12	27+	Return to Wounded Knee	
39	1973	81/Mar19	22-23	The seige of Wounded Knee	
40	1973	81/Ap2	80+	Tribal chic; Indian jewellery fad	
41	1973	81/May14	71-72	Indians: the Great Spirit	
42	1973	81/June25	74	Scalped by the traders; Indians cheated at trading post	
43	1973	81/May21	31-32	Wounded Knee: not with a bang	
44	1974	83/June10	98	Art torrid and frigid	D. Davis
45	1974	84/Sept30	32	Blazing saddles; militant Kootenai Indians	
46	1975	85/Jan13	58-59	New Indian treaty wars	
47	1975	86/July7	15-16	Pine Ridge shoot-out	
48	1977	90/Sept12	82-83	Embraces of nature	M. Stevens
49	1977	89/Mar14	18+	This land is my land	D.M. Alpern
50	1978	91/Mar20	61+	The rich Indians	M.Sheils

51	1978	91/Ap10	39-40	Paleface uprising	R. Boethe
52	1978	92/July31	27	Teepees on the mall	D.A. Williams
53	1978	91/Mar20	90	Landmark case	J.K. Footlick S.M. McGuire
54	1978	92/Aug21	62+	Profits in the tundra	G.C. Lubenow
55	1979	93/May14	20+	Brando's gift stirs a quarrel	E. Keerdoja P. Moreland
56	1979	93/Ap9	98	A fight for rights	D. Weathers J. Huck
57	1979	94/Dec17	21	Price of Tellico	P. Matthiessen
58	1979	93/Ap16	86+	An Indian epic	T. Schwartz J.D. Marshall
59	1980	96/Dec22	67-68	The great Indian oil scam	M. Sheils
60	1980	95/Jan7	32	Is this tribe Indian?	A.J. Mayer M. Frons
61	1981	98/Aug25	9	Land, not caviar for Maine Indians	E. Keerdoja D. Shapiro
62	1981	97/Mar23	30	My son, the Indian chief	
63	1982	99/Jan11	20	Cloud of witnesses	K.B. Green
64	1982	99/Jan11	10	A windfall that hasn't made it yet	E. Keerdoja
65	1982	100/Dec20	90-91	The original American way	S. Begley
66	1982	100/Nov29	49	Reservations on Reaganomics	M. Beck
67	1982	100/July19	8-9	An Indian leader's fight goes on	E. Keerdoja
68	1982	99/Mar22	39	The tribe without a country	M. Starr
69	1983	101/Feb21	28	Dennis Banks's last stand	C. Leslie
70	1983	101/Jan31	26	Watt's latest stand	M. Beck
71	1983	102/Sept5	8	For my Indian daughter	L.P. Johnson
72	1983	101/June13	80-82	The Indian water wars	A. Press
73	1985	106/Sept30	35	"Open season" on Indians	C. O'Connor
74	1985	106/	78-79+	Two tribes, one land	A. Press
75	1986	107/Mar17	8	New turn in a long trail	D. Gates

76	1987	110/Dec7	47	Give it back to the Indians?	T. Jacoby
77	1988	112/Dec26	31	Assault on the peaceful	E. Salholz
78	1988	112/Dec5	40-41	Indian tribes, incorporated	A. Miller*
79	1988	111/Feb1	47	"Crazy Horse" rides again	S. Begley
80	1988	111/May2	26	Back to the reservation	G. Hackett*
81	1989	113/June26	58-60	The plunder of the past	G. Cowley
82	1989	113/Jan2	32	Casting a long shadow	J.N. Baker*
83	1989	113/June19	60-61	In the heart of Navajo country	K. Ames
84	1990	116/Sept10	40	Quebec and the Mohawks: a fragile peace	T. Masland*
85	1991	118/Dec30	53	Selling ice to Eskimos	T. Post**
86	1991	117/May6	52-54	Born free, sold dear	D.A. Kaplan
87	1991	117/May13	54-55	The lessons of the tombs	D. Foote R. Elan*
88	1991	117/Ap29	36	Dances with garbage	M. Hager*
89	1991	118/		I won't be celebrating Columbus Day [special edition #32]	S.S. Harjo
90	1992	119/Jan13	25	Battling over buffalo	
91	1992	119/Feb17	29	Gambling on the reservation	J.N. Baker*
92	1992	119/May4	68	Just too good to be true	M. Jones
93	1992	119/Jan27	8	I hope the Redskins lose	T. Giago*
94	1992	119/may25	83	Sioux me, sue me, what can you do me?	
95	1993	121/Mar8	58-60	No more war, forever	E. Benedek
96	1993	121/June14	30	A deadly desert illness	G. Cowley

* Cross-referenced with *Canadian Periodical Index*

** Compiled from *Canadian Periodical Index*

Appendix 2
Code Book

A) Length of story (number of words)

1) less than 100
2) 101-250
3) 251-500
4) 501-1000
5) more than 1001

B) Geographic location of story

Maclean's

1) B.C.
2) Prairies
3) Quebec
4) Ontario
5) Atlantic
6) Far North
7) Alberta
8) Sask
9) Man
93) Europe
94) North America
95) USA
96) missing
98) more than 1
99) National

Newsweek

1) West Coast
2) MidWest
3) South (Sun Belt)
4) North East
5) South East
6) Alaska
7) Pacific NW
96) missing
98) more than 1
99) National

C) Band Affiliation (when noted)

Maclean's

1) Cree
2) Inuit
3) Mohawk
4) Nishga
5) Iroquois
6) Metis
7) Ojibway
8) Haida
9) Dene
10) Innu
95) Global
96) missing
97) other
98) more than1
99) National

Newsweek

1) Cherokee
2) Navajo
3) Chippewa
4) Sioux
5) Choctaw
6) Eskimo/Inuit
7) Hopi
8) Cheyenne
94) North America
96) missing
97) other
98) more than 1
99) National

D) Article classification

1) Editorials (written by staff)
2) Opinion pieces (written by free-lancers)
3) Investigative reports,
4) Straight news reporting
5) Combination of 2 and 3
6) Photo expose
7) Interview
8) Spotlight
9) Book review
10) Film review

E) Topic/Subject Area

1) Life in the wilderness
2) Impact of extermination policy
3) Current Native living conditions
4) Historical reconstruction
5) Race relations
6) Social problems
7) Archaeology
8) Sovereignty issues
9) Armed resistance/conflict
10) Art
11) Environment
12) Land claims
13) Culture change
14) Native successes
15) Education
16) Gambling
17) Native internal conflict
18) Religion

Appendix 3
Results of Coding
Maclean's

Case#	Location	Band	Article Type	Topic Area	Length
1	6	2	5	1, 3, 6	4
2	6	97	3	3, 6, 13	3
3	4	96	3	1	5
4	6	2	5	1	5
5	98	98	1	2, 3, 15	5
6	6	2	5	3	5
7	8	1	5	4, 9	5
8	4	97(Rice Lk)	2	5	5
9	3	3	5	3, 8, 14, 18	5
10	4	5	5	4, 5, 8, 18	5
11	6	2	5	1, 4, 18	5
12	6	2	5	1, 4, 18	5
13	6	2	5	1, 4, 18	5
14	4	2	3	2, 3, 18	5
15	6	2	5	1, 3, 4	5
16	98	98	3	4	5
17	6	2	4	3, 6, 18	4
18	6	2	4	3, 10, 14	4
19	9	97	4	5, 6	3
20	6	2	4	3, 6, 15	4
21	99	99	4	3	4
22	6	2	5	3	5
23	99	99	4	3, 10	2
24	6	2	4	3, 10, 14	4

25	99	99	2	3, 5, 8	4
26	8	99	5	3, 5, 6	5
27	6	2	4	3, 10	3
28	3	2	3	3, 4, 5, 8, 12, 18	5
29	6	2	3	1, 3, 10	5
30	6	3	4	3	3
31	6	3	6	1, 3	2
32	7	97	4	7	5
33	99	98	3	4, 18	5
34	3	2	4	3, 8, 12, 15, 18	4
35	6	2	2	3	4
36	8	99	2	3	4
37	4	1	4	3	4
38	4	3	4	3, 12	3
39	6	2	5	3, 5	5
40	4	7	5	3, 5	5
41	4	98	4	3, 4, 5, 6	4
42	4	98	5	3, 5	5
43	6	2	4	3	4
44	99	99	4	3, 12	3
45	6	2	5	1, 4, 18	5
46	99	99	4	3, 6, 15	2
47	7	1	3	2, 3, 6, 12	5
48	7	1	4	3, 12	2
49	6	2	4	3, 13	4
50	6	2	2	1, 3, 8	3
51	6	2	4	3, 6	4

52	6	2	5	3, 8, 15	4
53	6	2	4	3, 8	4
54	6	2	4	3, 8	4
55	4	7	5	3, 5, 6, 12	4
56	6	2	5	1, 3, 5, 6, 18	5
57	96	7	5	3, 5	5
58	7	1	4	3, 4	4
59	99	99	1	3, 8	4
60	99	99	2	3, 4, 8	5
61	99	99	1 Cover	3, 4	3
62	99	99	4	3, 6	2
63	8	6	5	4, 5, 6	5
64	4	98	4	3, 5	4
65	4	7	5	3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12	4
66	6	2	3	10	4
67	4	7	4	3, 6	3
68	6	2	3	3, 11, 12	5
69	99	99	4	3	4
70	4	7	4	3, 6, 15, 18	4
71	1	4	4	8, 12	4
72	6	98	3	3, 11, 12	5
73	6	9	4	12	2
74	6	9	4	8, 13	3
75	7	97 STONY	3	3, 8, 9, 12, 17	5
76	99	99	4	10	3
77	6	98	3	11, 12	5
78	6	98	4	3, 8, 12, 17	5

79	3	2	4	3, 8, 15	4
80	3	98	3	5, 6, 8, 9, 12	5
81	1	98	4	8, 11	2
82	6	96	4	8, 12,17	3
83	99	99	4	10, 11	3
84	3	98	4	8, 12, 17	3
85	4	98	4	3, 18	3
86	3	2	4	10	3
87	6	2	4	12, 17	3
88	95	97	4	7	4
89	1	97	4	6, 11	3
90	9	96	3	3, 5, 6	5
91	4	98	3	4	4
92	94	98	4	7, 18	4
93	7	96	4	5, 10	3
94	99	99	3	6, 10, 18	5
95	99	99	8	10	2
96	6	98	8	8, 12, 17	3
97	99	98	4	3, 6	4
98	3	3	4	11	4
99	6	2	3	3, 8, 12, 17	5
100	6	98	4	3, 6, 8, 12	4
101	1	97 Musquem	4	12	4
102	7	97 Bloods	4	5, 6, 8	3
103	1	8	3	10, 18	5
104	99	99	4	8	3
105	99	98	4	3,6	4

106	99	99	4	8	4
107	3	3	3	3	5
108	3	7	3	3	5
109	8	98	4	3, 5, 15	3
110	99	99	4	8	5
111	3	97 Micmac	4	5, 9, 17	4
112	99	99	1	8, 12	3
113	7	8	4	4, 10	4
114	6	98	4	8, 12	5
115	3	97 Micmac	4	8, 11	5
116	99	99	4	5, 8, 17	4
117	6	2	4	11, 12	4
118	8	97	4	12	4
119	99	99	3	3, 5, 6, 8, 12	5
120	7	97 Micmac	4	8, 12, 14	5
121	5	97 Micmac	4	4, 7	4
122	99	99	1	3, 8	4
123	5	97 Maritime	4	7	4
124	1	4	4	11	4
125	1	4	4	11	5
126	4	98	4	10	4
127	93	98	4	8	5
128	6	2	4	3, 15	4
129	6	2	5	11, 12	5
130	5	97 Skye Mtn	4	11	3
131	6	98	4	8, 12, 17	4
132	6	98	4	8, 12, 17	4

133	3	1	4	3, 8, 12, 17	4
134	6	98 (9+6)	4	12, 17	4
135	6	98	4	8, 12	3
136	1	97	4	7, 12, 18	4
137	8	95	4	8, 12, 17	5
138	1	8	3	3, 11, 13	5
139	6	9	4	3, 13	4
140	99	99	3	3, 8, 12, 17	5
141	99	99	4	3, 8	4
142	99	99	4	8, 18	4
143	1	96	4	8	4
144	99	2	4	10	4
145	99	99	4	3, 6	4
146	99	99	4	8	3
147	99	99	1	8, 12	5
148	6	9	5	8	4
149	5	10	4	3, 6	4
150	7	98	4	3, 14	4
151	6	9	4	8	3
152	7	97 FtMcKay	4	3, 5, 6	4
153	99	99	4	5, 6, 9	4
154	6	98	4	10, 18	5
155	99	99	4	6	4
156	5	10	4	3, 8, 11, 12	5
157	99	99	1	14	5
158	99	99	4	8, 12, 17	4
159	6	99	4	8, 12, 17	4

160	6	9	4	4, 12	3
161	4	98	4	3, 18	4
162	6	98	4	3, 8, 12, 18	3
163	6	98	4	3, 11	4
164	99	99	4	3	4
165	99	99	4	3, 8, 17	3
166	99	99	4	8	4
167	3	3	4	3, 13, 15	5
168	1	8	4	8, 11	4
169	99	99	1	3, 8, 12	5
170	99	99	4	8	3
171	99	99	4	8	4
172	98	98	4	8	4
173	99	96	4	3	4
174	99	96	4	3	4
175	99	99	4	3	4
176	6	9	4	3, 18	5
177	99	99	4	3	4
178	1	96	4	10	4
179	6	98	7	3, 8, 12, 13	5
180	99	99	4	3, 5, 6	5
181	1	97 Westbank	4	3	4
182	4	96	7	3	4
183	6	2	5	3, 5, 6, 8, 13	5
184	5	10	5	3, 6, 13	4
185	99	99	5	8, 12	5
186	3	1	4	8, 12	4

187	3	1	5	3, 14	4
188	99	99	4	3	4
189	7	1 Peerless lk.	3	3, 5, 6	5
190	4	7	4	3	4
191	7	1 Lubicon	4	8, 10	5
192	99	99	4	8	4
193	1	8	8	8, 18	4
194	95	1 Chippewa	4	8, 16	4
195	7	97 Peguis	4	3	4
196	7	1 Lubicon	4	8, 12	4
197	9	1	4	3, 6, 14	4
198	4	98	4	10	4
199	7	98	4	8, 10, 12	5
200	4	98	4	10	4
201	9	98	4	5, 6, 8, 9	4
202	5	10	4	3, 6, 12	5
203	3	3	4	3, 8, 17	4
204	99	99	4	8, 9, 12	3
205	3	1	4	8, 12, 14	4
206	1	97 Kitskan	4	10, 12	3
207	7	1 Lubicon	3	8, 12	5
208	7	1 Lubicon	8	8, 12, 14	3
209	6	98	4	8, 12, 14, 17	4
210	6	98	4	8, 12	3
211	6	98	4	11	4
212	1	99	4	10, 18	5
213	93	8	4	10, 14, 18	5

214	8	1	4	3, 6, 8	4
215	6	98	4	14	4
216	3	3	4	3, 6, 8, 9, 17	4
217	4	97 Anishnabe	4	11, 12	4
218	9	97 Is. Lake	4	5	4
219	9	96	8	5	3
220	3	1	4 cover	14	4
221	3	3	4	3, 8, 9, 12, 17	5
222	3	3	4	8, 9	4
223	3	3	4 cover	4, 8, 9	5
224	3	3	4	5, 8, 9	5
225	96	98	4	3, 4, 8, 9	4
226	3	3	5	8, 9	4
227	3	3	4	5, 8, 9, 17	5
228	99	99	7	3, 8, 9	5
229	3	3	4	4, 5, 9	4
230	9	96	4	5	4
231	3	3	4	8, 9, 16, 17	4
232	94	3	4	8, 9, 16, 17	5
233	99	99	5	10, 13, 14	5
234	3	3	4	8, 9	4
235	3	3	4	8, 9	3
236	3	3	4	5, 9, 17	4
237	3	3	5 cover	4, 5, 8, 9	4
238	9	98	4	8	3
239	9	98	4	3, 4, 6, 8	5
240	9	1	8	8	3

241	3	3	5 cover	5, 8, 9, 17	5
242	3	3	1	8, 9	4
243	3	3	4	5, 8, 9	4
244	3	3	4	4, 5, 9	4
245	3	3	4	8, 9	5
246	7	1	4	8, 12	4
247	3	3	3 cover	8, 9, 12, 17	5
248	3	3	3	8, 9, 12	5
249	3	3	3	5, 8, 9, 12	5
250	3	3	4	9	4
251	3	3	1	8, 9, 12	5
252	3	3	4	8, 9, 12, 17	5
253	3	3	4	5, 9	4
254	99	99	4	8, 12, 14	5
255	99	99	1	3, 8, 12	5
256	7	1	4	3, 6, 11, 14, 15	4
257	99	99	1	4, 8, 12	5
258	99	99	4	8, 9, 12	4
259	99	99	5 cover	3, 8, 9, 12	5
260	98	4	4	3, 6, 8, 12	5
261	95	96	9	9	5
262	7	99	8	8, 12, 17	3
263	3	3	9	8, 9, 17	4
264	99	99	1	8	5
265	99	98	4	8	4
266	99	99	4	8	5
267	99	99	8	8, 14	5

268	99	99	7	8, 9	3
269	99	99	10	3, 6, 8	4
270	99	99	4	14, 17	4
271	99	99	4	5, 14, 17	4
272	3	3	5 cover	8, 9, 12	5
273	3	98	5	3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 18	5
274	3	96	1	5, 8, 11, 12	5
275	3	10	4	10, 14	4
276	7	96	4	3, 5	4
277	9	1	8	3, 5	3
278	3	98	5	5, 10	5
279	99	99	5	3, 5, 6, 15	5
280	99	99	5	5, 8, 9, 17	5
281	8	1	8	10, 11, 12	4
282	99	99	4	8	4
283	1	97 Sechelt	4	8, 14, 17	4
284	94	7	5	3, 4, 6, 8, 14, 16	5
285	6	98	4	8, 12, 17	5
286	3	98	4	5, 8	4
287	3	98	1	8, 12	5
288	95	97 Lakota	10	9, 10	5
289	99	99	5 cover	4, 7, 8, 12	5
290	1	98	4	8, 12	4
291	99	99	1	4	5
292	1	97 Salish	4	5, 6, 14, 15	5
293	3	3	8	8, 9	5

294	5	10	4	3, 6	4
295	5	10	4	3, 6	3
296	1	8	8	4, 10, 14, 18	5

Results of Coding
Newsweek

Case #	Location	Band	Article Type	Topic Area	Length
1	99	99	4	3, 15	4
2	95	99	4	3, 6, 15,	4
3	3	2	4	3, 6	3
4	3	2	4	3, 15	4
5	3	97	4	7	3
6	99	99	4	3, 10	4
7	3	97	8	4, 7	4
8					
9	5	97	4	7	3
10	3	98	4	10	2
11	2	4	5	4, 12	4
12	95	99	4	3	4
13	2	97	4	5, 15	4
14	4	97	4	3, 5, 8, 9	4
15	3	2	4	3, 14	4
16	2	99	4	3, 8, 12, 15	4
17	95	98	4	3, 15	3
18	2	4	4	4, 7	4
19	4	2	4	8, 12	5
20	3	2	4	3, 6	4
21	2	3	4	3	4
22	2	98	8	3	4
23	2	96	8	10, 14	4
24	3	97	4	7	3

25	99	99	9	8	4
26	1	98	4	8, 12	3
27	3	97	4	8, 12	3
28	1	98	4	8, 12	4
29	99	99	3	3, 6, 17	5
30	4	97	4	15	4
31	4	98	4	10	4
32	4	96	4	8, 9	4
33	3	98	4	4, 9, 12, 17	4
34	99	98	9	4, 5	4
35	2	4	4	15	4
36	2	4	4	8, 9	3
37	2	4	4	8, 9, 17	4
38	2	4	4	8, 9	4
39	2	4	5	6, 8, 9, 17	5
40	99	98	4	10	4
41	99	98	3	3, 13, 18	5
42	3	2	4	3, 4, 5, 8	4
43	2	4	4	3, 8, 9, 17	4
44	4	98	4	10	4
45	2	97	4	8	2
46	99	98	4	8	5
47	2	4	5	5, 8, 9, 17	5
48	99	98	4	10	5
49	4	97	4	4, 12	4
50	2	98	4	8	4

51	99	98	5	3, 5, 8, 12	5
52	99	98	4	3, 5, 8, 12	4
53	3	96	4	5, 8	4
54	6	6	5	3, 11, 12, 13, 14	5
55	1	96	4	8, 11, 12	4
56	2	98	4	11, 18	4
57	3	1	2	4, 7, 11	4
58	99	98	9	4	4
59	2	98	5	11	5
60	4	97	4	8, 12	4
61	4	98	4	12	3
62	7	4	8	3	3
63	3	97	4	5	3
64	6	6	4	12	3
65	94	98	4	7, 10, 18	4
66	3	2	4	3, 8, 11	4
67	2	4	4	5, 9	3
68	3	97	4	3, 5, 6, 12	4
69	96	96	4	3, 9	4
70	99	94	8	5, 6	4
71	4	97	2	5, 6, 13, 14	5
72	99	98	3	8, 11, 12	5
73	4	3	4	5, 8, 11	4
74	3	98	3	8, 12, 17	5
75	3	2	8	12, 17	3
76	2	4	4	5, 12, 17	4

77	2	7	4	3, 5, 6, 15	4
78	99	98	3	3, 14, 16	5
79	2	4	9	5, 8, 9	4
80	99	98	4	3, 13	4
81	99	98	3	7, 10	5
82	3	2	4	8, 14, 17	4
83	3	94	9	3	5
84	95	97	4	8, 9, 12	4
85	95	6	4	12, 17	4
86	6	6	3	11, 12	5
87	3	97	4	7	5
88	99	98	4	11, 17	4
89	99	98	2	2, 3, 4, 9, 14	4
90	2	8	8	11	2
91	99	98	4	3, 16, 17	4
92	99	98	8	11	4
93	99	98	2	3, 5	4
94	2	4	4	7	2
95	2	98	5	5, 12, 17	5
96	2	2	4	3	4

Appendix 4
Summary of Quantitative Profile

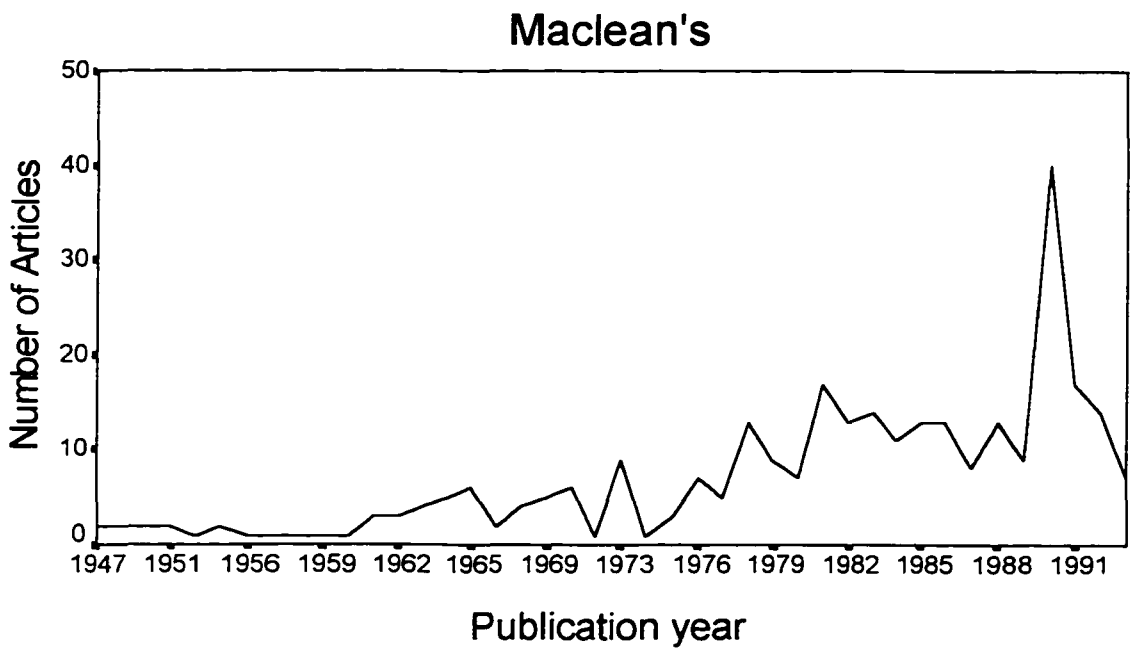
Coding the articles was relatively straightforward. I designed two coding sheets, the first to enter specific summary elements (e.g., article length, location, band affiliation, type of article and topic) and the second for coding the seven hypotheses.

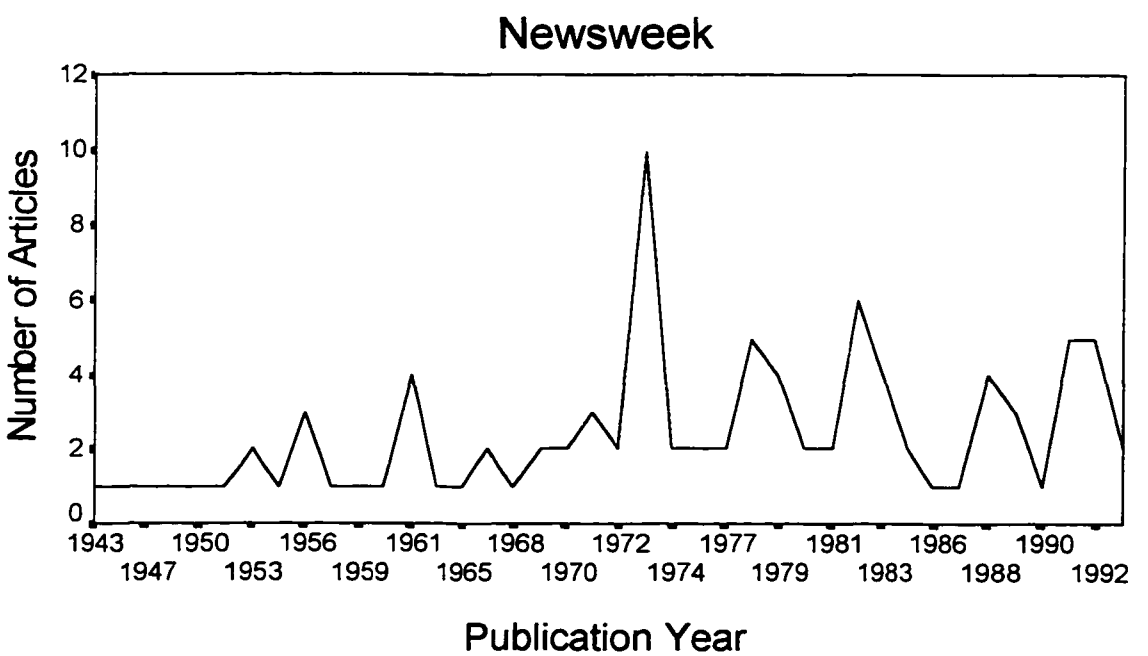
a) Number of Articles

Figures #1 and #2 demonstrate that between 1943 and 1965 the number of articles covering Native issues did not exceed five per year. In 1967 there were only 2 articles; 1971 and 1974 had 1 article each. However, since 1975 there has been a relatively steady increase in the number of articles per year. The highest number of articles occurred in 1990, largely as a result of the OKA confrontation between the Mohawk peoples and federal, provincial, civilian and military enforcement agencies. It was interesting to note that the Wounded Knee confrontation in 1973 also explains *Newsweek*'s highest number of articles in a single year.

Newsweek's coverage appeared to be more sporadic than *Maclean's*, but that may be more a function of fewer articles than of consistency of coverage. The fewer number of articles in *Newsweek* could also indicate how important the editorial staff deem Native issues -- apparently of far less importance than they are to *Maclean's*.

Figures #1 and #2
Number of Articles Over Time





b) Article Length Over Time

Both the length of an article (Singer, 1982:352) and the information density it contains (Neumann et al, 1992:51),[1] are good indicators of a story's relative importance. Word count positively correlates with the amount of information that can be carried (i.e, more words = more information). This may demonstrate, to some extent, how important the magazine deems the issue.

Figures #3 and #4 show that the mean length of articles in *Maclean's* was 4.17 (where 4.00 = articles between 501 and 1,000 words) and 3.97 for *Newsweek* (where 3.00 = articles between 251 to 500 words). Article length, when plotted against time, revealed a moderately strong non-linear relationship, an interesting finding. For example, *Maclean's* articles were much longer during the 1940s and 1950s than they were in the 1960s to 1980s, but rose again in the 1990s. This distribution may be the result of two factors.

First, *Maclean's* was a very different magazine in the 1940s and 1950s than it is today. Before 1976 *Maclean's* was published monthly and thus concentrated less on *time-specific events* and more on social and economic *issues*. *Maclean's* was originally published as a coffee-table magazine. *Maclean's* spent a great deal of time and space (early editions were printed on 11"X17" paper) presenting the magazine to be visually pleasing, and I assume approachable to diverse readers. For example, early articles about Natives were often about what life was like for Native Canadians and how they had adapted to harsh Canadian winters (see for example #2, 3, 5, 11, 14, 15, 22). I sensed that early articles were less about news and more about reading a good story. When *Maclean's* began to focus more on current events coverage (a trend starting in the late 1950s and increasing with its weekly format), it entered into direct competition with *Newsweek* -- a fast-paced *news*-magazine. From the 1970s one sees a noticeable change in *Maclean's* approach to stories -- it begins to resemble *Newsweek* more and more. Maclean's moved from a coffee-table magazine to one read on a plane.

Second, the increase in story length about Native issues during the latter part of the 1980s corresponded with the growing recognition by Canadians of the plight of First Nations people. Although public interest peaked during the Oka confrontation in 1990, it would explain, in part, the continuing interest in Native issues, as demonstrated by rising article lengths in 1992-1993.

Newsweek, since the 1940s maintained the same look and feel. Even in the 1940s one read it as a ***news***magazine. Article length in *Newsweek* was much more sporadic than *Maclean's*. Besides a very small increase in article length over time, there does not

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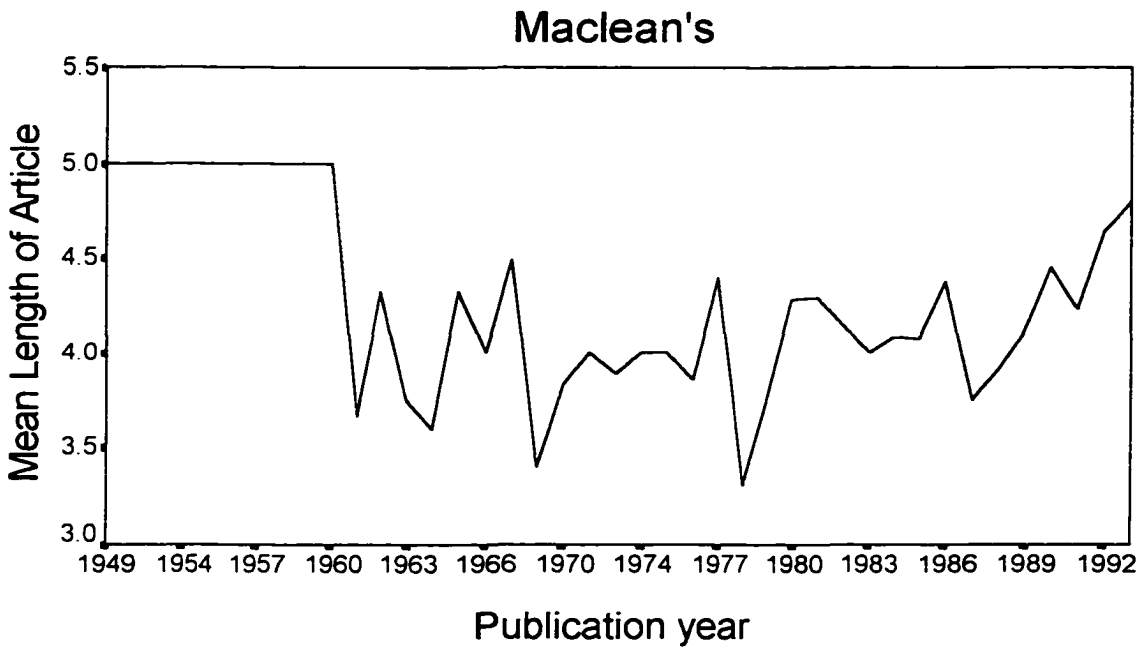
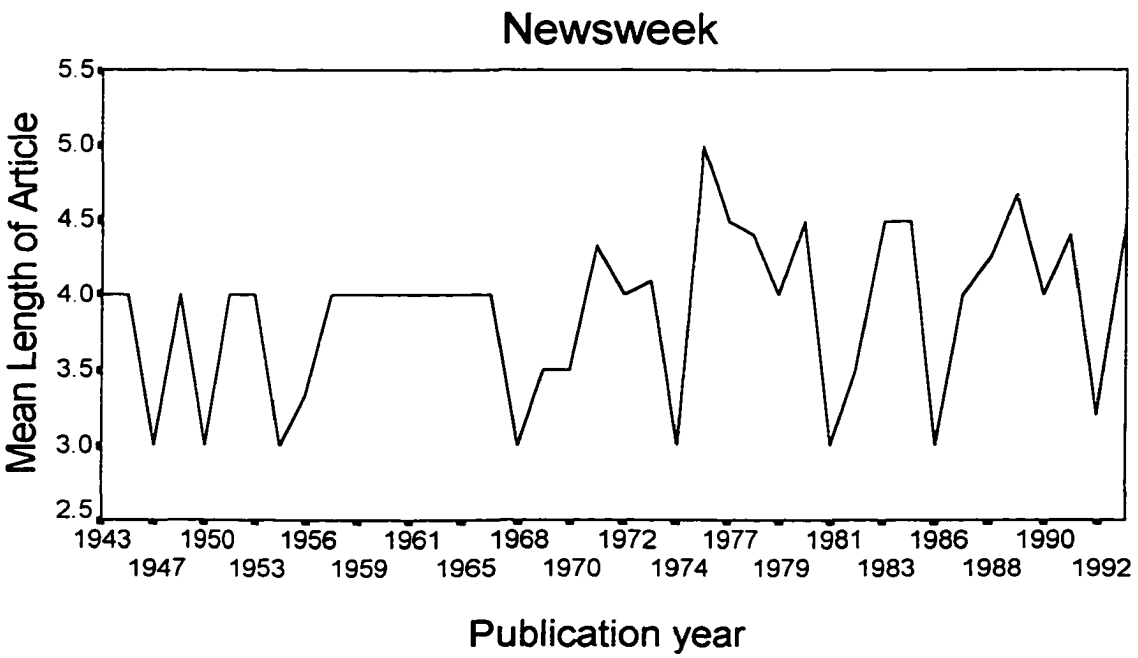
[1] Information density is the amount of information that can be carried by a given medium.

appear to be any other trend present.

Figures #3 and #4
Article Length Over Time





c) Mean Page Number of Article

The page number of an article indicates its relative importance to other stories: stories located nearer the front of a publication are generally deemed to be more significant (Singer, 1982:352). For example, a lead story in a newspaper appears on the front page. However, does this same principle hold for magazines? The answer is, not necessarily.

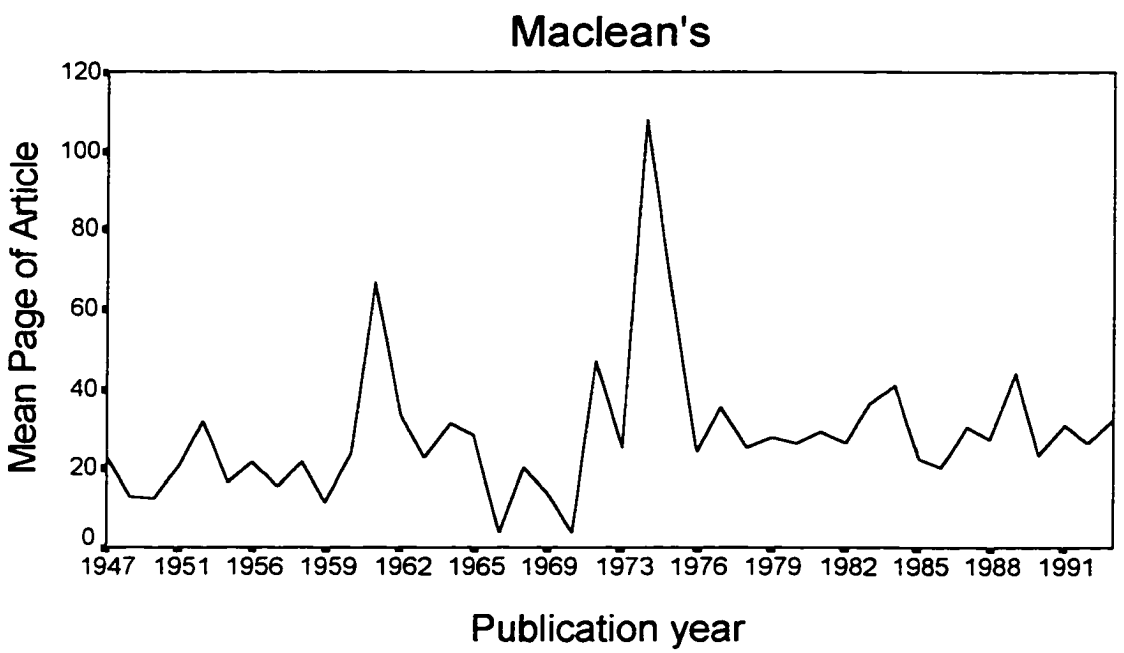
Newsmagazines, like newspapers, have lead stories (cover stories) but they are not usually located near the front of the magazine. Traditionally, magazines place their most important articles near the middle of the edition. *Maclean's*' practice of placing editorials on the last page of the issue creates an exception.

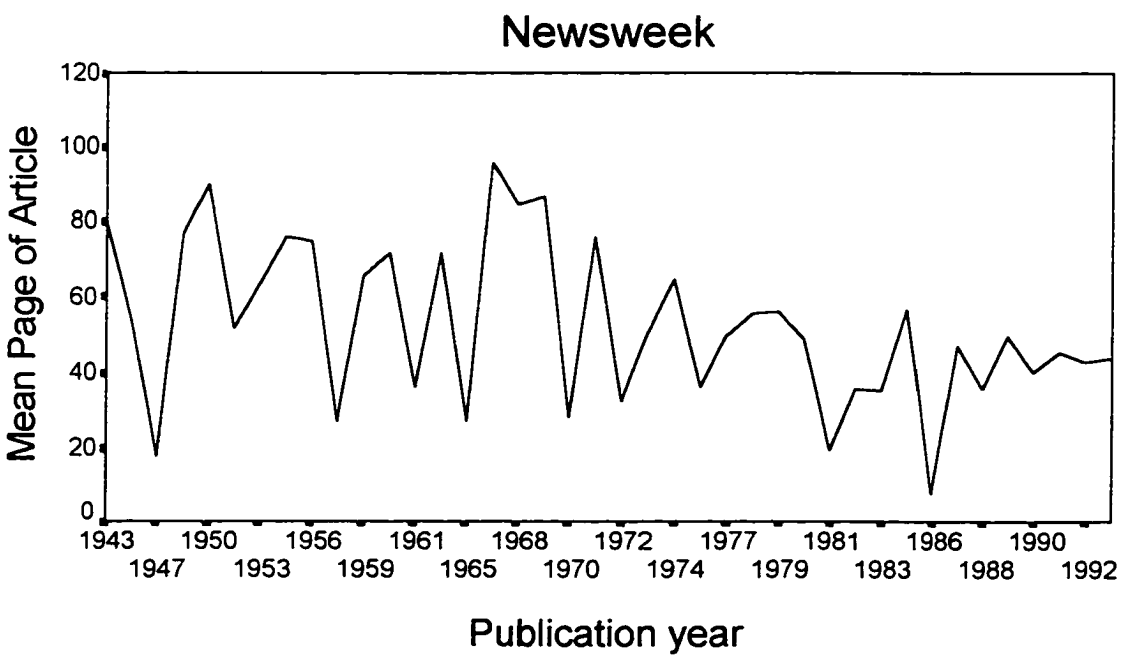
If a magazine, on average, introduces articles about Native issues on page 50 and another magazine covers the same issues on page 10, we might assume that the latter deems Native issues to be more important than does the former. But what if the first magazine averages 300 pages per issue, and the second only 10? The *relative* position of the articles defines their importance. The mean first page of articles dealing with Native issues was 27.94 for *Maclean's* and 50.48 for *Newsweek*. This suggests that *Maclean's* gave Native issues more relative importance than did *Newsweek*.[2] But it is the *relative* position that matters. Between 1943 and 1993, the average length of an issue of *Maclean's* was 67.67 pages and of *Newsweek* 104.29.[3] When one controls for magazine length, by dividing the mean page number by the average length of the magazine, the results suggest (0.41 for *Maclean's* and 0.48 for *Newsweek*) there was little difference between the relative importance of Native issues in magazines as determined by mean page of origin.

This assumes that Native issues in both countries were equally *newsworthy*. Although the relative importance of Native events or issues vary (e.g., Wounded Knee and Oka), fifty years of coverage controls for specific historical variation.

These averages were attained by randomly selecting five years and 10 editions from each, and counting the number of pages.

Figures #5 and #6
Mean Page Number of Articles Over Time





d) Geographic Location of Story

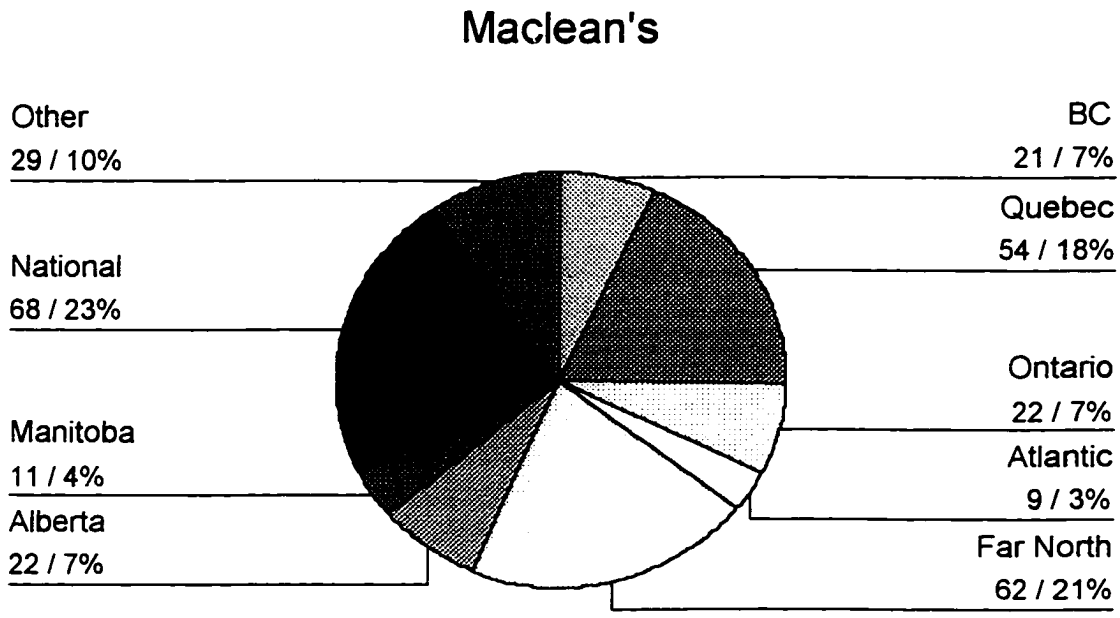
Geographic location was defined as the location where the story originated. For example, if *Maclean's* reported on Native salmon fishing in British Columbia, I coded the location as *British Columbia*. I grouped stories from the prairies, but also according to the specific province in which they occurred. My reason for this multiple coding is to include a *regional sensitivity* in the coding to allow me to address the fourth criticism of Lipset's research (i.e., national specificity). However, since both magazines target a national audience, detecting regional value differences would not be possible, and as discussed, my research falls victim to the same charge of being *national* in orientation.

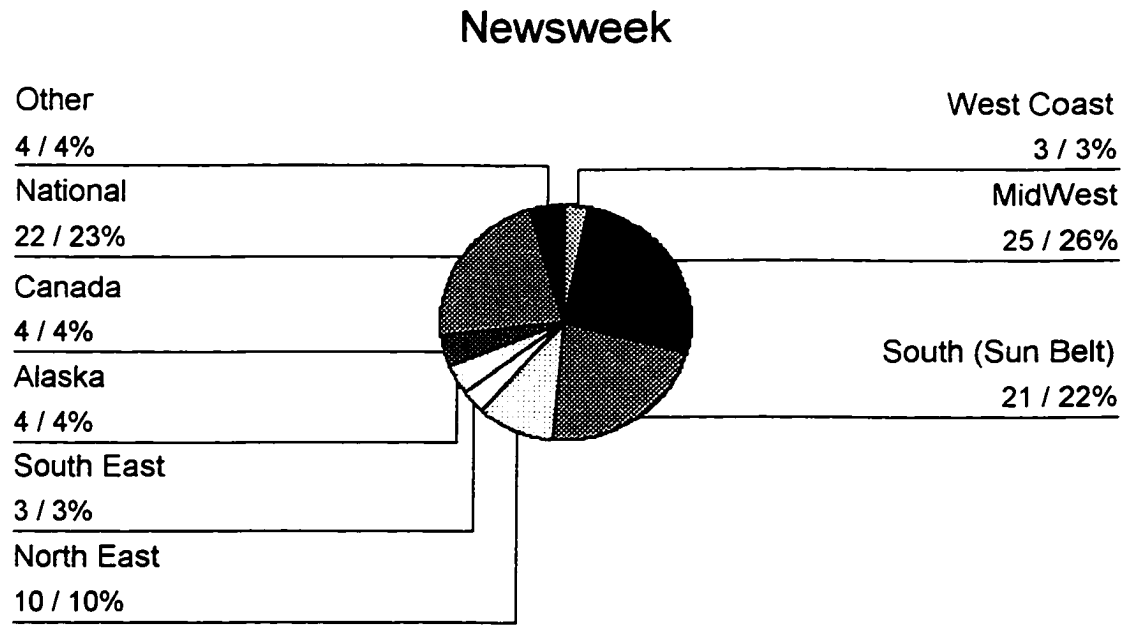
The geographic locations of stories in *Newsweek* were coded similarly, but not according to the individual States in which the stories occurred. I decided this level of precision was unnecessary, as there were only 96 articles from *Newsweek*. Instead, I coded the articles into regions; for example, West Coast, Midwest, and North East.

The following diagrams show that 23% of all articles in *Maclean's* dealing with Native issues had national origins. This makes sense, considering the number of articles written during the late 1970s and early 1980s dealing with the entrenchment of Native Rights in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The Far North was the second most popular location for stories, which resulted from the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline proposal of the 1980s. The third most prominent location was Quebec (18%), which resulted from the Oka confrontation of 1990.

The most popular location for articles about Indians in *Newsweek* was the Midwest at 26%, National at 23% and the Sun Belt at 22%.

Figures #7 and #8
Geographic Location of Story





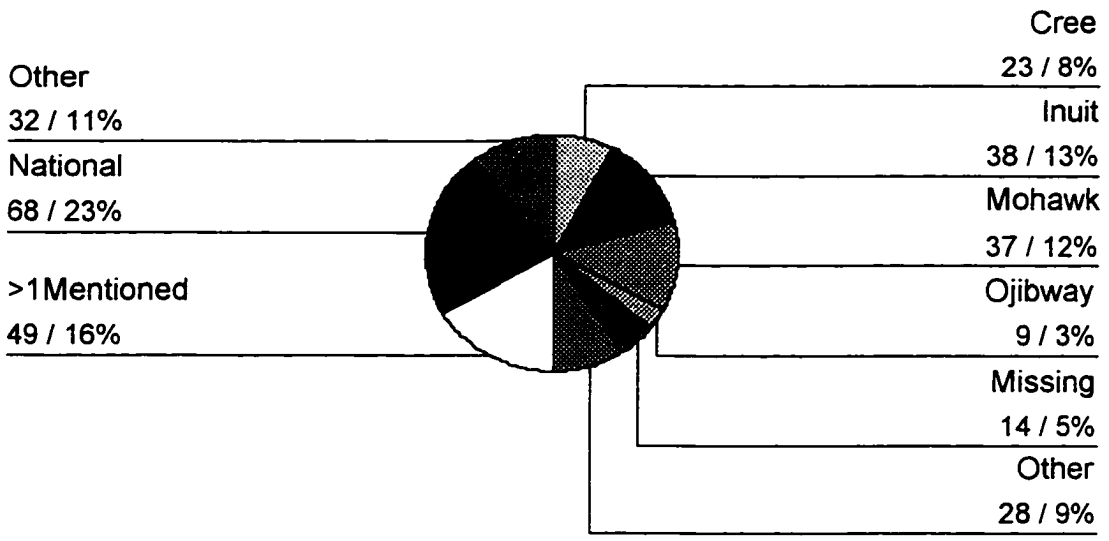
e) Band Affiliation

Maclean's coverage tended to focus on either all Native groups (23%) or more than one (16%). When a particular Native group was singled out it was the Inuit 13% of the time and the Mohawks 12%. The Inuit were a very popular topic for *Maclean's* in the 1950s and 1960s as the popularity of *Nanook of the North* began to spread around the world (see #15, 24, and 27). The Mohawks were most prominent during the Oka crisis of 1990.

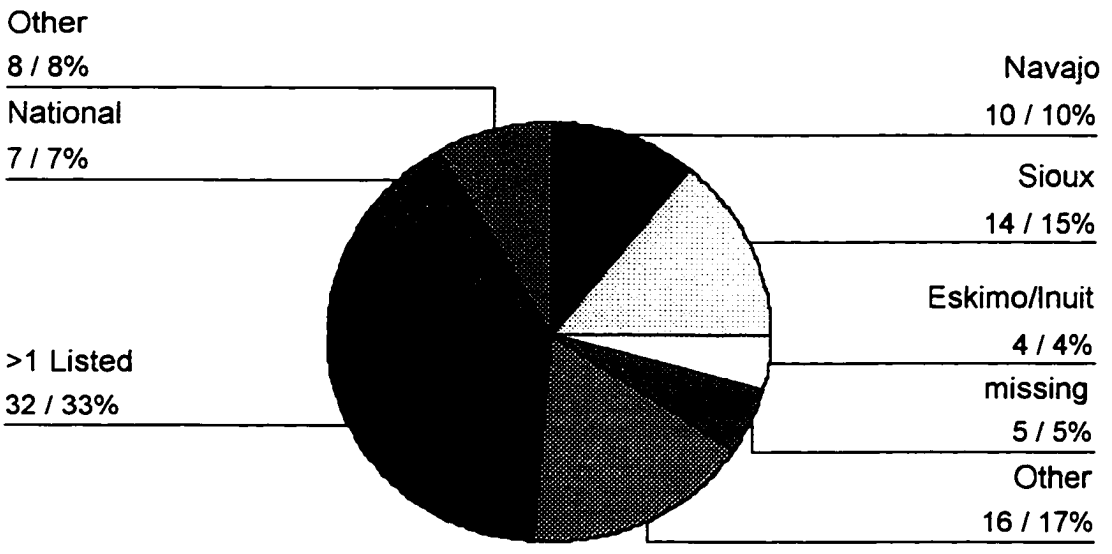
Newsweek focused on more than one Indian band at a time in 33% of their articles; 17% mentioned Indian groups I did not code. That 50% of all articles discussed more than one Indian group (e.g., Kickapoo (#68) Lumbees (#13) or Tuscarora (#60)) suggests that *Newsweek* gave attention to multiple interests at the expense, perhaps, of National ones (7%). This is interesting given Lipset's thesis that Americans are more concerned with the individual than the group.

Figures #9 and #10
Band Affiliation

Maclean's



Newsweek



f) Article Type

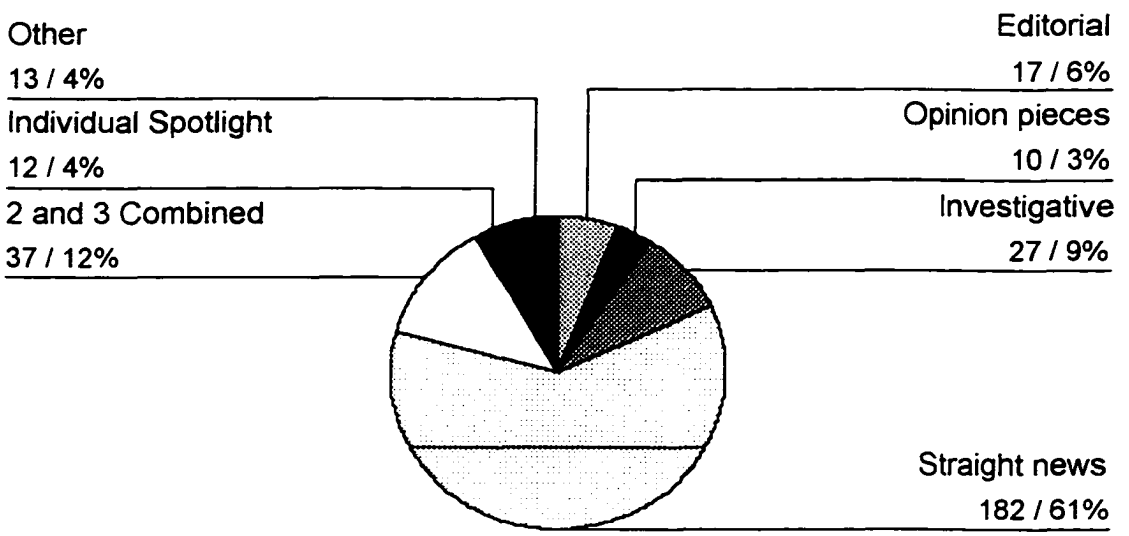
Classifying articles by type, I attempted to determine whether *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* used different approaches in their coverage of Native issues. However, both newsmagazines used similar formats, relying primarily on *straight news* reporting (61% and 68% of coverage, respectively). I defined straight news reporting as *factual* coverage that offered little or no editorial comment or reflection. This type of coverage seems logical considering both magazines focus primarily on contemporary issues.

The second most prominent article type was the category combining *investigative reports* and *opinion pieces* for *Maclean's* (12%) and "Spotlight" in *Newsweek* (8%). One interesting finding was that *Newsweek* had no photo exposé or interviews (1 and 4 respectively for *Maclean's*).

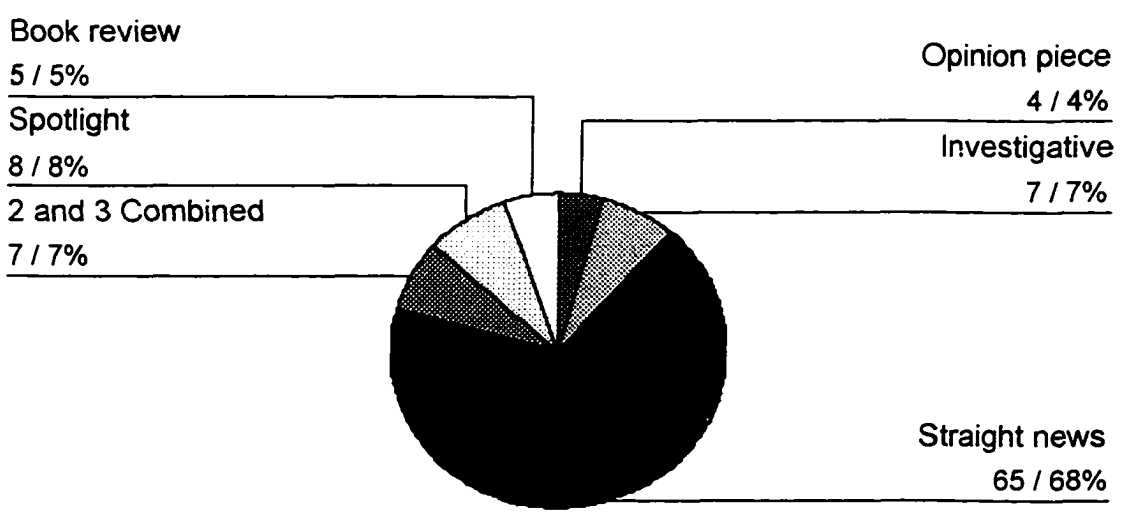
These findings suggest that both magazines apply roughly the same editorial approach to Native issues.

Figures #11 and #12
Type of Article

Maclean's



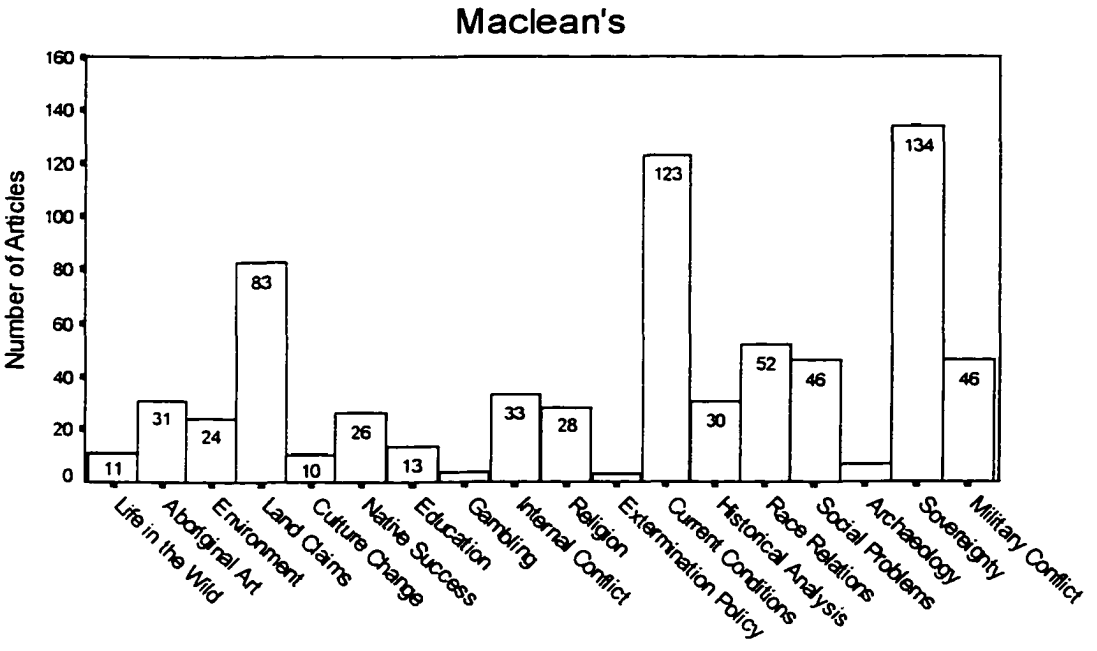
Newsweek

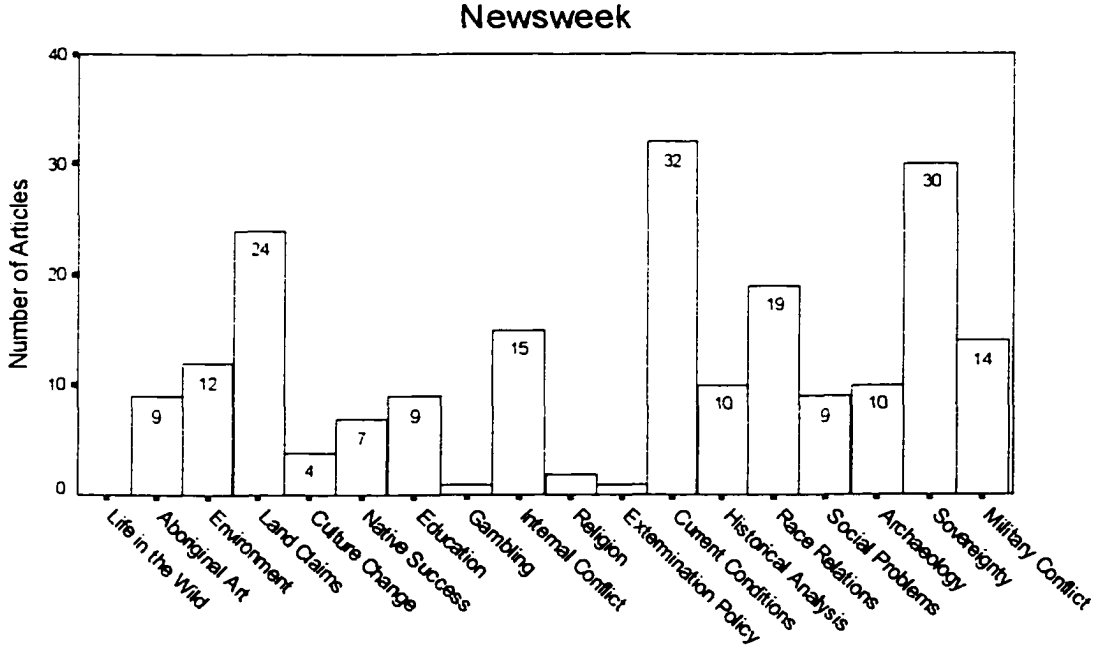


g) Subjects Covered in Articles

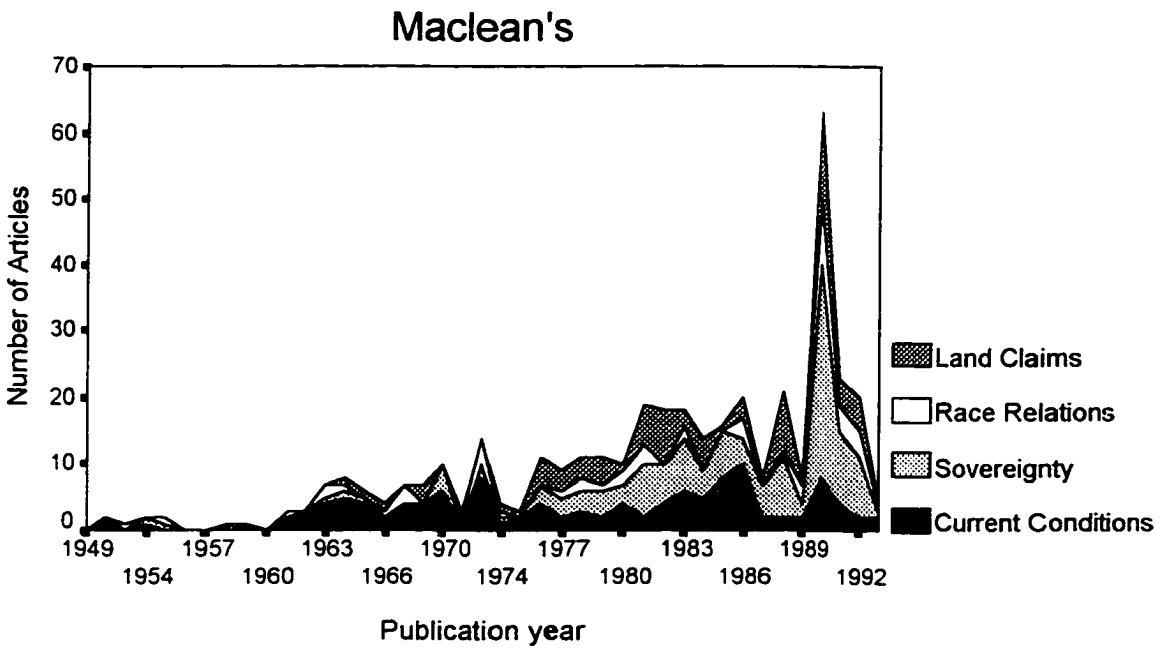
I coded the subject of all articles dealing with Native issues in both *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*. I should mention that a single article could have more than one subject. For example, one article (#156) in *Maclean's* reporting on the Innu of Labrador who were trying to stop NATO planes training over their homeland. This article was coded as having four separate topic areas: #3 - Current Living Conditions, #8 - Sovereignty issues, #11 - Environment, and #12 - Land Claims. The following tables show that *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* covered similar subject areas. In fact, the same four subjects (Sovereignty, Current Conditions, Land Claims, and Race Relations) were the most common in both magazines (although the ordering of topics varied). I also plotted the four most prominent subjects over time.

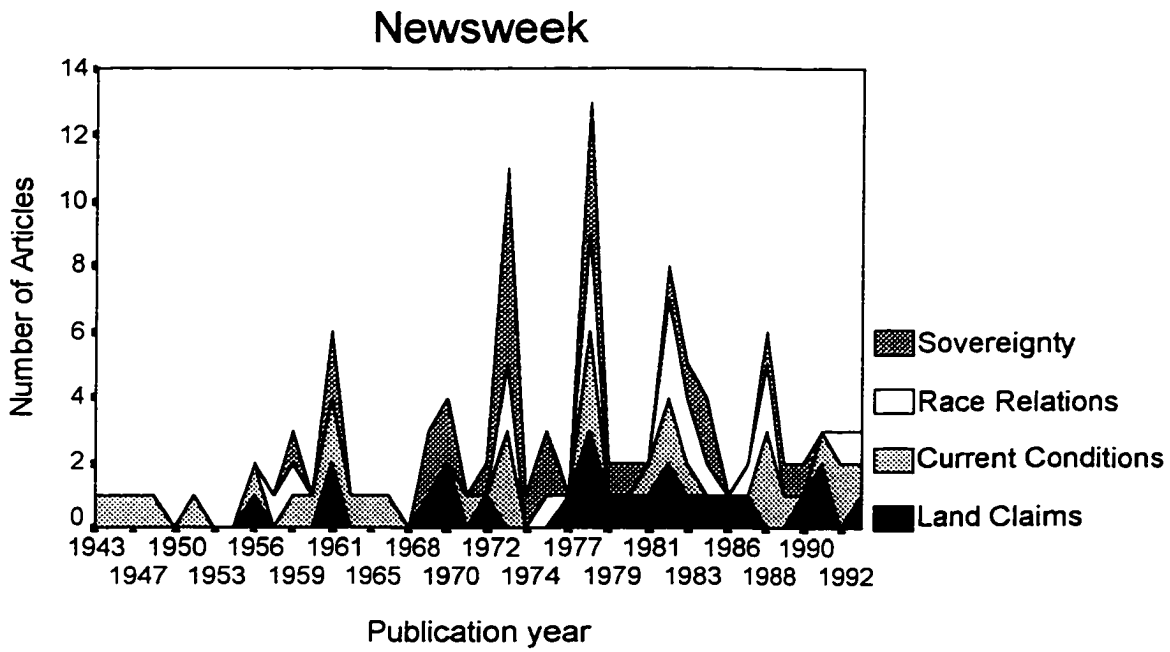
Figures #13 and #14
Distribution of Subjects





Figures #15 and #16
Distribution of the Four Most Prominent Subjects Over Time





Appendix 5
Coding the Seven Hypotheses

Pattern Variable: Elitism vs. Egalitarianism						
	Native Leadership			Political Leadership		
Maclean's	Positive 7, 9, 10, 15, 21, 28, 37, 42, 47, 48, 49, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71, 75, 80, 91, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 114, 117, 119, 120, 124, 125, 126, 129, 130, 131, 133, 136, 148, 150, 152, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 163, 166, 167, 172, 175, 182, 183, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 200, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 246, 254, 256, 257, 258, 261, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 278, 279, 280, 281, 283, 284, 288, 289, 292, 296 N=112	Indeterm. 13, 18, 38, 41, 51, 72, 74, 78, 94, 100, 106, 110, 116, 132, 137, 140, 142, 149, 151, 153, 154, 160, 164, 168, 170, 171, 184, 185, 189, 194, 199, 202, 203, 210, 214, 220, 221, 232, 233, 242, 243, 245, 247, 249, 255, 259, 276, 277, 282, 285, 286, 287, 290, 291, 293, 294 N 56	Negative 11, 12, 24, 44, 53, 73, 87, 96, 134, 147, 165, 177, 181, 216, 231, 236, 248, 250, 251, 252, 263 N 21	Positive 14, 69, 85, 86, 87, 163, 172, 182, 251 N 9	Indeterm. 5, 9, 11, 12, 22, 29, 34, 44, 54, 65, 71, 73, 75, 81, 105, 120, 122, 128, 131, 132, 139, 141, 144, 150, 152, 153, 156, 160, 162, 168, 170, 173, 175, 177, 183, 184, 193, 194, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 206, 209, 210, 216, 220, 221, 223, 233, 243, 253, 254, 260, 264, 265, 268, 270, 272, 274, 280, 283, 285, 286, 293 N 67	Negative 7, 8, 10, 13, 15, 20, 21, 24, 25, 28, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 67, 68, 70, 72, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 84, 89, 90, 91, 93, 96, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 133, 135, 137, 138, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 154, 155, 158, 164, 166, 167, 169, 171, 174, 179, 180, 181, 185, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 195, 196, 201, 205, 207, 208, 211, 214, 215, 217, 218, 222, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 266, 267, 269, 271, 273, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 284, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 294, 296 N 161
Newsweek	Positive 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33, 35, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 57, 58, 61, 65, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 89, 93, 95 N=34	Indeterm. 11, 14, 28, 42, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60, 62, 67, 68, 69, 74, 75, 76, 84, 86, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94 N 28	Negative 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 51, 64, 82, N 8	Positive 4, 15, 27, 37, 38, 81, 85, 87 N=8	Indeterm. 7, 16, 18, 21, 33, 36, 43, 44, 45, 47, 52, 55, 56, 58, 60, 61, 64, 68, 71, 73, 78, 80, 82, 90, 91, 92 N 26	Negative 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 14,17, 19, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41, 42, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 57, 59, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 84, 86, 88, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96 N 46

Pattern Variable: Ascription vs. Achievement			
	Support for Government Redistribution Programs		
Maclean's	**Yes Support** 5, 8, 25, 27, 28, 37, 41, 42, 43, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 64, 69, 70, 86, 89, 90, 93, 96, 105, 109, 114, 119, 120, 122, 126, 128, 129, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 145, 149, 150, 162, 167, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 177, 180, 182, 183, 184, 186, 187, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 214, 215, 217, 220, 228, 239, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 252, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 272, 273, 279, 280, 283, 284, 285, 287, 289, 290, 294 N=107	**Indeterminate** 9, 11, 47, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 76, 81, 84, 99, 100, 108, 112, 138, 140, 146, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 159, 163, 168, 179, 181, 185, 188, 189, 190, 192, 194, 202, 203, 216, 221, 231, 269, 286, 288, 292, 293 N=44	**No Support** 10, 13, 20, 26, 29, 45, 65, 147, 242 N=9
Newsweek	**Yes Support** 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 39, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 56, 59, 61, 66, 68, 70, 72, 73, 76, 78, 80, 81, 82, 85, 88, 89, 91, 95, 96 N=45	**Indeterminate** 14, 17, 26, 28, 34, 37, 38, 43, 45, 47, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 64, 71, 74, 75, 79, 83, 84, 86, 90, 92, 94 N=28	**No Support** 51, 60 N=2

Pattern Variable: Ascription vs. Achievement			
	Native Lawlessness		
Maclean's	**Critical** 11, 12, 62, 63, 67, 147, 203, 216, 231, 232, 234, 236, 242, 250, 251, 263 N=16	**Indeterminate** 9, 17, 65, 74, 81, 90, 111, 137, 153, 168, 181, 185, 202, 204, 221, 222, 235, 237, 243, 245, 247, 248, 252, 253, 259, 267, 269, 284, 291, 293 N=30	**Supportive** 7, 10, 15, 25, 26, 39, 41, 75, 79, 89, 109, 115, 119, 130, 140, 141, 152, 180, 189, 193, 197, 201, 207, 213, 214, 217, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 241, 249, 258, 260, 261, 268, 271, 273, 288, 294 N=43
Newsweek	**Critical** 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 43, 47, 51, 63, 82, 84 N=11	**Indeterminate** 28, 33, 45, 52, 53, 67, 91, 94 N=8	**Supportive** 11, 13, 14, 26, 41, 46, 69, 79, 89 N=9

Pattern Variable: Particularism vs. Universalism			
	Focus on Mosaic	**Indeterminate**	**Focus on Melting Pot**
Maclean's	3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 39, 41, 43, 46, 47, 49, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 67, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 84, 85, 86, 88, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 110, 112, 113, 115, 116, 119, 122, 127, 128, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 198, 199, 200, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 233, 238, 239, 240, 241, 245, 249, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294, 296 N=184	8, 11, 12, 20, 24, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42, 45, 50, 52, 54, 58, 62, 66, 68, 73, 77, 81, 82, 87, 89, 90, 91, 101, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111, 114, 117, 126, 129, 130, 132, 134, 145, 165, 168, 180, 181, 197, 201, 202, 203, 204, 208, 216, 218, 221, 222, 229, 231, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253, 261, 262, 263, 276, 277, 280, 286, 293 N=76	23, 36, 44, 51, 53, 64, 69, 120, 147, 157, 187, 188, 194, 220, 242 N=15
Newsweek	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 41, 42, 44, 46, 48, 54, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95 N=54	12, 13, 21, 24, 28, 32, 33, 37, 39, 40, 43, 45, 47, 50, 52, 53, 55, 59, 64, 67, 69, 74, 75, 77, 84, 86, 90, 94, 96 N=29	4, 10, 15, 36, 38, 49, 51, 60, 63, 78, 82 N=11

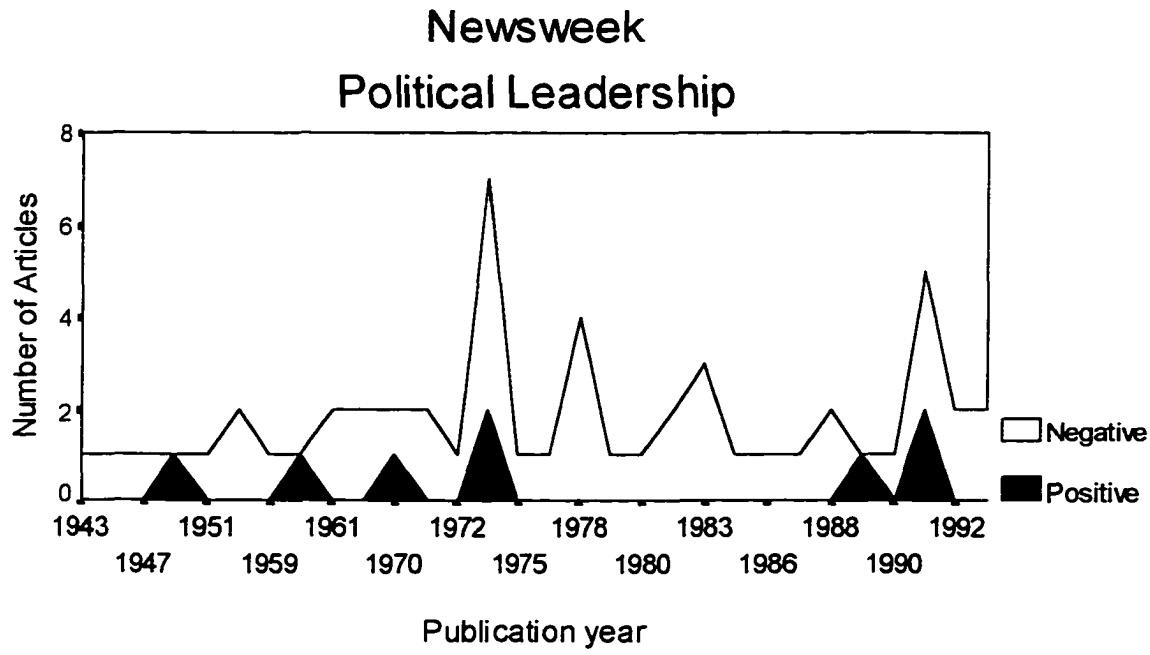
Pattern Variable: Diffuseness vs. Specificity			
	Focus on Collective	**Indeterminate**	**Focus on Individual**
Maclean's	18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 50, 51, 53, 59, 61, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 105, 111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 119, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 177, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 215, 216, 217, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 229, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 264, 265, 266, 269, 271, 272, 273, 274, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285,286, 287, 289, 290, 292, 294 N=190	4, 10, 11, 14, 22, 49, 62, 65, 66, 68, 80, 81, 87 N=13	3, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 17, 33, 37, 40, 43, 45, 47, 48, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 63, 67, 74, 77, 82, 91, 93, 102, 103, 114, 116, 120, 121, 143, 151, 153, 154, 165, 169, 173, 174, 178, 179, 182, 186, 193, 195, 208, 213, 218, 228, 240, 246, 261, 262, 263, 267, 268, 270, 275, 276, 281, 288, 291, 293, 296 N=66
Newsweek	1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 68, 72, 73, 74, 75, 78, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96 N=72	77 N=1	4, 7, 9, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, 58, 62, 63, 67, 69, 70, 71, 76, 79, 82, 83, 94 N=21

Pattern Variable: Diffuseness vs. Specificity			
Native Challenges to the Collective			
	Positive	**Indeterminate**	**Negative**
Maclean's	7, 10, 15, 25, 26, 28, 37, 38, 39, 41, 47, 48, 49, 53, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 68, 69, 71, 72, 75, 78, 79, 80, 84, 89, 90, 93, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 137, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 152, 155, 156, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 199, 201, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 213, 214, 215, 217, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 233, 238, 239, 240, 241, 245, 246, 249, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 283, 284, 287, 288, 289, 290, 292, 294 N=158	8, 11, 12, 34, 45, 73, 74, 77, 81, 87, 132, 134, 138, 151, 153, 157, 159, 161, 165, 168, 175, 180, 181, 187, 189, 194, 197, 202, 203, 204, 218, 221, 222, 229, 234, 235, 237, 243, 244, 247, 248, 251, 252, 253, 268, 275, 280, 282, 285, 286, 293 N=51	44, 147, 216, 231, 232, 236, 242, 250, 263 N=9
Newsweek	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 22, 25,26, 27, 29, 30, 34, 35, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 50, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 91, 93, 95 N=52	14, 19, 28, 33, 43, 53, 55, 67, 74, 75, 82, 86, 92, 94 N=14	32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 47, 49, 51, 60, 63, 64, 90 N=12

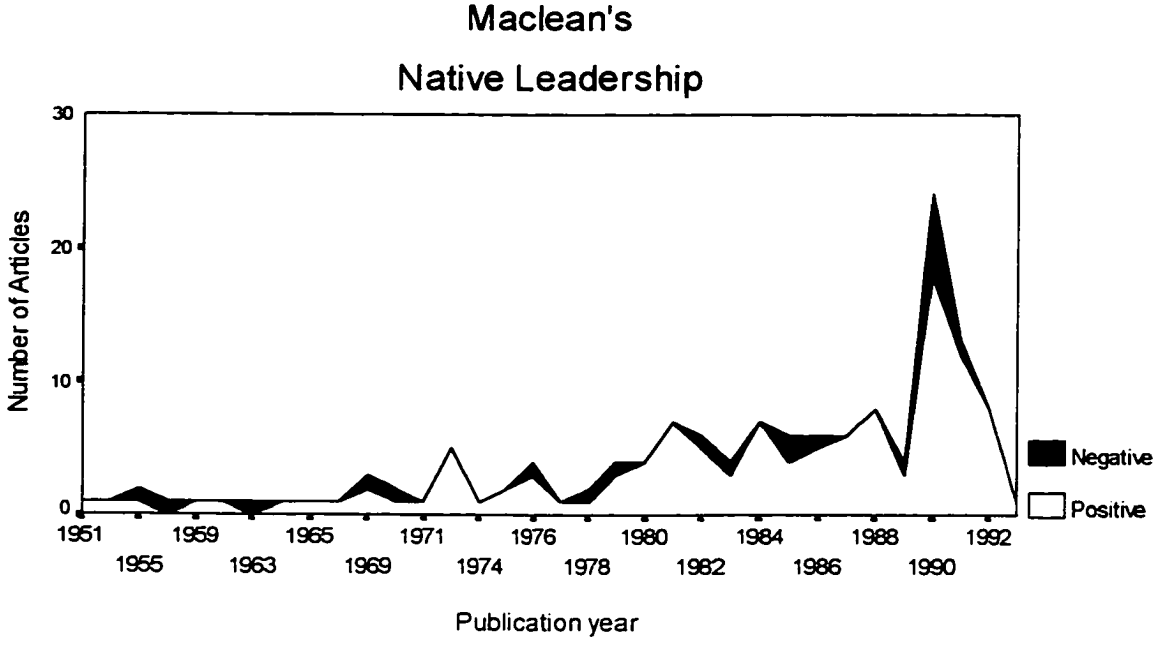
Appendix 6
Hypotheses Over Time

My coding strategy also allowed me to investigate how *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* portrayed Native issues over time.

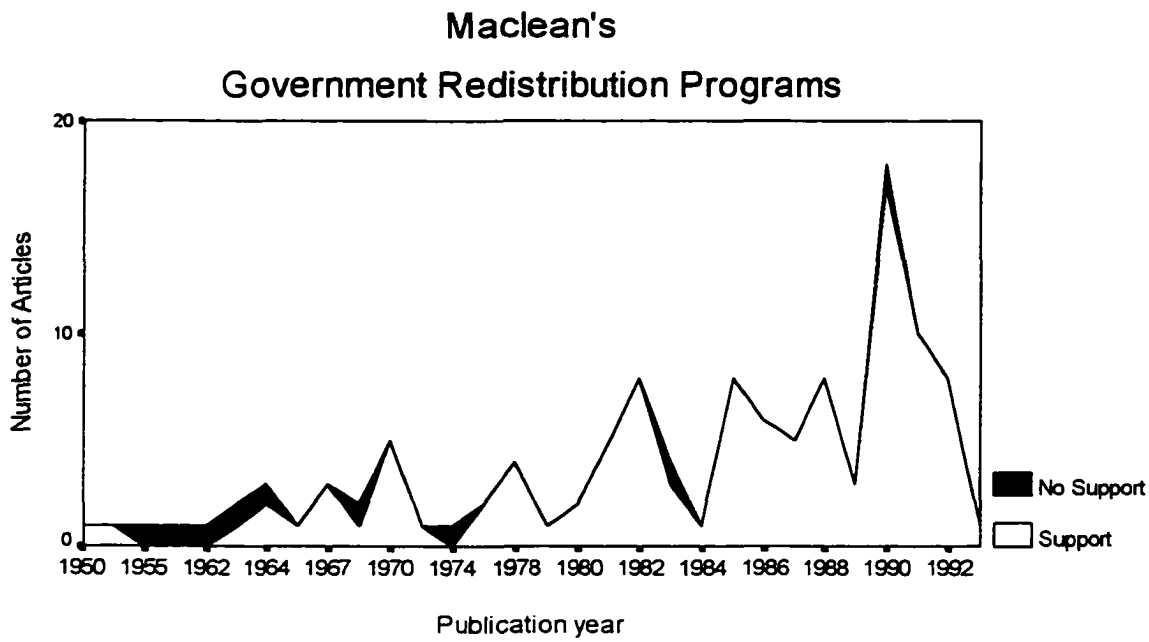
Hypothesis 1a - Political Leadership
Figures #17 and #18



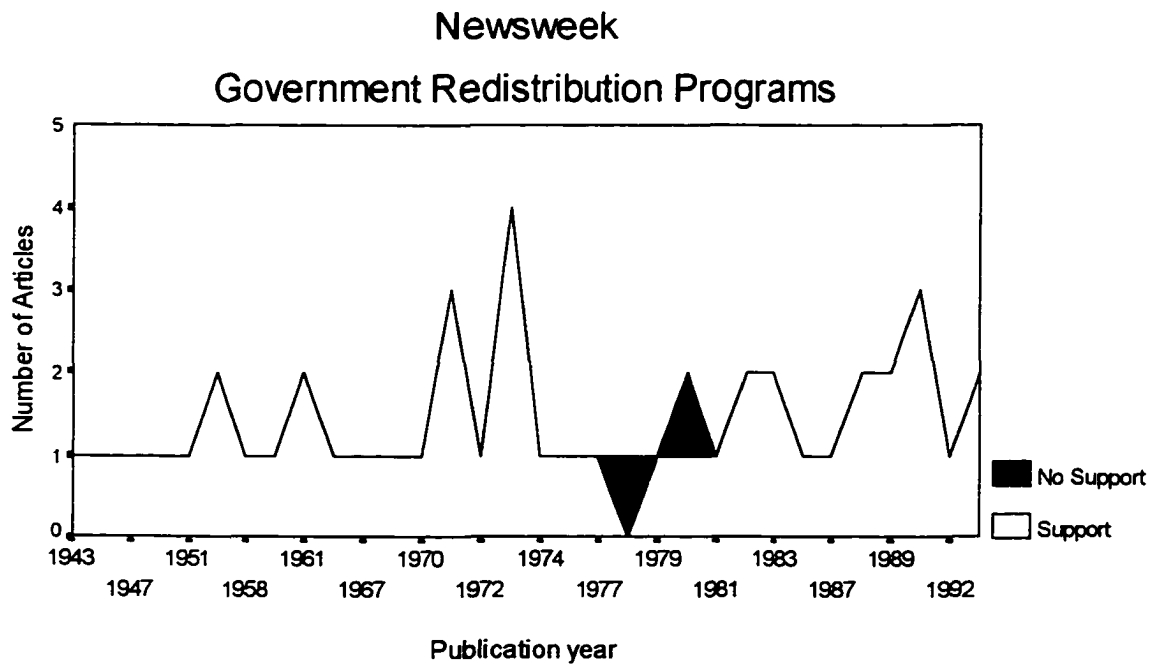
Hypothesis 1b - Native Leadership
Figures #19 and #20



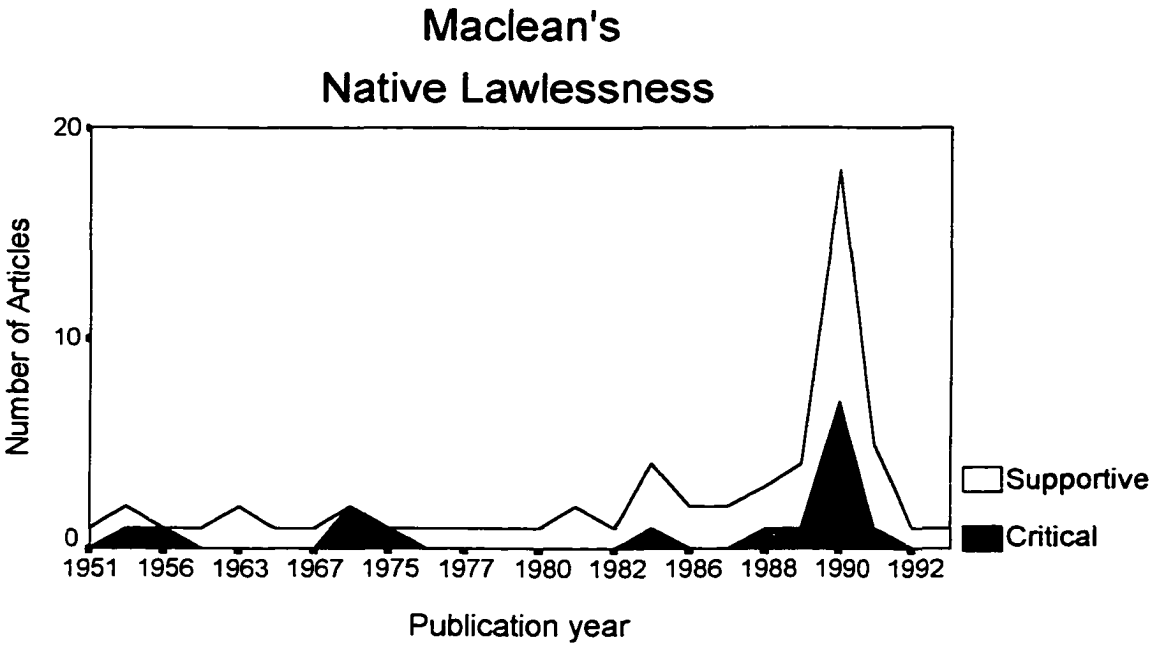
Hypothesis 2a - Government Redistribution Programs

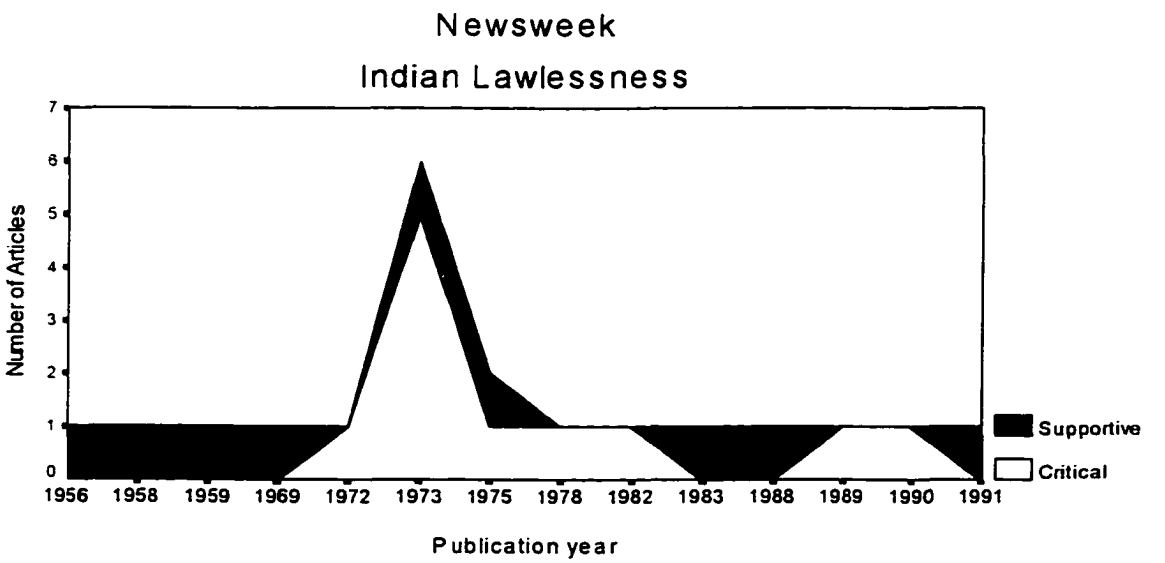


Figures #21 and #22

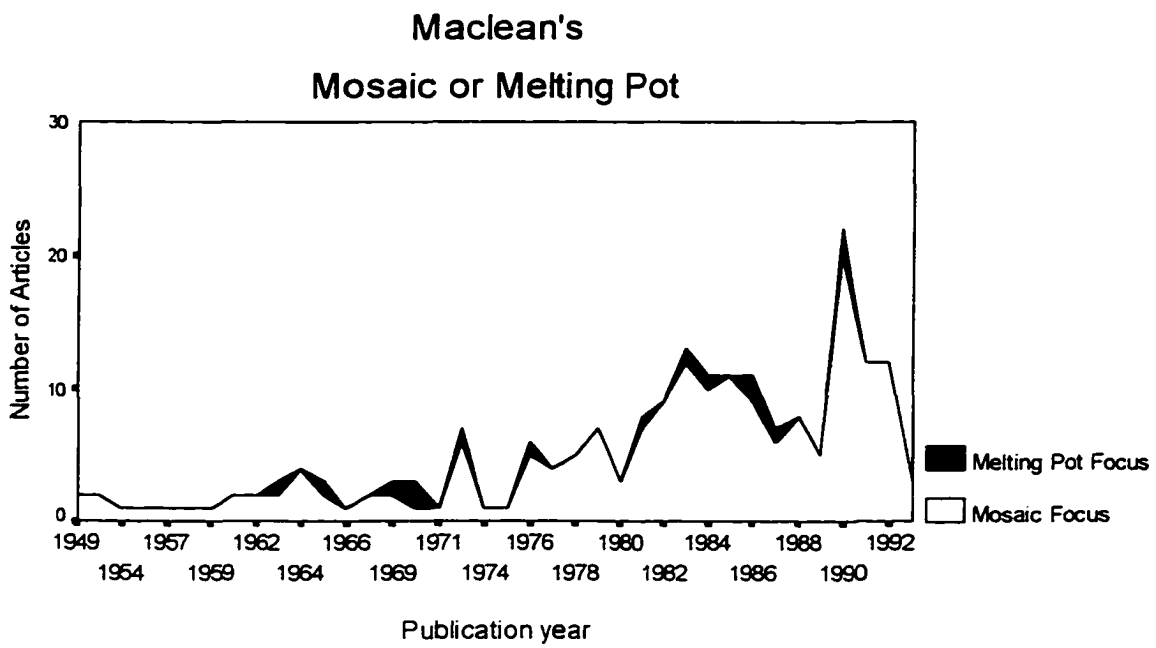


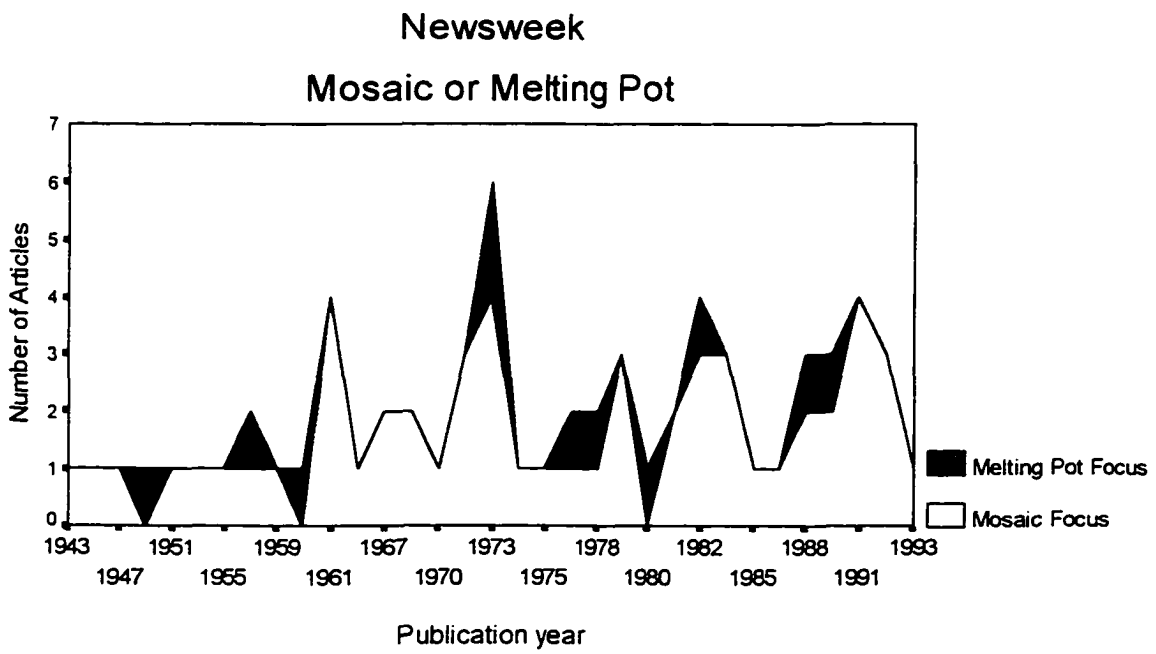
Hypothesis 2b - Native/Indian Lawlessness
Figures #23 and #24



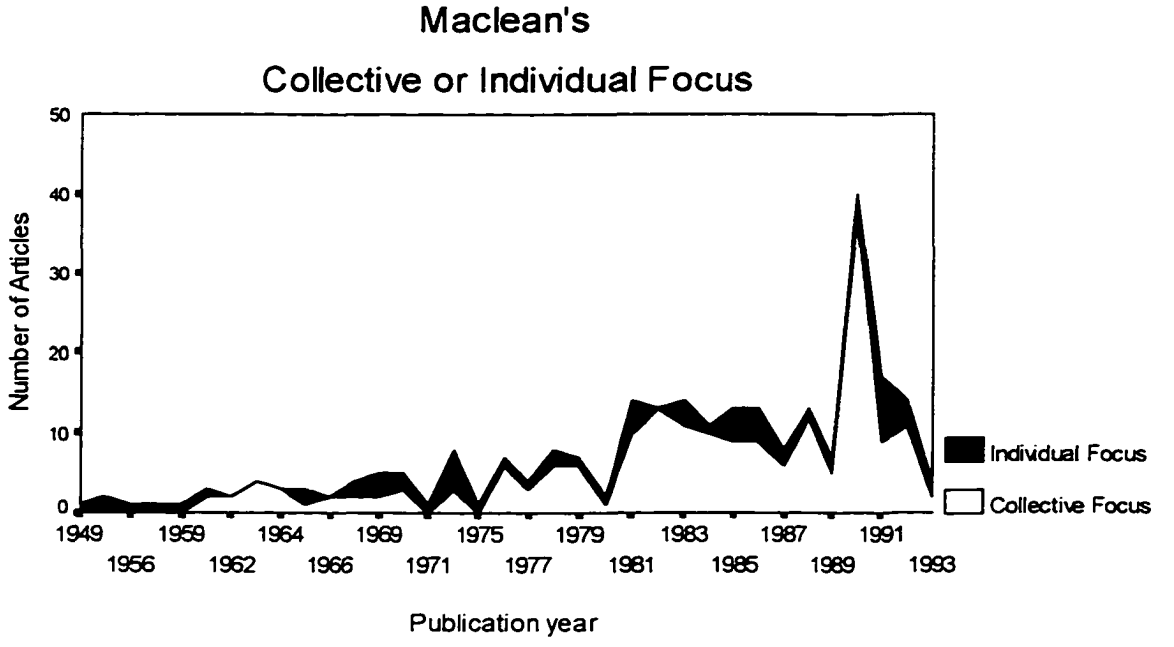


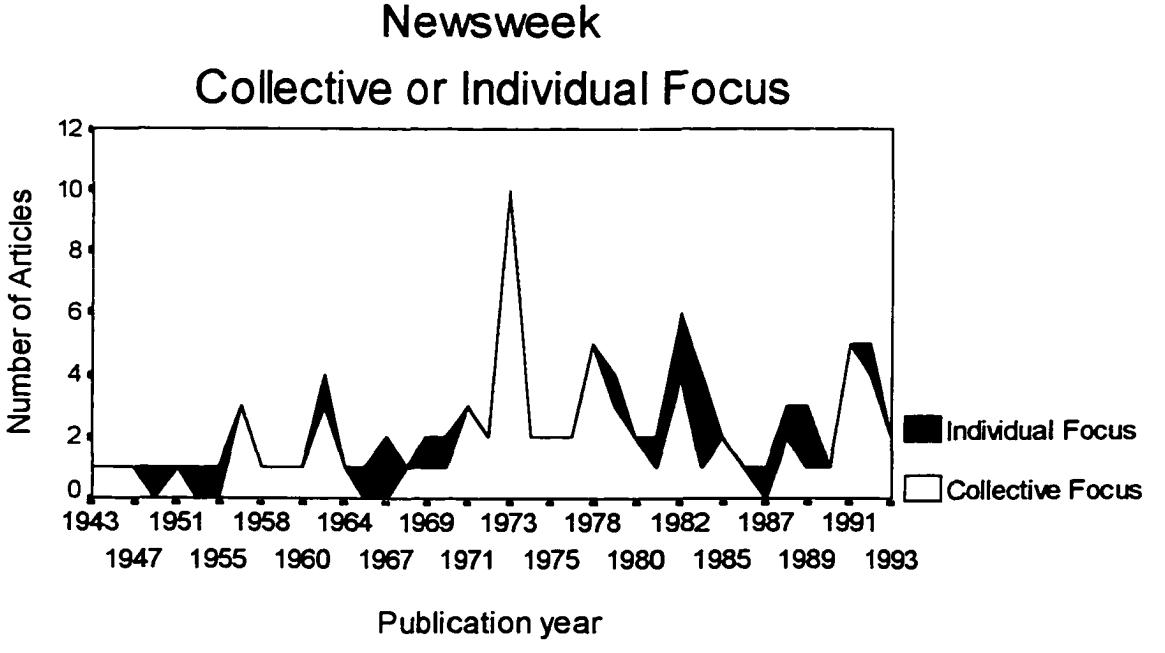
Hypothesis #3 - Mosaic vs. Melting Pot
Figures #25 and #26



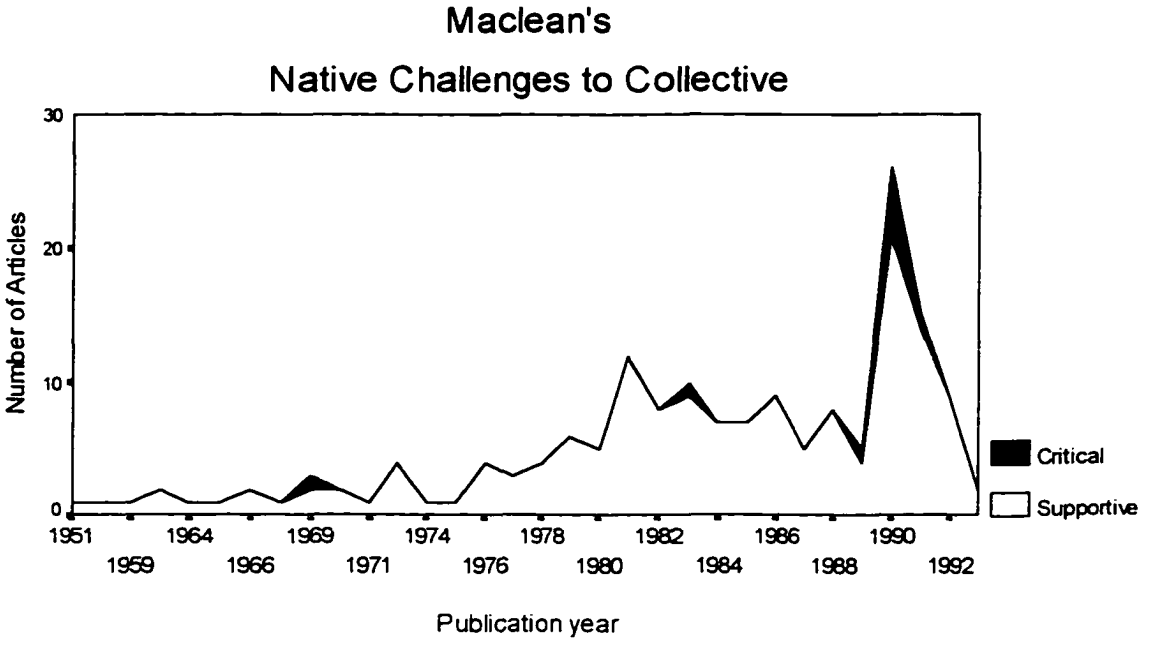


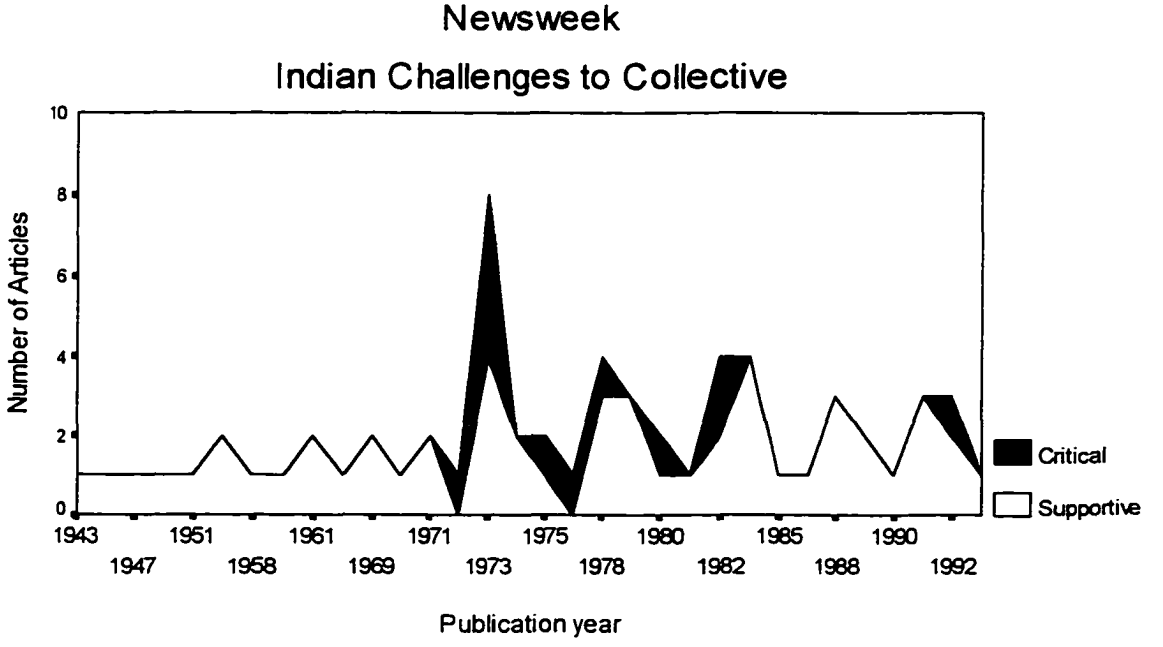
Hypothesis 4a - Collective vs. Individual
Figures #27 and #28





Hypothesis 4b - Native/Indian Challenges to the Collective
Figures #29 and #30





Appendix 7
Hypotheses in Ten-year Segments

Lipset's thesis suggests that Canadian and American value differences remain constant over time. To Lipset, Canadian-American values are separated like the rails of a train track (1990a:212). Researchers have challenged Lipset by saying this proposition is ahistorical and cannot account for social change (see Baer et al., 1990a:709, 1990b:95, 1990c:276; Brym with Fox, 1989:30; Grabb and Curtis, 1988:130; Nevitte et al., 1992:254).

To determine if Lipset's proposition is correct, each of the seven hypotheses were plotted over the 50 years. To demonstrate value change over time the articles from *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* presenting a value bias supporting Lipset were compared (see tables #15 to 21). The resulting percentages were then used to construct trend lines on the following graphs (see figures #31 to 37). Trend lines from one period to the next could either support Lipset's thesis (i.e., be in the same direction or within 5% of each other over the period) or refute it (i.e., be in opposite directions). Thus, for Lipset to be supported, trend lines between *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* should be parallel to each other. (Table #22 summarizes my findings.)

Table #15
Support for Lipset's Parallel Value Change

Hypothesis 1a - Political Leaders[1]

	1943-1953	1954-1963	1964-1973	1974-1983	1984-1993
Maclean's	+0[2] (0)[3]	+1(12)	+0(0)	+4(8)	+4(5)
	-2	-7	-23	-49	-81
Newsweek	+1(20)	+1(17)	+3(21)	+2(13)	+3(19)
	-4	-5	-11	- 13	-13

[1] The number of time-periods varies between hypotheses because some periods had too few articles to provide an adequate sample.

[2] + / - designations indicate the number of articles demonstrating a bias towards that topic and the nature of the bias, i.e., + are supportive and - are critical biases.

[3] Numbers in brackets are the percentage of articles presenting a value-bias consistent with Lipset's hypothesis. This was calculated by dividing the number of articles supporting Lipset's hypothesis by the total number of articles demonstrating a value-bias on that topic.

Table #16 Hypothesis 1b - Native Leaders				
	1943-1963	1964-1973	1974-1983	1984-1993
Maclean's	+5	+12	+30	+79
	-3(38)	-2(14)	-5(14)	-11(12)
Newsweek	+4	+9	+11	+10
	-0(0)	-5(36)	- 2(15)	-1(9)

Table #17 Hypothesis 2a - Government Redistribution					
	1943-1953	1954-1963	1964-1973	1974-1983	1984-1993
Maclean's	+2(100)	+1(20)	+12(86)	+25(93)	+67(99)
	-0	-4	-2	-2	-1
Newsweek	+5(100)	+6(100)	+12(100)	+10(83)	+12(100)
	-0	-0	-0	- 2	-0

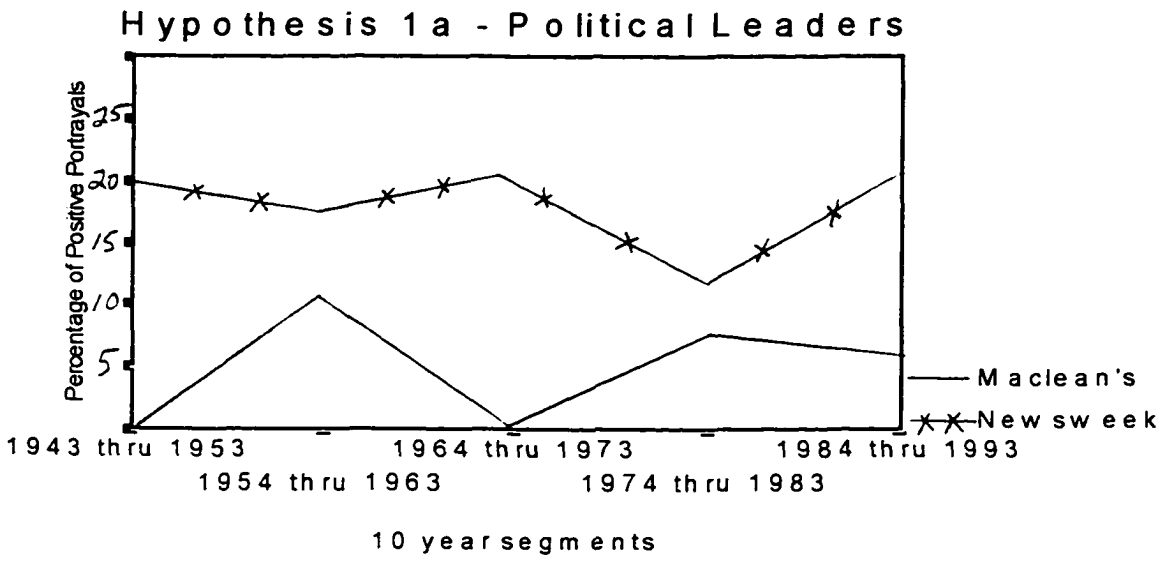
Table #18 Hypothesis 2b - Native Lawlessness				
	1943-1963	1964-1973	1974-1983	1984-1993
Maclean's	+5	+2	+10	+26
	-2(29)	-2(50)	-2(17)	-10(28)
Newsweek	+3	+2	+2	+2
	-0(0)	-6(75)	- 3(60)	-2(50)

Table #19 Hypothesis 3 - Mosaic Perspective					
	1943-1953	1954-1963	1964-1973	1974-1983	1984-1993
Maclean's	+4(100)	+11(92)	+19(79)	+54(95)	+96(94)
	-0	-1	-5	-3	-6
Newsweek	+5(83)	+7(78)	+13(87)	+15(79)	+14(87)
	-1	-2	-2	- 4	-2

Table #20 Hypothesis 4a - Collectivist Orientation					
	1943-1953	1954-1963	1964-1973	1974-1983	1984-1993
Maclean's	+0(0)	+8(67)	+16(52)	+55(79)	+111(79)
	-3	-4	-15	-15	-29
Newsweek	+4(67)	+9(82)	+19(79)	+22(76)	+18(78)
	-2	-2	-5	- 7	-5

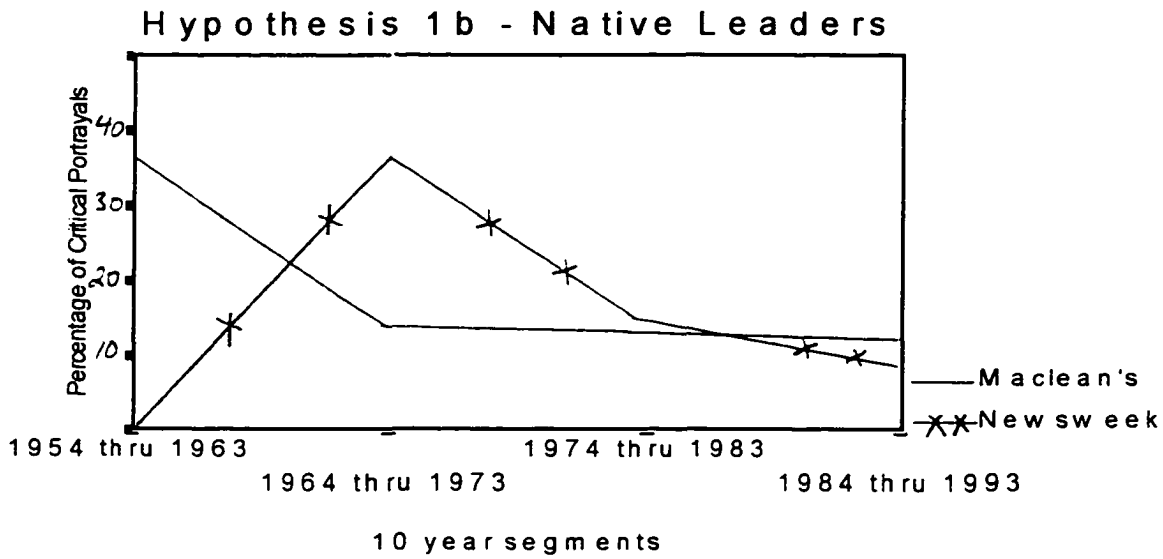
Table #21 Hypothesis 4b - Native Challenge to Collective			
	1943-1973	1974-1983	1984-1993
Maclean's	+19	+53	+86
	-1(5)	-1(2)	-7(7)
Newsweek	+21	+17	+14
	-5(19)	- 6(26)	-1(7)

Figure #31



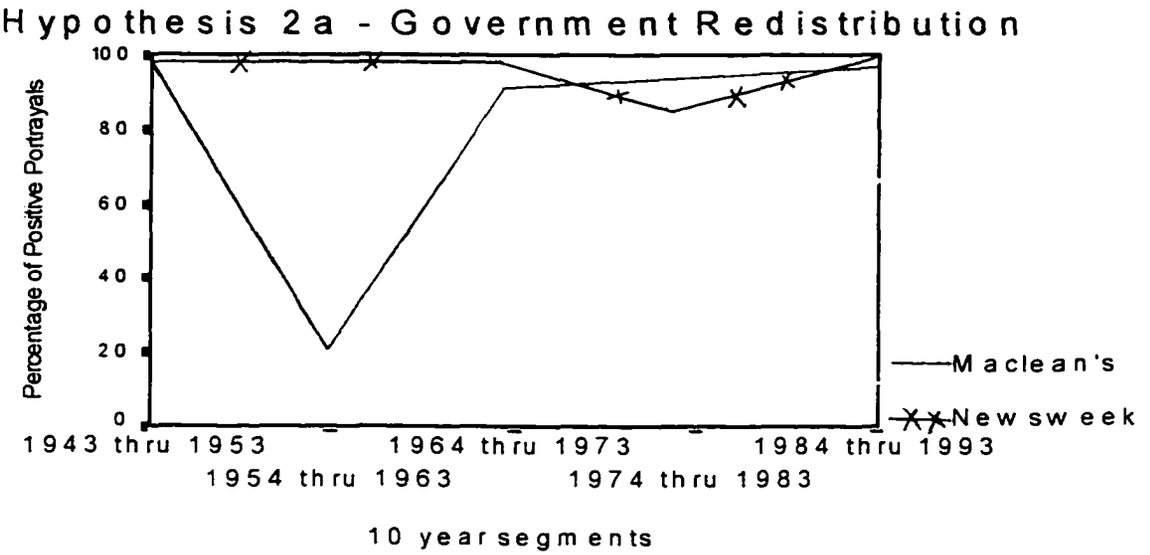
Hypothesis 1a - predicted *Maclean's* would view political leaders more positively than *Newsweek*. However, all trend lines for both newsmagazines are in opposite directions.

Figure #32



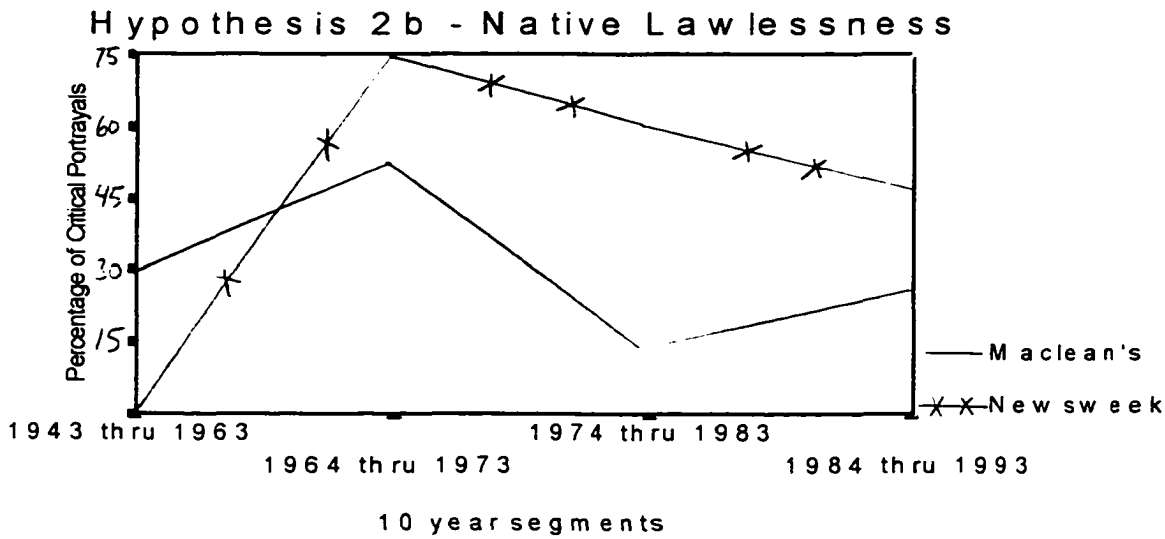
Hypothesis 1b - predicted *Maclean's* would present Native leaders more critically than *Newsweek*. My analysis found that only one trend line (1974 to 1993) is parallel for both *Maclean's* and *Newsweek*.

Figure #33



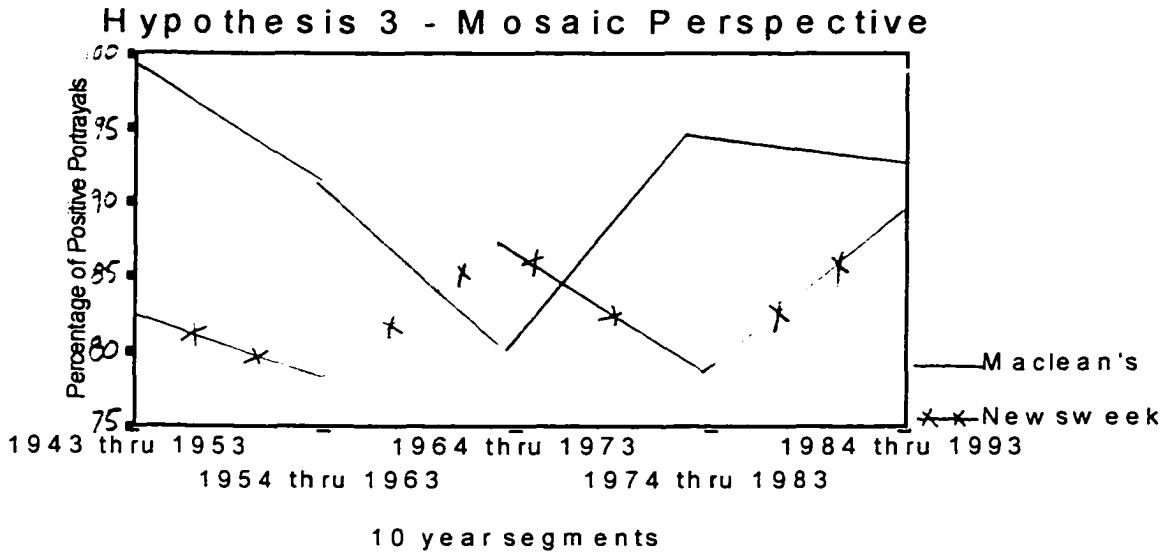
Hypothesis 2a - predicted *Maclean's* would be more supportive of government-sponsored redistribution program than *Newsweek*. However, the only period illustrating parallel value change is the period 1974 to 1993.

Figure #34



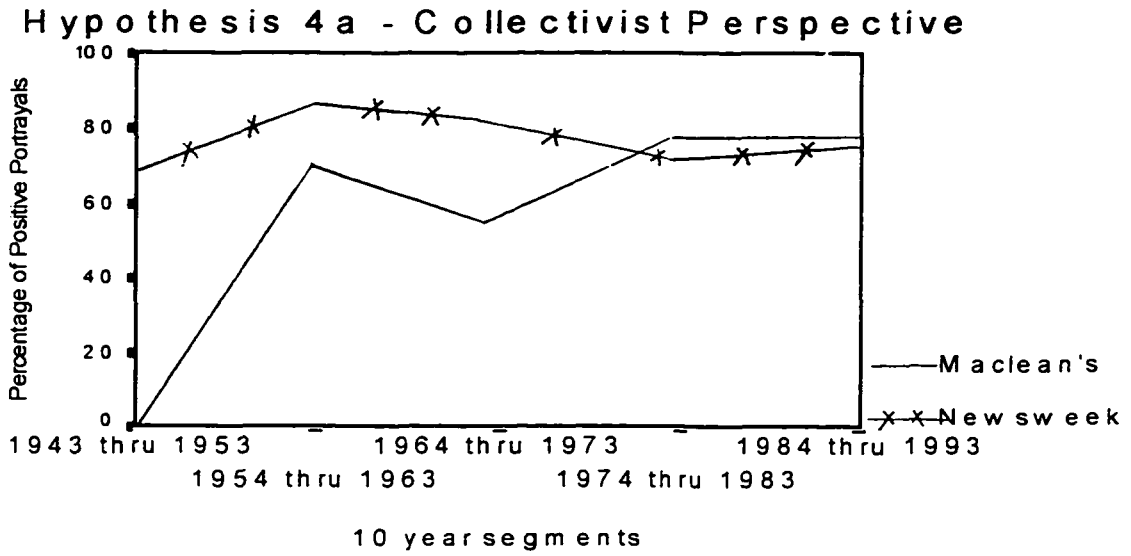
Hypothesis 2b - predicted *Maclean's* would be more critical of Native lawlessness than *Newsweek*. However, the only parallel period is 1964 to 1983.

Figure #35



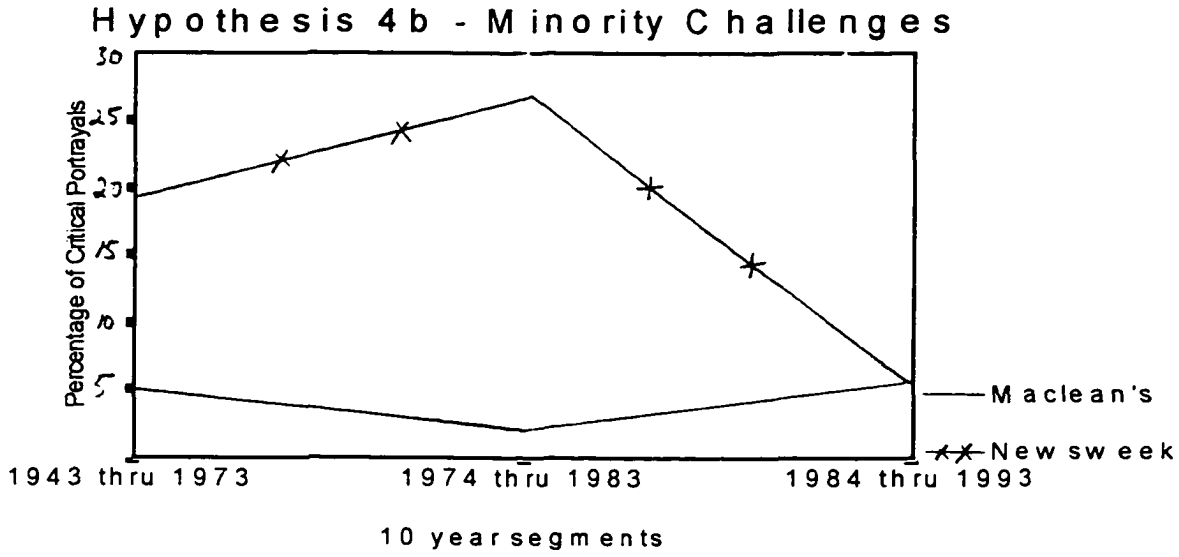
Hypothesis 3 - predicted *Maclean's* would be more supportive of the mosaic perspective than *Newsweek*. My research suggests that only one of the four trend lines shows parallel change (1943-1963).

Figure #36



Hypothesis 4a - predicted *Maclean's* would be more supportive of the collectivist perspective than *Newsweek*. This is the only hypothesis supporting Lipset since the period 1964-1983 is the only period that is *not* parallel.

Figure #37



Hypothesis 4b - predicted that *Maclean's* would present more critical portrayals of Native challenges to the collective than *Newsweek*. However, these results show no support for Lipset's thesis since trend lines between *Maclean's* and *Newsweek* are opposite to each other.

Table #22 **Hypotheses Over Time**			
Hypothesis	Support	No Support	Total Time Periods
1a	0	4	4
1b	1	2	3
2a	1	3	4
2b	1	2	3
3	1	3	4
4a	3	1	4
4b	0	2	2
Total (%)	7 (29)	17 (71)	24 (100)

My results suggest that Lipset's thesis of parallel value change between Canadians and Americans is supported by only hypothesis 4a - Collectivist Orientation. This finding suggests Lipset's thesis of parallel value-change between Canadians and Americans has little merit.

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