IDLE NO MORE AND THE TREADMILL OF

PRODUCTION: CORPORATE POWER,

ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, AND ACTIVISM

By

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Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and Geography

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Stillwater, OK

2013

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
July, 2015

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Date of Degree: JULY, 2015

Title of Study: IDLE NO MORE AND THE TREADMILL OF PRODUCTION: CORPORATE POWER, ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, AND ACTIVISM

Major Field: INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Abstract: Idle No More (INM) is a First Nations rights social-environmental movement that began as a response to the proposal of Bill C-45 in Canada. Bill C-45, also known as the Jobs and Growth Act of 2012, deregulated "barriers to development" by making changes to many environmental protections. Deregulation made it easier for industries to pass environmental assessments in order to expand production and extraction activities. Even though this legislation decreased ability of the First Nations to hunt and fish on shared land, the Canadian parliament passed the bill on December 14, 2012 with little to no consultation with the First Nations. The purpose of this study is to understand how the Idle No More respondents on Facebook are talking about, and actively resisting, corporate power and environmental degradation within the framework of the treadmill of production. An historical context, along with literature about social movement grievance construction and the theory of the treadmill of production is included in this analysis. This study makes use of qualitative content analysis to understand grievances and narratives posted to the INM Facebook Page during the emergence of the movement in November 2012 through February 2013. Using direct quotes from the Facebook posts as evidence, this study shows that the narratives of INM actors reflect resistance to the forces of the treadmill of production by opposing corporate power in multiple ways, and suggests that extraction companies, consumption, alliances between corporations and the government, and greed of money and power causes environmental degradation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Idle No More (INM) movement started in late November 2012, emerging into the

political sphere with teach-ins designed to educate constituents about the implementation of Bill

C-45 and organize resistance by First Nations Peoples in Canada (Graveline 2012). Facilitated by

four women elders from Saskatchewan, Canada – Nina Wilson, Sylvia McAdam, Jessica Gordon,

and Sheelah McLean – early efforts focused on risks posed by the implementation of Bill C-45.

INM leaders organized a National Day of Action on December 10, 2012 to hold protests in major

cities such as Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Saskatoon to resist neo-colonialism, promote land and

resource rights for First Nations peoples, and oppose the proposed bill (Kino-nda-niimi Collective

2014). Social media, such as Facebook and Twitter, helped the movement gain momentum over

the next few months while also acting as an organizing tool for protests, sit-ins, and road-blocks

(Wotherspoon and Hansen 2013). Idle No More soon became the "largest transformative

movement for Indigenous rights in Canada," gaining international solidarity with other

environmentalists, indigenous peoples, and labor organizations working to mitigate the harmful

impacts of legislature on human rights (Graveloine 2012: 293).

The Harper Government proposed the budget provision, Bill C-45, also known as the

Jobs and Growth Act of 2012, as a way to deregulate "barriers to development" by prioritizing

economic incentives over treaty agreements and the health of the environment (Wotherspoon and

Hansen 2013). Before the government passed the bill, the Indian Act, the Navigable Waters

Protection Act, the Environmental Assessment Act, and the Fisheries Act protected 32,000 lakes and 2.25 million rivers (Graveline 2012). Bill C-45 proposed changes to 64 different acts resulting in only 97 lakes, three oceans, and 62 rivers remaining under protection in Canada (Graveline 2012). The Senate passed Bill C-45 with little to no consultation with Canada's First Nations, on December 14, 2012 (Graveline 2012). Although this study does not seek to analyze the contents of this omnibus bill, the proposal of this bill functions as a major catalyst for the creation of the INM movement, impacting access and rights for First Nations peoples. The Canadian government passing omnibus bills is a new phenomenon, and this bill defines a radical change in Canadian policy with significant economic, social and political implications.

Chief Theresa Spence of the Attawapiskat First Nation went on a hunger strike following the Senate's choice to pass Bill C-45, demanding that Prime Minister Harper meet with First Nations to discuss the federal government's responsibility to uphold treaty agreements (Kino-nda-niimi Collective 2014). On January 11, 2013, Harper met with Spence and other First Nations leaders to discuss the declaration of First Nations' needs. Although the First Nations clearly articulated and widely publicized their demands, the meeting came to no definite fruition (Graveline 2012). Briefly summarized, as expressed on the Idle No More official website (idlenomore.ca), calls for change include repealing provisions of Bill C-45, deepening democracy in Canada, upholding the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, affirming Aboriginal titles and rights, and holding those accountable for violence against First Nations women.

First Nations peoples believe that sharing the land, while also ensuring rights for the First Nations peoples to the resources and land on which they reside, is the intent of the treaties agreed upon with the Canadian government. Unfortunately, the Canadian government, historically, does not uphold treaty requirements, resulting in negative implications for First Nations peoples and resources (Kino-nda-niimi Collective 2014). The government promises benefits from exploration,

mining, and development to First Nations peoples, but does not follow through with these promises (Wotherspoon and Hansen 2013).

Oppression continues as long as indigenous populations lack rights to self-determination. When a national government blocks involvement with legislative processes determining rights to land and resources as previously agreed upon in treaties, resistance occurs (Wotherspoon and Hansen 2013). Harper's reluctance to meet with First Nations or to include them in the decision-making process from the beginning, while simultaneously promoting national economic development at the cost of further marginalizing indigenous groups, encourages oppression and exploitation as the participants and leaders of the INM movement express (Wotherspoon and Hansen 2013). The purpose of this study is to understand how the Idle No More respondents on Facebook are talking about, and actively resisting, corporate power and environmental degradation within the framework of the treadmill of production.

Using qualitative content collected from the Idle No More Facebook page, I make use of content analysis strategies to analyze the narratives of corporate power, environmental degradation, and resistance to the forces of the treadmill of production in the context of the Idle No More movement in Canada. The research questions for this study include: In what ways do INM actors resist corporate power? In what ways do INM actors talk about and work to address environmental degradation? Do INM narratives as presented in this form of social media reflect resistance to the forces of the treadmill of production? Although the contents of bill C-45 are not central to the study, I provide a thorough analysis of the grievances that formed the INM movement and their reactions to the passing of this omnibus bill.

I begin by providing historical context of the relationship of First Nations to a changing environment during pre- and after European contact. I offer an outline of major treaties that have impacted First Nations. Also, First Nations land claim issues and localized resistance, such as the

Oka Crisis of 1990 and the Ipperwash Standoff of 1995, are described to provide recent examples of land and resource disputes that have occurred in Canada, and offer context for the contemporary emergence of the Idle No More movement. Next, I provide a brief outline of Bill C-45 and the changes made to legislation that sparked this social movement. I then provide a review of several dimensions of the social movement literature construction of grievances, identity and tactics, and the emergence of Indigenous movements, in order to situate INM within social movement frameworks. Then, I turn to a review of the literature addressing theories of the treadmill of production, focusing on how this perspective attends to corporate power relations, environmental degradation, and activism. Following the literature review, I offer my research design and consider the benefits and disadvantages of analyzing social media data, provide a description of the INM Facebook data and how they were collected and coded, and address the strengths and weaknesses of the data. Finally, I offer my analysis, which includes valuable excerpts from the data, including grievances and resistance tactics, along with constant comparison of the data with components of the treadmill of production theory woven throughout each section. I close with discussion and conclusions articulating how my findings reflect the information addressed in the literature, and provide a more succinct analysis of the INM movement's grievance construction and how movement concerns reflect or refute dimensions addressed in treadmill of production theory while also offering directions for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

I address three separate yet related sets of literatures. First, I offer an historical context of Canada, providing a brief outline of the "numbered treaties." I discuss two recent examples of First Nations land claim issues in order to provide historical resistance in relation to the INM movement. Also, I provide a brief summary of bill C-45 and the history of round dances in First Nations culture. Second, I broadly consider social movement literature, discussing grievances and collective identity particularly as they occur in indigenous social movements. Then, I address the treadmill of production, emphasizing three component parts of the perspective: corporate power, environmental degradation and active resistance to the forces of the treadmill of production. I close this chapter with a brief analytical framework to provide preliminary links between the literature and the research questions for this study, as well as the contributions of this work to the social movement literature.

Historical Context

The environmental history of Canada is vast, and many studies focus analysis on this subject. In order to provide context for the INM movement, this section presents the most important environmental events, or turning points, in Canadian history. Each tribe and band experienced contact with European settlers differently (Burnett and Read 2012; Broad et al. 2006). Seven major First Peoples cultural regions exist in Canada, which include the Northwest Coast, the Arctic, the Sub-Arctic, the Plateau, the Plains, the Mackenzie District, and the Eastern

Woodlands (Frideres 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010; Philip 2006). To outline the history of each tribe and cultural region would fill volumes of books, but this section will attempt to provide major events that occurred and their effects on some of the tribes residing in Canada, in order to construct a basis for the events that took place throughout history. Not all tribes experienced these events, and many events occurred on a local scale.

The environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s that took place in the United States promoted the belief that the "original conservationists" were Native Americans and First Nations peoples and therefore could not cause anthropogenic change in the environment (Hames 2007; White and Cronon 1988). Dangerous assumptions can result from this belief, according to White and Cronon (1988), because denying that First Peoples made an impact on the environment denies them of having a material history or culture before European contact occurred on the North American continent. The following environmental history will attempt to decolonize assumptions of First Peoples' history by analyzing environmental changes and livelihoods before, and after, European contact. This history will also provide a brief overview of the numbered treaties, reservation policies, and land claim issues.

Before European contact, First Nations and Native Americans of North America enjoyed a system of high social stratification, including political systems, trade routes, warfare, and various means of acquiring food and goods (Wolfe 2010). Peoples of North America used irrigation and slash-and-burn methods of agriculture, along with the use of tools for fishing and hunting game such as bison (Wolfe 2010). The First Peoples of North America did not live in isolation from each other, but rather shared resources, through the trading of goods, and even experienced warfare among one another on occasion (Wolfe 2010). Tribes and bands that utilized agriculture typically formed villages and centers, and lived in large, populated groups (Wolfe 2010). Also, a relationship between culture, religion and food harvesting activities existed among many tribes (Kuokkanen 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010; Stevenson and Webb 2004; White and

Cronon 1988). For example, the Ojibwe (Anishinaabe), East Cree, and Mi'kmaq believed that a social relationship between two spirits exist – the hunter and the animal – in hunting activities where the animal voluntarily gives its life to the hunter for sustenance out of a mutual friendship or love (Fixico 2011; Hornborg 2008; Stevenson and Webb 2004; White and Cronon 1988). The Mi'kmaq believed that the violation of particular taboos during hunting activities, such as improperly disposing animal remains or the overkilling of animals, causes the animals' spirits to retaliate by making future hunting attempts unfruitful (Hornborg 2008; Martin 1996).

First Nations utilized agriculture and hunting as prominent livelihoods, and great horticulturalists include the Iroquois (Kanien'kehaka), but they likely used a variety of subsistence activities rather than remaining in one location and relying on one dominant crop or game animal (Fixico 2011; Ray 1996; White and Cronon 1988). Even in areas consisting most prominently of agriculture or horticulture, people also relied on hunting, gathering, and fishing in order to avoid short-term scarcity and deprivation (Merchant 2007; Ray 1996; White and Cronon 1988). Along with diversity in subsistence practices and diverse resource use, the First Nations made a custom of sharing resources with one another through trade and various ceremonies, whether it be with other families within a tribe or band, or among other tribes (Parent 2012; Kuokkanen 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010; Ray 1996). In fact, for many tribes, the act of sharing was reinforced through the prestige that was granted to a generous chief. Chiefs and tribes that were known for sharing their wealth were seen as prestigious and virtuous (Kuokkanen 2011; Ray 1996).

Ranked first in the world for the total length of ocean coastlines (Burke et al. 2001) and with a prevalence of large lakes and extensive rivers (Piper 2012), Canada's First Nations made fishing a major part of their livelihoods (Parent 2012; Burnett and Read 2012). Rich habitats for a variety of fish species abound the Northwest and Great Lakes regions (Piper 2012; Fixico 2011; Thoms 1999). Many tribes, like the Ojibwe, developed a seasonal fishing scheme centered on

accommodating multiple fishing groups as far back as 1000 BCE (Parent 2012; Thoms 1999). In the spring and summer, families fish on a section of inherited land, and many fishers occasionally put some of the live fish back into the water to allow families living downstream to partake in this subsistence activity (Parent 2012; Piper 2012; Thoms 1999). It was also important for some of the fish to stay in the water to allow for spawning to occur (Parent 2012). While waterways allowed for a varied subsistence livelihood based on seasonal fishing, the waterways throughout Canada also allowed for increased travel among the First Nations, most notably with the development of the birchbark canoe (Parent 2012).

First Nations developed tools for hunting, fishing, and agriculture and used these tools to change their environment (Fixico 2011; White and Cronon 1988). By hunting, First Nations peoples impact and control animal populations for any given area. Gathering foodstuffs and agriculture changed the environment by impacting the types of plant species grown in areas of temporary settlement, thus changing vegetation patterns of the landscape (Ray 1996; White and Cronon 1988). Fishing impacted the species and population of fish, and overall aquatic ecosystem, for any given area and downstream from the primary point of extraction for a given family (Parent 2012; White and Cronon 1988). The use of fire impacted the environment most heavily before European contact. First Nations used fire to warm homes, cook, and even clear grassy areas for agriculture. Burning wood contributed to local deforestation and also to changes in vegetation and animal species habitat (White and Cronon 1988). Population densities and the use of resources directly impacted the environment and landscape. Low population densities with access to diverse resource use contributed to a lower level of environmental impact, while high population densities depending on one or two major sources for sustenance experienced higher environmental impact (White and Cronon 1988).

Europeans from Spain, Portugal, England and France arriving on the North American continent in the fifteenth century, did not expect to meet groups of people from cultures very

much unlike their own (Harrison and Friesen 2010). With an ethnocentric worldview, Europeans made policies and agreements with First Nations that reflected a combination of paternalism, self-interest, and oftentimes philanthropy and friendship (Harrison and Friesen 2010; Surtees 1988). The Europeans and First Nations alike acted out of self-interest; while First Nations approached these agreements with a willingness to cooperate, their decisions ultimately reflected their own self-interests and cultural ways of living (Burnett and Read 2012; Surtees 1988). As stated before, contact between Europeans and First Nations did not yield the same reactions across the French and English colonies and among the diverse cultures of the First Nations tribes (Burnett and Read 2012; Philip 2006). Those First Nations residing further inland away from the Eastern Coastlines, where the Europeans first made contact, heard about the European visitors and acquired their tools and goods before ever seeing the settlers themselves. News spread about the European visitors through established First Peoples' trade routes (Richter 2012).

The coastal First Nations peoples traded furs, as the first items traded with European settlers, in exchange for European goods. The European demand for furs eventually increased, pushing the trapping activities further inland and affecting inland First Nations (Frideres 2011). Some of these trading activities caused conflict between First Nations, and also between the British and the French who took up alliances with various First Nations tribes (Frideres 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010). Many historians, including Martin (1996), and White and Cronon (1988), believed that it is unlikely First Nations abandoned their spiritual views of animal species and the environment simply for the demand of European goods, thus causing overhunting. Rather, as Martin (1996) suggests, the shift in viewing animals spiritually to viewing animals as commodities happened over the course of generations, and a combination of different events influenced this shift. These events included epidemics, contact with missionaries, and the fur trade. For example, the fur trade brought missionaries that heavily influenced the Mi'kmaq's religious beliefs, and these missionaries also arrived around a time when the area experienced

frequent epidemics. Traditional medicines could not heal these epidemics, and the Mi'kmaq resorted to following the practices of the missionaries, because they saw them as successful (Hornborg 2008; Philip 2006; Martin 1996; White and Cronon 1988).

With the deterioration of traditional religious beliefs, and the heavy influence of European goods, overkilling of animals such as beaver, whitetail deer, and bison for the trade of fur became a devastating consequence (Martin 1996; White and Cronon 1988). The fur trade also consequently resulted in the loss of traditional culture and value systems. With many tribes focusing on trapping animals for the trade of furs, providing sustenance for their tribe and families became a secondary activity. The depletion of the environment due to overhunting and the increased availability of European goods caused some of the tribes to become less dependent on their environment (Frideres 2011; Martin 1996; Ray 1996). In return, they become increasingly more dependent on the fur trade and Hudson's Bay Company for their spiritual, health, and sustenance needs (Frideres 2011; Martin 1996; Ray 1996), rather than depending on their environment and each other.

A similar history to the fur trade; the European settlers commercially developed and encouraged the First Nations peoples to participate in the fishing industry in Canada. As we will see, the commercialization of the fishing industry also caused extensive environmental degradation and an overall change in the livelihoods of the First Nations that depend on these fisheries. Settlers became more interested in the sale and consumption of fish when game became scarcer due to the expansion of the fur trade. The fishing industry both complimented and supplemented the trading of furs (Parent 2012). First Peoples historically harvested fish as a major source of subsistence, but the commercialization of fishing in Canada due to the industrialization of the trade changed the relationship between people and aquatic environments (Burnett and Read 2012; Piper 2012). Rather than fish living as part of the environment shared with people, the industry caused the removal of fish from the environment, and hatcheries

produced fish as a commercial commodity (Piper 2012). Fishing in northern Ontario, near Hudson's Bay, grew by 20 percent each year for 60 years between 1820 and 1880 due to the influx of American sport and industrial fishers, along with the increase in missionaries and other Euro-Canadian settlers to the area. This influx saw a significant decrease in the fish species diversity and population (Parent 2012; Piper 2012).

Intensive fishing practices caused further harm to the aquatic ecosystems, not only by decreasing fish populations, but also by discharging large amounts of waste back into the rivers and lakes (Parent 2012; Piper 2012). Industrial fishing produced waste that included fish guts, rotten fish, and fish species not desirable for the trade. These spoiled fish remains often polluted the waterways that First Peoples depend on for food, drinking and cooking water, and also drove away other fish species from the local area where dumping took place (Parent 2012; Piper 2012). Pollution of waterways in Northwestern Canada aided in the spread of diseases such as cholera and gastroenteritis (inflammation of the intestines that causes diarrhea). Without the availability of proper health care, First Peoples suffered as a result because they depend heavily on the waterways for their livelihood. Industrial fishing in these areas continued into the twentieth century, causing malnutrition associated with the typhoid epidemic that occurred in the 1940s among First Peoples (Piper 2012). Since colonization and the expansion of industrial fishing, First Nations peoples recognize and protest degradation of waterways before other citizens because pollution and industrial activity directly affects their aquatic resources and livelihoods (Piper 2012).

In addition to hunting and fishing as a source of livelihood changes among First Peoples in Canada, another major change involved the creation of the reservation system that began with the Royal Proclamation of 1763 (Surtees 1988). The Canadian government put into effect the Royal Proclamation to protect First Nations and their allotted land, and to protect First Nations from settlers trying to "molest or disturb" them (Vogt 1999). Although this proclamation

attempted to protect First Nations, resulting land consisted of poor quality soil for agriculture, and lacked the identification of definite boundaries (Harrison and Friesen 2010; Vogt 1999; White and Cronon 1988). Reservations promoted an agriculture livelihood by restricting mobility that is usually required for hunting and gathering subsistence activities. Each tribe received the switch to a "settled" lifestyle differently. The reservation system motivated some tribes, mostly of the plains region, to adopt this new subsistence lifestyle while others were not (Kuokkanen 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010). Regardless of whether or not First Nations accepted agricultural livelihoods, subsistence agriculture did not suit the allotted lands and many tribes faced starvation and malnourishment as a result. Ironically, although the Europeans allotted unsuitable lands to First Nations because White settlers at the time wanted land for agriculture, the First Nations acquired land ripe with many non-subsistence resources, such as oil, gas and minerals, that later became invaluable to the Canadian economy (Kuokkanen 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010; White and Cronon 1988).

Overview of First Nations Treaties

Establishing treaties in North America included a complex process with two different perceptions, the European and the First Nations, on how a treaty negotiation should take place. An assumption of hierarchy and power relations encompasses the European tradition of diplomacy in establishing treaties with other nations. Centralized authority, or people with experience in diplomacy, conducted these negotiations (Jones 1988). Treaty negotiations and diplomacy among Aboriginal groups of North America includes traditions and rituals requiring the groups involved in negotiations to view promises between two groups as sacred. Often times, First Nations peoples used rituals such as sharing of the calumet pipe and the presentation of a wampum belt to seal these promises. Unlike European negotiations, any member of a tribe could conduct a traditional North American negotiation (Jones 1988). Historic and contemporary power relations between the government of Canada and the First Nations tribes shows the European

hierarchical perspective of conducting negotiations of treaties. Federal policy often circumvented the treaties, highlighting the belief that the government of Canada has hierarchical power over the First Nations, while the First Nations believe that the government should uphold all treaty agreements, because their promises are sacred (Surtees 1988).

Dickason and McNab (2009) define treaties in the perspective of North American negotiations as, "a compact or set of fundamental principles that formed the basis for future negotiations between Indians and non-Indians" (p. 244). European settlers and First Peoples conducted early treaties based primarily on friendship and making peace (Harrison and Friesen 2010). These early treaty negotiations did not last long, concluding quickly through one-time payments or exchanges, and the European settlers did not always properly record the contents of the treaties (Surtees 1988). Later, treaties began to focus on land claims and the interests of European settlers in gaining more land, or First Peoples attempting to retain certain areas of land (Harrison and Friesen 2010; Surtees 1988). In this era of early treaty creation in Canada, most notably at its height in 1812, First Peoples greatly outnumbered European settlers. This imbalance of population gave more power to the First Nations' demands even though they did not make high demands at this time (Surtees 1988).

Canada used the "numbered treaties" as a way to open up the frontier for settlement without resorting to violent means of claiming land much like what occurred in the United States. The establishment of these treaties, also known as the Land Cession or Post-Confederation Treaties, occurred between 1871 and 1921. The First Nations and Canadian government negotiated the numbered treaties with different power relations and intentions than the treaties that came before. These treaties worked to establish a hierarchical government among First Nations, while also attempting to establish a colonial power that controlled the lives of First Nations peoples (Frideres 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010). Each numbered treaty is similar in content to one another, and this chapter provides a brief description of each treaty. The European

settlers used these treaties as a control mechanism to promote the expansion of colonization throughout North America, even though the European settlers writing the documents did not specifically mention these details (Frideres 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010). Canadian government officials conducting the treaty negotiations soon mastered the language and use of words in First Nations' negotiations in order to persuade First Nations chiefs to agree to their terms. First Nations in return expected the Canadian government to live up to their word (Dickason and McNab 2009). The Canadian government saw the numbered treaties as a way to open up land for settlement, while the First Nations peoples saw the treaties as a way to protect their land and resources. In accordance with these perspectives, the Canadian government never saw the treaties as a legal requirement for obtaining lands, but more as a moral requirement for avoiding violence and conflict. The Canadian government never assumed land rights for First Nations because their primary focus consisted of acquiring lands for capitalist resource extraction (Parent 2012; Frideres 2011; Dickason and McNab 2009). Ultimately, the Canadian government bought land from First Nations and, in return, created reserves for the First Nations to live. The reserves were very small compared to the vast landscape the First Nations used to live on, and they also consisted of poor soil quality unfit for agriculture. The colonial government easily controlled the First Nations and their governments by establishing reserves (Frideres 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010). Between 1860 and 1930, the First Nations and the Canadian government established 66 treaties, among them the 11 "numbered treaties" (Dickason and McNab 2009).

The Ojibwe of the Peguis Reserve, the Swampy Cree tribe, and other First Nations of the southern Manitoba area signed the first of the numbered treaties, Treaty Number 1, in 1871 through negotiations with the Canadian government. They called this treaty the Stony Fort Treaty. (Harrison and Friesen 2010; Dickason and McNab 2009; Surtees 1988). The Canadian government's biggest objective included gaining more control of Manitoba for settlement

(Harrison and Friesen 2010). The Ojibwe, West Main Cree, and other bands in the central

Manitobal area signed Treaty Number 2, the Manitoba Post Treaty, in 1871 with the Canadian

government (Dickason and McNab 2009; Surtees 1988). Treaties 1 and 2 are similar and set the

foundation for the numbered treaties that followed. Between the two treaties, the First Nations

sold a total of 52,400 acres of land in central and southern Manitoba to the Canadian government

in return for 160 acres per First Nations family of five on reserves (Harrison and Friesen 2010;

Dickason and McNab 2009; Surtees 1988). In both treaties, the Canadian government promised

to provide and maintain a school on each reserve, establishing the prohibition of alcohol on

reserves, gifting $3 (later increased to $5) to each person living on a reserve, and gifting $25 to

the chiefs who signed the treaties. The government also verbally promised many things that the

final written documents did not show, including hunting and fishing rights, livestock for reserves,

clothing, housing, health care, and a plough and harrow for those wanting to take part in

agriculture (Harrison and Friesen 2010; Dickason and McNab 2009; Surtees 1988). The First

Nations complained that the government did not honor promises verbally made to them in treaty

negotiations and requested that the government to include livestock, new clothing for chiefs, and

a plough and harrow for each person who wanted to cultivate crops on reserves (Frideres 2011;

Dickason and McNab 2009).

The Ojibwe of the Lake of the Woods signed Treaty Number 3, the Northwest Angle

Treaty, in 1873 with the Canadian government (Harrison and Friesen 2010; Dickason and McNab

2009). After the signing of Treaties 1 and 2, the First Nations tribes realized that they need to

place higher demands in these types of negotiations, and they ultimately became better at

negotiating, as will be seen in later treaties. Treaty 3 began with First Nations demanding larger

reserves, although the government only prepared to offer the typical 160 acres per family. The

government warned the First Nations that if they did not sign according to the government's

demands then they will not protect the First Nations land if settlers wanted to claim territory on

reserves (Dickason and McNab 2009). The Canadian government promised the Ojibwe schools, plows, and harrows, but the Ojibwe demanded clothing for their children, hunting and fishing rights, and houses on the reserve in addition to what the government offered. The Canadian government granted hunting and fishing rights, but because they settled the area for the extraction of resources such as lumber, the terms did not specify the health of the environment or conservation practices allowing for sustainable hunting and fishing for the First Nations (Parent 2012; Dickason and McNab 2009). In addition, a provision in the treaty stated that in the event of the discovery of further developments, prospects in lumber extraction or mining, then the government could make changes to the First Nations' hunting and fishing rights (Parent 2012). After extensive negotiations among the Ojibwe and the Canadian government, the terms that outlined Treaty 3 included 640 acres per family of five, $5 per person, chiefs receive new clothes every 3 years along with $25 each year, each chief also received a flag and medal for signing the treaty. Those living on reserves possessed hunting and fishing rights, and the government provided ammunition and fishing nets worth $1,500 per year. The government also provided agriculture equipment, livestock, and schools as in the first two numbered treaties, Treaty 3 also included the prohibition of alcohol (Harrison and Friesen 2010; Dickason and McNab 2009; Surtees 1988). The small improvements for First Nations in Treaty 3 set the expectations for all of the numbered treaties that followed.

Bands in southern Saskatchewan signed Treaty Number 4 in 1874, and bands in northern Manitoba signed Treaty Number 5 in 1875. These treaties included the same provisions and agreements that Treaty Number 3 outlined (Dickason and McNab 2009). The Plains First Nations of central Saskatchewan and Alberta signed Treaty Number 6 in 1876. As a unique treaty from those previous, provisions included free health care for all First Nations peoples of Treaty 6, which became known as the "medicine chest" provision. This provision also provided rations in

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the event of a famine, due to the extinction of the buffalo and decline in the availability of game (Dickason and McNab 2009; Surtees 1988).

The Blackfoot (Siksika), Blood (Siksika), Piegan, Sarcee, and Assiniboine signed Treaty Number 7, also known as the The Blackfoot Treaty, in 1877. This treaty gave land access to the government of Canada so that they could complete the transcontinental railway (Dickason and McNab 2009; Surtees 1988). Twenty years following Treaty 7, mining prospects put pressure on the creation of more treaties. Treaty Number 8, signed in 1899, covered the territory of northern Alberta, northwestern Saskatchewan, northeastern British Columbia, the Yukon, and part of the Northwest Territories. Pressure from the Klondike Gold Rush influenced the creation of Treaty Number 8 (Dickason and McNab 2009). Treaty Number 9, the James Bay Treaty, covered the area of northern Ontario. Treaty Number 10 covered the area of northern Saskatchewan and part of Alberta, and Treaty Number 11 covered the area north of the Great Slave Lake and west of the Coppermine River (Surtees 1988).

First Nations tribes and the Canadian government experience a source of contention from the treaties and both parties still debate the contents of the treaties today for a variety of reasons. The Canadian government did not see these treaties as a permanent agreement, but thought instead that they aided in land acquisition and restoring peace. First Nations maintain that any promise given (written or verbal) is sacred and eternal (Frideres 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010). Also, the First Nations believe the government misinterpreted the meaning of the treaties at the time of signing, and that the elders who signed the treaties believed they agreed to share the land with Canada rather than selling it to the government (Harrison and Friesen 2010). Regardless of what happened at the signing of the treaties, the treaties did in fact aid the Canadian government in the expansion of land acquisition and the spread of colonial power (Frideres 2011; Harrison and Friesen 2010). The rest of this section will focus on modern-day land claims issues

and local activism that has occurred among First Nations in Canada in order to set the context for the more contemporary Idle No More movement.

The Oka Crisis

On March 10, 1990, the Municipal Council of the Village of Oka proposed to expand a nine-hole golf course onto land the Mohawk (Kanien'kehaka) of Kanesatake claimed. The Kanesatake community of about 1,500 Mohawk resided in an area known as the Pines, near Oka, Quebec (Wakeham 2012; Patterson 2005; Clark 1999). The Two Row Wampum Treaty established in 1645 with the Dutch gave the Mohawk claims to the land under debate. The First Nations and European settlers agreed to live side by side without interference from each other with the establishment of this peace and friendship treaty. Unfortunately, history shows that the European settlers never upheld their treaty agreement in this particular case, because missionaries went to the area multiple times in an attempt to influence the First Nations, and rivers became polluted due to the production and extraction activities of the settlers. The Mohawk of the Pines near Oka have defended their land for more than 300 years (Wakeham 2012; Patterson 2005).

When the Mohawks heard about the proposal to expand the golf course, they constructed barricades to protect their land, and they also posted sentinels with guns at the barricades (Harrison and Friesen 2010; Patterson 2005; Cross and Sevigny 1994). Not all Mohawks involved in the standoff accepted and approved the use of guns in this barricade protest, but the members of the Warrior Society believed that the use of guns proved the only way to defend their lands (Patterson 2005). The Mohawk of Kahnawake nearby also set up blockades along two major highways and across the St. Lawrence River in solidarity with the Mohawk of Kanesatake. This ultimately caused tension between the Mohawk and the citizens of Oka, because the blockades made it difficult to travel to the city of Montreal (Patterson 2005; Clark 1999).

On July 11, 1999, the government called in police forces to surround and dismantle the blockades. When 100 police officers attempted to surround the area and "move-in," the Mohawk resisted. Each side of the dispute, the Mohawk and the police, fired shots at each other. This shootout resulted in the killing of Corporal Marcel Lemay by gunshot, although it is not clear who shot him (Wakeham 2012; Patterson 2005; Clark 1999). Following this incident, the Canadian federal government declared an official "State of Emergency" and called in the Canadian military to surround the area and refuse to let anyone from behind the barricades leave (Wakeham 2012; Patterson 2005). In order to legitimize the use of extensive force, Prime Minister Mulroney called the Mohawks a "band of terrorists" during a press release, thus perpetuating the stereotype that was hyper-sensationalized by the media (Wakeham 2012; Henry and Tator 2002; Clark 1999). Although post-9/11 society highly discourages the use of the term "terrorist" when referring to First Peoples in resistance to anticolonial actions, the Canadian government continues to treat First Nation protests (peaceful or militarized) as a national security threat (Wakeham 2012).

The military did not let anyone leave from behind the barricades until both sides came to an agreement. The Red Cross and the Trappist Monastery provided food, water and medical aid when needed, but only they could cross the barricades (Patterson 2005). The negotiations took a long time. While the Mohawk expressed simple demands, both sides refused to come to an agreement (Patterson 2005; Clark 1999). The Mohawk wanted to negotiate with the federal government, on a nation-to-nation level. The Quebec government tried to send in John Ciaccia to negotiate, but Ciaccia wanted the government to purchase the land from the Municipal Council and then transfer the lease over to the Mohawk so that they could claim the land. Tom Siddon, the Federal Minister of Indian Affairs, did not approve of this agreement (Patterson 2005). The Mohawk's demands included: having the land title transferred to the Mohawk of Kanesatake, establishing an inquiry into the shootout that occurred on July 11, negotiating short-term land

needs, and granting amnesty to anyone involved in the crisis (Patterson 2005). On September 26, 1990, 78 days since the construction of the blockades, the Mohawk and the government came to an agreement. The federal government acquired the land and gave management of that land to the Mohawk --although the Mohawk did not acquire the title --and the Mohawk removed the blockades. Since the establishment of this agreement, very little disruption or land claims issues occur in the Pines area of Oka (Harrison and Friesen 2010).

The Ipperwash Standoff

Stoney Point Reserve, off of the shore of Lake Huron, belonged to the Ojibwe before World War II (Dickason and McNab 2009; Howlett 2002). Under the War Measures Act in 1942, the Canadian government took the land from the Ojibwe for use as a training base during the war. Although the government offered $50,000, the Ojibwe refused and therefore the government ordered them to move off of the land within a week. The government destroyed property and belongings of those who refused to move (Dickason and McNab 2009; De Lint and Hall 2006; McDougall and Valentine 1999). The government promised to return the land to the Ojibwe as soon as the war ended, so the Stoney Point Chippewa (Ojibwe) moved to the Kettle Point Reserve during the war. However, although the government promised to return the land when the war ended, the federal government did not uphold their promise.

In 1982, the federal government promised a compensation offer of $2.4 million to the Stoney Point Chippewa (Ojibwe), but this promise never came to fruition due to extensive environmental assessments and clean up required as a result of 40 years of military use (Dickason and McNab 2009). After waiting ten years for compensation and clean-up, the Ojibwe grew impatient and decided to peacefully occupy the military camp in 1992. The group of Ojibwe remained there until the summer of 1995, when tensions grew due to an influx of radical activists from the American Indian Movement. The radical protestors caused an escalation of violence on

the premises, and the military withdrew from the camp and territory altogether (Dickason and McNab 2009; De Lint and Hall 2006; Howlett 2002). The final terms of the territory under dispute included the agreement that the federal government and the Kettle and Stoney Point First Nations operate the site jointly (Dickason and McNab 2009).

Just when the battle over the Stoney Point territory ended, a group of radical Ojibwe activists, who called themselves the Stoney Pointers, occupied a part of the disputed territory, called the Ipperwash Provincial Park. The Stoney Pointers claimed that the land contained part of an ancient burial site that belonged to the Stoney Point Chippewa (Ojibwe) (Dickason and McNab; De Lint and Hall 2006). The police attempted to remove the protestors from the park on the basis of trespassing, and a shootout between the Stoney Pointers and the police resulted from the confrontation. A police sniper killed Dudley George, an Ojibwe activist, during the confrontation (Dickason and McNab 2009; De Lint and Hall 2006; Howlett 2002).

Although charged with criminal negligence causing death, the officer who shot Dudley George did not receive a prison sentence (Dickason and McNab 2009). In the end, The First Nations accused the city of Ottawa of negligence of First Nations land claims issues, and they accused the police force of cultural insensitivity. These incidents led to the belief, supported by the Assembly of First Nations, that all protests in the future must be peaceful so that engagement and negotiation can be meaningful, while also implementing education and respect (Drummond 2012).

This section provided a brief historical context of Canada's First Nations, and an overall better understanding, of the land claims issues that affect First Nations. First Peoples impacted their environment by hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture activities before the European settlers arrived. They also enjoyed a bountiful landscape that allowed them to migrate in search of seasonal sustenance. The arrival of Europeans caused drastic changes to the environment, culture,

political, and economic systems of First Nations peoples. These drastic changes ultimately led to epidemics, environmental degradation including extinction and pollution, and the creation of reserves and treaties that cause oppression of First Nations peoples. Recent land claims issues such as Oka in 1990 and Ipperwash in 1995, provide examples of this ongoing oppression. The next section provides a brief overview of bill C-45 which recently passed through the parliament of Canada, and provides the source for First Nations grievances in the INM movement.

Bill C-45 and the Emergence of Idle No More

Bill C-45, passed on December 14, 2012, acted as a catalyst for the INM movement, and as a historical moment for Canada's radical policy changes. Two omnibus budget bills passed in 2012 in Canada included Bill C-38 (Jobs, Growth and Long-Term Prosperity Act) and Bill C-45 (The Jobs and Growth Act). The government designed both bills as budget provisions, but they actually deal very little with the budget, and instead make amendments to many other existing acts (Bevington 2013). The most influential among these amendments included the change of the "Navigable Waters Protection Act" to the "Navigation Protection Act," as well as changes to the Fisheries Act, and the Indian Act. Also, the government introduced two new laws in this budget provision; the elimination of the Canadian Wheat Board, and a law to construct a bridge from Windsor to Detroit (Government of Canada 2012; Bevington 2013).

The Navigable Waters Protection Act protected waterways from developments such as pipelines, bridges, logging and other infrastructure to allow for citizens to navigate waters for recreational and sustenance purposes. The Canadian government made changes to this act in Bill C-45 that discontinued the protection of navigable *waters*, and instead focuses on protecting *navigation* (Scoffield 2012; Stenabough 2013). The changes to this act allow for the development of pipelines and bridges with very few environmental restrictions, possibly leading to the

pollution of waterways that previously provided drinking water and food for First Nations peoples (Government of Canada 2012; Scoffield 2012; Bevington 2013).

The Fisheries Act originally protected fish species by preventing the dumping of waste materials into bodies of water containing fish. Bill C-45 removes the prohibition of obstruction of fish passage, and removes the protection of fish habitat by only focusing on "species with economic, cultural or ecological value" (Bevington 2013). Also, Bill C-45 changed the definition of "Aboriginal Fishery" that only addresses fishing for sustenance and ceremonial purposes, and does not recognize the rights of First Nations commercial fishing industries (Bevington 2013).

Changes to the Environmental Assessment Act are disconcerting to Canadians because many believe that it will allow for weaker environmental regulation on industry and waste management. Regarding navigation and environmental rights, Canadian citizens will also become responsible for ensuring the safety and health of waters by filing lawsuits at their own cost, rather than allowing the government to regulate environmental protections (Bevington 2013).

Changes to the Indian Act consist of changes in democratic procedures in which the bands designate, surrender, or lease lands on reserves. Rather than requiring approval by the Order-in-Council for land designations, the approval must come from the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs. Only band members who attend meetings called by the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs have the ability to vote on these issues. Rather than casting votes by all members, now the ability to vote only includes those in attendance of the meetings (Stenabough 2013).

The government of Canada believes that this omnibus bill will promote economic growth, so that Canadians can find jobs and support themselves through investment into new opportunities (Scoffield 2012). The government also claims that by making changes to these acts, less overlap of environmental protection between agencies will provide for more efficient and expedient environmental assessments (Scoffield 2012). Although this study does not focus on the

specific contents of Bill C-45, I analyze social movement tactics and grievance structure in resistance to components of corporate power and environmental degradation linked to changes associated with Bill C-45. The INM movement used multiple tactics to protest corporate power and environmental degradation. The next section provides background literature about social movements, the construction of grievances, and collective indigenous identity in social movements.

Social Movements, Grievance Construction, and Indigenous Experience

Scholars define social movements as a collective of people who share the same goals for social change, and in which protestors implement creative social action to encourage a change to social structure. Edwards (2014) proposes four common components that make up the formation of social movements: (1) social movements as collective and organized efforts, (2) they exist over a period of time rather than as isolated events, (3) the members share a collective identity, and (4) they pursue change by protest. Wilkes (2006: 514) defines social movements as "a purposeful and organized political challenge by a group or groups that is directed at changing the prevailing practices of institutions, elites, authorities, or other groups."

Democracy is a powerful factor that motivates social movements and collective action. Democratic states are more likely to experience social movements due to the underlying promises that democracy implies, such as participation in politics, economic well-being, and transparency. When democratic states do not appear to live up to those promises, social movements emerge. Modern social movements organize to influence the government in order to promote social change (Jasper 2014; Christiansen 2009; Goldstone 2004).

New Social Movement (NSM) theories argue that modern social movements structure their grievances to mobilize around cultural and symbolic identity (Melucci 1985, 1988). Constructing grievances to match a set of beliefs, symbols, and meanings connects individuals

with specific social groups and with an individual's personal identity (Johnston, Laraña, and Gusfield 1994). Thus, a crucial component of social movement formation and organization includes the construction of grievances. When a group of people believe that laws, rules, or norms of society disrupt their everyday life, they begin to construct grievances as a response to the power relations and control that cause these disruptions (Jasper 2014). Grievance construction, divided into two categories, includes deprivation and group marginalization. Deprivation can include economic factors or political exclusion that cause suffering, such as unemployment. Marginalization can result from a feeling of disconnect from other people, social institutions, or political institutions, and tends to isolate groups of people spatially or socially from broader society (Edwards 2014). Through group interaction Shurman and Munro (2006:7) argue that "in the course of these encounters, they 'recognize' their social reality in terms of the specific knowledge interests that drive the movement."

NSM theories emphasize the link between grievance construction and identity formation. Both grievances and collective identity organize "how social movement adherents think about themselves… and how shared wrongs are experienced, interpreted, and reworked in the context of group interaction" (Johnston et al. 1994: 22). Johnston, et al. (1994:23), argue the importance of understanding grievance and identity in social movements, especially since NSMs focus on cultural movements that consider "issues of individual and collective identity via the way that focal grievances affect everyday life."

Collective identity helps to establish solidarity among actors centered on shared experiences or structural position within society, making collective identity an important component of a social movement. Individuals do not generally bring preformed group identities into a movement. The movement itself produces collective identity as a process and outcome of the movement (Klandermans 1992; Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994; Taylor and Rupp 1999). Polletta and Jasper (2001:285) define collective identity as "an individual's cognitive, moral, and

emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of a shared status or relation… distinct from personal identities." Even names of particular social movements can aid in solidifying a group's collective identity and can result from historical experiences and collective memories (Jasper 2014). Polletta and Jasper (2001) identify several components inherent to collective identity including: a perception of shared status and relationships, a distinction from personal identities, it may be identified by outsiders but accepted by the actors of the movement, it is expressed in cultural materials, and it instills positive feelings and emotions among members of the group.

Protestors experience difficulty in establishing grievances and forming a collective identity within a state- or nation-wide Indigenous social movement because Indigenous movements are typically heterogeneous and include many different ethnic groups and diverse historical experiences (Hernandez and Noruzi 2010). Wilkes (2006:519) notes three major identities among Indigenous and Aboriginal peoples of North America that include: (1) tribal and cultural identities, (2) urban and rural identities, and (3) state constituted identities.

Indigenous struggles against capitalist imperialism, and ongoing acts of colonization, exist most notably in the Americas (Hernandez and Noruzi 2010; Coulthard 2014). History rooted in the colonial and post-colonial periods display struggles for indigenous identity based on land and resources, along with class and ethnicity (Hernandez and Noruzi 2010). Conflicts over land and resources in the context of the expansion of extractive industries become complex when one considers the concept of place and territory as part of many indigenous peoples' identity and culture (Perreault 2001). Dispossession of material resources results in economic oppression, but it also results in cultural oppression that simultaneously threatens the mode of production and mode of life for indigenous peoples (Coulthard 2014; Perreault 2001).

Bebbington, Bebbington, and Bury (2008) identify two types of social movements based on "accumulation by dispossession" and "accumulation by exploitation." Social movements fueled by "accumulation by dispossession" take the form of new social movements centered around land rights and minority rights, while resistance to "accumulation by exploitation" takes the form of labor movements and unions described by Marxist theory (Bebbington et al. 2008). In either situation, the wealthy elite gain the benefits and restrict another group from having access to these same opportunities (Gould et al. 2008). Central to the formation of new social movements, collective identity originates from culture, ethnicity, ideology, marginalization, and even gender, among other various identities, rather than from a collective proletariat identity (Johnston et al. 1994; Buechler 1995). Bebbington et al. (2008) describes dispossession as a loss in quantity or quality of cultural and livelihood assets that may include (but not limited to) control over land, water, and mineral resources.

Treadmill of Production

Proposed by Schnaiberg (1980), the "treadmill of production" theory provides an ecological critique of capitalism and how political-ecological conflicts may arise out of the capitalist economic system (Foster 2005). According to this theory, economic competition associated with capitalism drives environmental degradation, wealth accumulation, and social inequality. The treadmill of production includes the implementation of free trade agreements and trade liberation policies, and evidence shows that these economic systems increase social inequalities because they financially benefit private industries and developed nations (Gould, Pellow, and Schnaiberg 2008; Oliver 2005; Schnaiberg, Weinberg, and Pellow 1999).

Capitalism requires economic growth to sustain itself, and this requires continuous extraction and degradation of resources (Gould et al. 2008; Schnaiberg 1997; Schnaiberg 1980). Bowness and Hudson (2014:59) state that environmental degradation is "required to keep profits

rolling in, workers employed, and state revenue stable." The cooperation of labor, capital, and the government facilitates economic growth as a goal for social and economic development under the theory of the treadmill of production (Schnaiberg 1997; Long 2012). Even though population densities may cause degradation, investment in extractive companies, such as mining and forestry causes the most degradation to the environment (Gould et al. 2008). Competition among corporations and extractive industries encourages companies to search for more intensive ways of extracting resources. These intensive extraction methods increase the value per unit and at a lower cost, which increases environmental degradation and enhances the likelihood of social inequalities (Sbicca 2012).

Contrary to popular belief, environmental regulation of large monopoly capital corporations tends to aid in the expansion of capitalism and neoliberal ideology displayed in the treadmill of production theory. The government may put provisions in place to scale down pollution, conserve energy and recycle materials, but these provisions only help the corporations to produce more without solving social welfare problems (Schnaiberg 1980). Once governments put environmental provisions in place, they give corporations the green light to continue to extract and produce at higher rates than they were doing before. While these pollution and energy conservation strategies appear as ecologically and socially beneficial for the short term, the long run poses extreme ecological and social risks (Schnaiberg 1980), especially when impacted populations cannot continue their livelihoods due to scarcity.

Many modern methods of conservation focus on the consumption side, rather than the production side, of the system by promoting recycling and reducing use (Gould et al. 2008). Unfortunately, according to Gould et al. (2008), trying to change consumption and consumer patterns, or trying to produce materials more "efficiently" will not slow down the forces of capitalism or environmental degradation according to the treadmill of production theory. Until the consumer, or the mass public has democratic voice on issues related to production, or the large

corporations have incentives or disincentives to change their production patterns, degradation will still proceed at an accelerated rate (Gould, Pellow, and Schnaiberg 2004). According to Bowness and Hudson (2014), the state, labor and businesses do not currently recognize structural incentives to change the mode of production.

The treadmill of production implies that the achievement of sustainability can only occur through a united democratic participation of the working class and consumers, and asserts that only a successful revolution waged on the political elite from the bottom will result in future sustainability (Gould et al. 2008). Radical, in this case, does not necessarily mean violent or militant as popular culture tends to associate with the term, but rather a radical perspective that all members of society cohesively share. Schnaiberg (1980) categorizes environmental activists in four different categories based on individual environmental and economic perspectives: the cosmetologists, the meliorists, the reformists, and radicals. Cosmetologists believe that the cause of environmental problems include disposal of consumer wastes, while meliorists believe that the political or economic system should make it easier for people to recycle. For both of these types of activists, the main concern regarding environmental issues focusses on consumerism. The emphasis on production and social inequality as the source of environmental problems distinguishes reformists and radicals from cosmetologists and meliorists. Reformists believe that production causes some environmental damage, while radicals believe that production exceeds ecological limits and will cause complete degradation of the environment. Reformists believe that the reduction of extraction requires economic incentives to change production, while radicals believe that true sustainability can only occur through a restructuring of the socio-economic system (i.e. capitalism).

Because elite policy makers choose who has access to democratic participation through focus group and panel meetings, the elite can control the outcome while attempting to appear democratic. Not every citizen experiences an equal opportunity to express their interests, but as it

may appear that they do, this effectively keeps the public silent and decreases the likelihood of resistance from the bottom (Bowness and Hudson 2014). Gould et al. (2008) call for full participation by the public, not limited by elites that grant participation, but rather a grassroots demand for political equality and resistance to capitalism and neoliberalism ideology. Although most radical scholars believe that a revolution from the bottom will effectively reach true social and ecological sustainability, very little research analyzes the relationships between the elite and the movements that fight for environmental justice (Sbicca 2012).

Schnaiberg (1980) argues that one of the main goals of economic development within the treadmill model includes the expansion of production. Assumptions that production expansion will aid in economic development and social welfare involves concern over capital, labor and the state. For capital, the political elite assume that labor will consume production, and that profits will increase to support further expansion. The assumptions about labor in the expansion of production include that jobs and wage income will become more available which will, in turn, improve the quality of life for laborers. For the state, production expansion ensures revenues from private business through taxes, and the taxes promote social programs through the state, satisfying both economic and societal realms (Schnaiberg 1980). The promotion of the expansion of capitalism in this way diminishes negative environmental and social concerns, but in reality, the expansion of capitalism results in the degradation of the environment and the deepening of social inequality (Schnaiberg 1980; 1997).

The massive accumulation of wealth among a few elite shareholders (politicians, military planners, managers, and investors) who hold power over the stakeholders of production (community members and laborers) defines a major component of the treadmill of production theory (Foster 2005; Sbicca 2012). Elites acquire the most capital and therefore the most power and influence over the political-economic system. Corporations often influence the creation of policies in favor of deregulating protected resources (Sbicca 2012). Gould et al. (2008) state that

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the ability of elites to have control over the social construction of ecosystems in politics and by

publics defines the root of the problem in the treadmill of production theory. Another major

problem defined by the treadmill of production theory includes the financial and material control

over people and resources by the elites of society. Elites feel the need to expand production in

order to expand their wealth and capital, while they force laborers to participate in production

because of their need for a wage job in order to survive, thus leading to the exploitation of wage

earning laborers (Schnaiberg 1980; Foster 2005). Schnaiberg (1980) also notes the growing

dependence of government on the support of large capitalist monopolies for tax revenues. Karl

Marx references a treadmill in his analysis of capitalism, which presumably explains how

Schnaiberg and colleagues derived the term, treadmill of production. The treadmill, according to

Marx, was symbolic of the drudgery and degrading duties of wage labor within the capitalist

system, and that work on the "treadmill" included some of the worst factory working conditions

of the time (Foster 2005).

Furthermore, the introduction of neoliberalism, a political-economic scheme put into

place in the United States and Britain by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s,

sought financial liberalization, privatization of state enterprises, and deregulation to reduce

barriers to competition, among other provisions, in order to promote free trade (Flew 2014; Peet

1999). The original theory of neoliberalism was first proposed by a group of economists known

as the Mont Pelerin Society, headed by Friedrich von Hayek, in 1947 (Harvey 2005). A group of

economists, known as "the Chicago boys," who studied under Milton Friedman, first applied the

neoliberal ideology to the new Chilean economy after Pinochet's coup in 1973 (Harvey 2005).

Individual freedom granted by the market, or free trade under neoliberalism gives the impression

that all people can pull themselves up by their bootstraps (Flew 2014; Harvey 2005). Although

the idea behind neoliberalism includes the "trickling-down" of wealth to the lower classes

through economic growth, in actuality, the wealthy dispossess the poor by taking resources and

land, and then accumulate the wealth within the elite classes of society by turning those resources into goods that make profit (Venn 2009; McCarthy and Prudham 2004; Peet 1999). Some of the most well-known components of the application of neoliberalism include the deregulation of industry, increased financialization, increase of free trade through trade agreements, privatizing state-owned services, and budget cuts to social services and welfare (Bockman 2013; Harvey 2007).

The establishment of trade agreements aid in the expansion of production by simply extending domestic markets to reach more consumers, but it also provides more access to areas for extraction of resources (Oliver 2005; Schnaiberg et al. 1999). Oliver (2005) defines a trade agreement by "which the terms of trade between nations are established, codified, and enforceable" (p. 57). The neoliberal concept of expanding free trade encourages lower tariffs, quotas and reduces other restrictive policies that inhibit economic growth (Oliver 2005). Neoliberalism as a political and economic ideology contains many similarities reflected in the treadmill of production theory, in that it relies on deregulation in order to reduce barriers to development and expand production. Major differences between the ideology of neoliberalism and the theory of the treadmill of production include the environmental degradation component present in the treadmill of production theory, while neoliberalism solely focuses on the political-economic aspect. Ultimately, the application of neoliberal political-economic systems further expands production, thus leading to environmental degradation. Under free trade, large corporations gain more profit and re-invest that profit into more efficient technology that eliminates the need for manual labor, also referred to as "labor-saving technology" (Schnaiberg et al. 1999). The extension of free trade into areas that contain "surplus capital" or resources that have yet to be harvested contribute to the degradation of the environment, and in some cases, contribute to pollution and harmful living conditions for those who live near the resources (McCarthy and Prudham 2004; Schnaiberg et al. 1999).

The extension of free trade into areas that contain "surplus capital" can include the privatization of land for the use in industry under neoliberal policy reform, or what many describe as "land grabbing," or "accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2003, Hall 2013). More specifically, the enclosure of land and resources and the dispossession of resources from the previous users, for the use of capital accumulation defines accumulation by dispossession (Hall 2013). Accumulation by extra-economic means also occurs as a result of the promotion of neoliberal agendas. Glassman (2006) and Hall (20013) define accumulation by extra-economic means as a means of capital accumulation with the aid of political and legal power, or even violent force. Accumulation by dispossession and accumulation by extra-economic means shows the power of capitalism in the acquisition of resources for the expansion of production and capital wealth.

Schnaiberg (1980) also discusses state regulated "monopoly capital" as one of the main components of environmental degradation and inequality in the treadmill of production theory. Many characteristics define "monopoly capital," which include large control over production, distribution, marketing, and finance, and high rates of profit and capital accumulation. Monopoly capital tends to be limited for any area of production, but also dominates the production of specialty commodities or resources, reducing the overall competition within that area of production (Schnaiberg 1980). Most organizations that Schnaiberg considers monopoly capital include multinational corporations that operate with multiple subsidiaries. Monopoly capital corporations also gain more control over their capital accumulation than smaller, competing producers (Schnaiberg 1980). Deregulation of environmental protections and the proliferation of free trade agreements between nations aid in the expansion of these large, multinational corporations (Schnaiberg 1980; Oliver 2005).

A recent study on the Alberta tar sands extraction shows a strong influence of economic growth due to the limited and blocked participation of the public when devising Environmental

Protection Evaluations of the region that affect dozens of First Nations, multiple provincial areas, and even the neighboring United States (Bowness and Hudson 2014). The government attempted to include public opinion but later rejected or required permits and licenses in order to participate in the evaluation (Bowness and Hudson 2014). This example adequately displays the fallacies explained in the treadmill of production theory, because the extraction of the tar sands creates jobs upon which the working class depends, but at the same time causes considerable damage to the ecosystem and harmful effects on health and water supply that most likely affects those non-elite laborers (Bowness and Hudson 2014).

In articulating the treadmill of production framework, Schnaiberg makes some clear assessments regarding the way environmental movements approach consumption and production related environmental degradation. The contemporary environmental movement became prominent toward the end of the 1960s. The socio-environmental concerns of this time focused primarily on sustenance and survival, and primarily on environmental degradation. Movements structured grievances around consumer wastes, consumer patterns, and the availability of recycling institutions as the root causes of socio-environmental problems. Socio-environmental movements of this time called for government regulation of pollution, and achieved success with the implementation of the Clean Water Act and Clean Air Act, among others (Schnaiberg 1980). During the 1960s and 1970s, environmental activists became more concerned with environmental justice that incorporated both civil and environmental rights, and the grievances of these socio-environmental movements shifted from conservation and preservation to concerns about social structure and class differences in relation to ecological issues (Schnaiberg 1980; Taylor 2011). Recent environmental analyses focus on social equity and socio-economic issues which involve many disciplines including political ecology, sustainability sciences, and environmental sociology that tie to ecological issues resulting from expansion of production and influence of environmental policy (Schnaiberg 1980; Gibson 2006; Robbins 2012).

Schnaiberg (1980) stresses that the development of class-consciousness in a socio-environmental movement will aid in slowing expansion of production and achieve environmental sustainability. Environmental movements that include awareness of inequality and class differences and seek to resist these inequalities, such as those of the grassroots environmental justice movement, likely form grievances that resist the forces of the treadmill of production. While the treadmill of production theory does not explicitly claim a Marxist or neo-Marxist perspective, postmodern sociology approaches and the growing popularity of cultural sociology studies replaced much of the Marxist critique and use of the treadmill of production theory in environmental justice scholarship (Buttel 2004). Gould et al. (2008) outline some examples of how the treadmill of production and the understanding of economic and political power relations are important to the study of environmental justice, and that in most cases, racism alone cannot be used to describe the issues in depth. Pertinent examples to the case under study for this research, describe tribal leaders accepting payments from corporations and allowing dumping on tribal lands, without other tribal members' approval. Although scholars may assume racism as the source of wrongdoing in this situation, power relations between those who acquire elite political and economic power and those who do not, lead to corruption. The analysis of the treadmill of production theory, specifically components of corporate power, environmental degradation and activism, allows for a deeper understanding of the social and economic power relations present in environmental justice issues (Gould et al. 2008) and in the case of INM.

Analytical Framework

Literatures on collective identity and grievance construction can provide insight into how Idle No More actors express resistance to patterns of oppression, corporate power, and environmental degradation. Collective identity and grievance construction play important roles in the formation of goals and actions of a social movement (Edwards 2014; Jasper 2014). These

mechanisms can be used to recruit actors and communicate meanings and ideologies associated with the movement (Edwards 2014).

Based on previous studies of First Nations social movements and land disputes, like the Oka Crisis and the Ipperwash Crisis, existing literature provides an understanding of how oppression and dispossession of First Nations in modern times results in the development of the INM movement and resistance to the Canadian government, capital expansion, and environmental degradation. The extraction of resources for the pursuit of capital leads to degradation and oppression (Gould et al. 2008), so it is important to analyze how the actors of the INM movement talk about degradation and how they see the causes of degradation that lead to economic and cultural oppression. Analysis of narratives will occur to identify Idle No More movement resistance to capitalism and neoliberal ideologies expressed through the treadmill of production theory.

Due to the recent use of social media in social movement emergence, research on social media and social movements has been growing (Myers and Hamilton, 2014). By analyzing the content of posts and comments made by participants and leaders in the Idle No More movement, this research will aid in understanding how participants form narratives that dominant historical documentation tends to silence.

The treadmill of production framework identifies social inequality, power, and conflict in human-environment relationships, and specifically human impacts on the environment (Gould et al. 2008). The analysis of the treadmill of production in cases such as the Idle No More movement, and in other cases of environmental justice and indigenous social movements can aid in understanding the root causes of degradation and oppression of marginalized peoples under the capitalist system (Gould et al. 2008).

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN

For this project, I made use of a qualitative content analysis of Facebook posts and

comments from the Idle No More Facebook page. The complete data set for the broad, and

ongoing, INM project included 1,279 posts and resulting discussions from November 30, 2012 to

December 31, 2013. This material consists of all posts, text, video and images posted to the

Facebook page. The posts and text on the INM Facebook page consisted of personal narratives,

concerns, and information on mobilization made by participants, supporters, and INM leaders

about relevant issues regarding the movement and First Nations in Canada. Some of these posts

consisted of video and images of protest activities, solidarity events, round dances, blockades,

and news sources about the movement and concerns of First Nations peoples. Posts and

comments were collected by copying and pasting text, images, video, and hyperlinks directly

from the Facebook page into Word Document files and organizing each by the chronological day

they were posted. Each Word Document file included about 35-300 pages of data, depending on

the events that occurred on any given day. For the broad, and ongoing project, data underwent

preliminary line by line inductive coding by several well trained graduate students, establishing

intercoder reliability of 90% or greater across themes. The themes coded for the broad project

include 28 diverse themes that represent environmental issues, politics, gender, identity,

sovereignty, and human rights among many others. The sample for this particular project was

derived from these previously coded Facebook posts from the Idle No More Facebook Wall to

focus on the emergence of the movement. For this individual project, posts created from

November 30, 2012 to February 29, 2013 were used for the time frame analyzed. This time frame is important for this study because it shows the initial grievances from the movement's emergence, and also captures a shift in grievances from environmental concerns to issues of gender that occurs in the middle of February 2013. The sample for this particular study was selected from the coded themes of the broad project that included posts and comments categorized as rights and sovereignty (RIGHTS), references to policies (POLITICAL), oppression related to colonialism (OPPRESS), environmental concerns (ENVIRON) and examples of inequality (INEQ). Any discussions (stream of comments) that did not include one, or more, of these 5 themes were omitted from the analysis, and all comments remaining in the data set were newly coded under conceptual and emergent themes. Posts from the administrators of the Idle No More Facebook page were analyzed along with the comments made by other members of the movement.

This study offers analysis of dynamics that occurred during the emergence of the movement, focusing on the time during which grievance and collective identity construction were first established. Because Bill C-45 was passed on December 14, 2012 (Graveline 2012), I analyzed the immediate responses to this bill and how the actors of the Idle No More Movement resisted this bill by discussing issues of corporate power and environmental degradation promoted by the capitalist system.

Each comment was used as a unit of analysis. In some cases, analysis of surrounding comments or narratives were beneficial in order to understand the context in which a comment is made. Context, literal words, and the way these words were used in a conversation to express meaning were interpreted in relation to the literature and the research questions (Berg and Lune 2012).

A qualitative content analysis (QCA) of manifest content was used to provide description of the data. A deductive approach, and the use of conceptual coding was used to relate different concepts identified in the data and literature (Schreier 2012). Conceptual codes based on components of the treadmill of production included capitalism, corporations, democracy, self-determination, grassroots involvement, dispossession, and capital accumulation. Emergent themes and codes were derived based on the content of the data and include the following: consumption, production, extraction, deregulation, sharing of land and resources, corruption, class differences, radical activism, power relations, land rights, degradation, money, conservation, activism tactics, and leadership. Although not every coded theme was used in the final analysis, these themes were able to provide an in-depth understanding of the grievances in the INM movement. Among the conceptual and emergent themes presented, the themes that were most prevalent within the data include extraction (581 comments), corruption (393 comments), corporations (550 comments), democracy (400 comments), degradation (649 comments), and money (727 comments). These codes are not mutually exclusive, and many comments included multiple codes or themes.

Content analysis is defined by Berg and Lune (2012:349) as "a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, and meanings." The data used in content analysis is found in many different forms of communication. Qualitative content analysis (QCA), in particular, focuses on describing the context of the communication under study (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). A deductive approach to QCA was utilized in this study because the categorical scheme used for analysis will be primarily derived from components of the treadmill of production and resistance to the expansion of production and capitalism. Deductive reasoning is typically used in theoretical testing by analyzing data of a particular case to find patterns that either support or do not support a theory (Berg and Lune 2012). It is important for the theory to inform discussion and analysis of the data, but it is equally important to be aware of any biases that result from searching for

evidence to support a theory (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Considering negative cases when

analyzing the data can help to prevent the researcher from succumbing to bias, and will accurately

depict whether or not a case is supportive or non-supportive of the theory (Hsieh and Shannon

2005). An important step in the research process of QCA is to immerse oneself in the data and

read through the content as much as possible before beginning analysis (Elo and Kyngas 2007).

The theory and literature discussed above was used to support the data and to provide

context and meaning. QCA was used to analyze only the texts on the Facebook page; other forms

of media such as video and pictures that have been posted to the Facebook page were excluded

from analysis. This study analyzed narratives as they were produced within social media

conversation and dialog. The analysis qualitatively compared the narratives of the Idle No More

movement with components of Schnaiberg's theory of the treadmill of production, such as the

forces of capitalism, environmental degradation, and neoliberal policy.

Both benefits and disadvantages exist to using data from social media in the study of

social movements (Harlow 2012; Myers and Hamilton 2014). Just as historical archival data

(such as postcards, telegrams, and diaries) can be used as primary data in social historical studies,

Facebook and Twitter comments may also be considered primary historical data (Myers and

Hamilton 2014). It is easy to see, just from the recent Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street

movements, that social media has become an effective means of mobilizing individuals for a

common cause.

The benefits of using social media data to study social movements is that the information

can be easily acquired in a non-intrusive manner (Myers and Hamilton 2014). This data can also

show the emergence and strategies of the social movement under study, while allowing for the

opinions and discourses of the participants to be available for analysis (Harlow 2012). Most

importantly, social media may allow for voices of the underprivileged and marginalized to be heard, and for their stories to be documented (Myers and Hamilton 2014).

Just as there are benefits to using any type of data, there are also disadvantages to using social media data for analysis of social movements. The internet remains inaccessible to significant segments of the population, who may or may not be involved in a movement at the grassroots level. One other disadvantage in particular was the inability to know if supporters of a movement were also participating in the movement offline. The term "slacktivism" has been coined to describe meaningless activism that does not foster activism offline as traditional movements have organized (Harlow 2012). This concept plays into the idea that simply sharing a picture or including a "hashtag" in a comment is not enough activism to create change as it does not necessarily form a cohesive collective identity in the same way as traditional activism. Thus, challenges arise in determining who is a member of a movement and who is simply sharing their individual opinions and ideas about the movement without actively participating (Harlow 2012).

Limitations of the data included the inability to collect data that has been deleted from the page before collection, links that have been disabled, and the ability to analyze statements that seem to be made outside of context. Comments and narratives made by all actors involved on the INM Facebook Page were analyzed, rather than only those posted by the administrators, in order to allow the sample to be a more accurate representation of the population of actors.

This approach to content analysis relied on the use of data that was limited to what has already been posted, and the researcher did not have the ability to further investigate by generating questions for respondents in order to clarify or verify any comment that has been made in the past (Elo and Kyngas 2007). Because the respondents were unable to confirm voluntary participation in this study, it was impossible to track honesty in responses, or to provide debriefing to the respondents in order to enhance trustworthiness. The researcher was aware of

these issues throughout the research process to ensure that no harm or negative repercussions will occur on behalf of the respondents or to the social movement in its entirety.

To ensure reflexivity, constant reflective commentary was included in the data selection and analysis. Shenton (2004:68) defines reflective commentary as, "the monitoring of the researcher's own developing constructions," in order to document the researcher's initial impressions, theories, and patterns that are found in the data as they emerge. This reflective commentary also helped with providing reflexivity and awareness of the position of the researcher throughout the research process. Berg and Lune (2012), along with Strauss (1987), identify the importance of periodically stopping the coding process to write theoretical notes. Although this is commonly found in grounded theory studies, it is equally important when using a deductive approach. If a comment within the data entices thoughts about why, or how, it could correspond with the theory under study, then the researcher should take the time to document these thoughts. If these thoughts are not recorded, then they could be forgotten, and may not be used in the analysis or discussion at a later time (Berg and Lune 2012).

Content analysis offers the ability to illustrate existing patterns, but cannot express why a particular phenomenon occurs (Berg and Lune 2012). Results were summarized and include a sufficient number of supporting excerpts so that the richness of the data can be realized and represented (Elo and Kyngas 2007). The following chapters include findings and analysis of supporting evidence, and discussions and conclusions providing a succinct analysis of the findings and future research recommendations. The findings and analysis include a weaving of supporting evidence in the form of direct quotes by INM actors with analytical commentary and references to ideas posed by the treadmill of production theory, capitalism, neoliberalism, and oppression.

CHAPTER IV

RESISTANCE TO CORPORATE POWER AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION AS
REFLECTED IN THE NARRATIVES OF IDLE NO MORE ACTORS

This chapter offers analysis of social movement dynamics, including grievance
construction of the INM movement and identity of INM actors to address correspondence with
components of the treadmill of production theory, such as environmental degradation, corporate
power, capitalism, wealth accumulation, and oppression. First, support and analysis for how INM
actors resist corporate power is offered, addressing how this resistance compares with that
described by Schaiberg (1980). Next, causes of environmental degradation, and solutions to
reduce environmental degradation, as proposed by the INM actors are described and analyzed
using the treadmill of production theory as a foundation.

Resisting Corporate Power

To consider the ways that INM actors resist corporate power, I categorized the data based
on three specific types of resistance that occurred most frequently: collective activities, individual
activities, and education. Collective activities included blockades, round dances, petitions and
letter-writing, event locations, and public shaming. Individual activities included every-day
consumption decisions, self-awareness, and rejecting mainstream media. The third category,
education, was categorized separately because it was found to be a bridge between collective and
individual activities. Acts of teaching and educating occurred both in the public sphere, and in the
personal decisions made by the INM actors.

Collective activity. The term collective activity is used in this study to describe a form of resistance to corporate power that is expressed publicly by a group of individuals, and in an effort to raise awareness and gain support. Collective activities are peaceful protests that include round dances in shopping malls and public areas, blockades of railways and roads, petitions and letter-writing, and public shaming rituals. Also, the locations of these protests are symbolically important in the resistance to corporate power.

Round dances were found to be a significant example of collective activity. Historians believe that the first Round Dance took place in a lodge called nanapawnikamovikamik (Green and Moyah 1998). The Assiniboine originally shared the Moving Slowly Dance with the Plains Cree, which later evolved into the Round Dance in the late 19th century (Deiter 1999; Hoefnagels 2007). The Round Dance is a healing dance that transformed into a social dance of friendship and celebration (Hoefnagels 2007; Martin 2012). The results of the Round Dance during a time of illness and grieving, fosters a spirit of healing, restoration, and celebration. (Deiter 1999). After European contact, the reserve system centralized and isolated the Round Dance, causing many tribes to lose the tradition. Today the tradition is a way for First Nations peoples to come together to honor memories of their ancestors and create spiritual solidarity (Green and Moyah 1998). Round Dances use drums as a symbol of cultural survival because acts of colonization banned many First Nations ceremonies and spiritual rituals that made use of drumming traditions. Elders facilitate in the passing down of the Round Dance from generation to generation, so the tradition almost vanished completely as a result of colonization and assimilation (Kuttner 2012).

Today, First Nations use the Round Dance in an effort to restore their culture and resist colonization, and many tribes share the knowledge and history of the Round Dance with one another in an effort to unite a spirit of being one people (Kuttner 2012; Martin 2012). Narratives about round dances throughout North America at the height of the INM protests mostly included announcements for mobilization and pictures taken at round dances, along with comments that

show support for these efforts. An example of a round dance announcement says, "CALGARY

Round Dance Flash Mob at Stephen Harper's Office, Glenmore Landing, December 30," or

"Round Dance Flash Mob, planned for January 19th and 6pm at the South Towne Center Mall in

Sandy, Utah, USA" with a picture or video from the event attached, or a Facebook event link

attached in order to mobilize supporters. Comments replying to such Facebook posts would

include messages of solidarity and support in English and in First Nation native languages. Round

dances most often occurred in corporate shopping centers or political buildings in Canada and the

United States.

The locations of these round dances and peaceful protests were effective in displaying

resistance because they most often occurred in corporate or government locations. Shopping

malls promote capitalism and consumerism, while the government aids in the expansion of this

production by reducing "barriers to development" with bills such as C-45 (Wotherspoon and

Hansen 2013). Protesting in the form of round dances promoted awareness of native cultures that

were otherwise hidden from public view, and they ultimately promoted thoughtful discussion

about First Nations history and culture, and the impact of western developments on these cultures.

Blockades were a tactic used to resist corporate power that seemed to receive mixed

support. Many supporters of INM participated in, and also encouraged blockades of roadways

and railways. The following INM supporter provides a train-rider's perspective in support of the

blockades,

> I was on one of the trains that was blockaded (well not on it, but waiting at the
>
> station for it.) The train was maybe three hours late at most, and we waited in a
>
> well-heated, bright station. It was a super cold night, but people were out there in
>
> the cold fighting for a cause. Our inconvenience was trivial compared to what we

are all fighting for. I was proud, and lots of people at the station were talking

about the movement and educating themselves on it.

Supporters of the blockades discussed their personal experience, either on a train or as part of the blockade, and how they believe the blockades caused people to notice the issue and begin talking about it. While talking about the issue, it became apparent to many supporters that the inconvenience of having to wait longer for a train was minor compared to the injustices that have occurred in the lives of First Nations peoples.

There were also many supporters of INM that did not believe the blockades were constructive in gaining support, and actually discouraged the use of them as peaceful protest tactics. The following comments are made by individuals in opposition to the blockades, but it is unknown if these individuals were supporters of INM or simply voicing their opinion on the blockades. One person posting to Facebook indicated,

You guys are fighting the government but shooting at the civilians so to speak.

What have we done? We live here as much as you do. Get off the roads, rail lines

etc., hop on a bus and blockade every entrance to parliament to get your point

across. Pissing off the general population is the worst thing you can do and

WILL NOT gain support.

Another clearly expressed agitation, articulating the risk associated with using such a tactic,

Can I get to work on time now? And can people departing or arriving on trains do

so safely? This whole blockade thing is losing you any support or sympathy and

in fact people will become quite upset with you...

Perspectives taken from those opposed to the use of blockades express concern that the blockades are an attack on the Canadian citizens, rather than on the corporate entities and government.

These individuals feel as though they are victims of the blockades rather than benefitting by the protests. Expressed by many, is the concern that protest tactics should directly target the government rather than inconvenience the general population.

Supporters of INM and non-supporters both opposed the blockades, but they did so for different reasons. The supporters of INM who opposed the blockades either saw the blockades as a gateway to violence, or they opposed them simply because they did not want to lose support from the general public. One commenter offered a suggestion for an action alternative to the blockade,

> I support the Idle No More movement and the efforts of First Nations people to
> be treated fairly in this country. I do, however, worry that the blockades are
> causing this movement to lose the support of many everyday Canadians who are
> just trying to make ends meet themselves. May I respectfully suggest that the
> flash mob round dances be used rather than the blockades. I think this would help
> the movement.

Another post warned of negative public response, should the blockades continue,

> I don't think the blockade today will bring violence but I do think it's going to
> anger a lot of people...the wrong people. Your voice is out there, the entire
> country knows your story and your cause - we have for weeks. Now it's about
> getting the government to appease your wishes. Blocking off a major highway
> does not spread your voice, it seriously inconveniences the citizens of this
> province who are trying to go to and from work and carry on with their day. This
> is the wrong way to do things. If I was driving into the city at this time and was
> stopped over this for 2 hours, I would be furious. I do not hope it gets violent, but
> I hope it gets shut down pretty darn quick.

INM supporters in favor of the blockades, expressed that their concerns for the environment and corporate power were greater than the inconveniences posed by the blockades. The following individual compares the blockades to efforts of those involved in past civil rights movements, and explains the importance of non-violent direct action:

> The government, corporations and consumerism are wrecking this planet - and all
> you complain about are road blockades? Seriously, have some perspective. It's
> time to stop asking nicely, because asking nicely doesn't help. Peaceful protest
> and non-violent direct action it is. Because of protests women can vote, blacks
> and whites can attend the same schools and sit in the same bus, many national
> parks exist, there is better animal welfare, and there are workers' unions in third
> world countries. Non-violent direct action is one of the reasons why we have
> decent human rights.

Many participants seemed to believe that it takes direct protest and action, not necessarily extreme or radical measures, but enough action to gain attention for human rights issues to be resolved.

Blockades, although somewhat controversial, were an effective way to show resistance to the expansion of capitalism and commerce while also displaying irony of the nature and history of the railways. The signing of Treaty Number 7 with the Blackfoot (Siksika), Blood (Siksika), Piegan, Sarcee, and Assiniboine made the early construction of railways possible in the 19th century. This construction aided in westward expansion and the extraction and production of resources (Dickason and McNab 2009; Surtees 1988). Ultimately, blocking the railways was a tactic that INM actors could use to slow commerce and production that is dependent on the railways. The irony in this tactic is that the signing of treaties with First Nations historically made railways possible, which is a detail in history that could have possibly been forgotten by many

corporate and government elite. Had the First Nations not agreed to sign the treaties to promote peace, violence could have been the result of land claims made by the Europeans. Many INM actors saw blocking of the railways as "non-violent, direct action" further promoting their beliefs in peaceful negotiations.

Democratically engaging in politics is highly encouraged among the INM actors, and in many cases, this action goes beyond simply voting in elections, as can be seen in the following narrative posted by an INM activist,

I have suggested we should be responsible for the things we have done on our own account. To that end, since we are a democracy, we all share in the responsibility for the leaders we elect - merely having the freedom to vote and for whom implicates us all. But it goes beyond that. This is not just about government. The corporations have a major role in this as well, and let`s not forget the rest of us. Besides our ballots, we also have the freedom to politically engage - from protests to letters to politicians, or the editor. The amount of racism out there doesn`t just come from the government. Even those of us who are not racist, what has each of us done to oppose it? Racism starts in the school yard, then runs unchecked `til it gets to such places as Ipperwash and the shooting of Dudley George; to Oka; Caledonia; even here you can see what`s coming out of the woodwork.

This INM activist presents the understanding that the public should hold government officials and corporate entities accountable through the means that are available to them, because it is their democratic right to do so. Many of the INM actors' narratives posted to Facebook expressed the importance of First Nations voting in federal and local government elections. Many narratives

also display the understanding that in a democratic society, if a government is not upholding their promises, then activities in the form of protests, letters, and petitions should be employed.

The validity of petitions, considered a weaker form of movement commitment by social movement scholars, was often discussed whenever a link to an online petition was posted to the movement's Facebook wall. The following INM actor expressed this concern by stating,

> It depends what you are petitioning for. Online petitions are viable and create a lot of positive change. When corporations see that a large group of people in a short period of time have stood against a practice or product, they will often change the path of product or service. And as much as I hate to say Canada is a corporation.

The concern expressed above is that Canada operates much like a corporation, and citizens must then act as consumers and decrease the "demand" in order to then reduce production of a particular issue. Many expressed concern regarding the ability of online petitions to create change in government or corporate decisions. The previous narrative made by an INM actor shows the importance of petitions, whether they be online or on paper, and why citizens should continue to use them as a form of protest against corporate interests.

Signing of petitions is seen as resistance to corporate power because this tactic supports the use of democracy to influence change in production. As Gould et al. (2004) suggests, corporations need incentives to change their production patterns, and consumers, or the public voice, should have increased democratic influence on policy, in order to slow production that leads to environmental degradation. Although the INM actors are using their democratic outlets to make their demands heard, the corporations also have an influence on democracy. So much so, that some INM actors refer to the government of Canada as a corporation itself. Although grassroots efforts utilize their rights to democracy in protest, petitions still allow the elite control

to grant access. Petitions seem effective by giving voice to the oppressed, but they may not actually persuade the government to change, thus showing the need for full participation by the public mentioned by Gould et al. (2008).

Lastly, a collective activity that only occurred once within the time period analyzed, but seemed to hold great significance, was the act of publicly shaming politicians in the form of a shaming rite. This announcement made by the INM leaders on their Facebook page best describes this practice,

> First Nations chief to perform rare shaming rite against harper government: A traditional Kwakwaka'wakw ceremony that has not been performed for decades will take place Sunday on the legislature lawn as a symbolic shaming of the federal government. A copper — a metal plaque traditionally used to measure the status, wealth and power of Kwakwaka'wakw chiefs — will be broken by hereditary Chief Beau Dick, who has walked from Quatsino, near Port Hardy, with family members and supporters. "The copper is a symbol of justice, truth and balance, and to break one is a threat, a challenge and can be an insult," Dick said. "If you break copper on someone and shame them, there should be an apology." …Coppers play an important role in Kwakwaka'wakw ceremonies, but copper cutting stopped in the 1950s, said 'Namgis Chief Bill Cranmer. "Our people were using coppers to fight each other," he said. Cutting copper was done if someone had been insulted. If that person could not cut a bigger piece of copper with a similar value, they were shamed. "To be shamed was one of the worst things that could happen to you," Cranmer said, adding: "What Beau Dick is doing is more symbolic than anything."

This public shaming ritual, shows resistance to corporate power and corruption of government. This act was symbolic, and it did nothing to physically harm politicians. It seemed to act as a way to spread public awareness of a wrongdoing while also embracing native culture and bringing people together in solidarity surrounding a traditional ceremony. Considered now to be rare occurrences, these traditional shaming rites ended in the 1950s, making this particular ceremony significant. This ceremony involved the breaking, or cutting of copper used to symbolize status and power of a leader. This ritual specifically shows that First Nations believe it is shameful for the government to give into corporate demands by facilitating expansion and deregulating environmental protections. A component of the treadmill of production theory that is highlighted by these grievances is the rejection of corporate and government cooperation to expand production (Schnaiberg 1980).

The INM Facebook page expresses a variety of unique collective activities. Collective activities were a way for First Nations activists to make themselves publicly known, and a way to publicly express their grievances in resistance to corporate power. While there were many more tactics used to mobilize collective activities, this section highlighted the most controversial and most common tactics discussed on the INM Facebook page.

Individual activity. Individual activities include resistance to corporate power expressed on an individual level, and not as a group effort to raise awareness and gain supporters. Individual efforts include raising self-awareness of one's position in society and history, changing individual lifestyles and consumption patterns as a means of individual protest, and personally rejecting mainstream media and, on rare occasions, rejecting mainstream culture.

Self-awareness, or encouragement to become more self-aware of one's surroundings, position in society, and implications of history on the lives of individuals (including oneself) is a

prominent theme in the resistance of corporate power and neoliberal policy. The following comment posted by an actor in the INM movement reflects this need,

> We need to raise our conscience, raise our voices and say enough is enough. We, too, must learn what it means to be Idle No More. That is, unless you are happy knowing you are living in comfort on stolen land that was, and continues to be, taken by lies, greed, force, violence and the genocide of a good and gracious people who have every right to seek to fulfill the truth and the wisdom of their ancestors who believed that future generations would rise up in good conscience against the corporate bullies who have oppressed all of us for so long. We are all in this together. Bill C 45 is going to kill Canada as we know it. We must KILL Bill C 45 now at all costs. If we don't, then we will be swallowed up by greedy American, Chinese and other counties' government sponsored corporate terrorists and we will have to kiss the "TRUE NORTH STRONG and FREE" good-bye.

Encouraging others to become aware of what INM is about and the implications of history on lives of natives and non-natives is expressed by the above commenter, but expression of self-awareness can be shown in many other ways, just as the following actor describes,

> This, I believe anyways, is a movement that puts humanity vs corporations. People are waking up to the fact that corporations own our government. Corporations exploit our resources, destroying nature and our health. All for privilege of paying them for something that wasn't theirs in the first place. I used to think that the system was broken, now I see it isn't broken, it works exactly the way it was designed to, for the benefit of a handful of greedy, Psychopaths... Even the people that speak out against this movement with hate will soon realize that it is this movement that is fighting for their rights too. If even then, they

choose to stand beside the oppressors, then oppressed they shall be... Never let

the darkness of others dim the light within you. Don't give them the satisfaction

of coming down to their level. Look inside yourself and find what is right, and

then fight like hell for it.

As seen in the previous narrative posted by an actor of INM, personal accounts of how individual actors have become more aware are useful in the expression of grievances and encouragement to others. The realization that one is, and has always been, oppressed by large corporations or the government is strongly expressed in this comment, and that self-awareness of their own situation is necessary for enacting change in society.

The next actor expresses the need to follow elders and members of one's community rather than the dominant society,

… Dominant society had become so self-assured in their 'superiority' over

everyone, but now, the Elders and Holyworkers, dancers and drummers, singers

and speakers are leading us into the ways that we should be living, and putting

these false idols of corrupt corporate government where they belong… I

celebrate the public recognition of our sacred relations to one another, across all

colours and races, creeds and demographics. I celebrate the love and wisdom I

get to hear/read from so many people in this movement. I celebrate my

connection to each and every one of you. I celebrate that this movement is about

being more who we truly are, even if we are surprised or dismayed sometimes at

the ugliness, because this is where the true victory begins. With the integrity of

truth for each and every one of us. For all our relations.

As this individual describes, self-awareness in relation to others and self-awareness of one's own identity is an important feature of resistance. Understanding of one's own identity and their identity within a community, encourages empowerment over oppression of dominant society.

Schnaiberg (1980) proposes raising class-consciousness by understanding personal history and place in society. Individual acts of raising one's own self-awareness displayed in the INM movement aid in raising ethnic-consciousness. Beyond simply understanding class inequalities as something that exists in society, INM actors understand that class and ethnic inequalities are produced by capitalism and that this political-economic system is designed to exacerbate these inequalities by making the elite more wealthy. Expressed in many comments on the INM Facebook page, was the belief that the government attempts to make the First Nations feel as though their own actions are the source of poverty on reserves, which is very much a neoliberal tactic to gain support for the expansion of capitalism. The idea that First Nations are to blame for their own poverty is shattered as many INM actors educate themselves on the processes of capitalism and neoliberal policies, and share those realizations with others. Realizing that capitalism is not a superior system, INM actors seek to learn from their heritage and the ways of their ancestors before European contact as a model for living a sustainable life.

The rejection of mainstream media sources is also a prevalent form of resistance by individuals. The following comment posted by an INM actor urges others to reject the mainstream media,

> Best not to rely on mainstream media as in TV and Newspapers to tell the truth
> and all the facts...at least while Harper is in power … best to rely on social online
> media more-so for the truth and unbiased reporting. Harper has reduced funding
> to those in mainstream media for speaking up against, questioning, or casting
> doubt on his government …So what you read may not be the actual truth. The

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numbers that do show up at protests and/or blockades may be reported as lower

by the mainstream media to give the readers the false assumption that support is

not strong and fading... when in fact support is stronger than ever and increasing.

Many actors of the INM movement openly express their rejection of media sources such as Sun

News, and Fox News, and other sources which are supportive of the Harper government. The

rationale for rejecting these news networks comes from their sources of funding by large

corporations and the Canadian government. If funding for news coverage comes from the

corporations that INM actors are protesting, then the protestors assume that there will not be

accurate coverage of events as the commenter above demonstrates.

Actors may also assume, based on distrust of the government, that mainstream media

sources supported by the government also should not be trusted:

It's been in his platform since he has come to office to abolish our rights as

natives and also erode Canadians rights as people too, for corporate use.

Welcome to corporate Canada! Silly people who believe everything on the news

channels to be gospel. Their funding comes from the government, why would

they undermine their own b.s.? They tell blatant lies and rumors daily. Promote

untruths that benefit them also. How could anyone trust them when they lie to us

daily?

A common theme expressed throughout the INM movement is that money can beget power. If

corporations have enough money they can lobby the government. If the government and

multinational corporations are paying the public media, then they have the power to choose what

information they provide to the public. By rejecting these forms of media that the government and

corporations support, INM actors are rejecting corporate power.

Changing consumption patterns and lifestyle can be a form of resistance, and also a solution to environmental degradation, as will be discussed in the next section. For now, I will present evidence of changing consumption as a form of individual resistance to corporate power. Showing the belief that corporations derive their power from the people (consumers), one commenter stated, "We the people are the engine that provides the power to the corporations. They can do nothing without our support. We have the power to bring this whole system to its knees." Many INM actors indicate that consumption influences the power individuals have over corporations.

Numerous comments allude to the power given to corporations through the exchange of money. One INM actor noted their concern in the context of hydraulic fracturing, "The secret to stopping fracking is to stop paying them to frack. Stop buying the stuff they frack out of the ground. If you pay them to do it, they will do it. If you don't, they won't. If only everyone were as dependable as mining companies and did what they were paid to do. Profit is what gives consumers, the little average person, total control over companies. Total. Control. You communicate your instructions via your purchases." In this comment, the emphasis is in the control that consumers give to the companies. Profit made by the companies is derived from the consumer, giving the consumer full control over the power of corporations.

One INM actor explicitly defines the reduction in consumption of natural gas as an effective method of protest against fracking companies by stating, "I hope we can all join in protest right now, by turning down the thermostat and water heater, enough that the fossil fuel companies NOTICE. If we don't have natural gas heat, we can hit the coal and/or oil companies." Based on this comment, and many similar comments, the manifest implication of reducing dependence on a particular resource is getting attention from the companies involved in the extraction of those resources.

INM actors' beliefs about the role that consumption plays in the expansion of capitalism is difficult to determine. On the one hand, it is safe to say that many of these comments illustrate the belief that if all consumers were to act in full participation, then they would have the power to bring down corporations. What is less obvious in the comments is how many of the INM actors are making this decision and what they are doing individually. Schnaiberg's (1980) theory requires full participation by society, and in order to show power over corporations, INM actors realize that it will take full participation by consumers. Schnaiberg and Gould (1994) did not believe that reducing consumption as an adequate form of protest against the expansion of production was effective as long as corporate interests define the dominant agenda, and when individual "feel good" reasons are what influence reduction in consumption. The only way for this type of behavior to be effective in resisting the expansion of production is if consumers on a massive scale all create a new dominant mode of resistance, thus diminishing the pressure of corporate agendas on the consumption habits of society as a whole (Schnaiberg and Gould 1994). While it is obvious that many individual INM actors are calling for this dominant mode by suggesting that "all people" participate, it is difficult to see how effective this protest tactic is without an organized effort to persuade everyone to change consumption habits.

Comments of INM actors express individual activity in resistance to corporate power in various ways. Many choose to encourage others to take action through their personal decisions, while others simply express their personal accounts. Regardless of the method of communication for these forms of resistance, it is important to also note that many actors may not explicitly state their individual acts of resistance on the INM Facebook page. These few examples given are only what is observed and supported through comments and narratives found in this form of social media.

Education. Education as resistance to corporate power in the INM movement acts as a bridge between collective activity and individual activity because methods of education occur in

both the public sphere and on the individual level of decision making in everyday life. In the public sphere, education is a tactic for collective activities in the form of teach-ins, and using social media as a way to provide information about the movement and First Nations' history. Individually, many INM actors express the need to educate the public simply by bringing up INM in conversations with others, or taking initiative to correct harmful stereotypes by talking with people they interact with every day about INM and First Nations' culture. Also, on the individual level, many INM actors expressed the need for other members to take it upon themselves to read about laws, treaties, and proposed bills in order to understand the issues they are facing as First Nations in Canada. The idea that "knowledge is power" is very strong in the INM movement, as expressed in many comments similar to this: "Aho ~ education and knowledge are powerful!!"

The first INM teach-in occurred on November 10, 2012 in Saskatoon to discuss the implications of Bill C-45 (The Kino-nda-niimi Collective, 2014), putting education of native issues at the forefront of tactics used throughout the movement. Teach-ins mentioned in comments and posts on the INM Facebook page appear when announcing an opportunity to attend a teach-in, or posting videos of the teach-ins for those who were unable to attend. Many actors would simply post comments expressing their support of the teach-ins, or expressing the need for more teach-ins. A few examples of these comments included, "We love teach-ins!" and "I want to continue learning, so more teach-ins please." The data did not present comments expressing opposition to teach-ins, which shows that, as a whole, INM actors were in support of teach-ins and educating fellow actors and the public on issues related to First Nations.

Along with teach-ins, INM actors and leaders collectively posted information on the INM Facebook page in order to educate fellow actors within the movement and any non-actors wanting to learn about First Nations cultures, histories, or current issues. The following actor from the United States expresses the importance of making information available through the INM social media outlets by posting,

This page should be about Education as well. I know your Government, as ours in the U.S. taught us lies in the History books. So people need to hear the real story. … Please let's just add as much Native Studies 101 to this page, or links to it. The people can't help but be ignorant, they were lied to much the same as the First Nations are lied too …The Prime Minister and other Corporations should not be allowed to steal and rape the land for their own profit, practically giving nothing but pollution in return. Please educate people on this page. We need understanding, we are all in this together, whether realized right now or not.

Leaders would post links to articles, along with summaries of current events and issues, and actors would post comments expressing the need to continue education via social media. Frequently, actors express a concern over the public school systems in Canada and the United States not teaching the true history of Native Americans and First Nations in classes. Many actors believe that it should be both individual and collective activities performed by the movement to teach others of the true histories of Native Americans in the United States and First Nations in Canada.

The importance of education and the availability of information through social media affiliated with the INM movement shows in personal accounts of supporters, such as the following,

I get lots of good information on the Idle No More fb page. I can see what's happening in other places ... I can witness an Idle No More event in the far north or far south or from Europe. I feel like I am part of something because of this page. And I get teachings and meet teachers that I would never get to hear from any other way … The Idle No More fb page is about attraction. I'm attracted and I'm learning a lot and I am feeling connected to others who have similar values…

Many actors have expressed how they have learned about history, culture, and politics through information provided by leaders and actors of the movement.

Individually, actors have expressed the role of education and teaching in their everyday lives. This actor urges others to spread knowledge as well,

Each One Teach One. Let's get out there and start educating and changing those bigoted thoughts, words and actions! If we all speak up when there are oppressive slurs and situations happening and use it as an opportunity to teach (providing you aren't risking your life-let's be smart and safe too), things will shift. Keep the faith, people! One Love, One Song, One Earth.

These individual efforts to spread awareness and break stereotypes are simple conversations that occur in any type of everyday setting. Many actors encourage others to simply talk to one person about the movement in order to spread awareness.

Comments such as these are difficult to distinguish between individual and collective activities. While these activities may occur in private settings, and at different times, the call to take action encourages a collective effort in order to make change happen. One actor noted,

Keep gathering power by talking to everyone and letting them know what INM is all about. INM is at 30% now and by spring it could be upwards of 70% of Canadians being onside. Canadians want to do what is right. Big business wants to do what is right for profits over people. Their power is a stupid government.

Regardless of whether or not it is collective or individual activity is not important, but the strong emphasis on education is important in order to resist corporate power. As mentioned before, knowledge of the political system is a powerful tool in resisting corporate power. Many

comments express that if First Nations are knowledgeable of the force of oppression upon them, then this knowledge diminishes the power of the corporation to take advantage of them.

Education is an important tactic to include in the analysis because it is prominent in the formation of grievances and it aids in decolonizing First Nations histories. The "winners" in every society tend to write history, and in the case of Canada and North America, the winners are the white, elite capitalists and government officials. Therefore, by making education a major tactic in the INM movement, actors are able to add their own perspective to a history influenced by the perspective of the powerful elite.

Supporting evidence reveals the many tactics used by the INM actors in the resistance of corporate power. Publically and collectively, INM actors formed peaceful protests that included blockades, round dances in shopping malls, and shaming rituals, and they have signed petitions to put pressure on the government and corporations, using the locations of these events as part of their strategy. Individually, INM actors have been doing what they can to raise their own self-awareness of their position in society, reducing consumption and changing their lifestyles, and rejecting mainstream media sources. Education is a very important component of the INM movement that bridges collective and individual activities by hosting public teach-ins and posting information to social media, and then spreading the word through everyday conversations in order to gain more support and to break stereotypes of First Nations peoples. The next section will offer supporting evidence addressing how INM actors talk about and work to address environmental degradation.

Environmental Degradation

To consider movement efforts to address environmental degradation, findings indicate that all of the following have contributed to the issue, including: colonization, consumption, corporations, deregulation, "progress" or economic development, extraction, foreign investment,

greed and money, the government, and technological advances. Proposed solutions to reduce environmental degradation include investment into clean alternative energy sources, technology innovation, lifestyle changes and reducing consumption, changes in the distribution of goods, enforcing environmental fees for waste, corporate accountability, and buying local goods. Due to the diversity in responses to causes and solutions to environmental degradation, I only discuss the most prominent arguments in the INM social movement. Frequently occurring arguments for the causes of degradation include natural resource extraction, corporation and government alliances, greed and money, and deregulation. The most prominent proposed solutions to degradation include investment into clean alternative energy sources, lifestyle changes, reducing consumption, and enhancing corporate accountability.

Perceived causes of environmental degradation. Causes of degradation as constructed throughout the narratives on the INM Facebook page are diverse and frequently overlap. There is no "one" cause of degradation, but there seems to be many causes that have exacerbated one another. These causes included activities of extraction companies, government policies (deregulation), government alliances with large corporations, and greed for money and power.

The first cause presented is the impact of extraction companies on environmental degradation. The following comment made by an individual on the Facebook page expresses environmental degradation caused by tar sands operations by stating, "I have seen pictures of some of these oil sands operations; the devastation is APPALLING! Hundreds of acres of pristine wilderness turned to desolate moonscapes; it cannot POSSIBLY be cost effective in either short-OR long-term!" Discussion of degradation in terms of tar sands operations, oil pipelines, oil spills and other extraction activities are most frequent. Issues of environmental degradation related to resource extraction have been shared through pictures of operations, knowledge of past oil spills, and talk of climate change.

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Many narratives also express the main purpose of INM as being a movement to fight large corporations responsible for pollution and resource extraction. The following INM actor's comment expressed these grievances,

> Idle No More Movement is not about greed, but protecting the air from pollution, the land from environmental damages, such as, oil spills and tar sands, and waters from being contaminated, from life threatening Corporations destroying our livelihood, our future, and therefore we must protect Mother Earth for our children's future and future generations to come. Life is more important than wealth.

INM actors commonly express distrust of large corporations, believing that they only pursue money and wealth at the expense of the livelihoods and welfare of the communities impacted. The protection of Mother Earth for generations to come, and for the sake of their children's future, is a very prominent grievance in the INM movement.

Supporters of INM, native and non-native alike, identify the importance of protesting corporate and governmental control of resources for the good of all people. Comments such as this, from non-native supporters of INM were common,

> Believe me, there are millions of us non Aboriginal people who are supporting you with our belief in your cause. Because it is the cause of us all. Everyone will be damaged by these pipeline creations. I heap praise on you for the love you have for the earth and all living things. We cannot allow corporate and governmental agencies to determine what will happen to the earth. Keep up your non-violent confrontations and you win more support every day from all who believe in what you are doing will help to save our mother earth. Thank you.

Most actors recognize that corporate environmental injustices affect everyone, not just First Peoples. Statements of solidarity from non-natives, posted frequently, showed appreciation for what the movement has done for all people.

Although it is safe to say that a majority of the INM actors that posted to the Facebook page support the idea that corporations have been part of the cause of environmental degradation, there are also some who disagree. The following comment posted by an individual on the INM Facebook page shows an example of a contrasting opinion,

> There are millions of barrels of oil extracted from the ground everyday on this planet. How many oil spills are there? Sure these sorts of things are horrible, but whenever you mix mankind, machinery and resource development together, you have the potential of a problem. I'm sure the oil companies don't want a disaster any more than anyone else. Things go wrong for any number of reasons, there is always that risk and price to pay for the lifestyle we all choose to live, we all have blood on our hands! How many of you recycle everything you can? How many of you take a plastic bag at the store because you can't be bothered to bring a reusable one, how many of us drive vehicles that are bigger and harder on fuel than we need? The list goes on and on. Do we stop using the highway because of a crash or because it disrupts wildlife? No? Do we all sit on here and complain about that? No? The oil companies and government are easy targets for us all. Yet no one has a solution at all. Both of these entities have made great strides at trying to improve safety and environment in the last few decades, why does no one sit back and accept that, yes there is a long way to go, for all of us, but it takes time and there is a delicate balancing act between what people want, need and expect. I will ask this... what is it that the movement wants in regards to this? Close down the oil industry? What will it take?

The above comment expresses the belief that the extraction companies are not to blame for environmental degradation, based on the idea that nobody would want an oil spill to occur, or to damage the environment, including the companies themselves. This argument also expresses the risk factors involved in many aspects of society today, including resource extraction, and that disaster does not happen frequently, but there is always a chance it could happen. This actor also expressed improvement in technology to help decrease the environmental impact of these operations. Ultimately, this comment shows that consumption, and not necessarily the corporations and government themselves, are to blame for environmental degradation. It is difficult to know if those who believe that extraction companies do not cause environmental degradation are supporters of the wider INM movement, or if they are simply expressing their beliefs. Regardless of their support, it is important to show the counter arguments in order to get an accurate understanding of the discussion that has taken place.

Discussion was frequent on the Facebook page about consumption as a cause of environmental degradation, but discussion more often reflected reduced consumption as a solution to environmental degradation. The next comment posted by an individual on the INM Facebook page expresses these concerns by stating,

Your money and where you choose to spend it makes a difference. Greed of politicians and corporations also are, to an extent of course, a reflection of what WE as a collective consume. I mean obviously we don't intend on such a large scale effect of our personal choices, but it snowballs, someone is always kicking the can down the road instead of stopping to pick it up. We ask for environmental solutions and then we drive our cars two blocks to get imported groceries where we get the plastic bags instead of the paper, merely as an example of course. We vilify corporate interests but how many of us support local interests? Really... this isn't a blanket statement either, I know a lot of people are aware and making

an effort to live sustainably, but as a whole, our consumer culture has created a

mess of our planet and tragically, the greed it has inspired has cost LIVES in the

process. The problem is not merely Harper but has expanded to our entire globe

following a system that simply does not serve us any longer.

This comment shows that consumption, above corporate responsibility, is to blame for

environmental degradation. This idea stems from the belief that if people did not buy items that

use oil and gas, then the extraction companies would not produce as much. Therefore, with this

logic, society at large is to blame for environmental degradation rather than using the

corporations and government as scapegoats. They express the grievance that the government and

corporations are not to blame, but rather the public and their consumer lifestyles are to blame for

environmental degradation. Many INM commenters place blame on the consumer, such as the

previous comment. The comment made by the following INM actor shows the diversity in these

types of grievances by stating,

Suggestion: don't drink frack water. Or septic outflow water. Or ditch water. Or

gutter water. Or standing puddle water. Or yellow snow. But please do continue

using computers, electricity, plastic products, motorized transportation, and the

million other things that send the signal to oil companies that you require them to

mine more oil and that you are willing to pay for it. Hint: companies don't mine

oil for fun. They do it because you reward them for it. Kind of like hiring a hit

man, and them blaming him. You, we, and I use oil and then you blame the oil

companies = failure of logic, failure of responsibility. Oil companies are merely

our employees. If we quit paying them they will quit doing it.

Although the two previous comments have very similar views on consumerism, the different

choices in language and tone make it difficult to assume if they are in support of the INM

movement or not. It is impossible to know for sure if the commenter is in opposition to the INM movement unless they explicitly express these thoughts in the comment. What is important to understand, are the actors' opinions on the causes of environmental degradation. Expressed in both comments is the same idea that if consumers pay the extraction companies to extract resources then they will continue to do so.

Causes of environmental degradation are the mutual fault of large extraction companies in addition to consumption patterns of society. These grievances along with similar consumption grievances from the previous section show that many INM actors, whether they are supporters or not, agree that consumption has a large impact on environmental degradation. Although direct blame is on extraction companies, it is also common for grievances to show that consumption ultimately impacts the production by these same extraction companies.

While it is difficult to determine whether or not INM actors believe that corporations or consumer lifestyles are to blame for environmental degradation, what is apparent is the belief that government is more interested in helping corporations gain access to resources than they are at improving environmental protections. This is the strongest, and most prominent, grievance that directly reflects resistance to neoliberal policies. The following evidence shows comments made by INM actors regarding deregulation of environmental protections and alliances between government and corporate interests.

Many INM actors were worried about deregulation associated with the omnibus bill, C-45, and many reflect these concerns in their comments. The following comment posted by an INM actor is an example of these concerns of deregulation,

Our Canadian government is slashing funding, gutting regulations, and stifling

dissent with regards to our natural environment. Most notably, the Omnibus

budget bill was a mechanism for the government to remove, by subterfuge, what

little was left of environmental protections already in existence. The vast

majority of our lakes and rivers now go unprotected. Calling it 'streamlining', the

cutting of 900 additional jobs from Environment Canada, the end of the National

roundtable on the economy and the Environment and cuts to the infrastructure for

conducting environmental assessments (which only applied to public projects,

not private ones) leaving most environmental decisions to the Prime Minister and

his Cabinet. They have also shut down the polar atmospheric monitoring station

(a case of see, hear, & speak no evil). There remains a fractured regulatory

framework, but with little monitoring or enforcement it does not even look good

'on paper'.

Main concerns include the government granting more access to nuclear, oil, and gas companies to

extract resources, and polluting waterways as a result. Another main concern is that by

deregulating environmental protections, it will be easier for corporations to pass environmental

impact assessments and other inspections, making the process of assessment "streamlined."

Actors have also expressed the concern that many waterways are already polluted in

some localized areas, and that deregulation will only make the issue worse and more widespread

across Canada, as expressed by the following individual,

Once the protection of water is removed, the corporations like oil and nuclear

will have access to it with very little environmental restrictions. Our relatives in

the McMurray area can NO longer swim in their lakes & cancer is epidemic, that

is the risk we will all face. The conservatives obviously don't care about us and

have left us to fight for our water while they think they are protecting "theirs".

The previous narrative told by an actor on the INM Facebook page expresses an issue of

environmental justice, where many "relatives" (assuming native ancestry) are experiencing

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exposure to carcinogens because of pollution to waterways, while "conservatives" (assuming current government officials and corporate entities) are able to enjoy fresh water areas. Regardless of whether or not this account is accurate, what is important is the belief that this has happened across Canada. In this case, oppression comes in the form of environmental injustice forced upon a particular ethnic minority that the elite class does not experience.

Many INM actors see the government as only helping large corporations, rather than passing legislation that will benefit the citizens of Canada. A theme found in the comments made by INM actors showed that the government has alliances with large corporations; alliances that only benefit the government and the corporations, without considering the needs of the citizens. The following comments show that those posting to INM believe that government actions make commerce easier for large corporations such as oil, natural gas, coal, etc., contributing to pollution and degradation of the environment. One poster asserted: "Removing Protective Legislation is not a practice that will benefit anyone but the Giants Corps who want to rape the earth."

Many actors mentioned corporations receiving tax breaks from the government, and if the government were to receive more tax revenue from these large corporations, then there would be more wealth distributed to citizens. The following comment expresses the understanding that the INM movement is about protesting the "conservative government" by stating,

> Anyone who is supporting Idle No More or is part of this movement. Our fight is
> not with Canadians it is not with everyone who is living here, it is not about
> money or paying more as taxpayers. It is with this Conservative Government that
> is making back door deals with rich companies letting them break environmental
> laws giving them huge tax breaks. All we want is to be respected and involved
> and included in decisions that affect our communities. The Government can

easily tax those big rich corporations that are getting rich from all OUR resources

and share it. They can also make those huge rich corporations, such as mines,

follow our environmental laws so they are not polluting communities and OUR

water. But they are not. So that's why we have this movement…

This comment expresses the grievance that the conservative government takes up alliances with

large extraction corporations. There is also a common perception among those who were in

objection to the movement that First Nations citizens do not have to pay taxes, and therefore

should not be protesting the corporations for taking tax breaks. The belief that First Peoples get

tax breaks caused much contention among supporters and non-supporters, and often took the

focus away from blaming the government and corporations to blaming each other. Often times,

supporters or leaders felt the need to remind actors that the focus of their grievances are not

Canadian citizens in objection to the movement, but rather the current government administration

and large corporations. The next comment posted by a supporter of INM, expresses many of the

same grievances about government helping rich corporations by saying,

The government can collect this money from rich corporations that are making

all the money from all of our resources and share it. Instead they give these rich

corporations tax breaks and breaks from the law to mine and rip up the earth and

pollute the waters. So yeah clue in and get on the side that is trying to stop the

government from selling our earth and resources to the highest bidder. Support

Idle No More.

Commenters assert that money is favored by the government and corporations over

human life, such as the following individual has exclaimed,

Why is the Canadian govt attacking our peaceful people & Mother Nature?? The

answer to your question is simple. We are standing up for Turtle Island (North

America) & our rights!! From the racist conservative govt & their alliance with

the oil companies that look to profit off the destruction of mother earth!

Many of these grievances express the belief that the government and corporations are deliberately attacking First Nations peoples and the environment simply because the government is racist and able to make money by destroying the environment.

Alliances between corporations and the government are a prominent focus of grievances asserting the cause of environmental degradation, and Schnaiberg's theory (1980) strongly recognizes this particular cause of degradation and expansion of production. The actors of the INM movement are aware that the government is deregulating environmental protections with the "Jobs and Growth Act" in order to promote economic growth and uninhibited expansion of production and extraction. While many actors have a distrust of large corporate industries, particularly extractive industries like oil and gas, the actors also believe that it is the government's duty to protect the well-being of the people who experience dispossession by these large corporations. Instead, the government is actually passing laws, such as bill C-45, that make it easier for large corporations to dispossess the First Nations peoples of their livelihoods, resources, and right to clean water. As expressed in the theory of the treadmill of production, policies and environmental deregulations are put into place in order to financially benefit industry and the state, not for the well-being of the people (Gould, Pellow, and Schnaiberg 2008; Oliver 2005; Schnaiberg, Weinberg, and Pellow 1999).

Discussion of the government and corporations favoring money over human life leads to discussion of greed over money and power by both the government and corporations. This was a very prominent topic of discussion among the INM actors. The next few comments articulate the use the term, "greed," in order to show how the INM actors addressed obsession with money and power by the government and corporations.

Comments on the INM Facebook page express greed in a number of different ways. The term is associated with money (most of all), but also power, "progress," and even ongoing colonization. I will note a few examples of each type of "greed." Most frequently, greed was associated with power by the government and corporations, as shown by the following comment posted by an individual from the INM movement:

> For those that are against us, have u seen what the government has done to our CANADA, look at pictures of Alberta (tar sands). And they will keep destroying this beautiful land, the fresh water in the rivers and lakes if we don't stop them. We just want to protect the land and the waters from total destruction. …If harper wins, then all will be lost and all for greed. Pretty sad. The Saskatchewan River was once beautiful with fresh water that we could drink from, swim in. The river has been polluted for years now and looks gross. Who caused that to happen?

This comment specifically describes government greed, and greed by the current Prime Minister, as the source of environmental degradation.

Another major concern was the impact of fracking on wildlife and human populations, as described by the following comment posted by an INM actor,

> I find it really sad that government does not look ahead to see that by greed of money, they destroy the little that is left to the planet. Pesticides that is still in breast milk of mothers from years ago, mercury in fish in the wild which they say we should limit intake, oil spills killing wild life unless people step in to help the animals. Now with fracking, among other industries, they are causing animals to die, people are getting sick and no compensation nor help for their illness due to fracking. It doesn't take a genius to see that the planet will only last so long! …

Again, for the greed of money, they push what they want, not what the greater

public wants…

Fracking is a threat to environmental and human health, and the purpose for fracking was for the

greed of money by the government and corporations. Many believed that what little is left of

resources and the environment is worth more than the profits from natural gas and the use of

natural gas.

Frequently, many actors would leave short and simple comments about greed for money,

power and even capital gain. Many individuals, like the following INM actor, stated similar

concerns by saying, "The problem is GREED, whatever You believe in, God, Creator or just In

Mother Earth We are destroying this Planet for Capital Gain! When The Water is no good to

drink, the Air can't be breathed, and the food can't grow, There is No $$$$, just Man Made

Stupidity!!" These types of comments did not go into great detail regarding their grievances, but

simply acknowledged that greed is the cause of environmental degradation and issues with human

health. These comments also indicate that INM actors realized that the resources provided by the

environment fuel commerce and trade, and without these resources, trade does not exist anymore.

More importantly, resources needed to sustain life are no longer available.

Another cause of environmental degradation is greed for societal progress. The following

INM actor expressed concern that greed by society (not only government and industry) is to

blame for environmental degradation by saying, "I do think all people need to get back to the

basics, we are a very wasteful society and all the progress is killing the planet and poisoning the

people. Greed for power and greed for money at the expense of quality of life for us but even

more so for future generations." This comment alludes to "all people" who participate in a

wasteful lifestyle in the name of "progress" are to blame for environmental degradation.

Finally, greed for power and money has also been associated with colonization throughout history in the Americas, along with ongoing acts of colonization that work to re-enforce these power relationships. The following insight from an INM actor expresses concern with the definition of success and progress based on colonial perspectives,

> We were here living a somewhat peaceful life feeding off the earth and doing what was needed to survive and then the "settlers" came and killed many of our ancestors and then "civilized" the rest. Before the arrival of the "settlers" success was based on the ability to provide for your tribe. Tribes were one. Everyone participated as a whole & every member of the tribe contributed in some way. Now success is based on money & power. Money that we did not create or agree too. We were put on reservations so we couldn't just go anywhere to hunt or fish so we had to start living the "civilized" way or we would starve… We cannot go back to the way things used to be because our land is running out of the resources we would need to survive so now we HAVE to live in your society so we can provide for our families. … Because this land is ours, it has always been ours & it will always be ours.

Many expressed the grievance that the First Nations defined success, not by money, but by the ability to provide for the tribe, and how well the tribe as a collective was able to survive and be healthy. When the "settlers" arrived, individual capital gain became the new idea of "success," which is then believed to be the reason why First Nations were pressured into a new lifestyle that contributes to environmental degradation rather than living with the environment in a reciprocal way. While some INM actors encouraged a lifestyle change on reservations that more closely represented the perceived images of lifestyles of their ancestors, many believed that it is actually too late, and that the environmental damage has reduced their ability to hunt and fish as their ancestors once did.

While greed may not be explicitly described as a component of the treadmill of production, what is described by the theory is accumulation of wealth among the elite at the expense of the poor, the ability of corporations to influence policy because of the power of lobbying and money, and a constant need for expansion of production in order for economic growth to sustain the capitalist mode of production (Schnaiberg 1980). While greed may be a subjective term to use to describe these phenomena, the evidence presented in the comments above show that the INM actors are aware that these actions by the government and corporations are causing environmental degradation, and the actors believe that their actions are fueled by greed for money or power. It is also important to understand that the common use of the word greed suggests a strong feeling of disapproval for the actions of the government and corporations. Many commenters reflected on the time before "settlers" arrived in North America, and that sharing was very common among the First Peoples. The belief that generosity is a quality greatly admired and respected among First Nations peoples is highly supported by historical literature (Parent 2012; Harrison and Friesen 2010; Ray 1996). Historically, if a virtuous quality for a leader to have is generosity, then assumedly the opposite – greed – is greatly discouraged and denounced among First Nations peoples.

The illustrated causes of environmental degradation include extraction companies, consumption, alliances between corporations and the government, and greed of money and power. Most of these grievances adequately reflect resistance to deregulation, neoliberal ideologies, capitalism, and the expansion of production, where environmental degradation is caused by government alliances with corporations and the need to expand production in order to make profits and promote economic growth (Schnaiberg 1997; Long 2012).

Proposed solutions to environmental degradation. There were many proposed solutions to reduce environmental degradation that included investment in clean alternative energy sources, technological innovation, lifestyle changes and reducing consumption, change in the distribution

of goods, enforcing environmental fees for waste, corporate accountability, and buying local

goods. Of these proposed solutions, this section addresses the most prominent solutions. These

include alternative energy sources, lifestyle and consumption changes, and corporate

accountability. I selected these three solutions due to their significance throughout the data.

The first proposed solution by INM actors presented is investment into cleaner,

alternative energy sources, along with a reduction in dependence on non-renewable energy

sources, as this particular INM actor has described,

> The sooner we move to solar, wind, water/ocean power the better. The world will
>
> have to survive without oil at some point - better we do it BEFORE we destroy
>
> the earth! The only reason not to is because the oil companies want us to keep
>
> needing their product to keep them rich. I think it would be brilliant for the First
>
> Nations Communities to help our environment and increase their own wealth and
>
> independence by creating clean energy for us to use instead of oil… there's
>
> plenty of sun, wind and water on many of the Reserves!

Many believe that First Nations communities should set the standard for energy use and invest in

alternative energy sources, thus also increasing their independence from oil and gas companies.

Along with investment in alternative energy, which makes renewable energy more available, is

the demand for technological innovation and investment in the education and careers of those

who would discover these renewable sources, as another individual says, "If our dependency is

here to stay for the time being, let us work together. Let all the "Newton's" sit under the

proverbial apple trees and ponder a new world with less destruction in the name of a new

dependency on a new environmentally friendly resource." Many believe that technological

innovation is important to facilitate the demand for alternative energy.

The data suggest that the current government is a hindrance to technological innovation and investment into renewable energy sources. It is a common belief that if the Prime Minister is removed from office, then Canada would become more sustainable, as one INM actor expressed, "harper needs to be removed from office, he is conducting in part the destruction of the planet, Canada needs to switch to renewable energy now. The future generations need a clean environment in order to survive. I'm tired of these man-made chemicals that cause man-made diseases - i.e. cancer." It is important to note that not everyone shares these beliefs. A few statements also hinted that regardless of who was in power as the Prime Minister, that person would still be more interested in helping the oil and gas companies rather than investing in renewables. Most frequently, though, INM actors expressed removing Prime Minister Harper as part of the solution to reduce environmental degradation.

The second proposed solution to reducing environmental degradation is for society to change lifestyles dependent on consumption. The following INM actor expressed these concerns, and even argues that they are major grievances of the INM movement,

> The idea that our lives would have to change in order to enact changes in our hydrocarbon uses is, in part, a major caveat of INM. Our current north american lifestyles are foolishly indulgent, and completely disrespectful towards other populations, and to the earth. It needs to change. So yes, let's change "our wealthy lifestyle of ease and luxury".

Many INM actors express the belief that in order to reduce consumption and, therefore, reduce degradation, society would have to change popular lifestyles. Rather than indulging in modern luxuries, the common belief is that people would have to live a more simple life in order to reduce degradation and also in order to respect others who feel the impact of wastefulness and overconsumption.

Also, the data suggest that dependence from non-renewable energy sources can only be severed if there is more investment into alternative energy (as presented above), or if consumers decide to boycott or stop using products made with, and use, non-renewable energy. The following comment posted by an INM actor reflects these concerns by saying,

> I believe when we acknowledge how much cultures like ours, in the US, benefit from things like this, we'll have a better start on treating the world and its indigenous people better. We shake our heads about the tar sands, and how it wrecks Alberta, then we use that fuel to fly to UNwrecked places. Seems like every place natives still live, and have lived for centuries, we think we know better and can improve things, and since we never examine how this works out in the long run, we ruin one place after another. If enough of us start refusing to BENEFIT, this can change. If we refuse to use oil from a wrecked place to fly to enclaves of the rich (which anyone who can afford to fly is), if we refuse to, say, visit resorts that once, not long ago, belonged to indigenous people, if we turn down thermostats, if we, in short, refuse to benefit from practices we find immoral, we'll do better stopping them.

The previous comment, though, seems to be a call to lifestyle changes for those who can afford to travel and benefit from modern luxuries, and most likely is not a call to lifestyle changes for impoverished and marginalized communities. Difficulty in severing dependence on non-renewable energy sources is a major concern, especially when there are very few alternative, and affordable, options.

The third most prominent proposed solution for decreasing environmental degradation is a suggestion for government, or for inter-governmental organizations, to put into place corporate environmental accountability. The following INM actor commented by saying,

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I hope the "vision" stays clear...about "stewards of Mother Earth"...First Nations

have the LEGAL RIGHTS to VETO "dirty resource extraction"...they can hold

accountable the Corporations who must learn to spend the money on

technologies and processes that respect the environment and stop pollution at the

source...and share in the royalties...First Nations can legally force government

and corporations to clean up the dirty sources of industry allowed too long to

desolate Mother Earth...

Expression of corporate accountability is various. The first proposed solution, described above, occurs on a local scale, and gives responsibility to First Nations communities to hold corporations accountable by taking legal action whenever their livelihood and environment is threatened. This is the idea that First Nations have either a right for consultation given in the treaties, or through a class action lawsuit.

The second suggestion on how to hold corporations accountable is by the Canadian government taking action to put laws in place to make sure that Canadian companies are adhering to high environmental standards. One INM poster stated, "Canadian mining companies have a horrible record internationally. We should be cleaning our house and making sure that our companies investing abroad adhere to high standards, not merely the low standards of the corrupt regimes in these places." This of course, is an action for the government to abide by, but does not give suggestions for the citizens on how to make this happen. What these comments do suggest, though, is a call for more environmental regulation, rather than deregulation put in place by bill C-45 and other similar omnibus bills.

The third suggestion for establishing corporate accountability is to do so on a global scale, through inter-governmental organizations such as the United Nations. The following actor expresses the need for economic stability that does not harm the environment by saying,

I do agree on all the economic stability industry brings to many globally,

however, there is a far better way of going about business. The environment

should need not be the victim here. Time to look at better ways, I think it's time

we all bring in a new global law that brings in world input. A global law that puts

Mother Earth before anything else. A global law that big business must follow...

it really is time for change, before we destroy ourselves.

This comment also suggests that in order to have sustainable business practices, there should be a

global law put into place to hold all industries, across the world, accountable for environmental

abuses.

Proposed solutions by the INM actors to reduce environmental degradation do not

entirely reflect the same solutions proposed by Schnaiberg and colleagues for slowing production.

Gould et al. (2008) proposed that a revolt waged by society against the forces of capitalism are

what can ultimately cause radical change and true sustainability with the introduction of a new

system of production. The INM movement is very clear on intentions to influence the government

democratically, but very peacefully, in order to bring about change. In fact, when a few actors on

the Facebook page tried to promote radical tactics for resistance, such as ideas of overthrowing

the government, militarization of the movement, or creating a "New World Order" conspiracy,

other INM actors quickly addressed them for not abiding by the values of INM, and were

discouraged from taking part in those types of actions. Commenters frequently ignored radical

grievances shared on the page. Rather than promoting a new political-economic system and

resorting to a "revolt," INM grievances seem to reflect a need to fix the current system through

venues offered and allowed by the government in a peaceful manner. Idle No More, based on

comments and narratives, seemed to be a grassroots movement (working outside of the

government), attempting to influence the current government and industry by the use of

democratic methods.

The way INM actors discussed environmental degradation and worked to address environmental degradation is presented by articulated causes of degradation and proposed solutions to reduce degradation. The most prominent causes of degradation included corporate resource extraction, greed of money and power, and governmental alliances with large corporations and industry. Commonly proposed solutions to reduce degradation included investment into clean alternative energy sources and encouragement of technological advances, lifestyle changes and reducing consumption, and corporate accountability on the global, federal and local scale.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The Facebook data for the INM movement is vast, and covers a multitude of topics and

grievances. The goal of this research was to understand how the INM actors on Facebook talk

about, and actively resist, corporate power and environmental degradation within the framework

of the treadmill of production. The ways that INM actors resisted corporate power included

protest with collective activity, individual activity, and education as a bridge between collective

and individual activities. Collective activities included public demonstrations, round dances in

shopping malls, road and railway blockades, petitions, letter-writing, and a rare public shaming

ritual. Individual activities included, but were certainly not limited to, every-day consumption

decisions, self-awareness, and rejecting mainstream media. Education acted as a bridge between

collective and individual activity simply because education occurred in the form of teach-ins,

organized collectively and in public spaces, and education also occurred in every day

conversation, which happened on an individual scale and occasionally in private spaces.

Education also occurred on the INM Facebook page, which is difficult to determine as collective

activity or individual activity, but regardless, it occurred frequently and was the primary way

information was shared about the movement, history, and current events.

The ways INM actors have talked about the causes of environmental degradation

included conversations about extraction companies, consumption, deregulation of environmental

protections, government and corporate alliances, and greed of money and power. While there was mixed consensus about whether extraction companies or consumers are to blame for environmental degradation, the most common grievance found in the analysis was that government and corporate alliances, deregulation, and greed were the main causes of environmental degradation. Solutions to reduce environmental degradation proposed by the INM actors included investment into renewable energy, changing consumption lifestyles, and implementing global and local forms of corporate accountability. Many believed that a change in government leadership might encourage investments into cleaner energy sources, while many also believed that it did not matter who was in office. Changing consumption patterns in order to reduce dependence on non-renewable energy is a common solution. Most often, many people demanded corporate accountability, either on the local, state, national, or global level.

I turn now to a more thorough discussion of the ways in which the narrative presented in this form of social media reflects resistance to capitalism, neoliberalism, oppression, and environmental degradation. Many tactics and grievances expressed by the INM actors accurately reflect resistance to the forces of capitalism as proposed by Schnaiberg and colleagues in the treadmill of production theory, but because this is a unique case not all components of the situation are a "cookie-cutter" fit. There are a few grievances with the INM movement that I have found to remain inconclusive as to whether or not they adhere to the resistance identified by Schnaiberg (1980). This chapter will summarize those findings and provide suggestions for further research.

I begin by addressing the grievances reflected in the INM narratives that do not accurately adhere to resistance to capitalism and the expansion of production as defined by Schnaiberg (1980). These grievances include a lack of radical, or cohesive, perspectives on how to solve ecological and socio-economic problems. Similarly, many grievances focus on the importance of changing consumption patterns or recycling, using bicycles instead of cars, etc.,

which is defined by Schnaiberg (1980) as cosmetologist or meliorist perspectives. Although there are many cosmetologist or meliorist perspectives, it is clear that the majority of the INM actors are reformists, based on their shared perspectives about the causes of environmental degradation, and how their activism tactics reflect an attempt at convincing the government to change production (extraction) practices. Although it is safe to say that a large number, and possibly most, of the actors believe that the main issue is production, there are still some activists that believe consumption is the biggest issue facing our environment. Schnaiberg (1980), and also Gould et al. (2008) believe that in order for a social movement to be successful in achieving true sustainability the cohesiveness of the social movement should be identified by a unified radical perspective, and on a massive, global scale. Changing individual consumption patterns, which was very common throughout the INM narratives, ignores the political aspect of environmental issues, and therefore will not acquire enough power to slow production and achieve environmental sustainability (Gould et al. 2008).

Even though some actors have grievances focused primarily on consumption, most of the grievances of the INM actors consistently show resistance to the expansion of production. The rest of this section will show the ways in which INM actors display resistance to capitalism and environmental degradation, even if they may not have a "cohesive, radical perspective" suggested by Schnaiberg and colleagues. One of the first, and probably most obvious similarity between INM grievances, and resistance as articulated in the treadmill of production theory, is the realization that democracy under an advanced capitalist state has a tendency to be diluted democracy. INM actors most often expressed the need for a pure form of democracy, or to simply be included in consultation on the matters that involved them. INM as an organization appears to be very careful about how relationships with political leaders are made, stressing many times that they are a pure grassroots movement, and not led by political leaders. Understanding that these

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environmental problems extend from political problems is a major requirement for resisting environmental degradation caused by capitalism.

The second major realization is that inequality, and environmental inequalities, extend from capitalism. The actors understand the increasing need to expand production into areas that affect marginalized populations in order to sustain capitalism, and most importantly understanding that they experience oppression as a result. The actors of INM have many conversations, and share many narratives, about how oil and gas extraction has affected their livelihoods, or how they fear it may affect them after the passing of bill C-45. This realization is evident in comments that express greed for power and money. These grievances show that INM actors believe that the corporate and political elite have the power to dispossess them of their livelihood in order to make a higher profit.

The most fascinating realization, and one reflected in the INM manifesto (www.idlenomore.ca/manifesto), is the alliance between the Canadian government and the large, multinational extraction companies. INM actors, not only believe that extraction and production cause environmental degradation, but they believe that the government makes these resources more accessible by reducing the barriers to development, in order to facilitate in economic growth. They recognize that the only reason why Bill C-45 was passed was to reduce environmental regulation and bypass First Nations' consultation, in order to make it easier for companies to expand production and extraction. The reasons why the government would encourage this is only speculative; some said it was for greed, some assumed that the companies paid the prime minister directly, and some have said it is simply for economic growth.

To consider whether or not INM grievances reflect resistance as presented in the treadmill of production theory, I must consider the advice of Schnaiberg (1980); the best way to study the treadmill of production theory is not by simply gauging environmental perspectives, but

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also understanding the power dynamics and relationships involved in politics, colonialism, inequality and the capitalist economic system. By combining the historical context of capitalist imperialism that has been occurring for centuries since European contact, the nature of a capitalist system that produces inequalities among class and race, the known environmental degradation associated with extraction, with the grievances of the INM movement, then the conclusion is "yes." The INM narratives as presented in this form of social media show a strong reflection of resistance to the forces articulated by the treadmill of production theory that include corporate power, environmental degradation, government-corporate alliances, and the expansion of extraction. The treadmill of production literature is very broad and applies to diverse social phenomena, making it difficult to test or accurately apply to any particular study. For this reason, the main concepts of the theory - corporate power, environmental degradation, and activism - were analyzed. Although some details of the theory are not represented in the data, based on these three main components, the data does reflect resistance to capitalism, neoliberal ideologies and policies, and economic growth through deregulation of environmental protections. Further research may include a more accurate application of the theory by analyzing political and economic structures in addition to environmental perception in Canada. Can this conclusion be generalized to reflect the grievances of every single actor involved with INM? Absolutely not. This movement was a transnational, indigenous, social and environmental movement that involved many actors with diverse experiences, and this study only considered one aspect of the movement. It is important to understand the larger picture, but most importantly to also take the personal narratives of the actors for what they are - individual and unique personal accounts and narratives.

Suggestions for further research include investigation into comparing localized land claim protests, such as those like the Oka Crisis and Ipperwash Standoff, and national or transnational social movements such as Idle No More. Brief descriptions of the Oka Crisis and

Ipperwash Standoff were included in the historical context because it is important to understand that First Nations resistance is not a new phenomenon and has been occurring as a result of colonial history. Idle No More is the first social movement of its kind to unite a pan-tribal identity among First Nations in Canada. The only close comparison would possibly be the American Indian Movement in the United States, although their grievances were slightly different. Another suggestion for further research may include a study of identity formation in pan-tribal social movements, using INM as a case study. Also, a thorough analysis of the power relations between government, corporations and First Nations people would be useful to gain a better understanding of the treadmill of production. In addition, the role that social media plays in modern social movements, or specifically indigenous social movements, could be a fascinating study for research. As mentioned before, occurrences of the term "greed" appearing within the INM narratives on social media was very common, and often occurred within the same conversations that also talked about environmental degradation. This finding is enough to prompt research focusing on the relationship between greed and environmental degradation, using the INM movement as a case study. Historical projects could include collecting oral histories of First Nations activism, gaining primary information regarding First Peoples' experiences throughout the latter 20th century regarding this subject. Although First Nations activism was very prevalent throughout history, there is not enough research and primary historical accounts recorded on this topic, making it very difficult to gain understanding of First Nations' experiences and grievances throughout the changing cycles of colonial legislature. The INM data is broad and includes topics related to identity, inequality, policy, environmental issues, religion and culture, history and colonization, and even art, offering boundless possibilities for further research.

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