

A Drama of Power

How Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques to construct and communicate power over third-party supporters to maintain and control social movement frames



Amanda Wilson
6068642
Utrecht University
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Cover Image: The image shows the *Wedzin Kwa* (Mourice River) that border Unist'ot'en territory. The bridge crossing the river acts as a border crossing to control who enters and leaves Unist'ot'en territory. Source: *Nature is not a Place to Visit, it's a Home* – Gary Snider, from Unist'ot'en Camp Facebook page, 2017.

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Abstract

Unist'ot'en Camp is an Indigenous direct-action resistance movement founded in 2009 in response to the unwanted and unwarranted construction of major pipeline projects on traditional, unceded Indigenous territory. Indigenous leaders (protagonists) of Unist'ot'en Camp invite third-party supporters (participants) of the movement to visit the blockade, learn about the community's struggle of resistance, and in exchange provide physical and financial support towards the social movement frames. To ensure that Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders are the individuals within the movement that hold the power to define, they employ a variety of tactics to ensure a collective understanding of power. In order to understand this empirical phenomenon, this thesis asks: 'How do Indigenous leader use dramaturgical techniques (scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting) to construct and communicate power over third-party supporters in order to maintain the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp during Winter 2018?' and uses dramaturgy (Benford and Hunt 1992) as the analytical framework to understand how the manifestation of power over third-party supporters allows for the control of the beliefs, values, and goals of the social movement. Based on empirical evidence gathered through participant observation, informal and formal conversations, and video analysis, this thesis argues for an additional utility for dramaturgy as an analytical framework. Namely, I propose an extension of the analytical framework, whereby it is utilized to understand the relationship of power between a category of already mobilized individuals for the purpose of maintaining a particular hegemonic frame of a movement.

List of Abbreviations

AB	Alberta, Canada
BC	British Columbia, Canada
CGL	Coastal GasLink
ENGO	Environmental Non-Government Organization
FNLMA	First Nations Land Management Act
FPIC	Free Prior and Informed Consent
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NGP	Northern Gateway Pipeline
PTP	Pacific Trails Pipeline
UN	United Nations

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‘When the Creator was preparing to bring humans onto the earth, He called a grand council of all the animal people, plant people, and everything else. In those days, the animals and plants were more like people because they could talk. He asked each one to give a gift to the humans – a gift to help them survive, since humans were pitiful and would die without help. The first to come forward was Salmon. He gave the humans his body for food. The second to give a gift was Water. She promised to be the home to the salmon. After that, everyone else gave the humans a gift, but it was special that the first to give their gifts were Salmon and Water. When the humans finally arrived, the Creator took away the animals’ power of speech and gave it to the humans. He told the humans that since the animals could no longer speak for themselves, it was a human responsibility to speak for the animals and to protect their gifts so that their children too, would know the gifts of Salmon and Water’

– First Nations Proverb¹

¹ Spirit of the Salmon. “Creation Story,” 2013.

Introduction

We are a Nation that still has traditional lands that need to be protected. Our ancestors gave us these lands, they created spirit, they have left us these lands and taught us the lessons needed to survive on these lands and the responsibilities that come along with that in terms of protecting it so that future generations will always strive here. The act of doing a Free Prior and Consent Protocol before people come on the territory is something that everybody needs to do... whenever someone travels onto the territory, they need to spend time with the people that own the lands, and empower them by recognizing the land is theirs and offer resources or support because of their belief in the struggle. The protocol establishes the drive to assist us with rectifying the injustices that the people of this land have faced since the first colonizers arrived in North America. We ask people to come in, not to be the 'White Knight', but to be empathetic towards our struggle. The protocol is a powerful thing... it identifies an individual, identifies their intentions, and is used to justify why someone should be allowed onto the territory... There is power in it, in that the protocol is a recognition of how someone is supposed to conduct themselves. It is a responsibility, and it is a truth act of recognizing whose lands someone is on and who they need to respect...²

The above exert provides a description regarding the use of the Free Prior and Informed Consent Protocol (FPIC) conducted by Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp to identify any third-party individual or group wishing to enter Unist'ot'en territory. The FPIC acts somewhat like a border crossing where non-Unist'ot'en individuals are asked for their name, where they come from, and whether they work for the government or extractive sector. Based on the individuals' response, Indigenous leaders of Unist'ot'en Camp will decide whether or not they will allow the guest to enter their territory. The FPIC is a ritual that seeks to recognize Unist'ot'en clan members as the legitimate titleholders of the land and as the individuals whom third-party individuals and groups

² Karl Frost, *Protocol*, directed by Unist'ot'en Camp (2014; Unist'ot'en: Unist'ot'en Camp), Video Diary.

must respect and follow. Further, the FPIC ritual guides and constrains actions of third-party individuals and groups so that they reflect the formal rules and authority sustained by those native to the area. Thus, the protocol can be understood as constructing and communicating an objective and meaningful social structure that seeks to maintain hierarchical power relations between Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters at Unist'ot'en Camp.

The Unist'ot'en are a Wet'suwet'en First Nation clan native to what is now northern BC, Canada who are engaging in an active resistance movement against the proposed NGP, PTP, and CGL pipeline projects.³ Unist'ot'en Camp was established in 2009 as a permanent blockade to prevent governments and industries in favor of these pipeline projects from accessing the territory, and thus preventing their construction. Since the establishment of Unist'ot'en Camp, Indigenous leaders of the movement have amassed a wide range of support made up of both Indigenous and non-Indigenous third-party supporters from across North America. Labelled the 'community of resistance'⁴ (Deep Green Resistance Seattle 2015), a fluctuating number of third-party supporters and volunteers live at the blockade to provide year-round physical and financial support. During the initial start-up of the social movement, Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders formed alliances with NGOs as a means of generating funding, lobbying against governments, and ensuring greater support of the movement. However, as Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en argued, continued support from these NGOs required Unist'ot'en Camp to 'change its language, to pacify it, and soften the messages of the movement'.⁵ The NGOs would put their 'two-cents in',⁶ telling Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders to only use actions, talks, symbols, and texts deemed appropriate by the organization. Recognizing that these partnerships compromised the beliefs, values, and goals of Unist'ot'en Camp, Indigenous leaders decided to 'go grassroots and go along with their own initiative',⁷ ensuring that the social movement was defined by those native to the territory.

To ensure that Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders are the individuals within the social movement who have the power to define, Indigenous leaders employ a variety of tactics to maintain a "collective understanding... of power" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 36) in which Unist'ot'en clan members are in a position that allows them to construct and communicate their

³ Since 2009, there have been seven proposed pipeline routes crossing through Unist'ot'en territory.

⁴ Author interview #2 with respondent #2, hereditary chief, Unist'ot'en Camp, on 17 March 2018.

⁵ Author interview #5 with respondent #2, hereditary chief, Unist'ot'en Camp, on 2 April 2018.

⁶ Author's discussion with Wet'suwet'en leader, Unist'ot'en Camp, field note, 8 March 2018.

⁷ Interview #5.

version of power (i.e. the organization of the social movement) and ensure third-party supporters' beliefs, values, and goals reflect this reality. This manifestation of power is constructed and communicated through the use of dramaturgy. Dramaturgy, as a conceptual framework, seeks to "understand collective attempts to construct and reconstruct definitions of power" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 36). Namely, the scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting of a social movement allows social movement actors to define, redefine, and articulate their vision of power and version of reality. In the exert above, the hereditary chief of Unist'ot'en uses the FPIC to identify actors (scripting), direct the resources and actions of these actors (staging), concretize and enact his position of authority as having title to the land (performing), and ensure the actions, talks, and symbols of the FPIC are interpreted by third-party individuals and groups in a way that reflects the worldview of Unist'ot'en Camp. In sum, the construction and communication of power is an extension of the dramaturgical practices used by Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders.

This thesis seeks to understand how Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques of scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting to construct and communicate power over third-party supporters at Unist'ot'en Camp. This construction and communication of power ensures that Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders are able to define the beliefs, values, and goals (social movement frames) of Unist'ot'en Camp. The empirical and theoretical objectives of this thesis have led to the following research question:

How do Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques (scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting) to construct and communicate power over mobilized third-party supporters in order to maintain and control authority of the social movement frames at Unist'ot'en Camp during Winter 2018?

Research Puzzle

The empirical starting point of this research was non-Indigenous alliances and coalitions made by Unist'ot'en Camp, as strategies of resistance against three proposed pipeline projects. Since 2009, the ongoing social movement has invited supporters, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to visit Unist'ot'en clan's barricade, learn about the community's struggles and history of resistance, and provide physical and financial support by joining the movement and acting on behalf of Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders.

Throughout Canada's history, Indigenous peoples⁸ have consistently protested and resisted against the colonial system. In accounts of Indigenous mobilization and resistance, Indigenous peoples have formed alliances and social movement coalitions⁹ with non-Indigenous individuals and groups. These coalitions include "individuals fighting for Aboriginal and/or treaty rights, Indigenous organizations and community-based organizations seeking to address a specific concern, or civil society organizations working with Indigenous peoples to achieve a specific goal" (Lee 2011, 136). Alliances and coalitions are associated with "partnerships, closeness, and a spirit of mutual support" (Rucht 2004, 203) between actors who "deliberately come together to reach their goals" (Rucht 2004, 214). However, current research on alliances in Indigenous social movements argues that non-Indigenous third-party supporters tend to reframe or misframe the movement's beliefs, values, and goals to align with their own individual and/or group's beliefs, values, and goals.

The literature on Indigenous/non-Indigenous alliances notes that these alliances present barriers for Indigenous peoples. Studies by van Wynseberghe (2002), Bobiwash (2001, 2002, 2003), and Koenig (2005) show how alliances are limiting, as non-Indigenous individuals and groups tend to romanticize Indigenous peoples as 'ecological Indians'. Indigenous peoples, and subsequently Indigenous social movements, are thus seen as having different understandings of the world compared to the worldviews of non-Indigenous individuals and organizations. As a result, Indigenous interpretations of the world are regarded as separate from other movements focused on the same issue (Davis, O'Donnell, and Shpunarsky 2007). Lee (2011) also notes that alliances between Indigenous communities and non-Indigenous supporters can reinforce imperial and colonial narratives. Further, non-Indigenous individuals and organizations tend to bring their own motivations into the movement, and as a result, Indigenous voices are often sidelined or minimized (Lee 2011). In conclusion, these scholars argue that there are opposing social movement frames between Indigenous activists and non-Indigenous supporters, resulting in

⁸ Indigenous refers to the 1.4 million people in Canada who identify as First Nations (people who are descendants of the original inhabitants of the land), Métis (people of mixed European and Indigenous descent) and Inuit (inhabitants of the northern region in Canada) see Parrot, 2017.

⁹ Social movement coalitions are part of the network of individuals and organizations that comprise a social movement wherein distinct organizations pool resources to pursue shared goals. Social ties, conducive organization structures, ideological, cultural and identity congruencies, institutional environments and resources, are five critical components necessary for the formation, longevity, and success of social movement coalitions (see Levi and Murphy 2006, 651-670; Mayer and Ash 1966, 327-341; Tarrow 2005; Van Dyke and Amos 2006, 1-2).

missed opportunities for “preventing and/or ameliorating... the destruction of Indigenous lands” (Smith 2005 in Lee 2011, 145).

Prior to entering the field, I sought to understand why these Indigenous/non-Indigenous alliances continue to form despite the tendency for non-Indigenous individuals and groups to reframe or misframe Indigenous beliefs, values, and goals, and thereby limit the ability of Indigenous social movements to control development on their traditional lands. However, once I entered into the field and began working with the organizers of Unist’ot’en Camp, I quickly realized that the problem of reframing was not an issue that Unist’ot’en Indigenous leaders in the social movement faced. Rather, leaders of the movement had established an image of power over third-party supporters. In doing so, Unist’ot’en Indigenous leaders are able to maintain order and control over the social movement and subsequently, the beliefs, values, and goals of the social movement. The empirical case is therefore significant, as it presents a deviation from current trends in current conclusions on Indigenous/non-Indigenous alliances and coalitions in social movements. Thus, this research seeks to understand how leaders of a social movement maintain power within a social movement organization in regard to the organization and social movement frames.

In order to understand this empirical phenomenon, the research employs the analytical framework of ‘dramaturgy’ (Benford and Hunt 1992) which provides a conceptual process to define how leaders of a social movement construct and communicate power. Dramaturgy, as an analytical concept, is used to determine how social movements “collectively define, redefine, and articulate power,” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 36) and is used as a means to understand how the manifestation of power maintains order and guides action for third-party supporters, thus ensuring control and authority over the social movement frames at Unist’ot’en Camp. Following the application of dramaturgy in social movements, ontologically this research adopts an interactionist approach to interpret power relations between social movement protagonists (leaders of the movement) and third-party supporters at Unist’ot’en Camp. Epistemologically, this research focuses on intersubjective and interpretive factors (Apter 2006) of organization within social movements, as dramaturgy is a theoretical framework grounded in understanding the processual phenomenon in which social movement actors construct and reconstruct definitions of power in order to influence meaning and action (Benford and Hunt 1992).

In sum, I present Unist'ot'en Camp as an empirical case in which Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques to construct and communicate power over third-party mobilized supporters of the movement. As such, this research is significant as it seeks to contribute an additional utility for dramaturgy and its use for understanding interactions within social movement organizations. Namely, dramaturgy as it is currently used, aims to understand the power relations between organizers of a movement and their desire/ability to mobilize support.¹⁰ However, Unist'ot'en Camp presents a case study in which dramaturgical techniques are utilized to construct and communicate power over those already mobilized as a means of maintaining a level of authority and control over the social movement frames. Therefore, this research presents an extension of the concept of dramaturgy, whereby it focuses on a category of already mobilized individuals and how leaders of the movement maintain a particular hegemonic frame of a social movement. To do this, the research question stated in the previous section has been formulated.

Theory and Concepts

In the previous section, I outlined the empirical and theoretical starting points of this thesis. Having established the epistemological and ontological approaches of this research, this section will operationalize 'dramaturgy', 'power', and 'social movement frames'. In doing so, I present the sub-questions that guide the research.

As indicated, this research uses a dramaturgical approach to address the dramatic techniques used by Unist'ot'en clan leaders to construct and communicate power over third-party supporters and subsequently, the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. 'Dramaturgy' addresses how "meaning is developed, sustained, and transformed," (Benford and Hunt 1992, 36) by social movement actors, focusing on intersubjective and interpretive factors that construct and communicate power. The development, maintenance, and transformation of meaning is studied by integrating the perspectives of my research participants and empirical observations at Unist'ot'en Camp. These perspectives are understood not simply as rhetorical strategies (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986), but as everyday social acts with meaning that affect audiences' interpretations of power (Benford and Hunt 1992). Dramaturgy is operationalized using the four dramaturgical techniques of (1) 'scripting': the "development of a

¹⁰ For current analytical and conceptual uses of dramaturgy, see Alexander 2004, 2006; Apter 2006; Benford and Hunt 1992; Goffman 1968; McAdams, McCarthy, and Zald 1988.

set of directions that define the scene, identify actors, and outline expected behaviours” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 38); (2) ‘staging’: the “appropriating, managing, and directing of materials, audiences, and performing regions” (1992, 43); (3) ‘performing’: the “demonstration and enactment of power” (1992, 45); and (4) ‘interpreting’: the process of “making sense out of symbols, talks, action, and the environment” (1992, 48) of the social movement and its actors.

The dramaturgical approach in understanding social movements argues that the existence of social movements is an indication that there are contestations regarding concepts of ‘power’ (Benford and Hunt 1992). The theory recognizes that power is subject to ‘differential interpretations’¹¹ in that some social movement actors view power as a means, as an end, or as both. Though dramaturgy recognizes the subjective and objective biases of power, it does not operationalize the concept to determine how the construction and communication of power maintains order and authority. As indicated, in this thesis I am concerned with the interpretive dimensions of power in that it is understood as the ability of social movement actors to “make others inhabit their story of reality” (Gourevitch 1998, 48). Thus, I operationalize power through the lens of ‘symbolic power’ which understands power as a process by which “individuals accept an existing or transformed vision of the world, that rests not on words and slogans as such, but on people [being able to] recognize the legitimacy of those who utter them” (Bourdieu 1997 in Gledhill 2000, 144). This understanding of power stresses the way in which elites “define their constituencies’ ideological horizons,” in that power relations are “instituted, legitimated, and euphemized” (Gledhill 2000, 144). The institutionalization and legitimation of power is negotiated through an actor’s ‘habitus’, namely: a system of embodied economic, cultural, and social dispositions and tendencies that organize the way individuals perceive and react to the world around them (Bourdieu 1988). Therefore, in this thesis, power is not viewed as a physical force, but as being symbolically based on “social taxonomies which groups recognize as legitimate” (Gledhill 2000, 144). As this thesis is concerned with how power is constructed and communicated between Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters, the concept of power will be further operationalized through (1) ‘habitus’, as defined above; (2) ‘symbolic order’: the codes in which power is exercised resulting in certain individuals having more power to define what is significant (i.e. what has value/meaning) and what is legitimate (i.e. what is/is not considered normal and

¹¹ For different subjective and objective differential interpretations of power, see Benford and Hunt 1992; Giltin 1980; Gusfield 1981; Hunt 1991; Mauss 1975.

acceptable) (Giddens 1979 in Demmers 2017, 122); and (3) ‘symbolic action’: strategies of power that convey (cultural) meanings, and... ideas of legitimacy (Schröder and Schmidt 2001, 8).

This thesis further operationalizes the concept of ‘social movement frames’ (Snow and Benford 1988, 1989; Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford 1986). Framing in social movements is defined as the “capacity of leaders to mobilize support for (violent) action stemming directly from their ability to give voice to the collective needs and grievances of their group/masses” (Demmers 2017, 100). A social movement frame describes the “interpretive schemata that... selectively punctuates and encodes objects, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment” (Snow and Benford 1992, 137). In this thesis, the social movement frames are understood as the beliefs, values, and goals (Benford and Snow 1992, 136-7) that Unist’ot’en leaders use to convince people of the daily indignities in their everyday life that need to change through collective action (Tarrow 1994, 122-3). Namely, social movement frames refer to the definition of the situation. In this thesis, the definition of the situation is understood as the social conditions Unist’ot’en leaders identify as problematic and the ways in which justice can be achieved by defining, redefining, and articulating a new reality.

Combining the operationalization of dramaturgy, power, and social movement frames has led to the following sub-questions:

1. *What dramaturgical techniques are being utilized by Unist’ot’en clan leaders?*
 - a. *How do Unist’ot’en clan leaders identify different actors within the movement?*
What are the expected behaviours of different actors within the movement?
 - b. *How do Unist’ot’en clan leaders direct and manage third-party supporters?*
 - c. *How do the performances of Unist’ot’en clan leaders demonstrate and enact (symbolic) power? How do these performances convey meanings of authority and legitimacy for Unist’ot’en clan leaders?*
 - d. *How do Unist’ot’en clan leaders direct the interpretations of symbols and actions by third-party supporters to reflect their definition of the situation?*
2. *How do these techniques construct power? How do these techniques communicate power?*
 - a. *How is power instituted and legitimated?*

- b. *How does the construction and communication of power produce order giving Unist'ot'en clan leaders the ability to define? How does it direct action?*
3. *How does the construction and communication of power through dramaturgical techniques ensure mobilized third-party supporters recognize Indigenous leaders as powerholders?*
4. *How does the construction and communication of power through dramaturgical techniques ensure mobilized supporters do not define and/or redefine the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp?*

Research Design

This thesis seeks to understand the empirical phenomenon occurring at Unist'ot'en Camp during Winter 2018 (the months of February to April 2018) in which Unist'ot'en clan leaders use dramaturgy to construct and communicate power over mobilized third-party supporters. This research follows a qualitative case study approach (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). Namely, I provide a detailed and intensive description (Bryman 2001; Ritchie and Lewis 2003) of the empirical phenomenon designed around the context of Unist'ot'en territory. This case is chosen as a single episode in which dramaturgical techniques are being utilized between social movement protagonists and third-party participants. Thus, the qualitative research strategy chosen for this research is in line with my interpretive and intersubjective epistemological stance and the ontological focus of interactionism. The interpretation of Unist'ot'en clan leaders as having power is based on my own observations and participation at Unist'ot'en Camp, as well as based on the stories told by participants in the research.

The sampling method of this research is explained using the when, where, what and who questions. As indicated in the research puzzle, the thesis focuses on Unist'ot'en Camp as a social movement during Winter 2018. This timeline (i.e. the when) is chosen as the thesis seeks to understand the empirical phenomenon occurring at Unist'ot'en Camp during my time in the field from February to April 2018.¹² Though this thesis discusses some events that happened prior to

¹² This time period is considered to be Winter 2018 as for the Unist'ot'en, winter is not considered to be over until the last snowfall. This had not yet happened during my time at Unist'ot'en Camp. Author's discussion with hereditary chief, 3 April 2018, field notes.

my arrival at Unist'ot'en, the data is based on primary data collected through formal interviews, informal conversations, and Unist'ot'en Camp video diaries. By looking at the interactions between Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters at Unist'ot'en during the time of field research, the thesis aims to understand how Unist'ot'en clan leaders construct and communicate power over mobilized third-party supporters. The location (i.e. the where) of this research is Unist'ot'en Camp located near Houston, British Columbia, Canada. The research location is significant as it presents an empirical case in which dramaturgical techniques are being utilized between social movement protagonists and mobilized third-party participants.

The units of observation were individuals and organizations involved in the Unist'ot'en's social movement (i.e. the what). In line with the interactionist approach and qualitative research design, data collection techniques used a non-probability strategy. The units of observation were purposefully selected according to the position of individuals at Unist'ot'en Camp and to the salient features of the research question. Namely, the data collection of this research is distinguished between two parties (i.e. the who): Indigenous leaders who have roles of authority because of their position within the Unist'ot'en clan system, and third-party supporters who I defined as non-Unist'ot'en individuals who are in support of the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. Indigenous actors were purposefully selected based on their position of authority at Unist'ot'en Camp during Winter 2018. The latter were selected based on their involvement in the social movement and their willingness to participate in the study. As there were a limited number of third-party supporters present during my time at Unist'ot'en, snowball sampling was conducted as a means to locate further participants for the study. Contact information was given for third-party supporters who had previously visited Unist'ot'en Camp. These interviews were conducted over the phone and selected based on the individual's past involvement in the social movement.

Data Collection and Analysis

Participant observation was the main data collection method used during field-based research for this thesis. For a period of six weeks, I conducted observations at Unist'ot'en Camp. During this time, I presented myself as a supporter of the resistance movement and involved myself in the daily tasks expected of supporters. Presenting myself as a researcher and a third-party supporter allowed me to gain access to data that would have otherwise been impossible to collect. Although

I was presented with difficulties in conducting formal interviews, presenting myself as a third-party supporter allowed for a level of trust. If I had not done so, Indigenous leaders would have more likely become suspicious of me conducting research, and would likely have considered me to be working for the Canadian government or one of the companies seeking to develop pipelines on the territory. While doing research, I contributed to the construction of the Healing Center, cooked, cleaned, and at the same time, was provided with opportunities to build trusting relationships with Unist'ot'en leaders and other third-party supporters. Notes and reflections on day-to-day participation at Unist'ot'en Camp and informal conversations with participants were made daily. In order to remain objective and avoid biases in my field research, participant observations have been triangulated (Boeiji 2010) using some semi-structured interviews and video analyses as a means of reflecting on patterns discovered through participant observation. Other data collection methods are discussed below.

Data collected through semi-structured interviews used two prepared topic-guides, one for Unist'ot'en clan leaders and one for third-party supporters. Data collected through informal conversations and participant observation techniques were used to enhance topics and questions during formal interviews. In total, seven formal interviews were conducted.¹³ All interviews were transcribed, allowing for an in-depth analysis of the topics and themes discussed. There were instances where questions posed to participants could not be answered as they posed security threats. In such cases, I would move on as to not tarnish the level of trust I had gained prior to the interview. Though by the end of my time at Unist'ot'en Camp I had built a level of friendship with participants of the research, I recognize that there may have been cases in which answers to interview questions were censored. However, my analyses are based on the information shared and as indicated, triangulated using other qualitative research methods in order to avoid biases.

Finally, notes were made on content research and data analyses of online media and visual data. These sources helped to supplement the data collected while in the field. Data collection of media and visual data were collected systematically based on publication dates between 2015 and 2018 (years in which Unist'ot'en Camp was most active on YouTube) and key words in the title (Free Prior Informed Consent, Protocols, Heal the Land, Heal the People, and Unist'ot'en Territory).

¹³ See Appendix III for a detailed interviews list.

Research Limitations

As with all field-driven, qualitative research, there were some limitations while in the field that prevented the collection of data. Though these limitations do not hinder the validity of life stories shared and observations made, they are important to discuss in order to prevent biases in the research. The first obstacle faced while in the field was trust. This was expected prior to entering the field, however there was a greater level of mistrust than expected. There were many instances in which I was perceived to be working for the extractive industry or for the Canadian government. As a result, some questions posed in semi-structured interviews could not be answered as they posed security threats.¹⁴

The second obstacle faced in relation to trust, was opportunities to gain access to Unist'ot'en Camp leaders and supporters. As there was a level of mistrust, particularly amongst the Indigenous leaders, many were unwilling or unable to share their stories. It took the majority of my time at Unist'ot'en Camp to build a level of trust that allowed for access to conduct semi-structured and recorded interviews. As a result, only a small number of formal interviews were conducted.

A final obstacle faced was the limited number of individuals (both in terms of Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters) present for study at Unist'ot'en Camp during Winter 2018. The winter months are the off-season for Unist'ot'en Camp due to difficulty in accessing roads to the territory and other harsh weather conditions. As mentioned previously, I worked and learned from the few individuals present at Unist'ot'en Camp and used snowball sampling to connect with other third-party supporters who had previously visited the territory. Though I conducted a limited number of formal interviews, substantial information was collected through participant observation and forms the basis of my analysis. Due to the limited number of participants, this thesis analyzes the empirical accounts of specific individuals. Thus, the context of interpretations is based off of a critical common-sense understanding (Spencer, Ritchie, and O'Connor 2003), where the knowledge regarding the context of statements are placed into a wider arena, and then theoretically positioned into a broader theoretical perspective (Spencer, Ritchie, and O'Connor 2003) of dramaturgy.

¹⁴ Author's discussion with Wet'suwet'en leader, Unist'ot'en Camp, field note, 10 March 2018.

Chapter Outline

Having outlined the empirical and theoretical objectives of this thesis, the following chapters seek to answer the research question in a systematic and coherent manner. To do so, the thesis will answer the sub-questions outlined in the section: ‘Theory and Concepts’, by operationalizing dramaturgy and power, and how the intersection of these concepts allows Indigenous leaders to maintain control and authority of the social movement frames of Unist’ot’en Camp. However, before any descriptive and theoretical analyses, it is important that this thesis provide research and theoretical context to the empirical case. Thus, Chapter One will outline the empirical features of Unist’ot’en Camp, its leaders, and third-party supporters. This chapter will contextualize the empirical phenomenon occurring at Unist’ot’en Camp by outlining who the Unist’ot’en are, where they are located, why a blockade has been established, and how those involved in the movement are resisting the development and construction of pipelines on their territory. In doing so, Chapter One will present the social movement frames Unist’ot’en Indigenous leaders seek to maintain and differentiate between protagonists and participants of the movement.

Chapter Two engages in an academic discussion regarding dramatic techniques in social movements in order to provide theoretical context to dramaturgy as the analytical frame in which interactions between Unist’ot’en Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters will be analysed. The chapter seeks to present a preliminary understanding on the intersection between power, dramaturgy, and social movements by emphasizing how scholars understand performances in relation to social movements. By providing a theoretical context to this thesis, the chapter highlights why dramaturgy as an analytical frame is used in this research.

Once the empirical and theoretical contexts have been established, this thesis seeks to analysis how dramaturgical techniques are utilized by Indigenous leaders at Unist’ot’en Camp. Following a micro-level approach to understanding everyday interactions between Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters, Chapter Three provides a descriptive analysis of actions, talks, and symbols at Unist’ot’en Camp, placing them into broader theoretical categories of scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting. In doing so, the chapter answers sub-questions #1a-d and #2a, and allows for a more abstract analysis to understand how Indigenous leaders construct and communicate power.

Chapter Four expands on the descriptive analysis of Chapter Three by operationalizing habitus, symbolic order, and symbolic action in order to outline how it intersects with

dramaturgical techniques that construct and communicate symbolic power. To do this, the chapter focuses on examples of counter-performances at Unist'ot'en Camp, showcasing how threats to the established hierarchy of the social movement illuminate how Indigenous leaders define, redefine, and articulate their position of authority. As such, Indigenous leaders are able to maintain symbolic power over third-party supporters and the social movement frames. In doing so, Chapter Four answers sub-questions #2b, #3, and #4, and thus allows for an answer to the research question.

The thesis concludes by answering the question of: how do Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques to construct and communicate power over third-party supporters in order to maintain and control authority of the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp during Winter 2018. In answering how dramaturgical techniques are implemented by Indigenous leaders, this thesis proposes an additional utility for dramaturgy as an analytical framework that understands the interactions between a category of already mobilized individuals and how social movement protagonists maintain a particular interpretation of a social movement.

Chapter One: Context

In 2009, four companies proposed the production of what was termed the ‘energy corridor’, a proposal to construct seven pipelines from Bruderheim, AB and Summit Lake, BC and crossing through Unist’ot’en territory to connect the tar sands and fracking fields to the Pacific Coast in Kitimat, BC.¹⁵ Three of these companies: Kinder Morgan, Pembina Pipelines, and Enbridge Inc., proposed a dual pipeline project that would transport not only bitumen waste, but also condensate, a diluent and chemical cocktail made of heavy metals, hydrocarbons, and poisons from the extraction process that turns solid bitumen rock into a mock-oil (UnistotenCamp 2018). One of the projects, known as the PTP,¹⁶ planned to transport fractured natural gas from the Horn River Basin to the pacific coast. Like similar projects across Canada, this project heightened the risk for disastrous spills and other pollution¹⁷ associated with the pipelines (UnistotenCamp 2018). The National Energy Board is a government agency that claims to have had consent from the Wet’suwet’en people to begin the development of these projects.¹⁸ However, the Unist’ot’en claim that there was a false review process, and that the companies were never given consent. As a spokesperson to Unist’ot’en Camp states, ‘they [the pipeline companies] do not have and will never have jurisdiction over this territory. They have never had consent from our people.’¹⁹

Despite the lack of consent given to these companies, Kinder Morgan, Pembina Pipelines, and Enbridge Inc., announced that they would proceed with the development of their pipelines. In response, the Unist’ot’en clan established a blockade preventing these companies from passing the only access point onto the territory. Unist’ot’en Camp maintains a hard no against all development

¹⁵ See Appendix II for maps of Unist’ot’en territory and proposed pipeline routes.

¹⁶ Formerly known as PNG (40% owned by Apache Corporation, 30% by EOG Resources (Enron), and 30% own by EnCana).

¹⁷ Fracking projects are 80% more carbon intensive than other conventional natural gas projects (UnitstotenCamp 2018).

¹⁸ According to the *Indian Act Regulations*, the *Framework Agreement*, and the FNLMA, First Nations communities have the power to control “day-to-day administrative authority over their lands and resources” (Hykin 2016). As such, governments and industry must consult and receive approval from First Nations communities before initiating any development projects on recognized Indigenous land. In accordance with these laws, Unist’ot’en hereditary chief conducted a survey and consultation with the community regarding the development and construction of pipelines on Unist’ot’en territory. One hundred percent of the people said no. Interview #2.

¹⁹ Reclaim Turtle Island, *Unist’ot’en Clan Refuse All Pipeline Projects*, directed by Unist’ot’en Camp, (2014, Unist’ot’en: Unist’ot’en Camp, 2014), Video Diary.

of their traditional lands without the consent of the clan. Further, Unist'ot'en Camp upholds social movement frames that protect and preserve their unceded lands²⁰, which ensures a future where Wet'suwet'en and Unist'ot'en peoples can continue to learn the cultural knowledge and skills left by their ancestors on the territory.^{21, 22}

In this chapter, I seek to contextualize the empirical phenomenon occurring at Unist'ot'en Camp by outlining who the Unist'ot'en are, where they are permanently located, why they have established a blockade, and how they are resisting the development of pipelines on their traditional and unceded territories. Secondly, this chapter will outline the diagnostic, pragmatic, and motivational social movement frames (Snow and Benford 2000) upheld by Unist'ot'en Camp. Lastly, the chapter will discuss the different parties involved in the social movement and how these groups are distinguished in the analysis of the thesis.

Who, What, and Where

The Unist'ot'en are a clan belonging to the Wet'suwet'en First Nations,²³ and hold title to an abundant and treacherous territory located in northern BC, Canada. Belonging to the Big Frog (*Gil_seyhu*) clan, the Unist'ot'en are the original *yintah*²⁴ to the territory. Unist'ot'en Camp is the non-violent (re)occupation of unceded Unist'ot'en territory, established in 2009 in response to the unwanted and unwarranted construction and development of pipelines. Unist'ot'en Camp operates as a grassroots social movement that “acts, walks, and breathes” (UnistotenCamp 2018) traditional

²⁰ As per the *Delgamuukw v. The Crown in Right of the Province of British Columbia 1997*, the territory in which Unist'ot'en Camp occupies is recognized as unceded territory belonging to the Wet'suwet'en Nation. The Unist'ot'en are recognized as the legitimate and rightful titleholders as per the court proceedings. They are also recognized as titleholders to the lands based on Wet'suwet'en traditional governance system.

²¹ Unist'ot'en Camp, *Unist'ot'en and 150 Years of Resistance*, directed by Unist'ot'en Camp (August 2017, Unist'ot'en: Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017), Video Diary.

²² The social movement frame reflects the Wet'suwet'en traditional knowledge system which maintains that their way of life is passed on through the ancestors of the land. As Respondent #2 stated, it is by walking on the territory, learning and about the plants and animals that Unist'ot'en become connected with their cultural heritage. It is only through the preservation of the land that this connection can be maintained. Author's discussion with the hereditary chief, Unist'ot'en Camp, field note, 15 March 2018.

²³ Wet'suwet'en are a First Nation people who live on the Bulkely River, around Burns Lake, Broman Lake, and Francois Lake in central northwestern British Columbia. The Wet'suwet'en are divided into five clans. These clans are further divided into separate families or houses. The Unist'ot'en refer to themselves as a clan belonging to *Gil_seyhu*. See Appendix I for a detailed diagram of the Wet'suwet'en clan system.

²⁴ *Yintah* is a Wet'suwet'en word that is used to refer to the land, air, water and beings of the territory. The word can be best translated as “Mother Earth”, and is understood as a means of creating awareness for the relationships, values and respect integral to Indigenous protocols and laws of Unist'ot'en territory.

Wet'suwet'en laws supporting a powerful connection to the land. The 'community of resistance',²⁵ is driven by the cultural knowledge of the Unist'ot'en, and are a group made up of "Wet'suwet'en healers, warriors, elders, hunters, fisher people, and knowledge leaders" (UnistotenCamp 2018). Unist'ot'en Camp, as a social movement, seeks to ban all development of pipelines on the nation's territory. Further, it seeks to reverse the legacy of colonialism on Unist'ot'en community by eradicating the social and spiritual poverty that continues to impact current and future generations (UnistotenCamp 2018).

Unist'ot'en Camp is situated along the shores of the *Wedzin Kwa* and the mouth of the *Talbits Kwa*.²⁶ Unist'ot'en Camp is set up as a permanent blockade which prevent pipeline companies from entering the territory through the only access point by establishing a cabin, traditional pit house, bunkhouse, a healing center, and tiny mobile homes along GPS coordinates where the proposed pipelines are to be constructed. The establishment of a permanent community on the territory has allowed the Unist'ot'en to constantly monitor who is accessing their territory, as well as re-establish cultural and spiritual connections with the land. From the mountains, to the valley, and the swamp areas, the Unist'ot'en depend on the plants, animals, water, and medicines that live and grow on the territory. The vast wilderness not only sustains their diets, but provides the necessary connection to their ancestors and the generations who walked on the land before them. It is the plants, animals, and medicines that threaten to be destroyed due to the pollution created by oil and gas pipelines. It is thus, the connection to the land and the history of the territory that have mobilized the Unist'ot'en to act and defend their lands.

Social Movement Frames

In order to provide a more conceptual understanding of the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp, here I follow Benford and Snow's (2000) description of how social movement frames are constructed by arranging the beliefs, values, and goals of the movement into three component parts. Namely, the social movement frames are categorized as (1) diagnostic framing: the

²⁵ See footnote 4.

²⁶ In this thesis, I adopt the names given to the land and its resources as defined by the Wet'suwet'en using the Wet'suwet'en dialect. The *Wedzin Kwah* is the pre-colonial name for the Mourice River which is a tributary to the Skeena and Bulkley River. The *Talbits Kwah* is the pre-colonial name for Gosnell Creek which flows into Mourice River. See Appendix II for a map of the territory.

identification and attributes of the problem; (2) prognosis framing: the articulation of a proposed solution; and (3) motivational framing: the ‘call to arms’ (Benford and Snow 2000, 615-7).

Diagnostic frames identify the salient features of a problem (Benford and Snow 2000). The problem identified by the Unist’ot’en is the construction of oil and gas pipelines on their traditional and unceded lands. This problem ascertains a lack of respect from the Canadian government and the extractive sector towards Indigenous sovereignty and cultural heritage. Therefore, the prognosis or the solution proposed by Unist’ot’en clan is an anti-pipeline and anti-oil resistance movement, and the establishment of a blockade to prevent unwanted industry workers and government officials onto the territory.

The catchphrase of Unist’ot’en Camp: ‘heal the land, heal the people,’²⁷ provides a solution to the problem, as well as supports a call to arms for both members of Unist’ot’en community and (potential) supporters of the movement. ‘Heal the land,’ reflects the beliefs, goals, and values of Unist’ot’en Camp. Namely, the healing and protection of the traditional governance system upheld by the Unist’ot’en clan indicate that they have an intergenerational duty to preserve the land. As one respondent stated, the clan wishes to continue to walk in the footsteps of their ancestors.²⁸ It is the duty of First Nations to preserve and maintain the earth’s resources, as without it, the Nation ceases to exist. The same respondent shared a folklore about one of the great Wet’suwet’en chiefs who chose to starve himself rather than harvest the depleting salmon stock so that his children, and his children’s children could know what salmon tasted like.²⁹ Teachings such as these inform the basis of the motivational framing, or the calls to action, for both Unist’ot’en and third-party supporters of the movement.

The second portion of the catchphrase, ‘heal the people’ reflects the beliefs, values, and goals of Unist’ot’en Camp, by providing a further solution to the problem that seeks to de-colonize the minds of participants and audience members. Through de-colonization, the Unist’ot’en community has the freedom to engage in the social, cultural, and spiritual practices of their

²⁷ Author interview #4 with respondent #4, third-party supporter, Unist’ot’en Camp, 29 March 2018.

²⁸ Field note, 15 March 2018.

²⁹ Author’s discussion with an Wet’suwet’en leader, Unist’ot’en Camp, field note, 27 March 2018; see also footnote 1 on the “Creation Story”. Unist’ot’en identify themselves as Salmon People as the majority of their traditional diets relied on the Coho salmon stock that spawn in the *Wedzin Kwa*. This spawning area is located adjacent to the Cabin. The salmon have become one of the symbols of the movement, in that a depleting salmon stock would be a consequence of the construction of pipelines on Unist’ot’en territory.

ancestors, thereby healing the trauma imposed on First Nations by Canada's colonial legacy. As one informant stated:

We run healing programs, to heal our people, to make them whole again, to reconnect them to the land, so that they will be more successful in their healing journeys. If they are healed and they are whole, and they are connected to the land, then they are concerned for the land. That is what our hopes are for this space and the movement, to bring our Indigenous folks out here so that they can reconnect to the land and to their ancestors. So, whenever you hear, 'heal the people, heal the land,' we want so-called Canada and those settled here to think of Unist'ot'en Camp...³⁰

The Indigenous leaders describe Unist'ot'en Camp not as a protest or demonstration, but as an occupation and use of their traditional territory as it has been used for centuries. Therefore, as a tactic to achieve the social movement frames, the Unist'ot'en adopt their traditional governance system as a vocabulary for appropriate action (Benford and Snow 2000) for all guests that come to the territory. This includes imposing a traditional Indigenous legal system, which includes implementing trespassing laws where only certain individuals are permitted to travel onto the territory, and preventing abuse towards the land, animals, and humans through various protocols. If any of these traditional laws are broken, a warning is given.³¹ If the law breaker fails to alter his or her behaviour, their unacceptable behaviour becomes known to the rest of the community and they face severe consequences. Namely, they are removed from the territory and ostracized from the community (Office of the Wet'suwet'en; Unist'ot'en Camp 2018). A traditional legal system is maintained not only as a prognosis frame that maintains the traditional governance of the land, but also as a motivational frame that recognizes authority.³²

³⁰ UnistotenCamp, *Heal the People, Heal the Land*, video diary, performed by Freda (28 September 2017, Unist'ot'en: Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017), Medium.

³¹ This ritual reflects the governance system upheld at Wet'suwet'en community feasts where a warning is given to chiefs (and other figures of authority) who are causing undue harm to the people. An eagle feather is placed in their lap as warning. If they fail to change their ways, they lose their position of authority within the community.

³² Before contact with colonial settlers, there was a system, or as the Wet'suwet'en define a journey, in which an individual became a hereditary chief. From birth, a child would be groomed to become a strong, wise and responsible leader. Wing, hereditary and head chiefs are distinguished by the Wet'suwet'en name

Protagonists, Antagonists, Audiences and Participants

The community of resistance is a term used by the founders of Unist'ot'en Camp to describe the fluctuating number of volunteers and do-gooders that come and stay at the Camp for various amounts of time. While at Unist'ot'en Camp, these individuals learn from the community about the history of the land, the people, and about the social movement. The governance system maintained at Unist'ot'en Camp also applies to protagonists, antagonists, audience members³³ and participants of the social movement.

In this thesis, Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp are identified as protagonists of the movement and uphold positions of authority. These positions of power and authority align with the clan's chieftain system. The co-founder and spokesperson of Unist'ot'en Camp holds the highest level of authority. Though not a chief of her clan, she was chosen by clan vote in 2008 as spokesperson for Unist'ot'en Camp when it separated from the organization called the Office of the Wet'suwet'en. As spokesperson and co-founder, she is responsible for holding meetings between her hereditary clan chiefs and other leaders within the Wet'suwet'en First Nation, industry, and government officials. Further, she is responsible for coordinating all social media and research projects at Unist'ot'en Camp. Second to the spokesperson is her partner and Wet'suwet'en hereditary chief of the Small Frog (*Likhts'amisyu*) clan. Since becoming hereditary chief, his responsibilities as chief reflect his power and leadership role at Unist'ot'en Camp. He directs all actors in the social movement towards an understanding, respect and humility for his ancient and unceded territory (UnistotenCamp 2018). If neither the spokesperson or hereditary chief are present at Unist'ot'en Camp, the leadership role falls onto the longest-supporting Wet'suwet'en on the territory. At the time of my research, this fell onto a member of the Wolf/Bear (*Gitdumden*) clan, whose territory ends just before the bridge crossing onto Unist'ot'en territory. When the spokesperson and/or hereditary chief are present, the individual belonging to the Wolf/Bear clan must follow the authority of the spokesperson and hereditary chief.

given to them through various ceremonies. The title comes along with a respect for the traditional legal system the chiefs uphold and maintain (see Office of the Wet'suwet'en 2018).

³³ Dramaturgy and other scholars in the field of Performance Studies differentiate between social movement actors. Namely, protagonists: frontlines of a social movement (often those who are expressing grievances or who are most affected by current oppressive structures); antagonists: those who are in opposition with the protagonists; audience members: those whom protagonists direct performances; and participants: former audience members who have been mobilized (they are then often considered to be protagonists as they are now involved in directing performances towards new audiences).

As will be discussed in this thesis, the protagonists of Unist'ot'en Camp use dramaturgical techniques to differentiate the different roles and individuals within the social movement. These roles are differentiated into antagonists, audiences, and participants. In this thesis, antagonists are referred to those in opposition of the social movement frames upheld by Unist'ot'en. Namely, the government and industry allowing for the construction of oil and gas pipeline projects on Unist'ot'en territory. Audience members are those who have not yet been mobilized to support Unist'ot'en's social movement frames. It is through various dramaturgical techniques that attempts are made to mobilize these individuals and groups on behalf of the frames of the movement.

Finally, in this thesis, participants of the movement are identified as third-party supporters. In this thesis, I identify this group as former audience members who have already been mobilized. I do this as these individuals have already gone through the lengthy process of registering to participate in the social movement and have gone through three ritualistic processes³⁴ that identify them as committed supporters. Third-party supporters can be individuals of Indigenous or non-Indigenous identity, but are not a part of the Unist'ot'en or Wet'suwet'en community. As such, they are considered to be a 'third-party' in the social movement.

This thesis is concerned with the relationship between Indigenous leaders (protagonists) and third-party supporters (participants) at Unist'ot'en Camp during Winter 2018.

³⁴ All prospective supporters of Unist'ot'en Camp wishing to come and directly support the movement must go through a registration process. This begins with an online registration in which potential supporters are asked about why they wish to come to the camp, how they heard about the social movement, and if they are affiliated with other Indigenous social movements or the government. This registration process can be found on the Unist'ot'en Camp website. Once the registration has been read and reviewed, the prospective candidate will partake in a phone interview with an elected representative of the Camp. In this interview, again they are asked questions about their identity. The supporter is then given a breakdown of what will happen when they arrive at the Camp and what behaviours are expected of them. If the interview is successful, transportation will be arranged to the Camp at the supporter's expense. Finally, before physically entering Unist'ot'en territory, the supporter must participate in a border crossing in which they are again asked about their identity.

Chapter Two: Academic Debate

The existence of social movements³⁵ indicates that there are contestations regarding the meanings and concepts of certain aspects of reality (Apter 2006). Scholars indicate that at the core of these differences over meaning, is the contestation over the concept of power.³⁶ Social movement actors and opposing parties seek to transform or maintain dominant ideologies of power by supporting their definition of the situation by shaping “perceptions, cognitions, and preferences,” (Lukes 1974, 24-5) in such a way that people accept their version or understanding of reality. Social movement actors use various methods of collective political participation to attempt to persuade or coerce audiences (individuals outside of the social movement) to support their claims. They employ a set of “novel, dramatic, unorthodox, and non-institutionalized forms of political expression to try to shape public opinion” (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004, 263).³⁷ The tactics used by social movement actors are integral to the perception of a movement by participants, audiences, and opposing actors. They are so vital to the viewpoints of a social movement that it is often the tactics rather than the goals of the movement that are remembered (Wilson 1973).

In this section of the thesis, I will engage in an academic discussion regarding the analytical frame of dramaturgy in social movements, and how dramaturgical techniques have been studied in relation to the perceptions of reality of social movement actors. As the concept of power and the understanding of power relations within social movements are also integral to this research, I will also discuss the relationship between power, performances, and social movements. To begin, this chapter will outline the relationship between power relations and social movements. Secondly, the chapter will discuss the performative turn in social movement theories which began to incorporate dramatic concepts, such as performance, into understanding power relations in social movements. Finally, this chapter will discuss dramaturgy and dramaturgical techniques outlining

³⁵ ‘Social movement’ is a concept used to broadly define many kinds of struggles including the creation of special-purpose organizations and associations, public meetings, petitions, public demonstrations, etc.

³⁶ For more on the contestation of power between social movement actors and the State in social movements see Gamson 1968; Gerlach and Hine 1970; Priven and Cloward 1977; Moore 1978; Tilly 1978.

³⁷ Social movements employ a wide variety of action ranging from strategies of political persuasion such as lobbying, voting, and petitioning to confrontational tactics such as marching, strikes and demonstrations that seek to disrupt everyday life to violent tactics. This thesis is concerned with strategies of political persuasion and confrontational tactics as these actions employ cultural forms of political expression such as “rituals, spectacles, music, art, poetry, film and literature” (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004, 263).

why the analytical frame was chosen to understand ways in which Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp construct and communicate power.

Power and Social Movements

Interactions in social movements can be understood as strategies and counterstrategies between social movement actors who mobilize in an attempt to define or redefine existing power relations (Benford and Hunt 1992; Apter 2006; Tarrow 2011). Namely, social movements can be understood as a set of actions that seek to “underpin existing technologies of domination” (Gledhill 2000, 130) and construct new regimes of truth. There are many approaches to conceptualizing processes of power and its relations within social movements. However, as this thesis is concerned with the interactional processes of power, I highlight different academic positions of power concerned with interactionism³⁸, and why ‘symbolic power’ is chosen as the sensitizing concept to define power.

One perspective understands power in social movements as unfolding productions which individuals follow as a result of basic social value systems and organization. Turner (1996[1957]) argues that action is modified based on culture and social patterns within society. He argued that power is based on an individual’s “arenas of social and political practice in which actors are seen as manipulating ‘norms’ which are neither consistent nor fully coherent, in that they pursue their ambitions and personal interests” (Gledhill 2000, 132). Here, power is understood through human interaction and behaviours that enact fixed norms defined by those in power.

Power is also understood as social organizational strategies of behaviour that actors employ through interaction. This conceptualization of power is premised upon the idea of ‘economic men’ who strive to maximize value in exchanges between other actors. Power is understood as rational exchanges of economic power (Blau 1964).³⁹ However, understanding power in social movements only through the lens of economic power becomes problematic as it does not take into consideration structural elements of power that shape social action. Thus, Gledhill (2000) argues that power in social movements should be understood as ‘real rules’ of the game that determine

³⁸ There are also conceptualizations of power from different schools of thought such as structuralism; concerned with social structures as systems rather than ‘games’ in this thesis, and individualism; concerned with actors as self-contained units rather than actors embedded in society.

³⁹ This conceptualization of power is based on Frederick Barth’s (1966) transactionalist theory which seeks to understand the nature of social economic or human exchange. The theory is grounded in rational choice. However, this theory is significant as it seeks to understand how existing power relations affect exchanges of power.

how things should be done. This conceptualization of power is useful for understanding the dynamics of competing powers (Gledhill 2000). However, as power in social movements is determined by immediate actions of social movement actors, it is also necessary to understand power in terms of objective social forces and structures that influence the construction and communication of power (Silverman 1974; Gledhill 2000).

To understand this process, a deeper understanding of interaction regarding the symbolic practices in relation to power relations and social movements is required. This interactional element is best represented in Bourdieu's (1979, 1991) concept of 'symbolic power'. According to this theory, individuals are products of the "practices that reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and meaning structures making up the habitus" (Bourdieu 1979, 78). Namely, power is reproduced over time because social actors understand the world, the cognitive and meaningful structures of one's 'habitus', as being shaped by power relations (Gledhill 2000). In social movements, this approach focuses on the underlying logic and associations of symbols and how they are portrayed to others. Through dramas within a social movement, symbolic value is given to actions, talks, and objects which outside parties consider to be sources of legitimacy (Abélès 1988, 394). The performances are performed in a way that generate recognition of the symbolic power of the individuals acting in the social movement. Symbolic power is the most salient position of power for the study of how the construction and communication of power ensures control and authority over the social movement frames at Unist'ot'en Camp as the concept considers both meaning making and structuring mechanisms of power. Symbolic power will be operationalized and addressed further in Chapter Four.

Performative Turn and Social Movements

The performative turn in social movements sought to address the symbolic distribution of action that directed movement actors and their participants to perform in a way that communicated worthiness, commitment and determination to achieve acceptance of their ideological viewpoints. The performative turn in social movements began to compare actors in social movements to actors of a dramatic 'performance'. Namely, movement actors were understood to be strategically orienting themselves towards others as if they were "actors on a stage seeking identification with

their experiences and understandings from their audience(s)” (Alexander and Mast 2006, 2). Scholars began to interpret meaningful action through texts by exploring the codes and narratives, metaphors, themes, values, and rituals in various institutional domains of social movements (see Alexander and Sherwood 2002; Alexander and Smith 1998; Kane 1997; Smith 1998).

Derived from the concept of ‘symbolic action’, Burke (1957[1941]) and Geertz (1972) began to draw attention to the cultural characteristics of action as expressive theatrical performances rather than simply instrumental and rational economic exchanges. By developing a complex theory of performance, Burke (1957, 1965) transformed the basic theory of social action to one that viewed action and traditions as informing dramas, namely, “performances, of which could display exemplary motives, [and] inspire catharsis” (Burke 1959 in Alexander and Mast 2006, 10). In doing so, performative action suggested that a drama could be understood as a means of symbolic action, designed in a way that an audience(s) “might be induced to ‘act symbolically’ and in sympathy with,” (Burke 1965, 449) movement actors.

Theoretical co-founder of performance studies, Schechener (1977; 1985; 1988) further expanded on this view of symbolic action, arguing that performances should be viewed as a “set of performative acts, that if properly displayed, catalyze liminality in the broader social arena, destabilize the normative structure, inspire criticism, and reacquaint mundane social actors with the primordial and existential dimensions of life” (Alexander and Mast 2006, 12). Goffman (1965) later argued for the separation of the primordial view of performance in social movements, and understood performance through the lenses of game theory and rational choice. He argued that performances were merely a front behind which social movement actors gathered resources in order to display a “standardized expressive equipment” (Goffman 1965)⁴⁰ necessary to mobilize support and achieve their goals. Goffman’s model explained the power of action, whereby performances had the power to “sacralise authority” (Apter 2006) so that movement actors could strategically inform action.

Performances and Social Movements

‘Performance’, as a concept, is used by social movement scholars to encompass the different actions used by social movement actors to persuade and convince audience members of the beliefs,

⁴⁰ Schechener and Goffman expanded the concept of performance by introducing a Durkheimian model of action which explains the power of cultural and symbolic action in social movements.

values, and goals of a movement (Fuist 2014). It is the concept most used to broadly define dramatic action in social movements. It is therefore, necessary to engage in a debate regarding the differential theoretical understandings of the use of performance in social movements. This will later be useful in understanding the other dramatic techniques that are used to define, redefine and articulate a version of power.

Tilly and Tarrow understand social movements as a “cluster of contentious interactive performances” (1989 in Taylor and Van Dyke 2004, 263). They view performances as a tactic of social movements that incorporates a combination of instrumental and expressive actions that use a ‘toolkit’ (i.e. protests, blockades, demonstrations, petitions, etc.) of different sets of collective action claims in a particular campaign. Tilly and Tarrow (2008, 2015) argue that movement actors use repertoires of historical and standardized performances to make collective claims on other political actors. The repertoires of ‘contentious performances’ embody “symbols, identities, practices, and discourses,” (Tilly and Tarrow 2015, 16) used by movement actors and have the ability to persuade or prevent changes in power relations. They are understood as creating a divide between the contentious claims of movement actors and the opposition.

Following the performative turn in social movements, Alexander (2004; 2006; 2010) understands meaning and identity in social movements through the lens of ‘public performances’, in which social actors consciously try to convince an audience or audiences of their beliefs, values, and goals.⁴¹ Alexander (2004; 2006) operationalizes performance through the concept of cultural pragmatics. Namely, performances are examined through a cultural interpretive lens to describe the tactical process of social construction and coding of the symbolic fabrics actors use to interpret their lived realities (Alexander and Mast 2006, 7). To do this, actors employ a set of plausible performances that “lead those to whom their actions and gestures are directed to accept their motives and explanations of an account” (Alexander 2004, 529). ‘Cultural performances’ focus on the ways in which performance is used to evoke sentiments from the audience(s), and thus, encourage audience members to join a social movement.

Work on social movements and performances tend to focus on the “macro-cultural understandings of the public performances of social actors who try to convince [their] audience or audiences of a point of view” (Fuist 2014, 429). This can be seen in Tilly’s (2008, 2015) discussion

⁴¹ For more on meaning-making, identity and public performances see Blee and McDowell 2012; Eyerman 2006; Mast 2006; McAdam 1996; Tilly 2008.

of contentious performances and how historically public repertoires inform and constrain claim-making. Similarly, Alexander (2006) sought to develop a “macro-sociological model of social action as cultural performance”, in which public displays of symbolic action were used to convince audiences of the authenticity of movement actor’s viewpoints. These insights however, do not satisfy the interactional operation of performances as dramatizations of beliefs and claims (Fuist 2014). In lieu of this critique, Fuist (2014) suggests scholars move away from viewing performances of belief and politics as exclusively tactical. Following Avishani’s (2008)⁴² understanding of performances as being a “mode of conduct and being,” (Fuist 2014, 429), Fuist suggests that performances are also ideological. Namely, ‘ideological performances’ are understood as displays of a performer’s “beliefs, values, and allegiances... for an audience via her behavior, language, movement, use of props, and aesthetics” (Fuist 2014, 420).

Apter (2006) follows a pragmatic approach to interpret action, suggesting that performances in social movements are concerned with power, combining structure and meaning into the consciousness of actors, audiences and participants. Apter focuses on the publicized aspects of performance, arguing that social movement performances are the ones in which actors display their beliefs, values, and goals on a public stage. He argues that all performances are political as they “constitute a semiotic ground that contributes to the authority, and on occasion the sanctity of performance itself” (Apter 2006, 224). Thus, performances should be understood as a type of political theatre that attempts to ‘sacralise authority’ (Apter 2006) and communicate power. In political theatre, actors use various performances as a means to “mobilize power of voice, gesture, [and] ideas” (Apter 2006, 226). By using an array of dramatic performances, actors are able to transform emerging and alternative views of power into their preferred mode of action. At the same time, performances “round up and collectivize individuals and groups,” by converting individual and group views to align with the movement actor’s viewpoint. Thus, performance as political theater serves as a “guide to action” (Apter 2006, 226).

⁴² Drawing on the ideas of West and Zimmerman’s (1987) work on gender and interactional performances, Avishani suggests that performances “even when viewed as a strategic undertaking... may be done in the pursuit of... goals” (2008, 413). Fuist (2014) takes this suggestion in his critique on definitions on the concept of performance in social movements.

Dramaturgy and Social Movements

The work of Tilly and Tarrow, Alexander, Fuist, and Apter focuses on how the concept of performance articulates different understandings of power within society. However, these conceptual frameworks of performance simply view action in social movement as ‘rhetorical strategies’ (Gamson and Modigliani 1989; Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986). Dramaturgy however, as a more wholesome approach to performance in social movements, seeks to expand on the interactional process of performances to consider additional processes of association in regard to the construction and communication of meaning, including “formulating roles and characterizations, managing performance regions, controlling information, sustaining dramatic tensions, and orchestrating emotions” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 37). The dramaturgical approach allows for an understanding of emerging meanings of power in social movements, and facilitates an approach that focuses on the interactional “ongoing accomplishments of collective action” (McAdam, McCarthy and Zald 1988, 729; Benford and Hunt 1992, 37).

Dramaturgy argues that social movements are “dramas in which protagonists and antagonists compete to affect audiences’ interpretations of power relations in a variety of domains” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 38). Namely, social movement actors present their interpretations of existent and ideal power relations, performing these ideologies in a way that some audiences accept and act upon their presentations of reality (Benford and Hunt 1992; Giltin 1980; Gusfield 1981; Mauss 1975). To construct and communicate this ideal of power, movement actors employ dramatic techniques of (1) ‘scripting’: the “development of a set of directions that define the scene, identify actors, and outline expected behaviours” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 38); (2) ‘staging’: the “appropriation, management, and direction of materials, audiences, and performance regions” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 43); (3) ‘performing’: the “demonstration and enactment of power,” and the “concretization of... power relations” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 45); and (4) ‘interpreting’: the “process of individually or collectively making sense of symbols, talk, action, and the environment” (Blumer 1969; Goffman 1974 in Benford and Hunt 1992, 48).⁴³ These techniques go beyond just performances, incorporating other dramatic practices to build an image of power, and continue to communicate this image as the movement grows and builds support.

⁴³ These techniques allow for analytical interpretations of activities associated with emerging and ongoing movement dramas.

Unist'ot'en Camp invites third-party supporters to come to the camp, learn about the history of the land and people, and join the movement to resist the oppressive government structures allowing for the illegal development of pipelines on Indigenous territory. However, as a means to ensure the frames of the social movement do not become modified or misinterpreted, Indigenous leaders construct and communicate an image that identifies Indigenous social movement actors as individuals wielding power. Dramaturgy, as an analytical framework, is used as the lens in which the empirical case is examined. By utilizing dramaturgy as an analytical framework to understand the interactional processes between social movements actors, this thesis seeks to understand the processes by which Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp construct and communicate power.

The four dramatic techniques of scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting are used to operationalize dramaturgy and understand the process in which Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp construct and communicate power. These techniques are significant for the research as they provide a foundation for analyzing how social movement actors are perceived by mobilized third-party supporters, and whether or not the performances used effectively legitimize power.⁴⁴ The following section further operationalizes dramaturgy through the four dramaturgical techniques of scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting. In doing so, the thesis provides examples in which these four techniques are utilized by Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp. As these techniques are used by social movement actors to “collectively define, redefine and articulate power” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 36), the following section also begins to examine how power is constructed and communicated through interactions between Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters.

⁴⁴ The use of dramaturgy of social movement also allows for the research of issues concerning the relationship between dramatic techniques in social movements and their outcomes. Benford and Hunt's *Dramaturgy and Social Movements* (1992) provides an initial attempt to define several factors that produce effective movement performances. This research however, is not concerned with the effectiveness of performances and the overall success of the social movement at Unist'ot'en Camp. Rather, it is concerned with the use of performances to maintain Indigenous leaders' constructed conception of power, thus ensuring control and authority over the social movement frames.

Chapter Three: Dramaturgical Techniques

Dramaturgy describes the process in which social movement actors “compete to affect audiences’ interpretations of power relations” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 38). In order to inspire audience members to align themselves with a particular vision of reality, social movement actors devote their time articulating their understanding of power via four dramaturgical techniques of scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting. This chapter outlines how these techniques are utilized by Unist’ot’en Camp leaders to construct and communicate power.

As indicated in the Introduction⁴⁵, this thesis adopts a micro-level approach to understanding how everyday interactions between protagonists and participants at Unist’ot’en Camp influence perceptions of power. To understand how power is constructed and communicated, this chapter will elaborate on the interrelated dramaturgical techniques of (1) scripting, (2) staging, (3) performing, and (4) interpreting, while providing evidence on how these techniques construct and communicate the power of Unist’ot’en leaders. Though these dramaturgical techniques are “inextricably linked and temporally fused” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 48), for the purpose of providing concrete applications of each technique at Unist’ot’en Camp, the dramaturgical techniques are discussed as if they are discrete and time-bound stages. In this chapter, I do not conceptualize or operationalize power as symbolic power (this will be done in Chapter Four). Rather, by recognizing the subjective power ability of power that influences perceptions and events, I simply seek to illuminate how through dramaturgical techniques, Indigenous actors socially construct and communicate their conception of power, that is the power which identifies themselves as leaders of the movement. In doing so, this chapter seeks to answer the sub-questions #1a-d and #2a. Here, I adopt an ethnographic account in which I provide a descriptive interpretation of Unist’ot’en Camp. I then approach the detailed description of the process and place the descriptions into the broader theoretical perspective (Spencer, Ritchie, and O’Connor 2003) of dramaturgical techniques.

⁴⁵ See section on *Research Puzzle*.

Scripting

Dramaturgical scripts act as emergent guides for collective action, as scripting is a process that typically occurs prior to a performance, it allows for social movement actors to express behavioural cues when they interact with each other and audience members (Benford and Hunt 1992). Social movement scripts are emergent based on the frames of the social movement and are linked to various framing and alignment strategies of a social movement to the audience (Snow and Benford 1988; 1989; Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford 1986). However, unlike framing and frame alignment strategies which seek to ensure a collective definition of the beliefs, values, and goals, scripting is the “attempt to integrate and coordinate movement activity,” by “casting roles, composing dialogue, and directing action” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 39). Though framing provides a basis for accepted ideas of a social movement, Benford and Hunt (1992) argue that scripting allows for the enactment of these ideas. The enactment of ideas at Unist’ot’en Camp can be seen in the way in which Indigenous leaders define and coordinate activity regarding the social movement frames of the movement.

‘The government is finding new ways to prevent the ‘Red Man’ from ruling the world,’⁴⁶ argued one respondent. The proposal for the construct of a pipeline on Unist’ot’en territory, he continued, is another tactic by the Canadian government to wipe out the Indigenous population. By preventing the Unist’ot’en from occupying their traditional territories and upholding their cultural practices, the colonizers⁴⁷ are continuing the cycle of oppression because ‘it is denying our people the healing which the land provides for us’.⁴⁸ However, the Unist’ot’en continue to defend their land. ‘Government threats will not stop us; we have the knowledge and support to defend ourselves’.⁴⁹ In order for the Unist’ot’en to defend their land, they employ a number of scripting strategies as a means to assert themselves as having title over the land. One example of this can be seen when entering the territory. Visitors will see a number of checkpoints with signs clearly stating, ‘this is Unist’ot’en territory you are entering’⁵⁰ along with the rules visitors are

⁴⁶ Author’s discussion with an Wet’suwet’en leader, Unist’ot’en Camp, field note, 9 March 2018. This statement is based on a prophecy regarding the battle for sovereignty and independence between First Nations peoples and the oppressive state. The prophecy argues that colonizers of North America have never been able to fully annihilate Indigenous people as there is a prophecy that a great American Chief, the ‘Red Man’, will one day rule the world.

⁴⁷ Ibid., referring to the Canadian government and extractive sector.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Author’s discussion with hereditary chief, Unist’ot’en Camp, field note, 31 March 2018.

⁵⁰ Interview #2.

expected to follow. Statements and actions such as this can be understood as an example of scripting, where Indigenous leaders develop a “set of directions that define the scene, identify actors and outline expected behaviours” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 38). Social movement scripts establish power relations, allowing performers to identify a problem regarding oppressive societal power structures. The scripts articulate a version of reality held by protagonists and inspires members of the audience to accept this viewpoint and subsequently, participate in the movement.

Scripting techniques provide movement actors with (1) a diagnosis that identifies problems within existing power relations that need to be amended, (2) a prognosis that articulates an alternative idea of power, (3) incites rationales for a change of power relations and for the participation in movement dramas, and (4) strategic and tactical courses of action that present the most effective means to define, redefine and articulate a new vision of power (Benford and Hunt 1992; Ladd, Hood and Van Liere 1983; Snow and Benford 1988; Wilson 1973). The first two processes center around the development of a ‘*dramatis personae*’, or the “cast of characters” (Zurcher and Snow 1981, 472). The latter follow processes that “generate dialogue and direction for movement performances and actors” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 39). The processes of developing a ‘*dramatis personae*’, and generating ‘dialogue and direction’ for social movement actors can be seen in the various scripting strategies of Unist’ot’en Camp leaders. The following discussion will address the processes of *dramatis personae* and dialogue and direction, illuminating how these tactics are being employed by Unist’ot’en Camp.

Dramatis Personae

Social movement scripts begin with what Zurcher and Snow name “the cast of characters” (1981, 472) or the ‘*dramatis personae*’. This is where movement actors identify an antagonist, often pointing at an event or situation as problematic and attributing blame towards a person, group or social institution (Snow and Benford 1988). The development of the *dramatis personae* is the vilification of a person, group or social institution in order to develop and invoke a sense of injustice in current power relations. At the same time, the protagonist, or movement actors, are presented as having the ability to overcome the problematic event or situation through “recruiting cast members via persuasion,” (Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford 1986 in Benford and Hunt 1992, 40) by offering incentives. Finally, through scripted performances, movement actors are able to direct their action towards a variety of audiences to “those who have the potential to alter

existing power arrangements” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 40). Third-party participants, the supporting cast members, are often recruited through these performances.

Unist’ot’en clan leaders develop a *dramatis personae* or a cast of characters to distinguish themselves from antagonists and third-party supporters at Unist’ot’en Camp. An example of this can be seen in Unist’ot’en Camp’s registration process and border crossing ritual. Prior to a prospective third-party supporter’s acceptance to participate in Unist’ot’en clan’s social movement, there is an extensive registration process. The applicant must first register online. Following this, they are contacted and are asked to take part in a preliminary interview. As one informant indicated, this registration process is a means to make sure that those who present a potential threat to the camp do not enter the territory⁵¹ as they can create conflict. This can be understood as the first attempt by Indigenous leaders to persuade the cast members to accept their ideas of power. A role is constructed for supporting cast members.

Once an individual passes the online registration and phone interview, individuals wishing to enter the Camp must participate in the FPIC protocol. This is a ritual, borrowed from traditional practices of First Nations⁵² across North America and written in the *United Nations Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 2008).⁵³ The FPIC allows for face-to-face contact with the people of the territory whom the third-party supporters wish to support and allows for the Indigenous leaders to cast these individuals into a *dramatis personae*, or the role which they have in the movement. This can be seen when individuals are declined because they are associated with the government or extractive industries that destroy Indigenous land and disrespect Indigenous sovereignty.⁵⁴ Allowing Indigenous leaders to identify what the intentions of potential third-party

⁵¹ Author interview #6 with respondent #5, registration reviewer, Vancouver, BC, 23 April 2018; Interview #5.

⁵² Frost, *Protocol*, (27 June 2014, Unist’ot’en Camp), Video Diary.

⁵³ Ibid.; Author discussion with the hereditary chief, Unist’ot’en Camp, field note, 2 April 2018. The hereditary chief discussed the Free Prior and Informed Consent Protocol. It is a protocol that has existed for hundreds of years before the ‘white man’ came to North America. It was a ritual between different Indigenous tribes when a nation was travelling onto someone else’s territory. They would be asked similar questions in which the travelling party recognized the land belonging to other peoples and the laws of those people. If one broke the laws of the people, the travellers would face the consequences. It is a practice Unist’ot’en and other First Nations communities have revitalized that happens to fall in line with what the UN declaration states.

⁵⁴ Examples of the FPIC to distinguish between antagonists and audience members can be seen in the various video diaries posted by Unist’ot’en Camp.

supporters are, enables Unist'ot'en leaders to cast these individuals as either antagonists, audience members or participants of the movement.

Another question of the FPIC asks third-party supporters is what skills they bring to the Camp. All third-party supporters are welcome to learn from Indigenous leaders and support the camp if their intentions for entering the territory are identified as being 'genuine'. However, Indigenous leaders identify particular skill sets that are deemed more beneficial for the camp than others. For example, individuals with strong legal backgrounds or those with ties to funders are cast as individuals with a strong potential to alter existing power relations at a more institutional (state) level.⁵⁵ These members are mobilized because they have the power to change existing power arrangements. However, their roles are cast in a way that makes their power secondary to the roles of Indigenous leaders. This is done through the scripting process of creating a cast of characters whereby the roles given to third-party supporters are positions that still ensure for the Unist'ot'en leaders to remain in roles of power.

Dialogue and Direction

'Dialogue and direction; is the process that focuses on the ways in which social movement protagonists incite rationales for participation and present strategic and tactical courses of action that define, redefine and articulate an new vision of power (Benford and Hunt 1992). Dialogue and direction focuses on the interactive processes of empowerment where movement actors attempt to convince, or empower, individuals or groups that they have the ability to affect (and change) existing power structures. Movement actors do this in a variety of ways. However, the majority of ways in which empowerment is facilitated are through the 'construction of a universe of discourse' and a 'vocabulary of motives' (Snow and Machalek 1968). Vocabularies of motive provide potential supporters with "compelling reasons or rationales for taking action and provide participants with justifications for actions undertaken on behalf of the movement goals" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 41). A vocabulary of motive is constructed so that movement participants understand the severity and urgency of the problem identified by protagonists, as well as how the directed course of action will be effective in creating change. Namely, a vocabulary of motive promotes "rationales for taking action" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 41).

⁵⁵ Interview #5.

This process of scripting also directs appropriate performances and appropriates emotions and moods so that social movement actors can expertly dramatize ideal power relations (Benford and Hunt 1992). Social movement protagonists provide audience members and participants with cues and props that are utilized as a means of defining and evoking appropriate emotions. The emotions are then dramatized to emphasise ideas regarding the use of power. Further, the scripting of emotion and mood allows for social movement protagonists to manage the organization of a social movement (Benford and Hunt 1992). Namely, scripting allows for the direction of action, so that movement events and rituals “reinforce the movement’s beliefs, values, and images of power relations” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 42).

Over breakfast one morning, one of the Indigenous leaders was discussing the expansion of the network of support that Unist’ot’en Camp has built. He argued that the common denominator among their supporters is a shared experience of abuse and compassion. Namely, though the third-party supporters at Unist’ot’en Camp have different life experiences, Indigenous leaders at the Camp have been able to direct audiences to take action on behalf of Unist’ot’en by emphasising emotions of passion and compassion for fighting against the oppressor (Unist’ot’en leaders identify the oppressor as the Canadian colonial system).⁵⁶ Through scripting of emotions, Unist’ot’en leaders are able to direct third-party supporters to act on behalf of the social movement goals. As one respondent stated, ‘if we can get just three percent of the population to believe in the cause, to support Indigenous people and their rights, the future for our people would look very different.’⁵⁷ As part of the technique of scripting, this dialogue and directed attention toward third-party supporters and the government and extractive sector as oppressors have been instrumental in providing opportunities for Unist’ot’en Camp to mobilize greater support of the movement and continue defending Indigenous land. Discussions such as these continue to inspire third-party supporters present at Unist’ot’en Camp to take action and direct appropriate emotions that dramatize the societal power relations Unist’ot’en leaders wish to maintain.

⁵⁶ In discussion with Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters, Unist’ot’en Camp, field notes, 12 March 2018.

⁵⁷ Author interview #3 with respondent #2, non-Indigenous supporter, Unist’ot’en Camp, 24 March 2018; interview #2.

Staging

Staging is the “appropriating, managing, and directing of materials, audiences, and performing regions” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 43) of a social movement. Namely, staging is the organization of performances. It involves the logistical matters of a movement, such as gaining resources and managing funding. Staging is the promotion and publicity of performances so that social movement protagonists can solicit greater third-party participation in the movement. The promotion and publicity of performance can include acted demonstrations, but also encompasses other forms of advertising such as newsletters, brochures, and other social media outlets to spread information about the alternative view of power (Benford and Hunt 1992).

A dramaturgical approach to staging further suggests that the staging process involves the expansion of social movement actor’s ability to communicate their ideas about power by “developing and manipulating symbols” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 43) so that audiences see the beliefs, values and goals actors perform as being politically correct. Social movement protagonists “manipulate scripts of the movement to display appropriate exercises of power” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 43). Staging is an interpretive process as scripts, as symbols of power, can change in relation to the actions of movement antagonists, audiences and participants. For example, if antagonists control or limit the spaces in which movement performances can be staged (Snow, Zurcher, and Peters 1981), the actions of antagonists can be manipulated so that they are symbolic of the barriers protagonists face in their attempts to define, redefine and articulate their vision of power (Benford and Hunt 1992). The plants, animals, and the buildings on Unist’ot’en territory can be understood as examples of staging where Indigenous leaders manipulate these spaces to represent meanings that appropriate their version of power.

In the second year of the social movement, Unist’ot’en Camp began to increase their network of supporters. As a result, an increasing number of third-party supporters started to visit and volunteer on the territory. The small log cabin used during the winter months to house both leaders and supporters quickly outgrew itself.⁵⁸ Taking advantage of the skill sets of some of the supporters with construction and fundraising background, the spokesperson and hereditary chief of Unist’ot’en Camp asked for their help in constructing a Bunkhouse that would house supporters throughout the year. Later, construction projects expanded to include the development of a Pit

⁵⁸ Interview #2.

House⁵⁹, a permaculture garden and the Healing Centre. These structures were built on new GPS routes for the proposed pipelines that were to go through the territory. These structures not only established Unist'ot'en Camp as a permanent performance region, but can also be understood as an example of how Indigenous leaders stage their terms of power. For example, the construction of the Healing Center in 2016 has become a symbol of the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. The center provides greater opportunities for social movement actors to organize performances and communicate their ideas of power. The Healing Center is a space that, once completed, will run healing programs, 'healing the people, making them whole again'⁶⁰ and 'reconnecting them to the land... so that they become concerned with the land.'⁶¹ Further, in a video diary published by Unist'ot'en Camp, the spokesperson and co-founder of the movement states:

We are using the Healing Center as a prototype to show the people that they can come back onto the land. We find ways to show people that they can live here permanently, especially along the routes industries are planning to put their pipes. If people are actually living here, we can better monitor them [the industry] ... if we build cabins back here [on the territory], where people can self-sustain themselves, and industries see smoke coming out, the industry is less likely to believe they can legally enter on our territory.⁶²

As such, the Healing Center has provided not only the physical space needed for Unist'ot'en leaders to express their grievances, but is presented as a reflection of the power relations within the social movement. The video diaries and public statements can be seen as an enactment of the manipulation of symbols, so that they are viewed as politically correct performances. They identify the antagonists, protagonists and audience members, and then

⁵⁹ Based on traditional Unist'ot'en structures, the Pit House was created to house members of the community, providing not only an extra living space, but a means to connect members of the community back to their ancestors and the land.

⁶⁰ UnistotenCamp, *Heal the People, Heal the Land*, video diary, performed by Freda (28 September 2017, Unist'ot'en: Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017), Video Diary.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² UnistotenCamp, *Unist'ot'en: Housing the People*, video diary, performed by Freda (12 October 2017, Unist'ot'en: Unist'ot'en Camp, 2017), Video Diary.

appropriate politically correct performances needed for Indigenous leaders to maintain roles of power (leadership) within the movement.

Performing

Performing is concerned with the “demonstration and the enactment of power” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 45). It is the concretization of beliefs, values, and goals regarding the social movement and reveals ways in which audience members can achieve and/or maintain power relations between antagonists and protagonists. The concretization of beliefs, values, and goals can be seen in the *Resource for Allyship and Solidarity*⁶³ at Unist’ot’en Camp, as well as when visitors to the camp wishing to conduct research with the Indigenous community must present themselves as such at the first Prayer Circle⁶⁴ they attend. In compliance with these protocols, I as a researcher, presented myself as such, inviting Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters present at the Camp during winter 2018 to participate in the study. However, as I identified myself as a third-party supporter and as being outside from the Indigenous community, I was faced with opposition from one of the Indigenous leaders at the Camp. ‘Have you talked with the spokesperson of the camp? Have you had your questions approved?’⁶⁵ he stated. Continuing, another Indigenous leader stated that the questions needed to be approved so that for security purposes, nothing sensitive about the Camp was shared, and no false statements were spread due to the ignorance of third-party supporters or media and research personnel. It was not until I proved myself to the leaders of the Camp that I was loyal to the frames of the social movement⁶⁶, that I was able to build rapport, allowing me to gain insights to the dramatic tactics of the Camp. This story is understood as an example of the enactment of power in which the interaction between the Unist’ot’en leader and myself expressed a differential power relation between social movement actor and third-party supporter.

⁶³ See Unist’ot’en website for resources on allyship and solidarity used at Unist’ot’en Camp. Unist’ot’en, “*Resources on Allyship and Solidarity*”, Unist’ot’en Camp, accessed 2 July 2018, <http://unistoten.camp/no-pipelines/resources/allyship/>.

⁶⁴ Before each morning and evening meal, both Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters must engage in a prayer prior to eating. Members form a circle, upon which an elected member thanks the Creator, the land, the plants, animals and ancestors for allowing us to live off the land and sustain our bodies for the struggle against the oppressors. Any other wishes or gratitude is also expressed. Upon completion, a small portion of the meal is placed back into the land (either in the forest, the river or burned in the fire) as a means of giving back. Field notes, 08 March 2018.

⁶⁵ In discussion with a non-Unist’ot’en supporter, Unist’ot’en Camp, field notes, 6 March 2018.

⁶⁶ See Introduction on Research Design and Data Collection techniques.

Dramaturgical performances include a variety of communicative dramatic techniques including (1) dramaturgical loyalty, (2) discipline, and (3) circumspection. The following section will discuss the uses of loyalty, discipline and circumspection at Unist'ot'en Camp.

Dramaturgical Loyalty

'Dramaturgical loyalty' refers to the alignment of audience members to a movement's constructed definitions and (emerging) behaviors of power (Turner and Killian 1987). Actors that become overinvolved heighten the probability that participants become disloyal or fail to fully understand their roles in the movement, misframe the beliefs, values, and goals of the movement, and illegitimately use their own power. As a result, a social movement can become discredited or present a non-unified image. To prevent disloyalty, social movement actors must ensure that supporters "display dramaturgical loyalty" (Goffman 1959, 212) in order to protect secrets of the group, present an image of solidarity, and an acceptance of roles within a group. Loyalty ensures that actors do not "upstage or parody collective performances," and/or "discredit movement attempts to sustain a unified image" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 45).

To prevent disloyalty at Unist'ot'en Camp, Indigenous actors ensure that third-party supporters recognize who holds positions of leadership. This is done in a number of ways, such as the FPIC ritual upon entering Unist'ot'en territory and in the different protocols third-party supporters must participate in that establish a hierarchy at Unist'ot'en Camp. In my discussions with third-party supporters at Unist'ot'en Camp, it was clear that loyalty towards Indigenous leadership had been established. Those present at the Camp and dedicated to the movement ensure that they act in ways that do not delegitimize the power held by Unist'ot'en leaders. In comparing the social movement at Unist'ot'en Camp to other Indigenous social movements they have participated in, it is clear that leadership roles at Unist'ot'en are concrete:

A lot of white people who had been there [another movement] since the beginning, since the first call out, naturally took on a leadership role. They would even talk over the Sioux elders. They felt an entitlement because it was something that they cared about, that it was their fight as well. But, it was pretty clear that the battle there was for the rights of the Indigenous, and that is similar

here too. However, here, the leadership is clear as far as I am concerned. I know who I need to listen to, and that that is a priority.⁶⁷

There are cases in which the roles of the group threaten to upstage performances of power at Unist'ot'en Camp. The same respondent continued:

...They [third-party supporters] have their own lives and when they feel like they can take up space and be an effective leader, sometimes it takes some time before they can achieve it, but when it happens it's hard for them to let go of it and actually listen. Maybe somebody comes here and they are all about listening and they don't even speak very much, they do everything they are told, but eventually they become the person who has been here the longest, even though they are not Indigenous, and they are not actually the person who the struggle affects, but they have an idea of what the struggle means... White people have a hard time getting over themselves, so they feel like they have the right to tell people what to do, boss people around...⁶⁸

In cases where third-party supporters threaten to upstage the leadership of the Unist'ot'en, the supporters are called out on their questionable loyalty to the movement. It is made clear that these individuals are taking up space, and if they fail to present an image of solidarity with the Indigenous leaders, they will be asked to leave the Camp. This example shows how interactions between Indigenous social movement actors and third-party supporters are adapted to ensure power remains a unified definition. Namely, if the behaviours of third-party supporters threaten to affect power relations at Unist'ot'en Camp, Unist'ot'en leaders ensure roles and frames of the movement are not discredited. They do so by removing any potential infiltrators. Through this strict control measure, infiltrators are removed, and thus the power held Unist'ot'en leaders becomes collectivized because the potential for parody is removed.

⁶⁷ Interview #3.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Dramaturgical Discipline

Dramaturgical loyalty seeks to collectivize a constructed conception of power. It does so by disciplining social movement participants to maintain the movement's secrets and "covers up... inappropriate behaviour" (Goffman 1959, 216). However, dramaturgical loyalty on its own does not ensure a successful performance. 'Dramaturgical discipline' on the other hand, ensures participants sustain self-control and behave in ways that maintain a movement's values (Benford and Hunt 1992). Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp ensure third-party supporters maintain self-control and behave in ways that reflect the movement's beliefs, values, and goals by implementing a number of Camp protocols that are a reflection of Unist'ot'en laws and governance system. Many of these protocols are based on the traditional *yintah*⁶⁹ of the Unist'ot'en clan. *Yintah* is a Wet'suwet'en word that is used to refer to the land, air, water and beings of the territory. The word can be best translated as 'Mother Earth', and is understood as a means of creating awareness for the relationships, values, and respect integral to Indigenous protocols and laws of Unist'ot'en territory.

One protocol, titled *Guidelines for Creating a Safer Space*, reflects the expected behaviours of third-party supporters (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) coming to the camp. This protocol requires third-party supporters to acquire consent to engage in Indigenous cultural practices, to gain consent for removing any plant or animal life from the territory, and to respect the other rules of behaviour outlined by the Unist'ot'en. These guidelines seek to foster an atmosphere where all individuals (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) feel safe. During my time at Unist'ot'en Camp, I was asked to design a board which clearly outlined these guidelines. On this board, I was asked to make clear that the purpose of the protocol is to construct and communicate an environment that supports the 'grassroots Unist'ot'en people in defending their land,'⁷⁰ and expects all volunteers to respect the governance system in place rather than create conflict.⁷¹ Protocols at Unist'ot'en Camp, such as the *Guidelines for a Safer Space* are techniques used by Unist'ot'en leaders to ensure participants behave and interact in ways that reflect the hierarchical leadership system (the beliefs,

⁶⁹ See footnote 24.

⁷⁰ "Preparing for Your Visit," Unist'ot'en Camp, access 2 July 2018, <https://unistoten.camp/come-to-camp/preparing-for-your-visit/>

⁷¹ Ibid.; based on *Protocol for a Safer Space* displayed in the Healing Center at Unist'ot'en Camp.

values, and goals) of the Unist'ot'en clan.⁷² They reflect the power generated by Indigenous leaders, whereby third-party supporters are disciplined in a way that expects participants to align themselves with system.

Dramaturgical Circumspection

'Dramaturgical circumspection' refers to the ability of movement dramas to prepare performances in advance, and to adapt performances to ongoing and unfolding circumstances (Goffman 1959). Circumspection includes the management of "counter-performances and piggy-backers" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 47) as well as extra-movement individuals and organizations who present problems when they "exploit a movement's audience (and resources) by promoting their own interests" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 47). Circumspection requires actors to handle these groups in a way that does not undermine the frames of the main performance(s). To deal with counter-performers, Unist'ot'en Camp leaders employed tactics of circumspection to ensure that the frames of the performance were not undermined. This tactic allows Indigenous leaders to employ loyalty and discipline over movement audiences and third-party supporters.

During my time at Unist'ot'en Camp, it was customary to have long discussions about the social movement and the struggles Indigenous peoples face in Canada. One evening discussion centered around alignment strategies of the social movement and highlights how Unist'ot'en leaders adapt their performances to deal with counter-performers. In 2010, Unist'ot'en leaders ran their first Action Camp, a week-long program during the summer months, in which third-party supporters are invited to participate in de-colonization workshops that aim to further align participants with social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. The first Action Camp invited non-governmental organizations to participate in the workshops, in hopes that it would foster greater financial and political opportunities for the Unist'ot'en. Unist'ot'en partnered with a woman from an environmental activist organization, who promised to hold fundraisers in southern British Columbia. The funds would go directly to construction costs of the planned Bunkhouse and Healing Center, as well as pay for a large bus to transport third-party supporters from

⁷² Unist'ot'en Camp protocols can also be interpreted as an example of 'scripting' techniques. As indicated in the introduction of this chapter, each dramaturgical technique is separated as if they discrete and time-bound steps in the drama of a social movement, however this example highlights just how intrinsically linked talks, symbols, and actions at Unist'ot'en Camp are and how they relate to different dramaturgical techniques.

Vancouver to Unist'ot'en Camp. However, the founders of Unist'ot'en later determined that the woman was falsifying reports on money raised, using the majority of the funds to pay for personal expenses. When the woman was publically called out on her exploitation of Unist'ot'en finances, she would post on her organization's blog spot, threatening to discredit Unist'ot'en Camp.⁷³

That same year, a young woman from another Indigenous community east of Unist'ot'en started to "buddy up" with other non-governmental organizations present at the 2010 Action Camp. Unist'ot'en leaders were discussing the possibilities of partnering for another Action Camp with these organizations in the following year. However, the woman from the other community 'kept meeting with the NGOs, having her own quiet meetings with them,'⁷⁴ and when the time came to prepare for the second annual Action Camp, 'the NGOs said they could not support us.'⁷⁵ When the loyalty of the organization was questioned, it was discovered that 'they showed up... for another action camp happening in the community east of us.'^{76, 77} In response to experiences of the exploitation of Unist'ot'en's audiences and resources by extra-movement individuals and organizations, Unist'ot'en clan leaders opted to adapt the performances of the social movement that reflected a grassroots movement. In doing so, it ensured the leadership, and subsequently social movement frames and strategic actions of the Camp could be controlled by the Indigenous social movement actors. It is clear in the empirical case of Unist'ot'en Camp, that when the leadership of the social movement were being threatened, Unist'ot'en leaders adapted their performances to ensure they remained the individuals that held the power to be able to adapt performances to unfolding circumstances.

Interpreting

While conducting participant observation research at Unist'ot'en Camp, I involved myself in the daily activities typical during the winter months. One opportunity I was presented with was the

⁷³ Author's discussion with hereditary chief, Unist'ot'en Camp, field notes, 14 March 2018.

⁷⁴ Interview #2.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ It is interesting to note that in a later interview with one of the non-governmental organizations working with Unist'ot'en Camp during the first annual Action Camp, they stated that the decision of the organization to not participate in the workshop was due to internal consequences, where the head of the First Nations team in British Columbia was no longer working for the company, and as a result, the organization could not organize the physical and financial support needed to ensure a successful Action Camp. Author interview #7 with respondent #6, environmental NGO employee, Toronto, ON, 27 April 2018.

task of skinning some of the fisher and marten that had been caught along the trap line.⁷⁸ I was first shown how to skin an animal, and then later, was allowed to perform the skinning myself. I was taught how each animal was trapped in a way that respects the *yintah* of the territory, and the ritualistic prayers that are done before and after the fur of the animal is removed. I was later invited to participate in a ceremony in which the animal carcass is taken back to the trap line. Throughout this skill learning process, Unist'ot'en leaders would describe the land in which the animal was trapped. They would discuss how the land was before the threat of a pipeline, and what the people, the animals, and the territory stands to lose if support for the movement is lost.⁷⁹ I interpreted this experience as an opportunity for the Indigenous leaders to build resonance and alignment for the social movement frames and positions of Indigenous leadership of Unist'ot'en Camp. I understand this experience as an example of the dramatic technique of interpreting, which involves the individual and/or collective way of processing and making sense of the symbols, talks, actions and environment of what is occurring in a drama (Blumer 1969; Goffman 1974; Mead 1934). The process of skinning an animal from the territory can be interpreted as symbolic action that helps third-party supporters to make sense of the drama occurring in a social movement.

Interpreting can become problematic due to the possibilities for a diverse range of interpretations, and thus of 'multiple realities' (Goffman 1981; Schutz 1963). However, through performances (and scripting and staging), actors attempt to manipulate audiences' interpretations of reality, particularly concerning audiences' conceptualization of power relations. In doing so, actors identify "who lacks power, portray how it is wielded, present an alternative vision of power... and articulate how such transformations might be realized" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 48). Movement performances are congruent with audience's interpretations of "empirical, experiential and cultural realities" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 48) and determine the success or failure in a performer's ability to resonate or move audiences to actively participate in the collective drama. The ways in which audience members articulate their own interpretations of realities provide "reviews or critiques of social movement dramas" (Benford and Hunt 1992, 49). Actors can react to these interpretations and decide to (1) adjust scripts, stages and performances to fit the target

⁷⁸ The trap line is another example of staging, where the Unist'ot'en placed animal traps along the GPS route of the proposed pipeline. It is used not only as a tactic to stop the construction of a pipeline, but another performance that shows what living on the land looks like in the traditional ways of the Wet'suwet'en, and thus, why the territory must be defended and protected.

⁷⁹ Participant observations, Unist'ot'en Camp, field notes, 11 March 2018.

audience, (2) target a different audience, or (3) disregard the interpretations and claim them to be unrepresentative, ill-informed, or simply wrong (Benford and Hunt 1992; Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford 1986).

The examples of the dramaturgical techniques of scripting, staging, and performing show how Unist'ot'en leaders manipulate audiences' interpretations of who has power, who lacks power, and how this construction and communication of power is used to ensure the frames of the social movement remain unchanged and unaltered. Namely, Unist'ot'en leaders direct performances so that audiences' interpretations of power relations are influenced by the interactions between protagonists and third-party supporters. Scripts, stages and performances are manipulated so that protagonists of the movement are seen as having roles of authority and control. These techniques are successful, in that the third-party supporters on which I conducted research expressed that they recognize Unist'ot'en clan members as individuals whom they must respect and listen to. This construction and communication power is maintained by Unist'ot'en leaders, so much so that when third-party supporters fail to recognize Unist'ot'en leaders as authority figures, they are removed from the territory and no longer regarded as supporters of the movement.⁸⁰

Dramaturgical Techniques and Power

In this chapter, I have elaborated on the four interrelated dramaturgical techniques of scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting. Unist'ot'en leaders create scripted roles for protagonists, antagonists, audience members, and third part-supporters, direct and manage materials to stage performances, and use these performances as a technique to enact the ideals of power upheld by the leaders of the social movement. These processes are linked and fused so that third-party supporters interpret these power relations as being politically correct and then, direct these interpretations through scripting, staging, and performing so that supporters' actions are congruent with real and ideal power arrangements (Benford and Hunt, 1992). In conclusion, Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp use dramaturgical techniques to foster the construction and communication of power.

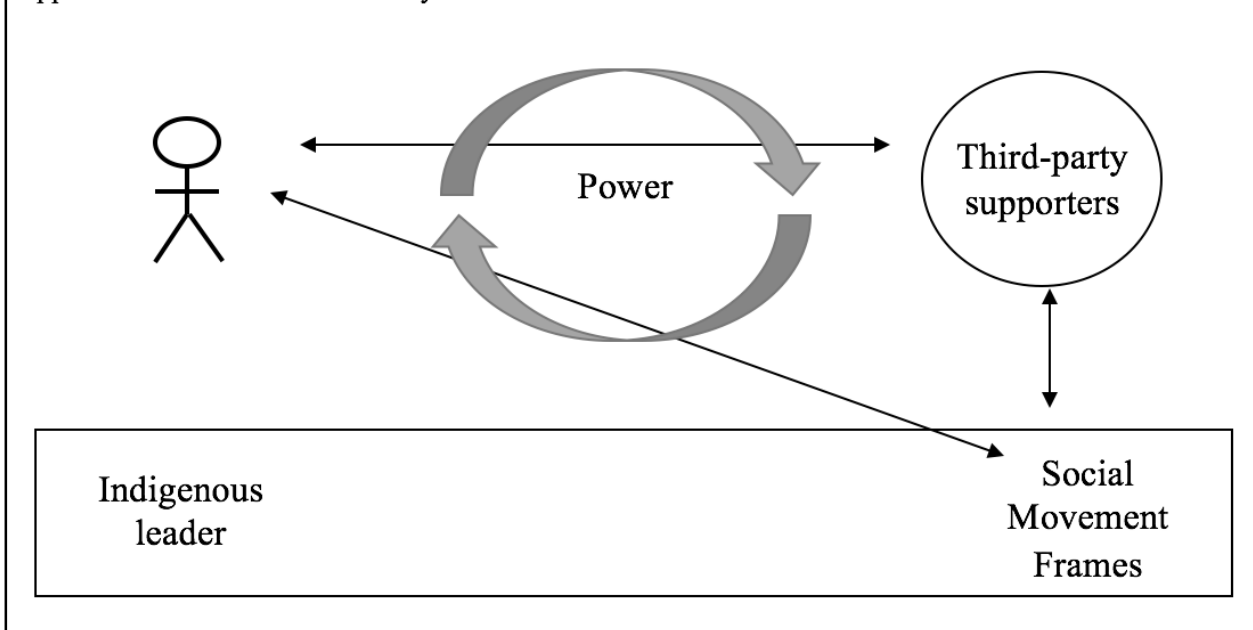
⁸⁰ Field notes, 2 April 2018; See also "Free Prior and Informed Consent Protocol," Unist'ot'en Camp, accessed 2 July 2018, <https://unistoten.camp/come-to-camp/fpic/>.

Thus far, this thesis has followed the tradition of dramaturgy recognizing the subjectivity and objectivity of power in that dramaturgical techniques of scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting are used to influence third-party supporters' perceptions of reality (Benford and Hunt 1992). Namely, through dramaturgical techniques social movement actors are able to socially construct and communicate their conception of power as a means of mobilizing audience members and ensuring third-party supporters remain committed this perception of power. In this understanding of power relations, dramaturgy addresses the interactional process by which Indigenous protagonists use dramatic techniques as strategies to ensure version of power is understood as truth. However, as indicated in this research question, this thesis seeks to understand how the construction and communication of power is translated into the ability of Indigenous leaders to maintain control and authority over third-party supporters, and thus the social movement frames. It is therefore necessary to understand how the construction and communication of power directs order within the social movement and guides the actions of third-party supporters within the movement to behave in ways that are considered acceptable. Thus, the following chapter does so by operationalizing power, through the lens of symbolic power and highlighting the intersection between dramaturgy, symbolic order, and symbolic action.

Chapter Four: Dramaturgy and Power

Thus far in this thesis, I have addressed the interactional processes by which Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques at Unist'ot'en Camp to define, redefine, and articulate their version of reality regarding ideal power relations. The way in which Indigenous leaders script, stage, and perform influences participants' interpretations of symbols, talks, and actions so that they accept their version of power as legitimate. As the research question suggests, I argue that dramaturgical techniques are used as a strategy to prevent third-party supporters from altering and/or misinterpreting the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. Namely, the construction and communication of power enables Indigenous leaders to maintain control and authority over the beliefs, values, and goals of the movement. This is illustrated in the diagram below:

Figure 1. Depicts the intersection between the construction and communication of power over third-party supporters and control and authority over social movement frames



In order to answer the question: 'How do Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques (scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting) to construct and communicate power over mobilized third-party supporters to maintain control and authority over the social movement frames?', it is necessary to discuss power, manifested through symbolic action and order, and how it intersects with dramaturgical techniques. To do this, the chapter seeks to expand on the previous

analysis on scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting techniques employed by Unist'ot'en leaders⁸¹ and apply strategies of power that institutionalize, legitimize, and euphemize hierarchical power relations at Unist'ot'en Camp through 'habitus', 'symbolic order', and 'symbolic action'. I argue, that 'symbolic power' over third-party supporters translates into Indigenous leaders' abilities to maintain control and authority over the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. The strategies of symbolic power are best illuminated through examples in which Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques as approaches for dealing with (potential) inner conflicts caused by counter-performances.^{82, 83} Thus, this chapter will first outline the interactive mechanisms of symbolic power. Secondly, using examples of counter-performances, the chapter will show how symbolic power is constructed and communicated through dramaturgical techniques to maintain control and authority over the beliefs, values, and goals of the movement. In doing so, this chapter seeks to answer sub-questions #2b, #3, and #4.⁸⁴

Symbolic Power and Dramaturgy

Pierre Bourdieu's understanding of social action is associated with a broader understanding of social order which links actions within a social movement to larger societal structures. In his analysis of social spaces and organizations, Bourdieu argues that individuals exist in relation to one another based on their interactions with economic, cultural (i.e. credentials, titles, and dispositions), and social capital (i.e. networks) (Bourdieu 1988, 1989, 1990). In this perspective, objective social structures exist independently of the "conscious will of agents," and "guide and constrain their practices or representations" (Bourdieu 1990, 122). However, Bourdieu also argues

⁸¹ See Chapter Five: Dramaturgical Techniques.

⁸² In this chapter, I recognize that symbolic power constructed and communicated by Indigenous leaders projects an image of orthodoxy and homogeneity within Unist'ot'en Camp for the external world. Namely, it is inappropriate to say that there are no conflicts within the movement or that the movement is homogenous. Rather, I recognize that the way in which Indigenous leaders attempt to maintain some word of homogeneity within the movement shows that they hold symbolic power.

⁸³ Any social movement that seeks to enforce their constructed image of ideal power relations will encounter opposition from another group scripting and staging a performance (Benford and Hunt 1992). Examples of counter-performances have already been illustrated in instances where non-governmental organizations were invited to participate in the Action Camp workshops, and whereby representatives of the organization opted to work with other Indigenous communities rather than remain loyal to Unist'ot'en. When Unist'ot'en leaders declined to adapt the mandates of the social movement to align with the mandates of these organizations, the organizations refused to physically and financially support the continuation of the movement.

⁸⁴ See Introduction, *Theory and Concepts*.

that individuals are able to move within these social structures. The ability to do so is manifested through an individual's 'habitus', namely a "system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu 1988, 72). The habitus is guided by objective conditions that individuals develop through interactions within society. These conditions instruct "dispositions and tastes that reflect the individual's positions," (Hallett 2003, 130) within society. Namely, the habitus is structured, but because individuals also have agency acting in accordance with the disposition of habitus, their actions also have a structuring affect in that they reproduce the conditions through which their habitus is created (Hallett 2003).

Bourdieu argues that an individual's habitus can be studied through the enactment of economic, cultural, and social capital. Individual action, or one's 'style of expression' (Bourdieu 1988, 56), is manifested through their social disposition defined by their habitus. Therefore, when individuals enter into organizations (in this thesis, a social movement), they also bring a social order that is related to their habitus. The practices within the organization are thus informed by the habitus (an individual's position within the broader social order). When individuals act on behalf of the tasks set out in a social movement, they act, not only on the basis of the rules of the movement, but also in relation to their own habitus. Swidler's (1986) discussion on culture in social organization adds to this discussion on habitus. Namely, he argues that individuals draw from a 'cultural tool-kit' which generates and guides action. The tool-kit interacts with "habitus, skills, and style of expression" (Swidler 1986, 273) that can be used to resolve problems or achieve the goals of a social movement. Based on this understanding of habitus, individual's habitus can be used as a mean to formulate strategies of action (Swidler 1986). In this thesis, the habitus of Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders is considered to be a reflection of the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp.

Based on this concept of habitus, Bourdieu argues that roles within an organization are negotiated. In this negotiation, there exists a disproportionate power balance in which some individuals have the power to negotiate social symbolic order. As such, power is understood as being 'invisible power' (Bourdieu 1991, 164) that is abstracted through the "manifestation of formal rules and authority" (Hallett 2003, 133). Bourdieu (1991) argues that this invisible power is a form of 'symbolic power'. Symbolic power is used to inform organization within the social movement, and gives leaders the "power to define the situation in which the interactions comprise

the negotiated order” (Hallett 2003, 133). The negotiated ‘symbolic order’ allows social movement actors to guide appropriate ‘symbolic action’ and legitimates their position of (symbolic) power. The symbolic order and symbolic action reflects the habitus of those maintaining power.

Unist’ot’en Camp is an empirical case where leadership roles, or the organization within a social movement, is negotiated. In this negotiation, there exists an asymmetrical power balance in which Unist’ot’en clan leaders are in a position of symbolic power, enabling them to negotiate symbolic order and direct action. This symbolic order and action are a reflection of the habitus of Indigenous leaders, and thus the social movement frames of Unist’ot’en Camp. Namely, through their interactions with third-party supporters, Indigenous leaders convey their ideal practices of power relations and provide meaning and appropriate action for the beliefs, values, and goals of the movement. Through these interactions, Indigenous leaders inform what version of power is considered legitimate. As Indigenous leaders acquire legitimacy, they employ symbolic power which allows them to define what the organization of the social movement looks like and what the acceptable actions are for third-party supporters. I argue, that it is through the use of dramaturgical techniques that symbolic power is constructed and communicated.

In the following section, I argue that symbolic power is negotiated through dramaturgical techniques. Namely, through scripting, staging, performing and interpreting, interactions between Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters at Unist’ot’en Camp convey symbolic order and guide appropriate action.

Scripting and Symbolic Power

Unist’ot’en leaders use scripting as a means of developing a “set of directions that define the scene, identify actors, and outline expected behaviours” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 38).⁸⁵ In defining roles for third-party supporters, Indigenous leaders can be understood as negotiating a symbolic order within the social movement based on the habitus of Indigenous leaders. These roles become visible during cases in which third-party counter-performers threaten to disrupt the negotiated order within the social movement. An example of how Indigenous leaders construct and communicate

⁸⁵ See Chapter Three, *Scripting*.

power through a negotiated symbolic order is seen in their interactions with ‘infiltrators’⁸⁶ of the movement. Infiltrators are third-party supporters who do not wish to, or fail to, align themselves with the social movement frames of Unist’ot’en Camp, or enter the territory wishing to alter the beliefs, values, and goals of the social movement. Failing to align with the social movement frames of Unist’ot’en Camp can be seen as a disruption of the symbolic order created by Indigenous leaders through symbolic power.

In an interview with the hereditary chief, he discussed instances where ‘supposed supporters were attempting to infiltrate the Camp.’⁸⁷ If it is not obvious through answers given during the FPIC ritual, it becomes apparent that a third-party supporter is an infiltrator through their words and actions. As the hereditary chief discussed, these individuals will become secretive with others at Unist’ot’en Camp, avoid contact with any of the Indigenous leaders, and remain uninvolved with the daily tasks. Further, “it becomes clear when there is an infiltrator because they [the counter-performer] refuse to listen to the rules,” and when ‘they are called out on their unacceptable behaviour, they become aggressive and can create conflict.’⁸⁸ If an infiltrator threatens to alter the beliefs, values, and goals of the social movement by influencing others to do the same, there is a process in which Indigenous leaders remove these individuals. It begins through scripting techniques in which these individuals are vilified and identified as infiltrators.

An example of this vilification can be seen in one of my conversations with an Indigenous leader at Unist’ot’en Camp.⁸⁹ He shared a story about a third-party supporter who attempted to compromise the power held by the hereditary chief and spokesperson of Unist’ot’en Camp. Due to the political orientation of Unist’ot’en Camp, the Camp faces difficulty in hiring professional help for construction projects such as the Healing Center. There are no companies in the area willing to work for Unist’ot’en for fear of facing retribution from the government or pipeline companies for their involvement in the movement. As a result, Unist’ot’en Camp relies on the skill sets of third-party supporters who are willing to provide their construction knowledge and labour for free. In the past three years, there has been a need for an electrician to complete the lighting

⁸⁶ Interview #5; it is the term used by Indigenous leaders to describe any individual who questions the traditional authority maintained by the founders of Unist’ot’en Camp. It is also the term used to describe any individual who fails to adhere to the rules of the social movement.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Author’s discussion with hereditary chief and Wet’suwet’en leader, Unist’ot’en Camp, field notes, 28 March 2018.

system in the second and third phases of the Healing Center. One third-party supporter (a non-Indigenous man) with electrical experience offered to assist Unist'ot'en Camp. Through he is uncertified, he offered to do the electrical work if he received compensation. The electrician is the only third-party supporter that is compensated for his work. However, the leader sharing this story argues that the electrician is an infiltrator and is ripping Unist'ot'en Camp off.⁹⁰ The electrician would come to Unist'ot'en Camp for eight hours a day, put in two hours of work, but still expect to be paid for the full eight-hour day, charging Unist'ot'en Camp unnecessarily. As the hired electrician, the third-party supporter also managed the installation of security cameras on the territory. He controls these cameras remotely. The Indigenous leader argues that this is taking control away from the founders of Unist'ot'en Camp, and thus is compromising the beliefs, values, and goals of the movement.

Throughout the story, the Indigenous leader referred to the electrician as an infiltrator who does not act in accordance with the beliefs, values, and goals of Unist'ot'en Camp. This story can be seen as an example in which an Indigenous leader is constructing and communicating symbolic power over a mobilized third-party supporter. Using their habitus, the Indigenous leader uses symbolic power to create meaning and justify the vilification of the electrician. Namely, through scripting, symbolic order and symbolic action is maintained. Through scripting, a *dramatis personae*⁹¹ is created for the electrician, labelling him as a villain to the movement. By casting the electrician as an infiltrator, he is vilified and shows how “norms regarding the proper distribution of power within the social movement,” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 40) are being violated. Using a vocabulary⁹² that identifies this individual as an infiltrator justifies reasoning and rationales for action and the negotiation of symbolic order that aims to protect the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. The interaction between symbolic power and scripting “tightens the fit between structure, meaning, and consciousness” (Hallett 2003, 134). Namely, scripting reflects the norms and social order of Unist'ot'en Camp. It is structuring structures, in that it outlines the third-party supporters expected behaviours and re-enforces these behaviours through defining the scenes, identifying positions and behaviours of actors. This negotiates a power balance between Indigenous leaders and third-party supporters where Indigenous leaders have the symbolic power

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ See Chapter Three, *Dramatis Personae*.

⁹² See Chapter Three, *Dialogue and Direction*.

to construct and communicate symbolic order and action and maintain control and authority over the social movement frames.

Staging and Symbolic Power

Staging is the organization of a social movement performance where social movement actors manage and direct the materials of a performance so that they reflect the constructed and communicated version of reality (Benford and Hunt 1992).⁹³ It involves the coordination of different performances so that notions of power are communicated in a way that delegitimizes the dominant view of power. Through symbolic order, Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp exercise symbolic power over third-party supporters. The management and direction of materials and individuals for a performance shows how Indigenous leaders use staging to exercise power over third-party supports and direct them in a way that allows them to achieve the desired outcomes of the social movement. An example of this can be seen in how Indigenous leaders stage counter-performances.

If an infiltrator comes to Unist'ot'en Camp and threatens to alter the beliefs, values, and goals of the social movement, Indigenous leaders employ staging techniques to remove the counter-performers from the territory and prevent their toxic actions from compromising the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en.⁹⁴ Once the infiltrator is identified, they will be tasked with humiliating and difficult chores, such as shovelling manure or cleaning the outhouses. Once they have completed the tasks, 'it is announced to other supporters at the Camp that the individual is an infiltrator and that they will be transported to the closest bus stop.'⁹⁵ In doing so, Unist'ot'en leaders publicly define who disloyal supporters are. Further, through disciplinary action, Indigenous leaders disassociate themselves from any individual who questions their authority. Namely, the staging of degrading tasks and the announcing of the third-party supporter as an infiltrator ensures that the beliefs, values, and goals of Indigenous leaders are not overshadowed by those of the infiltrators. This reinforces the formal rules and authority manifested through symbolic power. By staging a performance for counter-performers, Indigenous leaders reinforce to other third-party supporters that they have the power to define the situation. Indigenous leaders

⁹³ See Chapter Three, *Staging*.

⁹⁴ Author's discussion with hereditary chief, Unist'ot'en Camp, field note 5 April 2018.

⁹⁵ Interview #5.

express the disposition of their habitus so that actions of third-party supporters and counter-performers reflect the symbolic order and symbolic action defined by Indigenous leaders.

Performing and Symbolic Power

Performances reflect the abilities of social movement actors to concretize their ideas regarding power struggles between protagonists and antagonists (Benford and Hunt 1992, Goffman 1959). Through different techniques of loyalty, discipline, and circumspection, social movement protagonists ensure that their views are not upstaged by third-party participants and potential counter-performers.⁹⁶ The performances at Unist'ot'en Camp can be understood as an enactment of symbolic order and action in which third-party supporters come to accept "their vision of the world" (Gledhill 2000, 144), recognizing Indigenous leaders as legitimate power holders. The enactment of symbolic order and action can be seen in the way in which Indigenous leaders perform and impose components of their traditional governance system on third-party supporters.

Unist'ot'en is open to third-party supporters from a variety of backgrounds. As long as these supporters establish that they are committed to the beliefs, values, and goals of Unist'ot'en, they are welcome to live and work on the territory. Prior to their acceptance to Unist'ot'en Camp, mobilized individuals have been provided with an outline regarding the power structures they are expected to adhere to.⁹⁷ This is done so that third-party supporters understand what is expected of them when they are on Unist'ot'en territory. These expectations include adherence to the traditional governance structure used to inform symbolic order at Unist'ot'en Camp. As the individual responsible for this explanation states, he outlines the hierarchical system at Unist'ot'en, explains who supporters must respect and how to identify individuals who hold positions of authority. Further, it is stated clearly that third-party supporters cannot 'go [to Unist'ot'en Camp] bringing their own ideologies or their own agendas because they are at the Camp to support the movement. They are there to provide physical and financial support, not to determine what is best for Unist'ot'en, because they already know what is best for the Camp and for their people'.⁹⁸ When

⁹⁶ See Chapter Three, *Performing*.

⁹⁷ See Dr. Lynn Gehl (Algonquin Anishinaab-kwe) for *Ally Bill of Responsibilities*, n.d.; Unsettling America for *Allyship & Solidarity Guidelines*, n.d.; Andria Smith (Cherokee teacher) *The Problem with Privilege*, 2013 and Unist'ot'en Camp *Guidelines for Behaviour* to view some material given to potential third-party supporters prior coming to Unist'ot'en Camp.

⁹⁸ Interview #6.

the order and hierarchical power of Unist'ot'en Camp is threatened, Indigenous leaders use performances to define, redefine, and articulate the social structures that exist to allow the leaders to define the situation. An example of this can be seen in the interactions between third-party supporters who identify as anarchists and Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp.

When talking with a third-party supporter who identifies as an anarchist, he stated that many third-party supporters from the anarchist community come to Unist'ot'en Camp to support their struggles because they sympathize with their resistance against the colonial system.⁹⁹ However, many of the anarchists do not follow the power structures upheld by Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp. As one respondent explained:

It is because they don't agree with hierarchy, but here, there is a hierarchy. Even though the hierarchy established at Unist'ot'en is unconventional, in that it is unlike capitalism or the current government structure, there is still a hierarchy reflecting their traditional governance system. In this system, it is still the clan leaders that hold authority, or in the case of Unist'ot'en Camp, there is a hierarchy that defines who third-party supporters must go to. I know who I have to listen too, but for some people, for the anarchists mostly, they have a hard time doing this because of their own ideologies and agendas they bring in when they come here...^{100, 101}

Despite the strict hierarchical system being explained prior to the anarchist's arrival to Unist'ot'en Camp, conflict can be created because they "renounce the hierarchy and want something that is more horizontal".¹⁰² Therefore, it can be difficult at times because some of the anarchists become 'reluctant to bow down to a certain extent and take leadership from Unist'ot'en members because they don't want to have to answer to somebody.'¹⁰³ Therefore, Unist'ot'en leaders must be

⁹⁹ Field Notes, 6 March 2018.

¹⁰⁰ Author interview #4 with respondent #4, non-Indigenous supporter, Unist'ot'en Camp, 29 March 2018; Interview #3.

¹⁰¹ As outlined in the contextualization of Unist'ot'en Camp, there is an established hierarchical system at Unist'ot'en Camp that determines who third-party supporters must go to in order to get approval for any tasks they wish to do that are not already outlined as acceptable or unacceptable in the book of protocols and rules. Refer here for a detailed description of the hierarchy at Unist'ot'en Camp.

¹⁰² Interview #3.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

innovative in the ways in which they define the situation and maintain symbolic power. They do so through dramaturgical techniques such as performing.

An example of this occurred hours after my arrival at Unist'ot'en Camp. The first evening of my arrival, some of the other third-party supporters decided to watch a movie in the main cabin. The supporter initiating the movie night announced the plans at the evening meal. The Indigenous leader present argued that the supporter needed permission from him before entering the cabin. The third-party supporter, who identifies as an anarchist, became frustrated as he believed that having supported Unist'ot'en Camp for a number of months, he did not need permission to do so. The Indigenous leader argued against his assumed authority, stating that it is Unist'ot'en land third-party supporters are on, and thus they must respect the rules and authority of the Indigenous leaders. Due to the arguments that took place regarding rules and authority, the anarchist left Unist'ot'en Camp a few days later. This can be understood as a performance that manifests the rules and authority of the social movement, and thus legitimates the social order of the social movement and displays the accepted actions. Namely, through performances of his cultural and social capital position within the social movement, the Indigenous leader uses his habitus to guide actions of others. By enforcing the idea of third-party supporters having to follow the hierarchical system while being on Unist'ot'en land, the Indigenous leaders inform the social order related to his habitus and the disposition of others. In doing so, the Indigenous leader reinforces his symbolic power, by defining what is acceptable and legitimate in the situation. Through performances of symbolic power, Indigenous leaders prevent instances where their definition of power is not upstaged by third-party supporters, and thus eliminates the possibilities for the social movement frames to be changed or altered.

Interpreting and Symbolic Power

Interpreting is the dramaturgical technique that links scripting, staging, and performing so that the drama of a social movement is done in a way that is persuasive and allows for audience members to make sense of the “actions, symbols, talks, and environment” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 40).¹⁰⁴ In the examples provided in the previous sections,¹⁰⁵ it is clear that through the habitus of Indigenous leaders, symbolic order and action are interpreted in such a way that third-party

¹⁰⁴ See Chapter Three, *Interpreting*.

¹⁰⁵ See also descriptive analyses of evidence of dramaturgy at Unist'ot'en Camp in Chapter Three.

supporters reproduce the conditions through which the habitus of Indigenous leaders are created. Namely, when third-party supporters act on behalf of the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp, they act not only on the basis of the symbolic power scripted, staged, and performed by Indigenous leaders, but also in relation to their own habitus that is reproduced by the structuring effect of the Indigenous leaders' habitus. The way in which Indigenous leaders script, stage, and modify their performances to counter counter-performers re-enforces the symbolic power manifested through negotiated order and strategies of action. The interpretation of actions, symbols, talks, and environments becomes structured structures of meaning that are reflected and reproduced in the habitus of third-party supporters. Thus, third-party supporters reflect the negotiated symbolic power in that they accept the symbolic order and symbolic actions as legitimate and accept the position of power of Indigenous leaders. In sum, by ensuring third-party supporters accept this symbolic order and symbolic action, Indigenous leaders are able to maintain control and authority over the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp.

Constructing and Communicating Symbolic Power

Symbolic power at Unist'ot'en Camp is manifested through the use of dramaturgical techniques, which define, redefine, and articulate this version of power. The dramaturgical techniques are reflected through the habitus of Indigenous leaders negotiating roles for third-party supporters and inform the beliefs, values, and goals of the situation. Namely, the dramaturgical techniques guide objective conditions for interaction at Unist'ot'en Camp, but also reflect a structuring affect in that third-party supporters act in accordance with these dispositions and reproduce the desired symbolic order and actions defined by the habitus of Indigenous leaders. As such, Indigenous leaders maintain a symbolic power that allows them power to define the situation, negotiate order, and legitimize action, and thus the social movement frames of the social movement.

The negotiated order and legitimized action has been illuminated using evidence on reactions of Indigenous leaders towards counter-performances by third-party supporters at the Camp. These examples use dramaturgy to construct and communicate symbolic power over mobilized third-party supporters, which allows for the maintenance and control over the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. Indigenous leaders create a *dramatis personae* of individuals attempting to alter or change the frames of the movement. By casting these individuals as infiltrators and vilifying them, it shows how they “violate cultural norms regarding the proper

distribution of power within the social movement” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 40). Using a vocabulary that identifies these individuals as ‘infiltrators’ justifies the reasons and rationales for removing the individuals on behalf of the movement’s beliefs, goals and values. The Indigenous leaders reinforce symbolic power by making the infiltrator perform degrading tasks. Consistent with scripting these individuals as infiltrators, they tailor the tasks given to infiltrators so that they are segregated from other third-party supporters, preventing the possibility of the counter-performances damaging the social movement frames and/or instigating internal conflicts. These techniques allow Unist’ot’en leaders to stage a performance to other third-party supporters that demonstrates and enacts the power held by Indigenous leaders, indicating that any disloyal supporter will be disciplined in a way that stigmatizes and disassociates these individuals from the movement. Finally, other third-party supporters are directed in a way so that they too, believe these individuals to be infiltrators. By publicizing the activities of the infiltrator, audience members further adhere to the power relations constructed and communicated by Indigenous leaders, and thus prevent future instances where the social movement frames are altered.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to understand the relationship between the construction and communication of power and dramaturgy in a social movement. Dramaturgy as an analytical framework has allowed for the analysis of how Indigenous leaders “formulate roles and characterizations, manage performance regions, control information, sustain dramatic tensions, and orchestrate emotions” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 37) of third-party supporters. To answer the question: ‘How do Indigenous leaders use dramaturgical techniques to construct and communicate power over third-party supporters in order to maintain and control the social movement frames at Unist’ot’en Camp during Winter 2018?’, Chapter Three sought to operationalize dramaturgy by outlining cases where Indigenous leaders at Unist’ot’en Camp use scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting techniques to construct and communicate power. In doing so, sub-question #1a-d and #2a were addressed. Namely, through scripting techniques, Indigenous leaders identify other parties involved in the social movement. In identifying non-Unist’ot’en third-party supporters as participants of the movement, Indigenous leaders outline their expected behaviours. Examples of this can be seen in the FPIC ritual in which potential third-party supporters identify themselves as such. In doing so, they recognize the power held by Indigenous leaders. Indigenous leaders at Unist’ot’en Camp stage the identified third-party supporters and thus, direct, manage, and manipulate symbols so these individuals recognize Indigenous leaders as individuals holding power. Through performances such as identifying security threats, an established hierarchical system, and Unist’ot’en Camp protocols, Indigenous leaders demonstrate and enact their power within the organization of the social movement. These performances help convey legitimacy of the hierarchical governance system upheld by Unist’ot’en Camp leaders. Through scripting, staging, and performing Indigenous leaders direct third-party supporters’ interpretations of talks, actions, symbols, and texts so that they are recognized as leaders of the social movement. In operationalizing dramaturgy, it is clear that dramaturgical techniques are utilized by Indigenous leaders to construct and communicate legitimate power over third-party supporters.

Having addressed the interactional processes of dramaturgical techniques at Unist’ot’en Camp, Chapter Four expanded on descriptive analyses by apply strategies of symbolic power that attempt to legitimize the hierarchical power relations upheld Unist’ot’en Camp leaders. In doing so, Chapter Four sought to answer sub-questions #2b, #3, and #4. Namely, through dramaturgical

techniques, Indigenous leaders exercise symbolic order over third-party supporters allowing them to direct third-party supporters in recognizing the hierarchical system established at Unist'ot'en Camp as legitimate. In their exercise of habitus, Indigenous leaders direct symbolic order and action, thus ensuring they hold (symbolic) power over third-party supporters of the social movement. Through the establishment of a symbolic power, Indigenous leaders are given the power to define the situation, negotiate order, and legitimize action within the social movement. Thus, the dramaturgical techniques used by Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp can be seen as creating a symbolic order and directing action to strengthen their position of power. This in turn, reflects their ability to maintain control over third-party supporters and the frames of the social movement. Further, this can be seen in the practices of Indigenous leaders when third-party counter-performers threaten to disrupt the negotiated order, symbolic actions, and subsequently the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. Namely, when counter-performers threaten to disrupt the organization of Unist'ot'en Camp, dramaturgical techniques are used to re-enforce the power held by Indigenous leaders. By re-enforcing this power, and removing these individuals from the territory, Indigenous leaders ensure that these individuals do not hold the power to define, and thus the power to define the beliefs, values, and goals of the social movement.

In answering the sub-questions presented in the Introduction of this thesis, I argue that the construction and communication of power over third-party supporters is translated into the ability of Indigenous leaders to maintain and control the social movement frames at Unist'ot'en Camp. Because Indigenous leaders have the power to define, they are able to determine appropriate actions. These actions reflect what Indigenous leaders determine as the beliefs, values, and goals of the movement. It is thus, through dramaturgical techniques that Indigenous leaders construct and communicate power over third-party supporters which allows them to maintain and control their social movement frames.

In summary, this thesis has focused on the relationship between protagonists and participants involved in a social movement. Through dramaturgy Indigenous leaders (protagonists) construct and communicate power through their interactions with third-party supporters (participants). Current analytical purposes of the dramaturgy only focus on the interactional processes between movement actors and those outside of the social movement. However, Unist'ot'en Camp presents a case where dramaturgical techniques are still being utilized to construct and communicate power within a social movement organization to maintain order and

guide action. Thus, in the conclusion of this thesis I critique the current use of the concept and propose an extension of dramaturgy as an analytical framework.

Critique of Dramaturgy

As has been discussed in this thesis, dramaturgy as an analytical frame is premised upon the assumption that social movement actors employ a variety of interactional techniques as a means to shape perceptions, cognitions, and preferences of audience members in ways that inspire them to accept their version of reality (power) and act accordingly.¹⁰⁶ Dramaturgy is used by social movement actors as a means of defining, redefining, and articulating their version of power. Scholars of dramaturgy use these techniques to analyze ways in which social movement actors acquire resources (in the form of both financial and physical support) and form social movement coalitions and alliances with individuals who may not have otherwise participated in the movement.¹⁰⁷ It allows for the study of crowd behaviour and the everyday interactions regarding collective action in social movements. These interactional analyses focus on the relationship between social movement protagonists, antagonists and audience member. However, my research has shown that dramaturgical techniques are employed by Unist'ot'en Indigenous leaders to construct and communicate symbolic power over already mobilized participants. This can be seen in the operationalization of scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting.

Scripting, as it is currently defined, focuses on how through interactions between protagonists and audience members, social movement actors guide others to act on behalf of the of protagonists of the movement. Namely, scripting as a dramaturgical technique serves to describe the integration and coordination of action in a social movement between social movement protagonists and outside actors. However, as indicated in the case of Unist'ot'en, scripting also includes the interaction between protagonists and third-party supporters. As shown in Chapter Three and Chapter Four, scripting techniques of developing a *dramatis personae* and creating direction and dialogue were implemented by Indigenous leaders. Through these interactions, Unist'ot'en leaders ensure there are clearly defined roles within the social movement, allowing for Indigenous leaders to guide the actions and behaviours of third-party supporters. In doing so, this

¹⁰⁶ See Chapter Two.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter Two on analytical frame and use of dramaturgical concepts in the study of social movements.

re-enforces the habitus of Indigenous leaders, thereby maintaining their abilities to define the situation through symbolic power. Thus, scripting is present in the interactional relationships between protagonists and third-party participants.

As outlined, staging as it is currently defined, is the organization of a social movement performance where movement actors manage and direct materials of performances so that they clearly construct and communicate a version of power. Staging focuses on how antagonists and audience members perceive and interpret a performance, and thus focuses on the interactional processes between protagonists, antagonists, and audiences. However, the analyses of staging provided throughout this thesis highlight how protagonists continue to stage and direct performances towards mobilized third-party participants. Indigenous leaders have created permanent spaces on their territory that are symbols that reflect the social movement frames of Unist'ot'en Camp. They provide space for Indigenous leaders to maintain their authority over third-party supporters and the beliefs, values, and goals of the movement. The staging of performances is a mechanism that reinforces the rules and social order of Unist'ot'en Camp, allowing for Indigenous leaders to exercise symbolic power. Therefore, staging techniques at Unist'ot'en Camp are examples of the interactional process of relationships, meanings, and structures between protagonists and third-party participants.

Performances in social movements are used in order for movement actors to concretize their ideas regarding power struggles and power relations between protagonists and antagonists (Benford and Hunt 1992; Goffman 1959). In dramaturgy, mobilized third-party participants simply recreate the same performances that were scripted and staged by other movement actors when they were part of an audience.¹⁰⁸ However, there is a gap in understanding how protagonists continue to direct performances towards already mobilized third-party participants. It is clear that Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp continue to direct performances towards third-party supporters as a means of maintaining order and directing action of movement participants. The use of performance tactics allows for Indigenous leaders to continue defining the situation and maintain symbolic power over third-party supporters.

Interpreting is understood as the dramaturgical technique that links scripting, staging, and performing so that the drama of a movement is persuasive and allows audience members to make

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter Two.

sense of the “actions, symbols, talks, and environment” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 40).¹⁰⁹ Interpreting is monitored based on the interactions between protagonists and audiences, and how protagonists adjust their performances accordingly so that the performance “stimulates audiences to redefine their situation,” (Benford and Hunt 1992, 41) and adjust their ideas of power to align with the realities of the protagonists. Namely, interpreting techniques focus on how protagonists shape the realities of individuals outside of the social movement. However, at Unist’ot’en Camp, Indigenous leaders use scripting, staging, and performing techniques to shape the realities of individuals already mobilized and active in the social movement. Through actions, symbols, talks, and the environment Indigenous leaders negotiate order, strategies of action, and power in a way that the habitus of third-party participants reflects the social structures established by Indigenous leaders. The examples presented in Chapters Three and Chapter Four provide samples where interpreting techniques are used by participants to shape third-party participants interpretations of power.

Based on these findings, it is clear that there is a need for an expansion of the analytical framework of dramaturgy to understand how movement actors construct and communicate power over a category of already mobilized participants.

Towards an Expansion of Dramaturgy

In the case of Unist’ot’en Camp, Indigenous leaders of the movement use scripting, staging, performing, and interpreting to establish a symbolic power over third-party supporters and the frames of the social movement. Scripting allows for Indigenous leaders to negotiate roles within the organization of the social movement, thus allowing them the power to define the situation. Indigenous leaders then stage the scripts and performances so that symbols of the movement are interpreted in a way that reflects the habitus of Unist’ot’en leaders. This instructs the dispositions of third-party supporters to reflect the position of Indigenous leaders. Through performances, Indigenous leaders demonstrate and enact their symbolic power over third-party supporters. This enables them to maintain symbolic order and direct action. Finally, through the exercise of symbolic power, Indigenous leaders influence the interpretations of third-party supporters to reflect the conditions created through the habitus of Indigenous leaders. Considering the

¹⁰⁹ See Chapter Two, Chapter Three, Chapter Four.

implementation of dramaturgical techniques by Indigenous leaders at Unist'ot'en Camp, it is clear that the construction and communication of power as interpretive mechanisms to establish expected actions and order demonstrate symbolic power between protagonists and participants of a movement. The empirical evidence presented in this thesis indicates the need for an expansion of the dramaturgical framework to understand the relationship between protagonists and third-party participants of a social movement.

The expansion of dramaturgy as an analytical framework provides an additional understanding regarding the protagonists and the maintenance of mobilized third-party participants in a social movement. Namely, the expansion of dramaturgy provides an additional utility to the analytical framework. This additional utility attends to the organizational hierarchy present in social movement organizations. Further, by expanding on the dramaturgical framework to include interactional processes between protagonists and participants, dramaturgy can be used to understand how movement actors continue to construct and communicate power over time. By expanding upon the concept of dramaturgy, one is able to begin to understand how leaders of a movement maintain a particular hegemonic order, and thus the social movement frames of a social movement. The expansion of dramaturgy presents an opportunity to understand how social movements maintain a sort of status quo in terms of the beliefs, values, and goals of a movement. This expansion not only provides an additional utility of the framework, but presents an opportunity for future research on the organization of social movements. In conclusion, the findings of this research are significant as it has contributed towards an additional utility for dramaturgy and the use of dramaturgical techniques that attempt to understand the interactions within the organization of a social movement.

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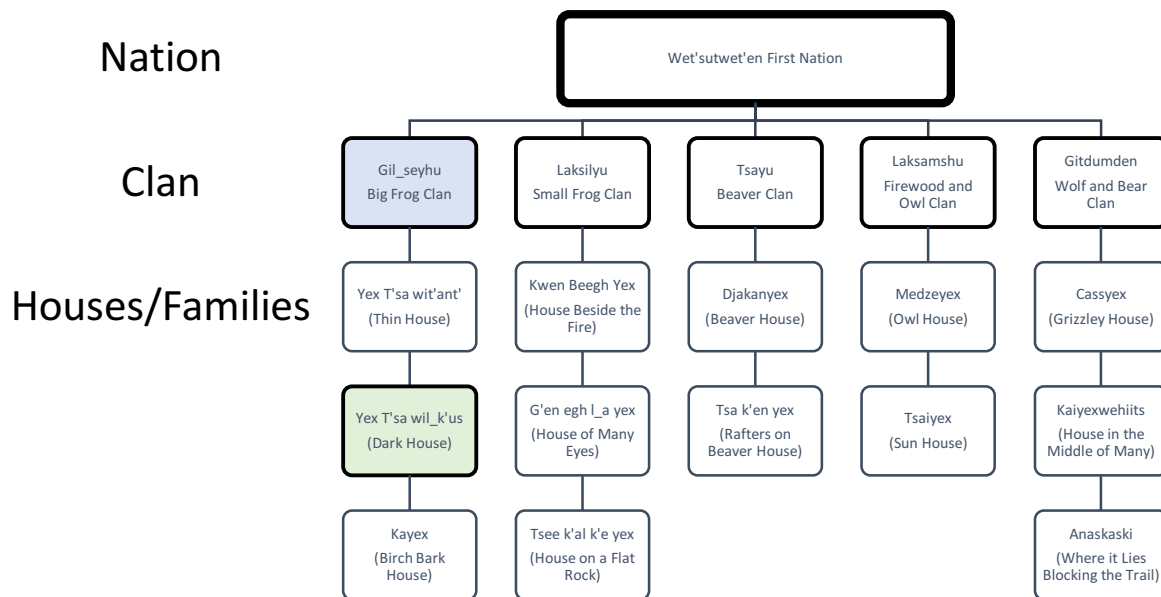
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Appendix I

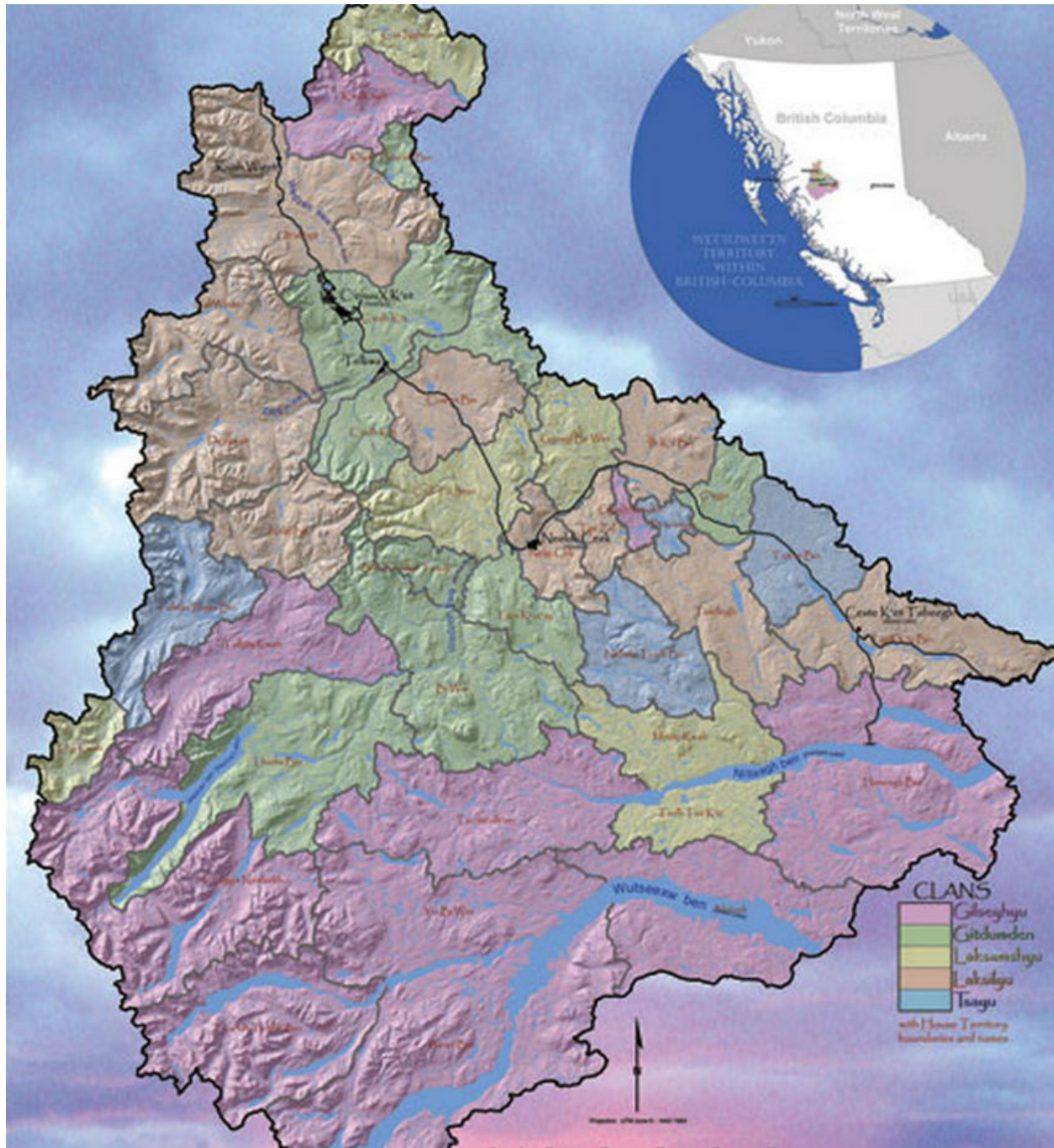
Wet'suwet'en Governance Structure¹¹⁰



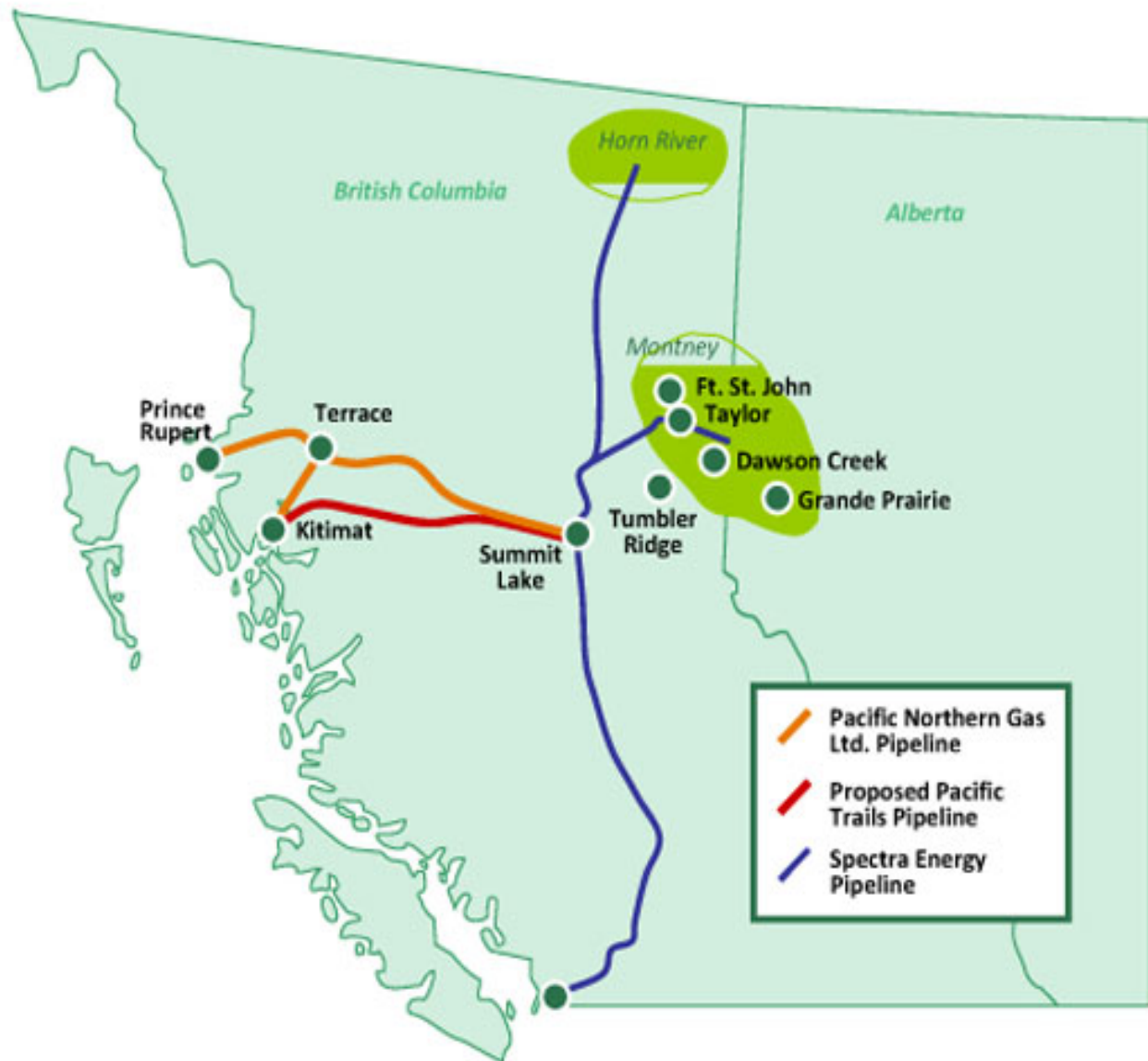
¹¹⁰ The Wet'suwet'en nations consist of five major clans of which is broken down further into smaller houses or families. Each clan is led by a hereditary chief. The Unist'ot'en are part of the Mouricetown Band by virtue of their membership to the Gilseyhu Clan or Big Frog Clan (indicated in blue) and are led by their hereditary chief, Chief Knedebeas (Warner William) of the Yex T'sa wil_k'us or Dark House (indicated in green). The image is adapted from the Clan System chart provided by the Office of the Wet'suwet'en (2015).

Appendix II

Figure B.1. Map of Territories of Wet'suwet'en First Nation¹¹¹



¹¹¹ Unist'ot'en territory falls within the pink land belonging to the Gilseyhu clan. The image is provided by the Office of the Wet'suwet'en (2017).

Figure B.2. Map of Proposed Pipeline Routes in Unist'ot'en Territory¹¹²

¹¹² Unist'ot'en Camp (blue arrow) is located along the shores of the Wedzin Kwah (Morice River, eastern boundary of Unist'ot'en territory) and the mouth of Talbits Kwah (Gosnell Creek which flows into Morice River). The proposed pipelines from Enbridge (Pacific Northern Gas Ltd. Pipeline) and Chevron (Pacific Trails Pipeline) seek to cross the river entering into Unist'ot'en Territory. The Camp's cabin, pit house, and permaculture gardens were built on the exact GPS points of the proposed pipeline routes. Image provided by Unist'ot'en Camp (2017).

Appendix III

LIST OF INTERVIEWS					
No.	RESPONDENT	TITLE	INTERVIEW TYPE	LOCATION	DATE
1.	Respondent 1	Professor	Personal Interview	Toronto, Canada	23/02/2018
2.	Respondent 2	Hereditary Chief	Recorded Interview	Unist'ot'en Camp	17/03/2018
3.	Respondent 3	Non-Indigenous Supporter	Recorded Interview	Unist'ot'en Camp	24/03/2018
4.	Respondent 4	Non-Indigenous Supporter	Recorded Interview	Unist'ot'en Camp	29/03/2018
5.	Respondent 2	Hereditary Chief	Recorded Interview	Unist'ot'en Camp	02/04/2018
6.	Respondent 5	Registration Reviewer	Recorded Interview	Vancouver, Canada (phone interview)	23/04/2018
7.	Respondent 6	Environmental NGO worker	Recorded Interview	Toronto, Canada (phone interview)	27/04/2018

