CHAPTER 5

Journalism in Canada's Northern Territories
Digital Media, Civic Spaces, Indigenous Publics

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Every so often the Arctic makes news around the world as scientific research organizations release reports about the state of sea ice extent in the Arctic Ocean. For those who pay attention to climate change news and science, there is a feeling of routine in seeing what the latest variability entails. Text-based descriptions and short stories generally accompany maps that depict the top of the world with a white amorphous blob of frozen Arctic Ocean in the centre of land masses labelled Russia, Canada, Alaska, Greenland and Europe. Outlines on the map show where previous sea ice extended to in prior years. In 2007, media and communications scholars labelled the attention to and panic about sea ice loss a 'media event' as media organizations paid more attention to the depicted losses that were framed as a palpable example of climate change (Christensen, Nilsson and Wormbs 2013). Sea ice loss has continued in a steady but non-linear decline with very little media attention being paid to the peaks and valleys that span the more than a decade of sea ice changes that have occurred since then.

Most global publics outside the Arctic know the Arctic through media representations like this: periodic reports that generate spasmodic concern from journalists, editors and their audiences. Meaning is prescribed by scientists and, sometimes, political or industry figures – rarely by Indigenous and/or Arctic-based experts.

Attention spans and southern media representations are no different in countries like Canada where 40 per cent of its land mass is in the Arctic and robust public and private media can be found in northern and southern Canada (Stoddart and Smith 2016; Callison and Tindall 2017). Even when it comes to covering climate change, Stoddart and Smith in a study of national newspapers in Canada found that 'the Arctic is not central to Canadian news about climate change' despite the Arctic being one of the main reasons the rest of the world should pay attention to Canada (2016: 326).

Given that media representations play an outsized role in public perceptions of and about the Arctic, and the Arctic plays a sometimes outsized role in representing impacts related to a future with climate change, the burden on journalists to 'get it right' in their stories about the Arctic is perhaps outsized as well. The few scholars who have studied national and international media coverage are highly critical of the ways in which the Arctic is rarely represented and often portrayed using problematic, repetitive tropes (Callison 2017; Callison and Tindall 2017; Pincus and Ali 2016; Roosvall and Tegelberg 2013; Stoddart and Smith 2016). This chapter draws on this literature, and on multi-year, multi-method research into journalism in Canada's northern territories to argue that regional media across the Arctic provide a differentiated resource for 'new narratives that put communities back into the calculus of risk and decision-making' (Bravo 2009). In so doing, regional media sources provide a stark contrast to the framing of climate change as a global crisis and instead situate climate change as part of many ongoing challenges that communities are engaged in and navigating – and able to navigate.

Journalism in northern Canada contributes to a civic space that includes stories about resilience, multiple ways of knowing and living with climate change, and locates climate change as something that is happening to people, animals, lands and oceans that are in relationships with one another. Understanding the Canadian Arctic as operating within a settler-colonial framework that underpins these relations and hierarchies of knowledge historically and in the present is essential to the doing of journalism and engagement with Indigenous publics. Further, digital media is enabling an increasingly robust civic space, shifting journalistic practices, and amplifying voices from communities – and it's widely available to global audiences through digital platforms like Facebook and Twitter. Digital media potentially affords a newly broad, diverse reach for voices and journalism that originate in the Arctic where regional discourse about regional problems with global significance might be co-produced.

This chapter first explores the ways in which Arctic voices have been framed in Canadian and international media, and then offers an overview of findings related to an ongoing research project that began in 2015 and focuses on regional journalism across the Canadian North. Very few studies have looked closely at journalistic practices and/or regional media in the Canadian or other parts of the Arctic, and none since the emergence of a hybridized media landscape (Chadwick 2013; Picard 2014) that includes radio, television, newspapers both in print and digital editions, and widely-used digital platforms like Facebook and Twitter.[1] The Arctic Journalism project has sought to understand the changing dynamics of doing journalism in and about northern Canada, situating the challenge of telling stories about the Arctic within a framework that considers the sedimentation of relations in the region, environmental changes and spasmodic global attention, and new digital possibilities for agency, accountability and self-representation.

Media Framing of the Arctic: Vulnerability and Opportunity

Climate change has to a great degree been represented as a global crisis, and the Arctic is usually framed as both metonymic of this crisis and a kind of first wave of its impact with faster rising temperatures and catastrophic effects that are reshaping Arctic lands, waters, ways of life and visions for the future. Janet Roitman has pointed out that labelling something as a 'crisis' is a 'distinction that produces meaning' (2013: 82). While that distinction and meaning-making process also depends to some degree on the context, platform, vernacular and audience (Callison 2020), crisis as framework defines both problems and solutions in particular ways – 'permitting and enabling certain narrations and giving rise to certain questions, but not others' (Roitman 2013: 5). Labelling climate change a global crisis thus has distinct stakes, and is likely to produce, amplify and torque power relations, even as it purports to offer solutions that reflect global care and concern (Callison 2021; Jasanoff 2010).

Concurrent with the rise of climate change as global crisis has been the emergence of the Arctic as a region, and site for citizenship. Martello has argued that global climate science is both 'shaping and being shaped by a new kind of citizen, namely the Arctic citizen' and that these citizens, and in particular Indigenous peoples, are represented as at risk, lacking agency, and as keepers of traditional

ecological knowledge (2004: 107). Bravo has further suggested that these narratives that 'emphasize the power of global climate systems to threaten northern communities, do so largely at the cost of masking the voices of northern citizens themselves' (2009: 258). While neither Martello or Bravo offer an analysis of Arctic citizens as publics or civic spaces that include robust media, this chapter offers a consideration of both. Media at all levels (regional, national, international) are challenged to reflect the multi-faceted expert-driven and voiced problem that is climate change, and confront the ways in which the Arctic and its publics have been and might be represented as recipients of and first responders to climate change. Regional media offer distinct approaches to these challenges in part because their publics are Arctic and majority Indigenous. Indigenous, it is worth noting, is a term that should also imply diversity in terms of languages, cultures and colonial histories across the Arctic as is true in any other region impacted by European imperialism in the last several centuries.[2]

Despite the Arctic being a relatively new construct in political and organizational terms, it is and has been animated by a long history and sedimentation of media representations that range from the lone polar bear or other charismatic mega-fauna to the resourceful Indigenous hunter or 'primitive noble survivor' and the scientist in search of data, notoriety as an 'explorer', and/or usually, both (Alia 1999; Cruikshank 2005; Fienup-Riordan 1995; Sangster 2016; Stoddart and Smith 2016). What has been added to these associations with climate change coverage is the notion of vulnerability – both in terms of the Arctic being a recipient of the world's toxic pollutants and climate change, which within this broader context might be seen as not a 'new' crisis, but another major ill resulting from industrial development in the South (Watt-Cloutier 2015; Callison 2017).

Who is considered resilient and likely to succeed in fast-changing climates, and who is represented as more or less vulnerable or at risk layers on to national narratives and frames for military and industrial development. It is in this sense that dual and duelling narratives emerge between global phenomena and regional experience where vulnerability is inextricably linked with risk and reward in a system with newly configured and always likely winners and losers. This is reflected in Pincus and Ali's (2016) study of English-language media coverage of the Arctic tracked via Google News. They find that coverage of the Arctic has been on a steady increase since 2006. The three common frames they identify are related to a future with climate change where vulnerability is transmuted to opportunity: 1) a 'race

for the Arctic'; 2) a 'new Cold War' between the US and Russia; and 3) conflict between oil interests and environmental groups. Certainly, 2013 Greenpeace activism and the Russian response explains the prominence of the third frame, but it also speaks to the ways in which the Arctic becomes a proxy for other issues even while these other issues are also caught up in projections of what a future with climate change might present.

This tension between vulnerability and opportunity is echoed in Canadian media frames as well, but with some significant differences. Stoddart and Smith (2016) studied Canada's two national newspapers between 1997 and 2010, and find the Arctic is framed as both an 'unchanging wilderness' and as having immense extractive resources (oil, gas and minerals). The issues that emerge are that the Arctic is being transformed by climate change, climate change is harming polar bears, and that new shipping routes are now open in the Arctic (2016: 326). These narratives and frames are, they point out, 'overwhelmingly done by news workers, media corporations, and economically and politically privileged news sources in southern Canada, and consumed by a predominantly southern Canadian news audience' (2016: 321). Such frames are, Stoddard and Smith additionally point out, inherently limiting because they efface differences in responsibility, unequal risks, vulnerability and adaptation. Climate justice provides an alternative frame, in their analysis, because it represents local and regional voices from the Arctic such that multiple experiences and perspectives, as well as pathways towards resilience, become visible (see also Roosvall and Tegelberg 2018).

Scale and agency are persistent problems in media coverage of the Arctic in part because 'the Arctic has often been framed as a kind of canary, bellwether, or proxy for the present and direct impacts of climate change', ignoring 'underlying challenges and particularities related to social histories, complex ecological interactions, and power relations' that are specific to the region and its citizens (Callison 2017). Bravo has relatedly pointed out that the larger climate change narrative 'is built exclusively on the language of scientific expertise and physical causation, and is not equipped to deal with politically, economically, legally and socially complex responses' (2009: 259). So, while climate change is global in scale and transcendent in its configuration, chronic crises in the region, like the ongoing impacts of colonialism, remain unexamined (Callison 2014; Marino 2015; Whyte 2018). Bodenhorn's response to this representational dilemma is enormously useful when she states that while the Arctic might be a good proxy for climate change, Indigenous peoples in

the Arctic cannot be considered in a similarly reductive way (quoted in Diemberger et al. 2012). Instead, Bodenhorn and Ulturgasheva (2017) argue that Indigenous peoples have adapted and conceived of their ecosystems as always evolving, and that northerners must be represented as the experts on the North. What climate change entails must be understood in and on Arctic terms, with Indigenous knowledges and experiences.

Climate Justice and Beyond: Reporting on Climate Change and Arctic Communities in Canada

Scholars who have looked closely at climate change have suggested that both media coverage and scholarship need to account for power relations, and 'report in a way that reflects agency, climate justice, and multi-scalar multi-cultural perspectives' (quote from Callison 2017; see also Olausson and Berglez 2014; Roosvall and Tegelberg 2018). Boykoff and Yulsman (2013) further note that 'the cultural politics of climate change are situated, power-laden, mediated, and recursive in an ongoing battlefield of knowledge and interpretation'. This 'battlefield' becomes that much more challenging when considering the sedimentation of representations related to the Arctic, the emergent frames of vulnerability and opportunity that reflect persistent problems of scale and agency, and the long history of mis- or non-representation of Indigenous people and communities in Canadian media. Despite the prominence of leaders like Sheila Watt-Cloutier and the presence of the Inuit Circumpolar Council at major transnational and international organizations and meetings, Canadian national print media have not tended to include the Arctic and Indigenous people in reports on climate change (Stoddart and Smith 2016; Watt-Cloutier 2015).

This challenge is evident in media analyses of the last two prominent UNFCCC COP meetings in Copenhagen and Paris. Roosvall and Tegelberg (2013) looked at the framing of Indigenous people in four Canadian and Swedish newspapers during COP 15 meetings in Copenhagen in 2009, and found coverage to be very sparse (7 out of 419 articles). Canada's national newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, featured 129 articles on COP 15, and not one of these articles featured or quoted Indigenous people. At COP 21 in Paris in 2015, my research team similarly found that neither national paper quoted northern Indigenous people and the Arctic was only once the focus of COP 21 coverage. The public broadcaster (CBC) and regional media and

one international newspaper featured and quoted Indigenous people, however.

This discrepancy is not entirely out of character for print media in particular and mainstream media in general. Media have been pointedly criticized in Canada for their historic and ongoing complicity with colonialism (Alia 1999; Anderson and Robertson 2011; Lambertus 2004; Meadows and Avison 2000).[3] As Callison and Tindall (2017) point out, this is reflected in the lack of media coverage of climate change impacts in Canada that either include or focus on Indigenous peoples' experiences. Colonialism in Canada has meant that Indigenous lands were annexed with and without treaties, and human rights abrogated through federal policies that mandated enclosure, displacement, forced assimilation through multiple means, prohibition of language and culture, flexible inscription of identities, and removal of livelihoods and legal recourse (see, for example, Coulthard 2014; Simpson 2014). Climate change, similar to many Indigenous people globally, is 'intertwined with the structuring realities of colonialism that amplify existing vulnerabilities and risk' (Callison and Tindall 2017; see also Cochran et al. 2013; Marino 2015; Whyte 2013; Wildcat 2013).

Situating climate change alongside colonialism and including Indigenous perspectives presents a complex challenge in part because, as Roosvall and Tegelberg (2013) found, Indigenous people in the Arctic are often framed as hero-witnesses or victim-witnesses of climate change, and this is particularly true for Inuit. The heroic part is related to traditional knowledge which is portrayed as a potential global and scientific resource. Stoddart and Smith (2016) note however that traditional knowledge is always juxtaposed alongside scientific knowledge such that legitimacy and authority must be verified. In contrast to either the victim or hero, they look to Arctic communities and groups like the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) as intervening voices that destabilize global and national media frames and represent the Arctic as a region that is full of communities that may suffer disproportionately (see also Callison 2014; Watt-Cloutier 2015).

Regional Media, Journalistic Practices, Digital Publics

Scholarship on climate change and media has not tended to juxtapose regional media with national and international media coverage, and as noted earlier, nor has scholarship that looks at the emergence of forms of Arctic citizenship tended to consider the role or function

of journalism and Arctic-based media (Bravo 2009; Martello 2004). Yet, the civic imaginary and the role of media in civic life and imaginations have become increasingly important for those who study digital media more generally (Baiocchi et al. 2014). And as Callison and Young (2020) point out, scholars who have looked at the impacts of technological changes that have deeply affected journalistic routines, practices and norms have not tended to also consider persistent critiques of journalism related to gender, race and colonialism. This chapter thus makes a contribution by considering journalism as an aspect of civic life across a region with many distinct Indigenous communities and where digital technologies are shifting the role of journalism and journalistic practices.

Further, building on Callison (2017), this chapter considers diverse Indigenous peoples across the Canadian Arctic as publics whose responses, engagement and expectations shape the contours of regional coverage of climate change. Indigenous people have most often been thought of as subjects for coverage and/or research as opposed to contributors to and users of public knowledge in civic spaces (Bravo 2009). While John Dewey's 1927 construction of the public is one of an imagined, functional myth that fulfils the needs of the state and the media by virtue of its homogeneity, more recent conceptions of the public by Science and Technology Studies (STS) scholars suggest the public might better be considered in terms of 'the sheer diversity, partiality, teeming conflict, flux, and potential incoherence of real, identifiable components' (Ellis et al. 2010). Between the generalities and specificities of publics and their concerns, there is a productive tension and one that serves the functions of media in tangible ways when journalists talk about 'serving the public'. And as Callison (2017) argues, 'this is certainly applicable in thinking of Indigenous people as a kind of abstracted category and as a set of diverse peoples with distinct histories, beliefs, experiences, and knowledges'.

It is also, however, where science and media often stumble. In science, 'publics have been imagined and almost "pre-constituted" by scientific projects and science communication endeavors without an attentiveness' to wider commitments and diversities of concerns (Callison 2017). What this means is that certain notions of race, indigeneity and gender are naturalized as are categories for knowledge and processes for decision-making that involve scientific information (see, for example, Haraway 1989; Irwin and Wynne 2004; Jasanoff 2010; Miller and Edwards 2001; Reardon 2005; TallBear 2013; Whyte 2013; Wildcat 2013). Ellis et al. pointedly conclude that 'experiments

in democratizing science have ironically served to reinstate the authority of science by subtle means involving erasure of the very publics being invited to participate' (2010: 8). Bravo further critiques scientific Arctic reports like the ACIA as 'intended for use by managerial elites' and experts who are part of the technocracy of scientists and bureaucrats who benefit from claiming the Arctic is in a crisis due to climate change (2009: 269).

Is journalism doing better? Journalism has traditionally been considered as a means of and for accountability where reporters stand in as surrogates for diverse publics, holding governments and other societal institutions accountable and providing information that citizens need in order to make decisions (Schudson 2001; Ward 2004). Yet, journalism has also struggled to adjust to newly participatory publics and digital tools and competing or symbiotic platforms that have given way to a state of self-declared crisis related to subsequent unprecedented economic and organizational restructuring in the news industry (Picard 2014). As Zelizer points out, such crisis declarations in journalism overlook 'the fact that crisis has different drivers in different locations' (2015: 13). The Arctic provides a key example of this when considering a 2017 report by the Public Policy Forum in Canada on the state of media that lamented the rise of digital media and platforms like Facebook and Twitter. While cognizant of the new demands on journalists and restructuring of news organizations, this chapter, in contrast, views digital platforms as tools that enable wider regional audience participation and a potentially global platform to comment on and counter dominant frames and narrative constructions of vulnerability, risk and crisis in the Arctic.

As journalism faces its own industry and practice-related challenges and crisis, reporting in and from the Arctic as a region presents a gauntlet for journalistic practice in part because of how digitally connected and geographically dispersed Arctic publics and communities are. Journalism is critical in terms of providing information at a time of ongoing social, political and environmental change even while Arctic publics and leaders are increasingly vocal on platforms like Twitter and Facebook. For example, after the Paris Agreement failed to mention the Arctic, current ICC Chair Oglalik Eegeesiak took to Twitter to declare, 'countries failed' even while world leaders and many NGOs – and much of Twitter – were celebrating the Agreement as a milestone in climate negotiations. An Arctic-focused online news outlet, RCI Eye on the Arctic (an online news source operated by CBC), interviewed Eegeesiak in the aftermath and quoted her as explaining her position this way in Quinn (2015):

'[The agreement] was historic, yes,' said Okalik Eegeesiak, chair of the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), the organization that represents the world's approximately 155,000 Inuit living in Canada, Greenland, Russia and the United States.

'[But] Inuit and Saami peoples wanted to have more recognition and respect for Arctic peoples,' she said in a phone interview. 'There is some mention of Indigenous peoples and our rights and our role in climate change [issues] but there isn't much commitment to work with us.'

RCI was the only English-language news outlet to follow up on Eegeesiak's dissent and to register a response from leaders of Indigenous people in the Arctic. All of the media coverage our research team tracked during the COP 21 ignored the lack of mention of the Arctic in the Paris Agreement, even while several pointed out the mention of Indigenous knowledge and peoples. However, it is not merely a representation issue as Eegeesiak strongly points out. Instead, what is at stake is a recognition of the power relations and a desire to collaborate on solutions – 'to work with us'.[4]

Another relevant example stems from the still ongoing hashtag #sealfie, also on Twitter, where images of 'Inuit, young and old, wearing sealskin clothing in traditional and contemporary designs in photos' were posted in response to renewed efforts by anti-sealing environmental groups (Rodgers and Scobie 2015: 92). Rodgers and Scobie conclude that the movement utilized a tactical approach to 'interrupt historical attempts to marginalize their participation in the debate' (2015: 92; see also Arnaquq-Baril 2016). This stands in contrast to the relatively recent listing of the polar bear as an endangered species where Inuit voices were rarely heard in national or global media despite many Inuit communities and organizations having stated in regional media that this listing damages their economies, and distracts from more significant aspects of climate change (Callison 2014; Stoddart and Smith 2016; Wright 2014).

Adaptation to and creative uses of digital media amongst northern Indigenous communities are built on a long tradition of tactical use of media for self-determination and self-representation that began in the 1970s (Alia 1999; Anderson and Robertson 2011; Arnaquq-Baril 2016; Callison and Hermida 2015; David 2012; Ginsberg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002; Hafsteinsson and Bredin 2010; Hansen and Poisey 1991; Rodgers and Scobie 2015; Roth 2005). The development of regional media is intimately intertwined with political developments across the Circumpolar Arctic that resulted in multi-lingual

news and current affairs shows on radio and television on CBC North, the formation of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation, TV North, Northern Native Broadcasting, and eventually Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN) (Alia 1999; David 2012; Roth 2005). Alia (1999) has also observed that many Indigenous political figures in Canada's North began as journalists.

Calls for self-determination and platforms for self-representation are intimately related to climate change in ways that move climate justice beyond a recognition of disproportionate effects in the Arctic (Bravo 2009). Whyte considers Indigenous concerns about climate change as being centred on 'collective continuance', which he defines as 'a community's fitness for making adjustments to current or predicted change in ways that contest colonial hardships and embolden comprehensive aims at robust living' (2014: 602). Whyte argues that 'the ecological challenges of climate change are entangled, or coupled, with political obstructions' and societal institutions can either create more constraints or opportunities for Indigenous communities intent on their collective continuance (2013: 521). As a societal institution, media – at regional, national and international levels – have 'a role to play in holding societal institutions accountable for both constraints or opportunities' (Callison 2017). This chapter further argues that journalists also have a role to play in facilitating multiple perspectives, Indigenous knowledges and Arctic-led pathways towards resilience and adaptation. The following sections will provide a brief background on the ongoing research project that animates this chapter.

Background: Arctic Journalism Project

The Arctic Journalism project benefits from Anthropology, Science and Technology Studies, and Media Studies approaches that treat media as both material culture and cultural material (Boczkowski and Lievrouw 2007), and journalism as a set of norms and practices that have emerged within distinct cultural and historical contexts and are rapidly evolving alongside the adoption of digital, collaborative and participatory forms of media (for example, see Deuze and Witschge 2018; Schudson 2001; Singer et al. 2011; Ward 2004). Anthropologies of media and journalism scholarship have both used ethnographic methods to look closely at journalistic practices in and across the profession or at specific organizations (for example, Callison and Young 2020; Usher 2013). My approach follows an

'open system' and collaborative approach to ethnographic research in order to understand the complex, layered social processes at work in a vastly interconnected and increasingly global web of social realities (Fortun 2003; Marcus and Fischer 1999). Marcus and Fischer (1999) and Fischer (2009) suggest that multi-sited ethnography, collaboration with informants, reflexivity, and juxtaposition of and close attention to the circulation of media and other representations are the key tools for revealing micro and macro levels of socio-historical contexts and connections (see also Marcus 2000).

The Arctic Journalism project has become a long term project that has so far included a year-long content analysis of regional, national and international coverage, analysis of media and social media related to COP 21 in Paris, and nearly fifty ethnographic interviews and multi-sited fieldwork with Indigenous and non-Indigenous journalists serving Canada's northern territories. This chapter primarily focuses on an overview of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in 2016 with northern journalists. Other publications are under review or planned and the research website, arcticjournalism.com, remains periodically active.

As a Journalism School professor and an anthropologist, I have also sought to contribute to Arctic journalism and innovate methodologically by collaborating with and training Master of Journalism students in basic ethnographic methodologies in order to participate in this project.

Three students hired at the beginning of their Masters programme were required to complete part of their twelve-week internship in an Arctic newsroom. These students eventually lived and reported from Iqaluit, Yellowknife and Whitehorse for four to six weeks each. They kept field notes to varying degrees, published blog posts about their experiences on the research site, and participated in conducting ethnographic interviews with me in the territory they had worked in as interning journalists. In addition, four other alumni who worked briefly as Research Assistants when this project was beginning (but too late to do their internship as part of the project) went on to work in northern newsrooms and later were interviewed for the project in their capacity as working journalists.

The three students who did their journalism internship in the North and conducted ethnographic interviews with me afterwards offered multiple insights that have been helpful in characterizing the methods pioneered for this research. All students noted that it was important for them as students to do their internships in the territories because they wanted to be 'grounded' in what it was like to

do news in the North. However, they also noted that they 'couldn't see outside the newsroom' they were interning in until they did the ethnographic interviews. For example, they couldn't imagine what the perspective was of other journalists working in other newsrooms, and the process of interviewing so many others about journalistic practices and the role of journalism in the North and South.

Journalism in Northern Canada: Facebook Territories?

When we began this research project, we wanted to understand what some of the differences between regional, national and local journalisms looked like. What we found confirmed the findings of much of the scholarship cited above. For example, we found international media and National Canadian media we studied are less likely to mention Indigenous groups whether reporting on climate change or resource extraction than regional media. Regional media mentions Indigenous peoples in nearly 50 per cent of articles; international media mention Indigenous people in less than 7 per cent of articles; and Canadian media mentions Indigenous peoples in almost 30 per cent of articles.[5] When we looked at a specific event like COP 21 in Paris, regional media quoted Indigenous people in 67 per cent of their stories whereas in Canada only the CBC quoted Indigenous people in national coverage.[6] Regional media covered the event with more varied sources and stories as well.

Our research questions for regional journalists focused on 1) what approaches regional journalists utilized, 2) changes to journalistic practices as a result of digital media, and 3) how they work with and think about engaging audiences that are significantly Indigenous in Canada's northern territories. Newspapers, regional radio and television – what would be considered mainstream media in the South – are based in the capitals of the territories: Iqaluit in Nunavut, Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories (NWT), and Whitehorse in the Yukon. The offices we visited to interview journalists ranged from mobile trailers, a log cabin on a lake, corporate offices above a mining company's headquarters, CBC stations and other dedicated print newspaper buildings with a press in the lower floor, and other kinds of shared office spaces.

Most journalists do the majority of their reporting outside the capital via telephone, and, in the last several years, increasingly via social media as well due to budgetary concerns and constraints. Almost anywhere in the Circumpolar Arctic is expensive to get to,

and expensive to stay in as well – for travellers of any kind, including journalists (and researchers). Canada is no exception, although Nunavut has many more small communities than the other territories that are accessible only by plane and possibly by boat in the summer and icebreaker in the winter. Only the major cities have the infrastructure to support short-term guests, and even then, a city like Iqaluit (the smallest capital of the eastern-most Canadian territory of Nunavut), with a population of over 7,000, is limited in its ability to accommodate visitors, and prices for food and lodging are high.[7] Yellowknife and Whitehorse are larger and comparable in size, with populations of over 19,000 and 25,000 respectively.

All three northern territories have Arctic and sub-Arctic regions within their jurisdiction. Unlike Alaska (next to the Yukon) with a population of over 700,000, territorial populations in Canada are smaller, between 34,000 and 44,000 each. In Nunavut, Indigenous people constitute over 86 per cent of the population, nearly 53 per cent in NWT, and over 23 per cent in the Yukon. Created in 1990 as part of a land and governance settlement with Inuit, Nunavut was formerly a part of NWT.

Media is predominantly English across the territories, but in Nunavut, most media put some of their programming or publication in Inuktitut as well. NWT and the Yukon have multiple Indigenous languages with some print publications and broadcast programming in these languages. The dividing line between these territories and the provinces below them is quite porous linguistically and culturally. For example, CBC reporters in Northern Quebec broadcast in Inuktitut.

The public broadcaster CBC is the largest media employer across northern Canada. It has enormous influence as well as the most resources for coverage of breaking news and the constant opportunity to feed stories to national and broadly regional audiences (i.e. across all three territories). CBC is also the only multi-lingual news source delivering programming in several Indigenous languages, and it is one of the few news organizations to employ a high number of Indigenous journalists. Print publications also publish some stories in Indigenous languages, but there were, at the time of our research in 2016, no Indigenous people working as journalists for print publications, much like newspapers in southern Canada (see Hinchey 2022 on new efforts to develop journalism training and recruitment in the NWT).

Many news organizations and journalists in Southern Canada have resented and/or fear the changes that have come with digital media in part due to the economic restructuring that has occurred

in the industry as a result (see Public Policy Forum, 2017). This was not something our research team encountered among northern journalists. Instead, Facebook in particular was considered a major shift in thinking about the public as participatory, and a new space for civic engagement. Many called it 'essential' and a 'game-changer', and others said they 'live and die' by Facebook and that their territory was 'Facebook Territory'. This also had some relation to labour issues, where newer journalists were less likely to use Facebook because they didn't yet have the well developed social networks to draw on – something that usually changed rapidly with time spent reporting. And certainly, some journalists used Facebook much more than others.

Part of the rationale offered in all territories for the meteoric rise of Facebook use is the geographic distances between communities. Prior to Facebook, many journalists did regular phone-ins to communities to find out 'news' and get pictures. The contrast between news organizations is stark on this point. For example, CBC was and remains the news organization with the biggest budget to travel to communities (an investment of thousands of dollars per trip) whereas most newspapers have no travel budget and depend on phone and social media as conduits to the communities. Images were something many journalists mentioned as being a major addition from digital media (no more developing and dark rooms), and were widely available from Facebook-enabled audiences. CBC has pages for each territory and one for the North, and often posts pictures taken in communities. These are incredibly popular with audience members who are on Facebook.

Social media and phone-ins are thus more essential to some organizations, but all increasingly rely on them as budgets continue to decline, especially at the CBC. Facebook also makes a general phone-in less necessary and a follow-up phone call more likely. Some mentioned the challenge of verification and getting past 'mere gossip', both pre- and post-Facebook. One journalist described accessing Facebook as 'swimming through sewage'. However, most journalists who had been in the North for some time were likely to use it for contacting sources, story ideas, distribution, circulation, and direct and indirect feedback. How much a story or photo is liked or shared provides a kind of barometer of how well stories resonate and reflect community concerns and priorities, but this also proves challenging when that barometer becomes a more formal metric.

Facebook dependence and usage is very dependent on organizational priorities and workplace norms. Who runs the Facebook page

says a lot about what kind of tool it is thought to be and what kind of priority it requires. A few organizations use it as a marketing tool while others have editors to run the page and use it as a news and distribution tool. At the time we were doing fieldwork in mid- to late 2016, CBC was pushing a 'digital-first' strategy. They were actively experimenting with new ways of using technology such as casing and methods that would allow journalists to use their smart phones in -50 degrees Celsius.

Because there is no audience tracking like there would be in southern media markets, some journalists suggested that an emphasis on 'measurables' offered through social media likes and shares and website traffic was highly problematic. For example, one journalist asked how to compare Twitter at 2,000 followers out of a population of 30,000 versus 40 call-ins on a lunchtime show? Some journalists said their news shows were well listened to according to their in-house surveys, but generally, without some investment in audience research, it is hard to compare traditional broadcast and print with Facebook and Twitter.

The general rule of thumb in all territories however was that Twitter was used by residents in the capitals while Facebook was used by everyone in the capital and in communities. Despite spotty satellite Internet connections, or maybe because of limited Internet, many communities used Facebook to keep in touch with other individuals and with the news of the world outside their community; e.g. if you have limited Internet connection time, you're going to go to the site that offers you the most efficient means for meeting your information, news, entertainment and/or social needs. That Facebook is a privately controlled platform with no accountability of its own rarely came up in conversations with journalists; its use as a public utility only surfaced in concerns about, for example, changes to how you could direct message sources – a Facebook-wide change that had occurred in the weeks before our interviews in mid-2016.

Approaches to digital and social media were in a state of rapid evolution during our fieldwork. First, journalists discussed how it changed their own storytelling practice, as they were spending less time in the field doing reporting and more time sending out content to 7–10 spots on different platforms e.g. Twitter, Facebook, audio news and shows, TV news and shows, websites. CBC reporters in particular – across the North – described the daily challenge of gathering enough content to service all the 'mouths to feed'. Some privately suggested that the quality of radio and TV coverage was being eroded in order to increase social media content and traction while

others loved the opportunity to put more content up and get immediate feedback. Second, it is still difficult to tell how much Twitter and Facebook metrics affect which stories go up and which stories get told. Some journalists expressed concern about what the future holds should informal metrics become standards, i.e. will some kinds of stories still get published if they don't get more than 500 hits? Third, the few news outlets that have been slow to adapt to Facebook and online audiences are still working out exactly how to respond to a rapidly evolving public and media landscape. Their participation will likely have some impact as will more reliable Internet connections.

Climate Change and Arctic Identity

All of the journalists we interviewed said that climate change is always 'in the background' or 'part of life', and interrelated to many stories. However, it's not a news item or news category in its own right in the North. News that features or focuses on climate change has to be driven by local events – it needs to be 'practical' and 'relevant to everyday life'. When it is discussed, climate change is framed as happening in the present and not in the distant or abstract future. Indigenous journalists in Nunavut, NWT and the Yukon were quick to point out that traditional knowledge is a major element of how they cover anything related to climate change. They are likely to turn to knowledgeable elders and hunters to substantiate or understand scientific findings rather than the other way around.

Some CBC journalists noted that national interest has shifted as well; for example, 'it used to be that if you had climate change or a polar bear in a story, it would go national'. All journalists offered varying and persistent critique of southern coverage of the North, with one editor describing the 'national reach' of Canadian newspapers as 'a joke', because the North is often passed over. Scholarship, as noted earlier, has also found that the North is not covered by newspapers even when it comes to climate change. A greater concern among some was the persistent ways in which stories about trauma, in particular youth suicide, seemed to garner attention and awards. It is a serious issue, but when it is one of the only stories that reaches the South, it perpetuates stereotypical views of northern communities and youth.

The difference in reporting on climate change and the response to how southern media covers, ignores and frames the North reflect both a highly localized and regionalized sense of news values and civic space. So, even while journalists might draw boundaries

between territories and/or between themselves and an Arctic identity, they all saw themselves as northern. Distinctive northern news values varied from organization to organization, but most agreed that northern news organizations had a responsibility and/or obligation to reflect or cement what it means to be a northerner, even if what that means varied from territory to territory and between capital cities and far flung communities. Many journalists spoke of a deeper accountability in terms of how they covered and framed issues, and a deeper connection to the stories they were telling.

In one of the territories, a morning radio news show provides a vital example of what it means to both contribute to and cultivate civic space in that territory and across the North. First, linguistically, the show seamlessly moves back and forth between Inuktitut and English. The show's then producer and host both told me that which language gets used depends on who the guest/expert is and the topic. Inuktitut has several dialects so that factors into their consideration as well.

The producer had at that time worked in media for eighteen years. Originally trained as a teacher, she raised her family and lived in many communities in Nunavut and Northern Quebec. As a producer, she is responsible for about eleven hours of programming per day, the majority of which is in Inuktitut. When we asked her what media she pays attention to, she said: 'Facebook. Social Media. That's where I get most of my sources. I get messages because I've been in this business so long; you get trust from people'. Facebook in a sense provides the scaffolding and platform that makes existing social networks visible and enables a closer sense of connection and representation. And she said that it isn't just existing connections that matter, but the chance to represent community concerns and practices to each other and anyone else who happens to visit the page:

> We got into social media right away. We can tell that with our Facebook page and our Twitter that it's quite popular. And our web page is quite popular. I'm assuming, and I don't know because we don't ask, that the reason we're popular is we're unique. We showcase Arctic images. We showcase our traditional lifestyle. I know there's anti-sealing thoughts everywhere, every time you see a dead baby seal. But we post them. This young guy's first seal. Because it's our culture. It's our food. We eat it every day.

The station's social media presence offers a grounded and community view of what life looks and feels like across the North in part

because of its audience and its journalists who come from communities across the territory. The host described his own start in broadcasting as beginning when he was fourteen in a small fly-in community (a familiar term across the North for communities that are not reachable via permanent roadways). He pitched a show for youths his own age in his community, and was given a regular spot. He said he 'fell in love' with radio. Eventually, when a job came up for a reporter who could speak both English and Inuktitut, he said he called the station manager 'for five months until he gave in and gave me the job'. The host went on to work for the same station twice for four-year stints, and was a widely admired host until he left several years ago.

The host said that the International Polar Year research projects are what really got their show doing a lot of stories on climate change, but they covered it with a difference:

> It [IPY] brought in a lot of researchers to the North so, talking to these researchers and then the results, what they've seen, what they've observed and then we try to balance that with what Inuit are seeing. More so now whenever we talk about climate change, it's really driven by people who are looking into it. Or if there's a major change happening that people in communities are observing then we'll talk to them.

The deep connection that journalists have with communities is perhaps more visible with Facebook than it has ever been, and the priority even with a global issue like climate change is to understand how it is elaborated within the communities who are experiencing change. It is in this sense that journalism contributes to a civic space that revolves around resilience and multiple ways of knowing and living with climate change. Daily life is represented as people, animals, lands and oceans that are in relationship with one another, whether that entails sealing or climate change.

Conclusion: Arctic Civic Spaces and Journalisms

This chapter builds on calls from scholars to consider civic spaces in the Arctic, to understand Indigenous peoples as publics, and to critique and offer alternative representations of and for Arctic communities. Scholars have continually found that journalism from southern Canada and internationally has tended to ignore, misrepresent or narrowly represent both Arctic concerns and Indigenous peoples. And

while this research continues to find such gaps, it also examines approaches to regional journalism alongside national and international news coverage of the Arctic in order to bring to the fore the stark differences evident in coverage, choice of experts and treatment of Indigenous sources and experts. In its attention to Indigenous people as publics, northern and Arctic journalism in Canada offers stories of resilience in the face of change, Indigenous knowledges framed as vital expertise, and historical and cultural understandings of relations between humans, non-humans, lands and waters that impact the discourse on risk, vulnerability, adaptation and other issues related to governance and resource development.

As digital media has begun to shape and shift journalistic practices, journalists working across Canada's North provide exemplary insights into how Facebook in particular might be utilized to enhance journalistic practices and how it is rapidly becoming a vital civic space for public engagement. Because the North has often relied on a hub-and-spoke type structuring in its media, where capitals function as centres of information flow, what social media does is make these relations between geographically dispersed communities and journalists in the hub visible. Crucially too, social media allows for bi-directional distribution where journalists can amplify voices and images from communities, and communities' responses to journalistic coverage increase a sense of accountability to and engagement with its publics. What this offers in terms of understanding climate change on Arctic terms is a relational view of how communities are adapting to and prioritizing environmental change even as they deal with chronic crises related to colonialism and the last several decades of rapid social change that affect all aspects of daily life. As approaches to and uses of social media are likely to continue to evolve, so too are configurations of civic space, Indigenous publics and what constitutes 'good' journalism on and from the Arctic, offering increasing opportunities in digital media spaces to interact with Arctic representations and news co-produced on Arctic terms.

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Notes

1. For Canada, see Alia (1999) for a study of media in Canada's North, and a later study (2009) of international Indigenous journalism and activism that includes some digital media. See Roth (2005) and David (2012) on the rise of Aboriginal People's Television Network and Sangster (2016) on post-war film and representations of northern Indigenous people. See Daley and James (2004) for a study of Indigenous communities and mass media in Alaska.
2. See Callison (2017) for an overview of literature pertaining to how Indigenous has come to be defined and mobilized in various transnational arenas, including in the discussions leading up to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People (UNDRIP).
3. See also Hirji and Karim (2009), Mahtani (2008), Henry and Tator (2002), Fleras and Kunz (2001) for how mainstream media in Canada have represented other minorities as well as Indigenous peoples in either a negative or stereotypical light and/or excluded these perspectives and voices altogether.
4. I also discuss this in Callison (2016).
5. From September 2013 to September 2104, we analysed coverage of the Arctic in regional, national and international newspapers. We chose regional sources that were accessible online (*Nunatsiaq News*, NNSL newspaper chain that publishes community paper in NWT and Nunavut, *Northern Journal* which is now closed, the *Whitehorse Star*). We did not track coverage by the CBC because of the way their websites make it difficult to categorize,

i.e. whether a story was regionally produced or not. For national news, we analysed the coverage of *The Globe and Mail, National Post,* and *Toronto Star*. For international news, we analysed the coverage of *The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Guardian, The Financial Times*.

6. For COP 21 in 2015, we analysed coverage of the Arctic from November 28 to December 14 though the actual COP21 dates were November 30 to December 12 in order to catch any coverage that might have begun early or followed the event. The news sources we analysed are *Nunatsiaq News, Whitehorse Star, Northern Journal* (now closed), CBC News (regional and national were more easy to distinguish on an event basis), *The Globe and Mail, National Post, Toronto Star, The Guardian, Wall Street Journal, and New York Times*. We also concurrently analysed the hashtag #Arctic on Twitter, and published and tweeted our results on our arcticjournalism.com blog. A research assistant also travelled to Paris to report for the blog and *Open Canada*, a news website.

7. Tourism in these cities and beyond is an extremely expensive and newly expanding proposition that only a few ever get to experience, and tourism is usually quite removed from or only gestures at a deep understanding of the context and history of place. For example, when the Crystal Serenity, the first luxury cruise ship, went through the Northwest Passage in the summer of 2016, passengers paid a minimum of USD$21,000 for a spot aboard. Concerns were raised about where the ship might stop since the population aboard was likely to overwhelm any of the Inuit hamlets that dot the fjords and inlets along the way. The hamlet where it did stop spent months preparing for the Serenity's passengers to disembark. See CBC News 2016.

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