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### **Observers, Witnesses, Victims or Activists?**

How Inuit Voices are Represented in Mainstream Canadian  
Newspaper Coverage of Global Warming

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MSc in Media, Communication and Development

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# **Observers, Witnesses, Victims or Activists?**

## **How Inuit Voices are Represented in Mainstream Canadian Newspaper Coverage of Global Warming**

**Patricia H. Audette-Longo**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Global warming in the Arctic has prompted international debate over contested maritime borders and the potential promise and pitfalls of new natural resource extraction. However, heightened political rhetoric related to Canada's North and Arctic sovereignty has not been accompanied by new attention to the political claims and narratives of people indigenous to the region. Inuit cultures are endangered when receding ice and melting permafrost compromise hunting practices and threaten the sustainability of isolated northern communities. By surveying 135 articles published over a five-year period in three agenda-setting Canadian newspapers – the *Globe and Mail*, *Edmonton Journal* and *Toronto Star* – this research shows Inuit voices are absent from nearly half of all articles dealing directly with climate change, the Arctic and indigenous community issues.

As a case study of the extent to which traditionally marginalized groups are represented in mainstream news coverage of ongoing political issues, this research is grounded in postcolonial theory and Nick Couldry's (2010) concept of 'effective voice.' Content and critical discourse analysis are employed to interrogate how Inuit voices are represented, treating the act of voicing claims as a political one. Among this paper's key findings is the extent to which Inuit voices are marginalized when accounts of experience or observation are treated as the only narratives for Inuit community members to share, effectively framing them as witnesses to or victims of climate change rather than political actors.

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## INTRODUCTION

In his book, *The Big Thaw: Travels in the Melting North*, journalist and author Ed Struzik (2009) recounts the tale of an 18<sup>th</sup> century ship wreck off the coast of an island on Canada's Hudson's Bay. As many as 40 crew members on two ships died, stranded on ice. Introducing how, to this day, scientists and politicians continue to 'ignore' or 'undervalue' Inuit knowledge (ibid: 164) when studying the effects of climate change on the Arctic, Struzik writes, 'the mystery is why none of [the] men went across the ice to the mainland to barter for food, clothing and whatever else they would have needed' (ibid: 163). Inuit hunter Gabriel Nirlungayuk offers Struzik this assessment: "They didn't trust us. ... They thought we were ignorant barbarians, that we knew nothing that was of importance to them" (ibid: 163).

I introduce this tale as an entry point for examining not just the us-them relationship persisting between Inuit and southern non-Aboriginal Canadians, but how that relationship continues to be represented in Canada's mainstream press. Between the 1719 ship wreck off Marble Island and today lays a history of colonialism and a legacy of explorer/native narratives which manifest in continued inattention to what Inuit people have to *say* on political matters that affect them directly, such as global warming.

Climate change in the Arctic has developers dreaming of tapping 'vast oil, gas and mineral reserves' (ibid: 7) as ice disappears, while the survival of polar bears is questioned, and melting permafrost puts some northern communities at risk (Kunuk, 2010). Despite efforts by some activists to frame the Inuit – the indigenous people of the Arctic – as 'sentinels of climate change' and 'the world's environmental early-warning system' (Zabarenko, 2007), their stories of global warming remain largely unseen in the mainstream press beyond the sharing of illustrative individual experiences and observations. Querying this absence is the central focus of my case study of press representations of Inuit voices in coverage of climate change: When Inuit voices are effectively silenced by the press through absence, framing, or compromise, there is a danger of rendering members of Inuit communities apolitical, with no more platform for mediated agency than the polar bears that have become the 'poster animal in the climate change debate' (Struzik, 2009: 12).

Global warming may draw international attention to the Arctic, but domestically, Inuit issues are overshadowed by a national discourse centred on questions of Arctic sovereignty and border security. In recent years Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper (2007) has renewed focus on 'protecting national sovereignty' as 'the first and foremost responsibility of the national government,' describing the North as a 'vast storehouse of energy and mineral

resources.’ Because this rhetoric continues to dominate the politics of Canada’s North, it is paramount not only that members of Inuit communities have a political voice, but that their voices are heard in the mainstream press. By testing Nick Couldry’s (2010) concept of ‘effective voice’ through content and critical discourse analysis of articles published in three agenda-setting Canadian newspapers – *The Globe and Mail*, *The Edmonton Journal* and *The Toronto Star* – between 2006 and 2010, I am querying the degree to which another narrative of climate change, defined by Inuit community members, is present in the mainstream press. Such a narrative is necessary because, as Struzik (2010) argues, in the past, ‘whenever sovereignty, security and economic priorities came into play, environmental integrity and the cultural interests of indigenous northerners invariably suffered.’

## **PERSONAL DISCLAIMER**

Before discussing who speaks on behalf of the Inuit in the Canadian press, I must note I am a non-aboriginal southern Canadian and practicing journalist at *The Edmonton Journal*. I conducted this research while on unpaid study leave at the London School of Economics.

Linda Martin Alcoff writes, 'The effect of the practice of speaking for others is often, though not always, erasure and a reinscription of ... hierarchies' (1995: 116). It is difficult to answer Alcoff's dual challenge of considering the dangers of speaking outside one's own experience while weighing the fall-out of failing to speak. I acknowledge it is possible to contribute to depoliticizing Inuit community members by writing from a relatively privileged position; ignoring this possibility risks compounding the problem. To this end, I hold Raka Shome and Radha Hegde's key concerns to my work as a constant reminder of the potential pitfalls of naming 'effective' and 'ineffective' voices:

Who can speak? Who can represent? Do we position the colonized as incapable of speech? On the other hand, do we romanticize the speech of the colonized as resistant and thereby deflect the violence of the colonial encounter? (2002: 266)

## LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

*Southerners don't want to understand Inuit ways. ... They're ignorant about our culture, don't consider our opinion, and treat us like we know nothing. Inuit culture is oral and we keep knowledge in our minds. Even without text, our culture is full of wisdom. It brings me joy when Inuit gather and I listen to them. I hear Inuit are rising slowly, but there's still a long way to go.*

– Rita Nashook, Iqaluit (Kunuk, 2010)

A discussion of how Inuit voices are represented in mainstream Canadian press coverage of global warming is about more than mere presence or absence in stories about the effects of climate change in Arctic communities. As such, this study is equally occupied with the politically marginalizing consequences of exoticizing Inuit culture and narratives. By entrenching representations of the Arctic and its indigenous inhabitants as they have been imagined since the days of European exploration and ‘discovery,’ mainstream Canadian press risks undermining Inuit voices, and even quelling exchange between northern and southern Canadians. This study is anchored in postcolonial theory and literature on media representations. These touchstones do not equip us to duplicate past efforts to re-order media representations, however, as if ‘positive’ framing were the singular solution to ‘exclusion from the mainstream media and to forms of representation disdainful of the rights’ of the Inuit (Macdonald, 2003: 12). Instead, Nick Couldry’s concept of ‘effective voice’ (2010: 1) is used here as a key tool for measuring the extent to which Inuit people who directly encounter mainstream reporters are positioned as ‘political subject[s]’ (Ibid: 109) rather than objects. The purpose of a three-pronged theoretical approach based on postcolonial criticism, representation, and Couldry’s ‘effective voice’ is to lay groundwork for challenging mainstream press organizations to move away from token-oriented reportage. Such a challenge demands interrogation not only of what is reported as spoken in the texts studied here, but how reports are packaged. By urging producers to resist taking refuge in or comfort from the performative aspects of multiculturalism, this study’s emphasis on demanding the presence of ‘effective voice’ highlights and questions Canadian mythology and pride, particularly the special role of the Inuit in fantasies of the North. Imagined notions of what the Inuit represent, combined with an over-emphasis on the potential for empowerment promised by being equipped to speak for yourself with little regard for who is listening, serve to undermine the possibility of exchanging information. In unpacking voice as both ‘process’ and ‘value’ (Ibid: 1), Couldry’s work helps us frame mediated spaces of speaking, hearing and exchanging as platforms not for ensuring social ‘coherence,’ (Ibid: 99) but for enabling political agency and change.

## **Imagining the people of the North**

To frame this study within postcolonial theory, we must unpack how the indigenous people of Canada's Arctic are often imagined. From childhood, most southern Canadians are taught a history of the Inuit distilled from silent documentaries and images of 'people who live in igloos' (Griwkowsky, 2008). This excerpt from a federal government website designed for children new to the country, now hosted 'purely for historical purposes' by the Library and Archives of Canada, offers some insight into dominant mythology:

In one of the most remote places in the world, the Canadian Arctic, a people have survived over a thousand of years [sic]. They are the Inuit. ... The Inuit have adapted themselves to the various regions they inhabit. At one time they were considered to be among the healthiest people in the world. This is no longer the case; the Inuit lifestyle has changed dramatically over the past decades. The arrival of southerners and modern technology resulted in big changes to the Inuit diet and way of life. ... Today, the Inuit are rediscovering their rich heritage and they are learning to govern themselves in a modern world. (Government of Canada, 2005)

Unsurprisingly, this particular overview of Inuit history does not fully acknowledge the significant impacts of forced resettlement or residential school programs on the cultural and political lives of the Inuit in Canada throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, continuing today. Geared toward children who may not have grown up in Canada, it is nonetheless in line with what most southerners would have been taught about the Inuit as children. Ultimately, such framing contributes to practices that ground Canada's Inuit as barely differentiated fixtures of the country's vast Northern landscape (Roth, 2005: 52) rather than present-day political actors. Evelyn Légaré sheds some light on how aboriginal Canadians are framed in juxtaposition to so-called 'mainstream' Canadians (1995: 355) in her evaluation of how Canada's much-celebrated take on multiculturalism can hinder the ability of indigenous people 'to define themselves and mobilize politically' (Ibid: 348). She argues aboriginal cultures are often 'characterized in terms of respect for nature, closeness to the land, and the values of tolerance, cooperation, and generosity' (Ibid: 355). If aboriginal demands for economic or political equality have the capacity to challenge 'folklorized' concepts of multiculturalism (Ibid: 352-353, 358), such claims are often strategically couched by aboriginal people themselves when they represent their demands as cultural and 'traditional' (Ibid: 357). Ultimately, the practice of couching claims in comforting elements of myth and folklore perpetuates common understandings and misunderstandings of indigenous groups; reducing a group to an 'essential stable category of analysis' (Mohaty, 1990: 64) depoliticizes its members.



Taking up the question of time, it would be a mistake to approach newspaper texts in an ahistorical manner, or without acknowledging the framing of indigenous sources that can give 'short shrift to living cultures and communities' (Alia, 2010: 36). Describing media representations of Aboriginal people in Australia, for example, Valerie Alia notes present-day recognition beyond the trivial or illustrative often remains elusive (2010: 36). In Canada, Alia found 19<sup>th</sup> century practices of writing about 'polar people' in the 'language of conquest and colonization' have not disappeared altogether, even if the glory days of 'explorers, missionaries [and] traders' have passed (1999: 13). These findings bring to mind the theatricality Edward Said wrote of when he argued little about the framing of the so-called 'Oriental' has changed between the time of the Renaissance and modern day:

They are all declarative and self evident; the tense they employ is the timeless eternal; they convey an impression of repetition and strength; they are always symmetrical to, and yet diametrically inferior to, a European equivalent, which is sometimes specified, sometimes not. (2003 [1978]: 72)

Said's writing on Orientalism is occupied with the ways in which the West, or European-rooted societies, go about 'dominating, restructuring and having authority over' the Other by way of representational practices such as stereotyping (Ibid: 3). The concept of the Orient has little geographic or cultural location, except as 'a theatrical stage affixed to Europe' (Ibid: 63), thus is useful in considering the ramifications of continuing to treat Canada's Arctic and its people as recently discovered and other-worldly. Building on Said's work, I position my use of postcolonial theory as a starting point for examining previous literature on identity negotiation, Othering, and tokenism, drawing on notions of 'self-Orientalism' (Yan & Santos, 2009), 'native informants' (Spivak, 1999: 30; Sawhney, 1995: 209-210), and the way in which 'tokenization goes with ghettoization' (Spivak, 1990: 61).

## **Representation**

To describe popular framing of the Inuit is to tap into history, mythology and imagination. Turning to literature on representation, it is important to understand the performative actions that go hand-in-hand with media discourses that simplify and essentialize indigenous people affected by climate change. Roland Barthes's writing on the evolution of myth as a tool which privileges certain historical narratives over others (1983 [1956]: 94) is useful here, as he argues the reality of what or who is being mythologized is essentially obscured. Barthes writes the power of myth lies in its ability to 'distort' meanings (Ibid: 107). While his conceptualization of myth-making assumes motivation, Barthes does not necessarily assume producers are explicitly aware of what drives them; they are conditioned by naturalized understandings that have 'outdistance[d] the meaning' (Ibid: 109-110). Barthes's concept is

useful in linking what many Canadians learn to expect of Inuit voices, and how those expectations condition mainstream press reports. Southern Canadian media producers, politicians, and readers who most often have first encountered Inuit people as timeless figures of an imagined Arctic Orient may find it difficult to juxtapose present-day political claims against prior understandings steeped in myth and imagination.

When it comes to environmental news, Simon Cottle writes, key authority figures ('political, social and cultural elites') tend to dominate the agenda (2006: 124). In studying who gets access to the media to explain themselves when there are conflicts, however, Cottle sees a 'rise of identity politics' accompanied by a 'cacophony of views and voices' laying the groundwork for a 'politics of redistribution' (Ibid: 167). He concludes 'reductionist stereotypes begin to fragment' when 'former Others are enabled to put their individual experiences into the public domain, telling their stories through personal accounts of pain, suffering and injustice' (Ibid: 178). Cottle's conclusion speaks to a central tension that emerges from using personal experience to strengthen or justify political claims, however. Some postcolonial scholars worry too much focus on the personal and banal leads to 'reproducing existing boundaries' (Gajjala, 2006: 147). Ultimately, authority to speak based on one's experience is 'hardly a "privilege"; it is a ruse, allowing an individual an authority to speak forever as other, the native informant to all the others' (Roof & Wiegman, 1995: 93-94).

Sabina Sawhney argues the trade-off for living in a multicultural society for some members of minority groups is performing the role of 'native informant' (1995: 209-210), called upon to provide authentic exoticism or perpetual otherness (Ibid: 215). This act of authenticating otherness by drawing on exotic elements of tradition or history can be seen as self-orientalizing in order to communicate political messages. For Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, this trade-off can be tantamount to allowing oneself to be homogenized and ghettoized (1990: 60-61). Radhika Gajjala, too, writes about the challenge of speaking from a minority position to 'transform or distort hegemony,' and the danger of self-orientalizing by fetishizing memories, culture and home (2006: 287). All these incidental and calculated practices of speaking for oneself as a means of political point-making illuminate how people can ultimately render themselves apolitical.

### **Accounting for more than presence**

Marrying Couldry's concept of 'effective voice' to postcolonial theory requires a careful balancing act. Couldry's primary interests in neoliberalism and the increasingly market-driven politics of the United Kingdom do not necessarily or easily overlap with the questions of culture, equality and violence raised by some postcolonial scholars. To unpack Couldry's concept in this light, he describes voice as 'socially grounded:' people require a certain level of 'status ... to be recognized by others as having a voice' (2010: 7). Recognition is a key element in Couldry's work; to explain what has caused a crisis of voice, or an increasingly prevalent assumption that 'voice does not matter' (Ibid: 1), he describes neo-liberalism and modern institutions as producing 'voice-denying rationality' (Ibid: 10-11). In other words, the relevance of individual voices, positions and politics are displaced and swept away by presenting images of diversity that lack depth. In the world of mainstream journalism, we might consider the practice of including people from minority groups in stories for the sake of ensuring their appearance as witnesses rather than 'paying attention ... to the conditions for effective voice, that is, the conditions under which people's practices of voice are *sustained* and the outcomes of those practices *validated*' (Ibid: 113).

If Couldry's main stages of criticism are the market and politics, and the postcolonial scholars I have discussed here focus on culture and subalternity, my inquiry removes focus to Canadian multiculturalism, and the political and media discourses that anchor it. For my purposes, then, a central requirement of engaging with Couldry's concept of 'effective voice' is to understand mere presence is not enough.

Couldry writes there is an 'interactive dimension of voice' (2010: 143), a demand not just for someone to be able to speak, but to be able to be listened to, and engaged with. Breaking down what it means to be recognized as opposed to simply heard, seen, or read informs our evaluation of instances in the press where Inuit people are treated as witnesses instead of people with the potential to employ agency. Couldry's writing pays little attention to the elements of race and conflict paramount in this dissertation; in touching on the works of W.B. Du Bois and Franz Fanon, he briefly highlights the failure 'of voice [to be] natural or immediate' when 'even a basic account of how self-narratives are constructed must take account of how white narratives are entangled with the voices of those who are not white' (Ibid: 122). Drawing a connection between Couldry's call to speak, listen and engage – beyond 'a celebration of people speaking or telling stories' (Ibid: 130) – and postcolonial studies introduces a flexibility and challenge to the concept of 'effective voice.' There are no simple solutions for ensuring the effectiveness of voice, even if traditionally marginalized

communities are seen to speak. Spivak, Sawhney and Gajjala provide caution against simply offering space for minority voices rather than dissecting the political, social and cultural undercurrents at play. Such cautions second-guess the gentle anti-politics of Canadian-style multiculturalism.

It is not a solution, the idea of the disenfranchised speaking for themselves ... this question of representation, self-representation, representing others, is a problem. On the other hand, we cannot put it under the carpet with demands for authentic voices; we have to remind ourselves that, as we do this, we might be compounding the problem even as we are trying to solve it. (Spivak, 1990: 63)

## **Conceptual framework and research objectives**

Couldry's 'effective voice' works best as a centre-point to my conceptual framework in its emphasis on *exchange* and *recognition* (2010: 100), rather than validation (Ibid: 113). His framing of voice as a process holds out the possibility of beginning to recognize people as 'political subject[s]' (2010: 109) rather than objects, or tokens, thus enabling a mechanism to test press representations of the Inuit.

At the start of my review of the past literature and theoretical concepts that ground my work, I quoted Iqaluit Inuit resident Rita Nashook, who describes her views not just of climate change or 'southerners,' but how she sees southerners seeing her. In pursuing my main research question – an investigation of the extent to which members of Inuit communities are represented as having 'effective voices' (Couldry, 2010: 1) in Canadian mainstream press coverage of climate change in the Arctic – it is imperative to consider Nashook's words not as a lament for her community's inability to speak, but as a perception there are those unwilling to learn from her community's knowledge of climate change, home and culture. This perceived gap between what is spoken and what is heard breathes life into the key sub-questions of my dissertation:

- Under what circumstances are Inuit opinions and beliefs voiced in the press? Borrowing from Couldry, under what circumstances are individual members of the community presented as having 'effective voice?' How do mythologies of Inuit life contribute to framing present-day Inuit voices?
- To what extent has the practice of voicing Inuit concerns about global warming based on personal experiences and observations limited the ability of communities to communicate the social, political and economic gravity of climate change to the rest of Canada and the world, in comparison to the ability of authority figures to do the same?

## **METHODOLOGY**

To unpack the extent to which Inuit sources are positioned as having ‘effective voices’ (Couldry, 2010) in mainstream Canadian newspaper coverage of climate change and the Arctic, I combined methods of content and critical discourse analysis (CDA). This two-step investigation first surveyed and coded 135 articles published over a five-year period in three daily broadsheets, then interrogated ‘connections between the use of language and the exercise of power’ (Fairclough, 1995: 54) in just six texts. This chapter provides a brief discussion of the principles and drawbacks of both methods and outlines my research design.

### **Methodological principles and drawbacks**

At best, coding texts through content analysis can introduce a scientific measure to text-based research (Deacon & al., 2007: 3). At worst, however, it can skew toward description, falling short of ‘explor[ing] the subtleties’ of a text by focusing instead on countable characteristics (Bauer, 2000: pp. 133-134). CDA, on the other hand, focuses as much on what is happening inside the text as outside (Yan & Santos, 2009: 300; Macdonald, 2003: 26). Derived from Foucault’s work on discourse and power relationships, this approach at once lends nuance to textual analysis while inviting criticisms of ‘impossibly subjective’ findings (Deacon & al., 2007: 138). Combining the two methods, then, allows ‘analytical enrichment’ (Ibid: 140), wherein the benefits of each method treat the drawbacks of the other while maintaining textual focus.

For this study, the key benefits of content analysis included ‘longitudinal analysis’ (Bauer, 2000: 135), which enabled review and organization of 135 texts. As well, because I was on study leave from *The Edmonton Journal* while conducting my research, I wanted to ensure a degree of researcher transparency by asking the same set of questions of all texts in a process that could be repeated by any other researcher coming to the same study with the same coding frame (Bauer, 2000: 132-133; Krippendorff, 2004: 19). This process is not perfectly objective: every analyst ‘must, in effect, construct a world in which the texts make sense and can answer the analyst’s research questions’ in order to apply a coding frame (Krippendorff, 2004: 24).

For my research, the ‘world’ was partially built with Couldry’s work in mind, by outlining a measurement of ‘effective voice’ that took in elements of postcolonial theory and incorporated questions of agency, witnessing and illustration. The text population was categorized according to whether Inuit voices were shown to be ‘very effective,’ ‘effective but limited,’ ‘ineffective,’ or altogether absent. This categorization was central not only to my

content analysis, but my CDA, as the findings provided building blocks to select texts, a solution to criticisms CDA text selection can be subject to ‘temptations’ to find ‘items that seem to fit the case [the researcher] may want to prove’ (Deacon & al., 2007: 139). At the same time, gauging effectiveness primarily through a quantitative framework does not lessen the subjectivity of the question or the likelihood different researchers could draw slightly different conclusions. In attempting to measure the ‘tone’ of stories about Canada’s North, for example, Higgins and Alia found it difficult to ‘precisely quantify what are essentially qualitative observations and categories’ (1999: 143).

Before unpacking CDA as a research methodology, we must consider Foucault’s definition of discourse, which can be linked to Barthes’s definition of mythology as constructed through normalization of prior narratives (1983 [1956]: 109-110). Foucault pushes still further in his sensitivity to resulting power relationships (Hall, 1997), paying special attention to ‘ongoing oppression, prejudice [and] struggle’ (Matheson, 2005: 9). The job of the critical discourse analyst, then, is to shed light not only on the results of a process of knowledge construction (Hall, 1997: 42, 44), but to highlight the boundaries it creates. As a research method, CDA is a necessary tool for discussing not just whether Inuit sources are seen to have ‘effective voices’ in Canadian mainstream press coverage of climate change, but how their voices – as positioned in articles – fit within external political and social systems.

Myra Macdonald’s description of CDA as ‘opening up [a] discussion’ (2003: 26) is particularly helpful when acknowledging the limitations of text-based research. My conclusions regarding discourse practices do not allow me to measure their effects or the relative influence wielded by media representations versus, for example, government institutions (Ibid: 27). Nevertheless, by naming and identifying practices that limit the appearance of ‘effective’ Inuit voices in the context of global warming coverage, we can determine how aboriginal (or subaltern) voices might be constructed in stories about ongoing political issues. I did not conduct interviews with media producers or Inuit sources, or survey audience members, because this research is a starting-point case study for examining discursive practices that have created ‘rules’ (Hall, 1997: 44) for voicing aboriginal claims in media stories about ongoing political issues.

## Research design

To gauge the presence of Inuit voices in mainstream Canadian press coverage of climate change, I focused on three major English-language daily broadsheet newspapers with comparable audience reach, access to newswire copy, and in-house staffing levels: The Toronto-based national *Globe and Mail*, the leading-circulation *Toronto Star*, and *The Edmonton Journal*, which is the national Postmedia News chain's northernmost property. Using Nexis online archives, I searched for articles that mentioned 'Inuit' at least three times and 'climate change' once between 1 January 2006 and 31 December 2010. After dismissing a handful of reports irrelevant to Inuit or climate change issues, this search yielded a total 135 newspaper texts, 43 per cent (58) of which were published in *The Journal*, 37 per cent (50) in *The Globe*, and 20 per cent (27) in *The Star*. Coding and categorizing the texts provided a guideline to select six stories for CDA.

The period between 2006 and 2010 coincides with growing international attention to global warming and Arctic resource ownership. This period also comprises the bulk of Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper's first two terms in power, taking in his government's renewed emphasis on Arctic sovereignty, two federal elections and a handful of international climate change meetings. I queried the *Globe*, *Star* and *Journal* because the content of these newspapers reasonably represents what many southern Canadians and policy-makers would encounter in press coverage of the Inuit and climate change. However, this selection fails to survey French-language newspapers or the national public broadcaster's radio and television productions. I am not fluent enough to gauge the nuances of French texts for this research. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, meanwhile, staffs bureaus in the northern territories. The difference between mandated public broadcast content and content delivered by privately-run newspapers makes for an unwieldy comparison.

Content analysis provided the primary tools for answering my main research question regarding the extent to which Inuit sources are seen to have 'effective voices' (Coudry, 2010) in the press. My 20-variable coding frame included: nominal variables (story headlines, newspapers of publication, dates, and page numbers); variables designed to find links between newsroom practices and the presence of 'effective voice' (whether the reporter wrote from the North, whether the text was presented as news, business or opinion); and variables meant to find links between discourse practices and voice (questions of who was quoted first, how sources were identified, and what they spoke of). The proportional representation of Inuit sources within the texts was also measured, by counting out words directly attributed to them in the articles. The final version of the code book used for this dissertation was tested by



a second coder who reviewed 19 newspaper articles (14 per cent of the total population). This test yielded an average ICR of 88 per cent. Coder agreement is considered low when hovering at or below 66 per cent (Bauer, 2000: 144).

My content analysis findings were used to select six stories for CDA (Table 1, Appendix 1). Drawing on Norman Fairclough's models, I then began a 'linguistic analysis' (1995: 61) of direct quotes attributed to Inuit sources, comparing and contrasting the nature of published comments: Were Inuit sources describing personal experiences? Were they making political appeals or claims? Studying quotes as 'units of analysis' (Hall, 1997: 42) allowed an investigation of hierarchies presented when some Inuit sources were treated as having greater authority than others. How direct quotes were framed, and how Inuit speakers were described, demanded a query of 'choice relations' (Fairclough, 1995: 64), or attention to what the producer of a text chose to include or leave out. Drawing on my conceptual and theoretical frameworks, I looked for apparent 'presuppositions' (Talbot, 2007: 47) in the ways Inuit sources were contextualized by paragraphs leading into and out of their direct quotes. Of particular note were assumptions the southern reader would feel distant from Inuit cultural practices, connect Inuit experiences to social problems, or, bringing in 'intertextual analysis' (Fairclough, 1995: 61), draw on shared colonial or exploration histories.

## **RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

The presence of ‘effective voice’ (Couldry, 2010) demands more than token acknowledgement of Inuit people as living in Canada’s Arctic. To explain this, I will first highlight my content analysis findings: How many articles in a 135-text population were categorized as showing ‘very effective,’ ‘effective but limited,’ ‘ineffective,’ or absent Inuit voices? What features, in coding, came to define each category of effectiveness? How were Inuit voices contextualized by what they were reported to have said? Then, I will examine key themes that emerged through critical discourse analysis (CDA) of six texts. This includes attention to recurring devices used to frame Inuit voices, particularly practices that construct a hierarchy of narratives both among Inuit community members and between Inuit and non-Inuit sources: How are Inuit leaders treated as having particular authority, while other Inuit sources were most often positioned as observers, witnesses and victims of climate change?

### **Content analysis findings**

The primary purpose of coding articles dealing with climate change, the Arctic, and Inuit communities published over a five-year period was to categorize the texts according to the extent to which Inuit sources could be seen as having ‘effective voices’ (Couldry) when directly quoted by the mainstream press. Through coding, I found ‘very effective voice’ was present in 30 texts studied here (22 per cent). Twenty texts (15 per cent) were categorized as ‘effective but limited,’ only 19 texts (14 per cent) showed ‘ineffective voice,’ and 66 texts (49 per cent) were absent of Inuit sources despite text selection for subject matter pertaining to Inuit issues and climate change.

Coding provided a set of relatively objective – or at least quantifiable – characteristics for each category of ‘effective voice’ (Table 2, Appendix 2), including the number of Inuit people directly quoted among the first three sources in the articles and the proportion of the articles dedicated to Inuit voices. Keeping in mind there are more texts categorized as ‘very effective,’ there is nonetheless a slightly higher proportion of Inuit people present among the first three sources in this category (46 per cent of a possible 90 sources) than in the ‘effective but limited’ category (45 per cent of a possible 60), and a much higher proportion than in the ‘ineffective’ category (32 per cent of a possible 57). Counting the words attributed to Inuit people, articles deemed to show ‘very effective’ voice have a much higher average proportion of direct Inuit quotes or writing (32 per cent, compared to an average 11 per cent in the effective but limited category, or four per cent in the ineffective category). It is clear the extent to which Inuit voices are present in the text guides perceptions of ‘effective voice.’

The other side of the equation, then, is what prevents the presentation of effective voices, or what underpins ‘obstructions to recognition’ (Couldry, 2010: 131-132). Surprisingly, the quantifiable findings offer insight into what *may not* obstruct the presence of ‘effective voice.’ Mainstream newspaper reporters filing their stories from southern Canadian cities. Of 31 articles explicitly written from Canada’s northern regions, Inuit voices are absent from 12, or 39 per cent. Twenty-six per cent (eight) of these articles were categorized as showing ‘ineffective’ voice, meanwhile, compared to 23 per cent (seven) deemed ‘effective but limited’ and 13 per cent (four) ‘very effective.’ This would seem to undermine the notion that changing political economies of newsrooms (fewer travel and staffing resources) might prevent Inuit sources from being quoted. This conclusion is problematic, however: None of the newspapers studied here (or the wire services from which they take copy) have reporters permanently assigned to bureaus in the North. News produced by staff in the northern offices of much smaller newspapers or Canada’s public broadcaster may well offer an altogether different picture of ‘effective voice.’

Nonetheless, no observable link between mainstream press reporters’ presence in the North and the effectiveness of Inuit voices in my findings serves as a reminder there are few easy solutions to the problem queried here. The presence of Inuit voices in texts clearly goes a long way toward ensuring effectiveness, but overcoming the practices that allow so many stories about Inuit culture and climate change to be published without comment from directly interested stakeholders represents a difficult challenge: The absence of Inuit voices from nearly half the texts studied here suggests a normalized reporting practice of treating Inuit sources as objects of news rather than subjects (Couldry, 2010: 109).

While the other three categories were dominated by the news genre, stories with no Inuit sources at all had the highest proportion of science articles. In turn, scientists were the dominant sources of direct quotes in these stories. Coverage of environmental issues *can* buck press practices of quoting officials over lay people (Cottle, 2006: 124), but the authority of ‘scientific rationality’ continues to be ‘preserved for politicians, officials and experts and corporate spokespeople’ (Ibid: 130). If ‘rationality,’ or authority, is reserved for certain elites (Ibid: 124), under what circumstances are Inuit sources given voice? Drawing on content analysis findings of what Inuit sources are described as discussing when quoted among the first three sources of a story, there is a pattern of Inuit voices being used to “stand for” the “human side”, or provide the “human face” of environmental news stories” (Cottle, 2000: p. 37). For example, the topics of hunting and observable changes to the environment comprise 40 per cent of all initial quotes attributed to Inuit sources, while politics and issues of national security and Arctic sovereignty take up 32 per cent.

It is paramount to remember, however, that Aboriginal hunting rights in Canada can be a political matter. Just as a pattern of giving voice to hunting issues could signify an over-emphasis on sharing tales of personal experience, it could also flag narratives of resistance and challenge to the status quo. Nevertheless, Cottle's conclusion regarding a 'politics of redistribution' wherein 'former Others can be ... repositioned as active subjects' (2006: 167-168) by sharing personal experience seems optimistic. Realistically, when dealing with media stories about indigenous groups in environmental risk stories, it seems less likely cultural stereotypes will be broken down and more likely they will be strengthened.

### **Critical discourse analysis**

More in-depth CDA allowed consideration of choices made within texts which limit or bolster 'effective voice.' Contrasting the framing of Inuit sources to non-Inuit sources allowed special attention to 'choice relations' (Fairclough, 1995: 64), or the contextualizing practices that go hand-in-hand with varying levels of 'effective voice' in the mainstream press. By isolating the direct quotes of Inuit sources in four of the six stories analysed (Table 3, Appendix 3) – excluding Sheila Watt-Cloutier's (2006) letter to the editor and Allan Woods's (2007) article, which was absent of Inuit sources – linguistic analysis of what Inuit sources are given space to say in the mainstream press contributed a new indicator for gauging 'effective voice' present in stories about climate change in the Arctic. In two stories in which Inuit sources were deemed to exhibit 'very effective' or 'effective but limited' voices (Bailey, 2006; Mehler Paperny, 2009), there is a discernible cross-section of topics discussed: Personal experience; descriptions of and claims about Canada's political landscape; admonishments or recommendations for mainstream politicians; appeals for change, and questions about the current state of affairs in the Arctic. This range of matters draws out a pattern that speaks to the extent to which voice, as a process, can be positioned as effective:

The voice of each of us, our history of reflection and self-interpretation, is part of our embodied history ... It follows that voice is irreducibly plural. Even if the resources on which each voice draws are inherently social, the trajectory of each voice is distinct. (Couldry, 2010: 8)

For Couldry, 'plurality' is internal as well as external; 'It would be absurd to imagine that a life comprised just one story, or just one continuous sequence of action' (Ibid: 9). This is an important distinction as we consider the process that gives value to voice in the mainstream press: When a person or group is cast solely as the representative of a political issue such as climate change, with no recourse to agency or mediated space to push the boundaries of what they are expected to say, their voice is limited and made ineffective.

In this excerpt from her 2006 story, Bailey positions incoming Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami president Mary Simon as someone willing and able to admonish the government, make informed claims about the future, and lobby for change, all lending to a discernible ‘very effective’ voice in the text:

Decisions made in the next few years will profoundly affect future Inuit generations. ‘The new government is of concern to us,’ [Simon] says, referring to Tory backpedalling on the Kyoto pact to cut greenhouse gas emissions blamed for climate change.

Then there’s the 10-year Kelowna agreement reached last fall between aboriginal leaders, the previous Liberal government and every premier.

The Tories have since said they support the goal of raising native living standards – but they gutted \$5.1 billion in promised Kelowna cash.

‘The prime minister, whether a Liberal or not, they were representing the Crown,’ Simon says. ‘There should be some honour and commitment tied to that.’

Strong language throughout the story frames Simon as ‘the top political voice for Canada’s Inuit.’ In suggesting what the government ‘should’ do, Simon is admonishing; while it is unclear whether the referenced ‘decisions [which] will profoundly affect future Inuit generations’ are to be made by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami or the federal government, this text nonetheless positions Simon as having agency, if not the upper hand. Published about six months into Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s first mandate, the piece speaks to an uncertainty about where the new Conservative prime minister was taking the country after 12 years of Liberal rule. Conservative positions on climate change and indigenous rights are contrasted to prior Liberal positions, both by Simon, who describes her people as concerned about the new government, and the author, who highlights ‘Tory backpedalling’ and refers to a funding program as ‘gutted.’ It is difficult to tell whether the author is paraphrasing Simon’s account, partly because Simon’s assessments are presented as facts without any substantial contradiction or mechanisms that might undermine the authority of her voice.

Reference to then-Indian Affairs minister Jim Prentice criticizing Simon plays a part in strengthening the effectiveness of her voice: The government minister is positioned as Simon’s foe, ‘expressing his surprise to see Simon “starting off her term with statements that do not reflect the spirit of partnership and co-operation that has resulted in tremendous success to date.”’ Media recognition of authority to stand up to a foe who wields more political power can contribute to a positioning of effective voice; in the Canada-specific context of 2006, being ‘criticized by a Tory minister for her outspoken views’ and her ‘blunt assessment’ solidifies Simon’s position in the Bailey text as someone who will not be bullied, even if her claims are accompanied by a list of ‘chronic social issues’ that serve to remind southern readers of the geographic, economic and social differences between their communities and the Arctic.

## **The authority to speak**

Simon's particular authority to speak – thus her 'effective voice' – is exemplified not only in Bailey's (2006) article, but in many of the texts surveyed, and it is not without its problems. Simon and Inuit environmental activist Sheila Watt-Cloutier are often recognized as speakers on behalf of Inuit matters; over the time period studied here, mainstream newspapers published profiles of both women, their comments were included in news stories, and their letters to editors published. Their prominence in the texts does not necessarily guarantee the effectiveness of their voices, however. If 'effective voice' demands an 'internal diversity' (Couldry, 2010: 9), drawing on postcolonial theory, when cast as an official or unofficial spokeswoman, there is a risk of adopting the narrow voicing role of 'native informants,' positioned to explain the Other to southern non-indigenous Canadians, with little recourse to speak outside this box (Spivak, 1999: 30). Consider, for example, Simon's voice in a 2008 article co-written by Andrew Mayeda and Randy Boswell, categorized as showing 'ineffective voice' for Inuit sources:

The Inuit face a raft of social problems, from steep high-school dropout rates to alarming levels of suicide and substance abuse, that are being exacerbated by the impact of climate change on their lifestyles, said Mary Simon, president of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. By addressing some of these problems, the government could not only fulfil its obligations to the Inuit under existing land claims, but also bolster Canada's Arctic sovereignty, Simon argues. Some experts say Inuit occupation of Arctic land is one of the main reasons that most of Canada's territorial claims are not contested.

'It's about building sustainable communities in the Arctic. The Inuit (have) never said we're against militarization, as long as it's in a balanced way and it's not the only activity,' said Simon.

Drawing on Fairclough's 'choice relations' questions (1995: 64), Simon's voice is buried at the very end of the story. What makes this location so important is the subject matter left for her to discuss: In a story about Prime Minister Harper's handling of the Arctic, published as Canadians approached a federal election, a number of subjects are raised, including 'nationalist sentiment,' climate change, regional economic and national resource development, and more military training and infrastructure. Left for last, so-called Inuit issues are disembedded from matters presumed to be of more importance to southern Canadian readers. The lengthy list of 'social problems' affecting Inuit communities was noted, in paraphrase, by Simon, to suggest issues relevant to her community could be dealt with in conjunction to other Arctic concerns. Her point is lost in the overall framing, however: For example, earlier in the story, poll results isolate the 'Arctic file' from other 'government priorities,' such as health care, climate change and the economy. As well, noting 'the prime minister's "use it or lose it" rhetoric ignores the fact the Inuit have been "using"

the Arctic for millennia' serves as a reminder to southern readers of a timelessness associated with the Inuit, confirming a divide between northern and southern political issues.

Carrying on attention to Fairclough's 'choice relations,' framing found in Mehler Paperny's (2009) piece similarly limits the effectiveness of Simon's voice:

Social and economic development in Canada's Arctic communities lag other countries in almost every indicator. The region's greatest potential lies in its most vulnerable assets: its rich natural resources, which are vulnerable to climate change, and its youth, who are killing themselves at rates far exceeding the rest of Canada.

'When Canada talks about sovereignty, it's not just about militarization of the Arctic and it's not just about investing in the big infrastructure,' said Mary Simon, president of Inuit advocacy group Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. 'We're not against that. We just say that's not the only thing that should be happening in the Arctic. There's a human dimension to all of this.'

More is at stake than humanitarianism concerns, experts say. If Canada drops the ball on its northern residents, the entire sovereignty endeavour loses legitimacy: Canada's efforts to dictate resource development and environmental policy, [sic] become moot if the country can't foster sustainable communities in the territory.

In this text, Simon's voice can be gauged as 'effective but limited' by analysing the words directly attributed to her: She is making a claim about what Canada's 'sovereignty' politics 'should' be, and she appeals to southern Canadian readers to consider the 'human dimension' of the federal government's work in the North. Elements limiting effectiveness are present in the contextualizing paragraphs before and after her words: Inuit children are framed as 'assets' of similar value to 'natural resources,' 'humanitarian concerns' are downplayed by 'experts' and, to some degree, placing the responsibility to 'foster sustainable communities' on the federal government hints at an unequal postcolonial relationship.

Activist Sheila Watt-Cloutier's (2006) letter to the editor, categorized as showing 'very effective voice,' is studied here to reflect a wider trend found in my content analysis: Of 30 articles deemed to show the voices of Inuit sources as 'very effective,' six (20 per cent) were penned by members of Northern Inuit communities, including Watt-Cloutier (2), Simon (2), director Zacharias Kunuk (1), and writer Rachel A. Qitsualik (1). No opinion pieces authored by an Inuit writer were categorized as 'effective but limited' or 'ineffective,' in part because the scope of a self-authored text seems to allow for the exchange of narrative. Couldry holds as necessary for voice to be effectively recognized (2010: 8). Throughout her letter, Watt-Cloutier accuses the federal government of 'abandoning the peoples of the circumpolar Arctic,' issues demands and even threats by noting 'recent decisions by the federal government call for new responses,' and questions the government's plans by asking, 'How would you respond if you knew that deep cuts to greenhouse-gas emissions ... were essential to the future of your ancient culture and very way of life?' Acts of accusation, demand, questioning and even threatening all exemplify the 'relation between voice and action'

Couldry describes as part of the process of effective voicing (2010: 8). They invite rebuttal, or at least response, as platforms for exchange.

Further interrogating Spivak's (1999) concept of the native informant role, however, Watt-Cloutier's reference to an 'ancient culture and way of life' is problematic to some degree. The reference helps her explain a link between Inuit culture and the human rights action she was pursuing in 2006, but it also frames Arctic people as exotic to southern audiences:

Our hunting culture, based on the snow and ice, shows that climate change in the Arctic is a family issue, a community issue, and a cultural issue. Our human-rights action shows that climate change in the Arctic is also clearly a human-rights issue.

Watt-Cloutier's words shed light on Sawhney's contention that acting as "native informant" ... reinforces the implicit centrality of the dominant group' (1995: 210). At the same time, this perpetuation of what it means to be Inuit is not only accurate but shrewd: Canada's discourse on multiculturalism often 'demands that [indigenous people] remain Other if they are to gain a hearing; Aboriginal negotiations must arise from the basis of having an identifiably distinct culture' (Legare, 1995: 355).

### **Watching and waiting**

While self-representations can be problematic, Simon's and Watt-Cloutier's recognized authority often allow them to construct themselves in the mainstream media. Most often, however, hunters, elders or other members of Inuit communities are not similarly privileged. Quotes directly attributed to them tend to be descriptive, limiting the scope of fluid exchange necessary for 'effective voice.' Anne McIlroy's (2007) story about Simon Nattaq, an Inuit hunter who fell through ice on a lone expedition, is categorized as showing 'ineffective' voice because the article makes space only for the narrative of experience. The overwhelming majority of direct quotes attributed to both Nattaq and his wife, Annie Nattaq, are personal and descriptive, contributing to a practice of 'constructing the Other simply as an object of knowledge' (Spivak, 1990: 63). Where Simon Nattaq's words could be construed as a call to political action, they are stripped of a degree of agency when anchored by framing mechanisms that highlight his exoticism and position him as a representative-victim of climate change:

He doesn't talk much about his accident, especially to outsiders, but hopes it can inspire people. 'As we go through life, we go through many hardships. Never give up.' As for global warming, he believes that the Inuit will adapt and stay in their ancestral lands, come what may. He is more worried about the animals – the polar bears, caribou and seals, which he says are already showing signs of stress. People need to understand the problem is real, he says. 'I feel that everybody in the world should work together on global warming. 'If we work together, we can find a better way to do things.'



By noting Nattaq rarely speaks of his fall through the ice and resulting leg amputation to ‘outsiders,’ *he* is actually positioned as the outsider. The device serves as a reminder to the reader that she remains far removed from ‘the nomadic existence of [Nattaq’s] Inuit ancestors,’ just as, earlier in the story, reference to smaller snow banks and an inability to build backyard hockey rinks in southern Canada suggests the reader’s perception of global warming is geographically and culturally different from ‘the Arctic, [where] the story is even more dramatic.’ Fostering distance between Nattaq – here treated as a representative of the Inuit – and the reader contributes to a ‘noble savage’ storyline, which tends to exalt the skills and culture of indigenous people while ‘dismiss[ing them] as having lesser intellect or fewer accoutrements of “civilization” than non-Aboriginal southerners’ (Alia, 1999: 24).

Elsewhere in the story, Nattaq is described as believing in global warming and his people’s ability to survive climate change. Despite keeping a diary for two decades to note day-to-day weather patterns, he is said to have ‘sensed that winter was changing. The old ways of predicting storms, which he had learned from his elders, were no longer reliable...’ Although scientists and scientific organizations are not directly quoted in this story, their record-keeping is positioned as showing trends, and they are said to predict, declare and hold conviction, in stark contrast to words that frame Nattaq as wondering and worrying about what the future holds. At times, albeit by Nattaq’s own account, the story’s narrative attributes his survival to ‘miracle’ rather than his own practical knowledge and agency. Like the story sub-headlines that refer to Nattaq by first name alone (‘Simon’s nightmare’ or ‘Simon’s salvation’) – a media practice typically reserved for children – Nattaq’s authority is undermined, even when he is making recommendations for the future that extend outside the private realm of home and community. Meanwhile, his wife, Annie Nattaq, is at one point described not as simply being translated by an interpreter, but she herself is said to be being helped by the interpreter. The Nattaqs are ultimately presented as symbols of Inuit culture in the face of global warming; they are framed as witnessing the inevitable, fearing for the future, and waiting to be rescued.

The ‘evaluative framing of voices’ (Talbot, 2007: 75) which enables some sources to construct themselves but leaves others to act as symbols, speaks to an uneven distribution of voice as a resource (Couldry, 2010: 123). Turning briefly to my content analysis findings, Inuit people identified as leaders, politicians or activists were most likely to be directly quoted among the first three sources in stories that included Inuit voices. Hunters were the most prominent group among people not explicitly political. The relative absence of Inuit people not typically expected to have some degree of authority in their communities indicates who ‘gets’ to speak,

and who does not: People who have earned a degree of recognition from southern Canadians are more likely to be placed prominently in news stories.

Further querying absence, let us consider Woods's (2007) article about a southern Canadian scientist 'on the frontier of climate change,' which includes no direct quotes from Inuit sources. Professor emeritus Franklyn Griffiths is called 'a sort of Lawrence of Iqaluit,' drawing on the romantic history of a British man who travelled in the Middle East during World War I, aiming to educate, militarize, and steer colonized people toward self-government (Lyden, 2003; BBC, 2011). With this framing in place, the article positions Griffiths to speak on behalf of the Inuit following his recently completed field research:

'They consider that the whole climate change discussion is in some way a digression from the main thing, which is keeping culture alive by practicing and doing it,' he said. 'They see this as somebody else's agenda being imposed upon them.'

In Tuktoyaktuk, where the Beaufort Sea shoreline is eroding rapidly, a hunter told Griffiths the permafrost thaws to the point where graves in the cemetery can be dug easily with a pick and shovel.

Another hunter in Igloodik, Nunavut, said the sea ice is now thinner, the water less salty and soap lathers more quickly.

This excerpt treats Inuit people as an undifferentiated mass: In not naming the individuals Griffiths speaks of, Inuit community members are converted to a 'stable category of analysis' (Mohanty, 1990: 64). Although the reader is told Griffiths travelled widely, and two separate communities are mentioned, the grouping-together practice suggests the people Griffiths interviewed were essentially the same. This finding brings to mind Mohanty's caution against assuming 'ahistorical, universal unity' between people because of a 'generalized notion' of their sameness (1990: 64), as such treatment ensures they can 'never rise above the debilitating generality of their "object" status' (Ibid: 71).

Persistent framing of Inuit people in Canada as symbols limits the presence of effective voices in the mainstream press. The colonial theme found in Woods's text is present in others as well, although my primary analytical attention to Inuit voices in the texts studied here limited, to some degree, my ability to fully explore how this theme works as a framework for non-Inuit people taking on the privileged position of speaking on behalf of Inuit communities. The ability to speak about the Inuit in broad, undifferentiated strokes does not fall to scientists alone, however. As I have discussed, it is also the potential pitfall of speaking as a 'native informant' (Spivak, 1999; Sawhney, 1995).

## CONCLUSION

By studying the extent to which Canada's mainstream press make space for Inuit voices in coverage of global warming, I endeavoured to bring Couldry's (2010) work on 'effective voice' and postcolonial criticism together. Content analysis of 135 newspaper articles published over a five-year period showed most stories that included Inuit sources also presented degrees of 'effective voice.' Those with higher proportions of space dedicated to the direct quotes of Inuit sources were more likely to be categorized as showing 'very effective voice.' However, nearly half of all texts studied here were absent of Inuit sources altogether.

My two-step analysis ultimately shows discursive practices of grouping-together, *indistinction*, or playing down the individuality of Inuit people by treating them as symbols amounts to ignoring the 'value' of voice (Couldry, 2010: 93). Given these findings, however, what is a prescription for ensuring mainstream press attention to 'effective voices?'

Canadian mainstream press reporters must shy away from practices that exalt some as 'a human face' of climate change (McIlroy, 2006), while relegating others to witnesses and symbols: both practices limit an individual's capacity to be seen as having 'effective voice' in the press. This text-based case study succeeds in highlighting factors that contribute to framing voices as 'very effective,' 'effective but limited,' or 'ineffective,' but additional research is needed to explore how newsroom practices contribute to discursive practices. Undertaking interviews with press reporters or Inuit sources would build on my findings to better develop this postcolonial critique as one that can recommend change and 'resistance' (Shome & Hegde, 2002: 258). As global warming changes the landscape of Canada's Arctic, new political attention to the region demands the country's mainstream media make space for Inuit people to communicate existing and emerging claims and narratives connected to the impact of climate change on their indigenous communities. This call to action, admittedly, places much responsibility on mainstream press organizations to bridge gaps in understanding between northern and southern Canadians.

Throughout my findings, I highlighted discursive practices that contribute to a sense there is no common ground between the cultures of Arctic and non-Arctic people. As such, my call to make space for the words of Inuit sources in the mainstream press requires attention to *how* Inuit sources are voiced in media aimed at southern audiences and Canada's policy-makers. This does not mean Inuit voices should be made token. Acknowledging 'demands for authentic voices' do not guarantee solutions to problems of 'representation, self-representation [or] representing others' (Spivak, 1990: 63), I nonetheless argue making space

for 'effective voices' has the potential to challenge both the status quo (Couldry, 2010: 99) and lingering postcolonial mythologies. Essentially, this is a demand for another climate change narrative to be recognized in Canadian politics, one that runs parallel to – or in opposition, if deemed necessary by people indigenous to the Arctic – prominent rhetoric on border security and natural resource development.

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**APPENDIX 1**

	<b>Newspaper with highest proportion of texts falling into this category</b>	<b>Year(s) with highest proportion of texts falling into this category</b>	<b>Additional notes</b>	<b>Texts selected</b>
<b>Very effective</b>	<i>The Globe</i>	2006, 2010	33 per cent of all opinion pieces published over the five-year period were deemed to show “very effective” voices among Inuit sources.	Watt-Cloutier: “Don’t abandon the Arctic to climate change” (2006), <i>The Globe</i> . (Opinion)
			Because this research is focused on “effective voice,” I selected a second example of “very effective” voice, in a news story.	Bailey: “Future of Arctic at stake, Inuit’s new leader says” (2006), <i>The Journal</i> . (News)
<b>Effective but limited</b>	<i>The Journal</i>	2009	In keeping with political themes of my analysis, I selected a 2009 text dealing with Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s “Arctic agenda,” published in <i>The Globe</i> rather than <i>The Journal</i> .	Mehler Paperny: “The search for a vision to match Arctic vastness” (2009), <i>The Globe</i> . (News)
<b>Ineffective</b>	<i>The Globe</i>	2008	26 per cent of the articles filed from Canada’s North were categorized as showing “ineffective voices.”	McIlroy: “I still wonder how he didn’t perish in that water” (2007), <i>The Globe</i> . (Filed from Nunavut)
			Because this research is focused on “effective voice,” I selected a second example of “ineffective voice” in a news story.	Mayeda & Boswell: “Tough talk taps national pride” (2008), <i>The Journal</i> . (News)
<b>Absent</b>	<i>The Star</i>	2010	In cases where no Inuit sources were quoted, scientists were dominant primary sources. I focused on a science story rather than a 2010 text in part to query this finding.	Woods: “On the frontier of climate change” (2007), <i>The Star</i> . (Science)

**Table 1 – Criteria and text selection for CDA**

## APPENDIX 2

	Newspaper	Genre	Placeline when story filed from northern Canada	Inuit people quoted among first three sources	Proportion of story dedicated to Inuit quotes
<b>Very effective (Total: 30)</b>	<i>Globe and Mail</i> (15) <i>Edmonton Journal</i> (10) <i>Toronto Star</i> (5)	News (13) Profiles (5) Opinion/ letters (5) Science (3) Entertainment (1) Other (3)	Nunavut (4)	41	Average: 32% Median: 16%
<b>Effective but limited (Total: 20)</b>	<i>Journal</i> (11) <i>Globe</i> (7) <i>Star</i> (2)	News (14) Science (3) Business (1) Profile (1) Other (1)	Nunavut (3) Churchill, Man. (2) Northwest Territories (1) Labrador (1)	27	Average: 11% Median: 9%
<b>Ineffective (Total: 19)</b>	<i>Globe</i> (8) <i>Journal</i> (8) <i>Star</i> (3)	News (8) Science (5) Opinion (3) Profile (1) Other (2)	Nunavut (8)	18	Average: 4% Median: 2%
<b>Absent (Total 66)</b>	<i>Journal</i> (29) <i>Globe</i> (20) <i>Star</i> (17)	Science (23) News (20) Entertainment (7) Opinion (7) Profiles (2) Other (7)	Northwest Territories (6) Nunavut (2) Yukon (2) Churchill (2)	n/a	n/a

**Table 2 – Key characteristics of effectiveness categories**



## APPENDIX 3

	Story	Total words attributed to direct quotes from Inuit sources	Proportion of story attributed to direct quotes from Inuit sources	Source quoted	How many quotes directly attributed to source	Nature of quotes	Examples drawn from the texts
<b>Very effective</b>	Bailey (2006)	71	10%	Mary Simon	6	Descriptive (personal experience)	'I was accident-prone' 'I remember not being able to walk for a very long time'
						Descriptive (political)	'The new government is of concern to us'
						Admonishment (political)	'The prime minister, whether a Liberal or not, they were representing the Crown. ... There should be some honour and commitment tied to that.'
						Agency/appeal (political)	'There's way too many young people that are under a lot of stress. We need to really look at how we can change that.'
<b>Effective but limited</b>	Mehler Paperny (2009)	89	9%	Aaju Peter	2	Descriptive	'We have more houses and more stores. But I don't think we have very much of a longer-term plan.'

**Table 3 – Characteristics of quotes attributed to Inuit sources**

	Story	Total words attributed to direct quotes from Inuit sources	Proportion of story attributed to direct quotes from Inuit sources	Source quoted	How many quotes directly attributed to source	Nature of quotes	Examples drawn from the texts
	Mehler Paperny (2009) cont'd.				Aaju Peter cont'd.	Questioning	'What opportunity is there for anyone in the community aside from being a carver, or aside from making handicrafts?'
				Mary Simon	2	Appeal/claim-making (political)	'We're not against that. We just say that's not the only thing that should be happening in the Arctic. There's a human dimension to all of this.'
<b>In-effective</b>	McIlroy (2007)	206	7%	Simon Nattaq	17	Descriptive (personal experience)	'That blue water ... the feeling of being under that water comes over me.' 'I felt I had completed my journey through life. If God wanted me to go, I would go.' 'I get overwhelmed by fear.' 'Before the accident, my family had the best choice of country food. I could go further to get the best caribou. I can't go as far now.'

**Table 3 – Characteristics of quotes attributed to Inuit sources (continued)**

	Story	Total	Propor-	Source	How	Nature of	Examples drawn
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		words attributed to direct quotes from Inuit sources	tion of story attributed to direct quotes from Inuit sources	quoted	many quotes directly attributed to source	quotes	from the texts
	McIlroy (2007) cont'd.				Simon Nattaq cont'd.	Agency/appeal (personal/political)	'I feel that everybody in the world should work together on global warming.' 'If we work together, we can find a better way to do things.'
				Annie Nattaq	2	Descriptive	'They thought he was okay'
	Mayeda & Boswell (2008)	29	2%	Mary Simon	1	Claim-making (political)	'It's about building sustainable communities in the Arctic. The Inuit (have) never said we're against militarization, as long as it's in a balanced way and it's not the only activity'

**Table 3 – Characteristics of quotes attributed to Inuit sources (continued)**

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