RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN THE BEAUFORT SEA REGION THROUGH THE LENS OF THE MEDIA

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B.A., University of Calgary, 2010

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA

March 2016

ABSTRACT

The media's role in shaping Arctic perceptions receives little attention among northern scholars, yet this is where most citizens obtain information about the Arctic. Given the region's geographical remoteness, the media take on substantial power to influence citizens' perceptions. This research critically examines how print media present resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. The project consists of a qualitative discourse analysis comparing local newspapers with national newspapers (i.e. north-south) as well as Canadian and American newspapers. To learn more about northern media, an additional component of this research includes interviews with six journalists who work in the north (Fairbanks and Yellowknife). The study shows how national newspapers tend to portray industry and the federal government as the main decision-makers when it comes to resource development, whereas local newspapers tend to assert the power of local Indigenous groups and municipal/state/territorial governments.

Keywords: cultural studies; resource development; northern studies; media studies

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACUNS: Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies
AFN: Alaska Federation of Natives
AK: Alaska
ANCSA: *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act*
ANWR: Alaska National Wildlife Refuge
ASRC: Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
BP: British Petroleum
CBC: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CEO: Chief Executive Officer
COPE: Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement
GNWT: Government of the Northwest Territories
ICC: Inuit Circumpolar Council
IRC: Inuvialuit Regional Corporation
ITK: Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami
LNG: Liquefied Natural Gas
MLA: Member of Legislative Assembly
MP: Member of Parliament
NRI: Nunvaut Research Institute
NWT: Northwest Territories
OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
TAPS: Trans-Alaska Pipeline System
USA: United States of America

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Although the making of this thesis took me quite some time, I would not trade the experiences I had as a graduate student at the University of Northern British Columbia for anything. I grew not only as an academic but also as a person.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my co-supervisors, Dr. Gary Wilson and Dr. Maryna Romanets for their mentorship, their invaluable input, and their patience. I would also like to thank the members of my committee, Dr. Heather Smith and Dr. Gail Fondahl, as well as my external examiner, Dr. Ken Caine.

Thanks to my own SSHRC funding, the Northern Scientific Training Program, UNBC Travel Awards, and Dr. Gary Wilson's SSHRC funding, I visited Fairbanks, Inuvik, Yellowknife, Kuujjuaq, Québec City, Calgary, and Winnipeg. As someone who learns best by 'doing,' traveling proved instrumental to my research and expanded my perspectives. I am truly grateful for these opportunities.

I would also like to thank the IASK and Political Science departments, as well as their first-year students, for having me TA. When I struggled most during those 'dark days' of thesis revisions, TAing gave me lots of positive energy from students and professors eager to learn.

Thanks to Dr. Rob Huebert for introducing me to the north, as well as to the girl I met while volunteering at the Calgary Folk Music Festival who recommended UNBC as a fantastic place to study. She was right.

Finally, I cannot give enough thanks to my family, especially Ian, Evan, my Mom and my Dad. It was not an easy three and a half years, we hit some major obstacles, but you are all amazingly resilient, supportive, and have great senses of humour. Thank you for enjoying talking about ideas, news, and politics and for encouraging creativity and balance.

Introduction

Overview

In August, 2009, "the U.S. government declared a moratorium on new fisheries off the Alaskan coast pending further research about the effects of climate change on Arctic waters" (*National Post*, September 16, 2009: A4). Canada's *National Post* newspaper interpreted this fishery moratorium as an affront to Canadian sovereignty because it included a 21,436 km^2 "section of the Beaufort Sea that both the United States and Canada claim is theirs" (*National Post*, September 16, 2009: A4). The news article further explained how former NDP leader Jack Layton urged former Prime Minister Stephen Harper to meet with President Barack Obama to discuss Arctic sovereignty. Reading this news article, one might think Canadians and Americans are in conflict.

Curiously, though, a search on the *Seattle Times* archives for the words "Beaufort Sea" and "dispute" and "Canada" leads to only a single result since August 1, 2009.[1] *The New York Times* archives show no results. *The Globe and Mail*, a Canadian national newspaper, yields eighteen results referring to a sovereignty dispute in the Beaufort Sea. If the Canadian media emphasize a sovereignty dispute, but the American media do not, what does this mean? Is the Arctic region less important for Americans or do Americans view the Arctic through a different lens than sovereignty? What do northern journalists think? This research aims to further build upon these questions, using the media to examine how a single issue occurring across two countries, resource development in the Beaufort Sea, can be interpreted according to multiple perspectives.

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[1] Even then, this single search result refers to a dispute between ExxonMobil and the U.S. Department of Natural Resources, not a dispute between Canada and the United States.

Purpose of the Research

Given the Arctic region's geographical remoteness, and that most Canadians and Americans have never travelled to the Arctic, the media take on substantial power to influence how people perceive the region. To shed more light on this topic, I examine how print media portray and shape perceptions of the Arctic in the context of resource development. More specifically, I chose the Beaufort Sea region not only because of its location (i.e. straddling the territorial waters of the United States and Canada), but also because of the political and economic changes that resource development has triggered in the region over the last four decades. Oil was discovered decades ago, yet conditions have not yet aligned to build pipelines or begin offshore extraction.

Relating to methodology, I conduct a qualitative discourse analysis that closely borrows from James Gee's *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (2005). The discourse analysis compares local, northern print media with national print media as well as print media in Canada and the United States. To frame the discourse analysis, I look for various epistemologies[2] that news articles attach to resource development: scientific, Indigenous, industrial, economic, political, technological, and others. Because the term 'Arctic' is quite broad in scope, this research focuses on resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, which overlaps in the Northwest Territories, Yukon and Alaska. Only a small portion of Yukon borders the Beaufort Sea, an area called Ivvavik

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[2] Donna Haraway explains 'epistemology' as follows: "Some differences are playful; some are poles of world historical systems of domination. 'Epistemology' is about knowing the difference" (Haraway, 2010: 2202). In this sense, epistemology refers to a worldview, a type of knowledge, and a way of understanding the world. There are many epistemologies, but, as Haraway explains, some dominate over others. Cultural studies examines this fine line between celebrating difference and reinforcing difference in order to assert power and control.

National Park[3] which is part of the traditional territory of the Inuvialuit (whose communities are located in the Northwest Territories, see Figure 2.2), so I focus on newspapers in Alaska and the Northwest Territories. In total, I study eight newspapers: *The Globe and Mail* (Canadian national newspaper), the *National Post* (Canadian national newspaper), *USA Today* (American national newspaper), *The Washington Post* (American national newspaper), *The New York Times* (American national newspaper), the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* (local newspaper in Alaska), the *Inuvik Drum* (local newspaper in the Northwest Territories), and *News/North* (local newspaper in the Northwest Territories).[4] Finally, this research also consists of six interviews with journalists who work in the north in order to learn more about how journalism functions there.

The four key questions that my thesis examines are:

1. How do print media in Canada and the United States present resource development in the Beaufort Sea region?
2. How do 'northern' and 'southern' print media present resource development in the Beaufort Sea region?
3. What are the variations and what are the similarities between newspaper coverage? If similarities and differences occur, then why?
4. Most importantly, what roles might print media play in shaping perceptions of the Arctic, or do they play a role at all?

Underlying these four questions are three more questions that help frame the research and highlight the roles that multiple epistemologies and power dynamics play. They are as follows:

a) What issues do print media highlight alongside resource development in the Beaufort Sea region? Is resource development portrayed as a singular issue or is it connected to issues like sovereignty, regional autonomy, or climate change?

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[3] The park was created to preserve the Porcupine caribou herd's yearly migration (Berger, 1988).

[4] The *Inuvik Drum* and *News/North* are published weekly and are both owned by Northern News Services, a news outlet based out of Yellowknife. *News-North* is distributed throughout the territory while the *Inuvik Drum* focuses on Inuvik and the Beaufort Delta region. The *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* is locally owned and is the most northern daily newspaper in Alaska. See Chapter Four for more information about the newspapers and their readership.

b) What types of knowledge are cited as sources of expertise? Why?
c) What types of knowledge are silenced?

Comparing how the media portray resource development offers an enhanced awareness of the political, cultural, economic, and environmental issues shaping the Arctic and their relationships to popular perceptions about this region.

Importance and Value of the Research

Probably the most important reason to study how the media portray the Arctic is because many Canadians and Americans will never visit the region. Most of what they learn about the Arctic is through the media, which enables the media to take on a powerful role in dispersing knowledge about the Arctic to citizens. What happens if the media only depict the north through a southern lens? What happens if the American and Canadian media depict the Arctic differently? How will this affect citizens who never visit the north? Critically examining how newspapers portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea is a stepping-stone towards answering these questions. As Lorna Roth explains, "it matters deeply what media representations of ourselves we see reflected back to us" (2005: 14). Northern residents might feel confused by the multiplicity of ways that national media depict the north, and vice-versa. If variations tend to exist between newspapers' depictions, they could point towards different epistemologies and unbalanced power relationships.

Throughout this research, I assume that knowledge is situational (Barthes, 1988; Haraway, 2000, 2010), implying that newspapers can ascribe different meanings to resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. Although none of the meanings are more or less true, the variation shows that multiple truths exist and that readers should pay special attention to *why* certain newspapers might portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea

region in a particular way. James Gee (2005) provides some helpful questions readers can ask when thinking critically about a text (see Chapter Three): How the text builds significance, how the text explains activities, how the text builds identities, how the text builds relationships, how the text builds power relationships, how the text connects to other situations, and what knowledge systems are relevant. I asked these questions for every news article included in this thesis. Although I do not have the same understandings of the north as an Alaskan, an American or as a resident of the Northwest Territories, I intend to show where I think the news articles vary and where they are similar, and perhaps this will invite readers to think about their own relationships to the news articles and to ask similar questions when they read the news.

Some scholars who study the Arctic cite the media as an important force shaping the region. For example, Rob Huebert writes how "the media have focused on disputes" (as cited in Griffiths et al., 2011: 42), potentially influencing how southern Canadians view the Arctic. Likewise, Shelagh Grant concludes her book explaining how "the media may be the most valuable tool available to engage widespread support for protection of the fragile Arctic environment" (2010: 403). Both scholars imply that the media have important roles to play in the Arctic. Although some cultural studies research has been conducted in the Canadian Arctic (Evans, 2002; Higgins & Alia, 1999; Roth, 2005; Wachowich & Scobie, 2010), none take a qualitative comparative approach, one that compares the media's portrayals across countries as well as between northern and southern media. As such, a research gap still exists in this area of study.

Elana Wilson Rowe's (2013) study asks similar research questions to this thesis, but it employs geopolitics as a theoretical framework rather than cultural studies. Wilson Rowe (2013) looked at state and media discourses on the Arctic and determined that "the Arctic is represented as a zone of potential conflict in the media … [but] official (state) discourses as represented in national policy documents for the Arctic … tend to emphasize the peaceful nature of the region" (2013: 232). Her study spans five Arctic states and also includes interviews with public servants. She concludes, "the familiar narrative of geopolitics and geopolitical competition seems to lend itself well to popular imagination" (2013: 241). I hope to build upon Wilson Rowe's (2013) research not only by taking a different theoretical approach, but also by narrowing in on a single region, the Beaufort Sea, by comparing local media with national media, and by interviewing journalists instead of public servants. This research will also determine whether the results are similar and whether the media do tend to frame issues in the context of conflict. Comparing northern/local newspapers with southern/national newspapers adds to the current research in the field. How, then, do different newspapers tell the story of resource development in the north?

Theoretical Framework

In order to better conceptualize the research questions, this thesis uses a cultural studies theoretical framework to inform not only the roles of the media but also as a lens with which to view developments in the Beaufort Sea region. Cultural studies is a suitable approach because of its affiliations with critical literary theory as well as communications studies, both of which often use the media as a unit of analysis (During, 2007; Hall, 2007). More importantly, though, cultural studies theorists like Roland Barthes (1988) and Donna

Haraway (2000; 2010) advocate for research that creates spaces for embracing complexity, recognizing that knowledge is a form of power, celebrating intertextuality,[5] and allowing multiple knowledges to intersect. Perhaps, then, an interesting way to frame a research project is to rethink the notion that "there is no room in this modern social imaginary for a dis-ordered world" (Newbury, 2011: 337). In the twenty-first century, where information darts at us from every direction and where the supremacy of Enlightenment values begins to break down (Baudrillard, 2010; Haraway, 2010; Jameson, 2010; Lyotard, 2010), perhaps dis-order can bring new perspectives.

For a region like the Beaufort Sea, a cultural studies lens would view a sovereignty dispute[6] (Byers, 2009; Grant, 2010; Griffiths et al., 2011) as intertwining with multiple issues such as offshore drilling, Indigenous self-governance, climate change, traditional knowledges, and Canadian and American foreign policy. A cultural studies approach is instrumental in exploring how these issues interact and what effects these interactions have on local and national culture. Likewise, the media are also complex to study because of a news article's many influences (for example, the writer, the publisher, the country, the advertisers), the instantaneity with which news can spread around the world through technology, the power news articles have to shape knowledge, and the uncertainty surrounding how readers receive news. Cultural studies theorists like Barthes and Haraway build effective frameworks applicable to studying both the Arctic and the media.

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[5] See 'Key Concepts,' or page 21, for a definition of intertextuality.

[6] Shelagh Grant describes sovereignty in the Arctic as "many shades of grey" (2010: 401). This highlights the complexity surrounding certain issues in the Arctic, so assuming messiness might also be a good place to begin a research project. Specifically in the Beaufort Sea Region, the United States and Canada are in dispute over a small wedge of seabed. Canada says the boundary should extend straight from the land whereas the United States claims the boundary should be adjusted 90 degrees from the land (Huebert, 2009). Both countries currently cooperate in sharing science and mapping the region, with the goal of determining to whom the seabed belongs.

Resource Development in the Beaufort Sea Region

Both the Northwest Territories and Alaska have a lengthy history in which resource development intertwines with issues like regional autonomy, sovereignty, Indigenous self-determination and more recently, climate change. This is especially apparent in the Beaufort Sea region (see Figure 1.1) when considering pipelines and oil extraction. Alaska's statehood, the creation of the North Slope Borough, and the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* all connect to proposals for resource development. In northwestern Canada, similar proposals led to the creation of the Northwest Territories and the signing of the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement.*

Alaska and the Northwest Territories (NWT) are home to numerous Indigenous communities,[7] many of whom were deeply impacted by the discovery of oil and natural gas reserves on the Alaskan North Slope in 1968-69 and in Tuktoyaktuk, NWT in 1970 (Grant, 2010). These discoveries simultaneously triggered land claims negotiations for many northern Indigenous communities. Neither Alaskans nor residents of the Northwest Territories were content to watch as resource royalties flowed out of the region and into the hands of the federal governments. Likewise, Indigenous communities were not about to stand still as industry infiltrated their traditional territories. The Northwest Territories first elected its legislative assembly in 1975 (Alunik et al., 2003) and saw the formation of organizations such as the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE) in 1970 to protect Aboriginal interests during the oil boom (Alunik et al., 2003: 178). Likewise, Alaska attained statehood in 1959 (Haycox, 2002a) and the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) formed in

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[7] Indigenous groups in Alaska: Unangan (Aleut), Tlingit and Haida, Sugpiaq (Alutiiq), Yupik, Iñupiat, and Athabaskans (Schweitzer et al., 2014). Indigenous groups in the Northwest Territories: Inuvialuit Inuit, Dene, and Métis (GNWT Website, August 27, 2013).

1966 (Berger, 1985: 23). Both COPE and the AFN were Indigenous advocacy organizations, not decision-making organizations. Federal governments were quickly involved because the oil and gas industry encouraged governments to negotiate Indigenous land claims. From a business perspective, politically stable communities make investments more appealing (Berger, 1985; Fenge, 2009; Haycox, 2002).

As well as ANCSA, another influential decision linking government institutions, Indigenous communities, and industry occurred in 1977 when the Canadian government implemented Justice Thomas Berger's recommendation to suspend any further exploratory drilling along the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline route for ten years. This delay provided time for Aboriginal communities, like the Inuvialuit, to negotiate their land claims (Sabin, 1995).

Figure 1.1 Map of the Beaufort Sea Region

Source: www.graphicmaps.com, 2015.

Today, almost forty years later, most land claims are settled in the region (Fenge, 2009), and 2013 saw a devolution agreement signed by the Northwest Territories, which finally enabled the territory to take on province-like powers. Yet after four decades and through many negotiations, construction of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline has not started and offshore drilling has not begun. With many large-scale oil and gas companies like Shell and British Petroleum (BP) conducting exploratory drilling in the north, some argue that, in Canada at least, building the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline becomes a crucial starting point in order to support offshore drilling (Cournoyea, 2009: 390). In Alaska, many residents show concern for the dwindling volume of oil flowing through the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System (Haycox, 2002a; Sherval, 2013). Northern Indigenous communities, especially those that border the Beaufort Sea in the Inuvialuit Settlement Region and the North Slope Borough, recognize the potential wealth that oil and gas development can bring to a community, but at the same time they worry about its effects on Indigenous lifestyles (Cournoyea, 2009; Reiss, 2012).

Relating back to the research questions, if industry was the only powerful knowledge holder in the region, the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline would be built by now and multinational resource companies like Shell Oil would be drilling off Alaska's shore. As such, this research aims to examine the role that one purveyor of knowledge, the media, play when portraying resource development in the region. Which issues do print media choose to associate with resource development: regional autonomy, climate change, sovereignty, or different issues altogether? How do the media differ in terms of how they portray these issues?

Summary of Findings

Throughout the newspapers, this research identified five different signifiers[8] that shed light on the four main research questions[9] and encapsulate what resource development means for the Beaufort Sea region: "Thriving," "Obsolete," "The Last Frontier," "Protect/Develop," and "Local Significance."[10] These signifiers span across national and local newspapers, as well as connect to the interviews with journalists, yet they are used in varying capacities and not always in the same manner.

For example, the most obvious variation between 'northern' and 'southern' newspapers is that national newspapers in both the United States and Canada tend to emphasize "The Last Frontier" whereas the northern newspapers instead favour "Local Significance." This implies to readers of national newspapers that the Beaufort Sea region is so unpopulated and harsh to live in that there is no one in the north to decide whether to approve pipelines or offshore drilling. Northern newspapers instead assert the power of local residents to play a role in decision-making, whether through consultations with industry or through strong leadership from municipal and Indigenous organizations. Relating to agency, then, national newspapers contend that industry and the federal government approve projects, whereas northern newspapers assert that no project should pass without local consent.

The "Protect/Develop" signifier also varies between national and local newspapers, more specifically with regards to the American newspapers. The American national

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[8] A signifier is a term semiologists like Barthes (1972; 1988) use to refer to a written/oral word, in contrast to a 'signified,' which is the concept that underlies that word. Together, the signifier and the signified make up the sign (Barthes, 1972). See page 21 for a more detailed description of semiotics.

[9] My four main research questions are: 1) How do print media in Canada and the United States present resource development in the Beaufort Sea region? 2) How do 'northern' and 'southern' print media present resource development in the Beaufort Sea region? 3) What are the variations and what are the similarities between newspaper coverage? 4) Most importantly, what roles might print media play in shaping perceptions of the Arctic, or do they play a role at all?

[10] For a detailed description of what these signifiers imply in this research, see section Chapter Four.

newspapers split "Protect/Develop" in two, situating them on opposite ends of a continuum. Protecting the environment and extracting resources do not go hand in hand, they oppose each other. In Alaska, though, "Protect/Develop" works in balance, highlighting a conscious effort among residents to benefit from the wealth resource extraction offers, while at the same time appreciate the beauty of the north through spending time out on the land. In the interviews, journalists noted how many national depictions of the north tend to take an issue like resource development out of its local context and apply it to a broader, national context, which begins to answer *why* variations occur among newspapers. Dividing residents of the Beaufort Sea region into supporters of development versus environmentalists demonstrates how the United States as a nation might be struggling with similar divisions. In turn, this affirms the assumptions of southern readers and dilutes the complexity locals face trying to reconcile these concepts. If the story of resource development in the Beaufort Sea fits into broader, national stories, then these interpretations take on substantial power to shape readers' perceptions. Southern readers might use issues in the Beaufort Sea region to suit their cause (for example, as a means for the country to become more energy independent or as a region for Greenpeace to protect), without realizing that local sentiment might not be similar. Overall, this diminishes locals' ability to define themselves in national news.

Although all the newspapers use both the "Thriving" and "Obsolete" signifiers to describe resource development in the Beaufort Sea, their reasoning appeals to different audiences and creates another layer of variation. By appealing to different audiences, newspapers do not always connect resource development to identical issues, which begins to answer the research question, "What issues do print media highlight alongside resource development?" *The Globe and Mail*'s news articles describe resource development as

thriving because the region can adapt to today's resource market, whether by exporting Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) or extracting shale oil. Projects like offshore drilling and the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline are either old news or years away, due to an extremely lengthy regulatory process. Citing the regulatory process points towards the federal government as playing a powerful role in approving projects. The *National Post* targets a specific audience, one interested in investment. With devolution signed in the Northwest Territories, the region is ready to make use of its resource wealth. Unlike in *The Globe and Mail*, the *National Post*'s news articles depict the region as valuable in and of itself, not as scrambling to find its place in a new market. According to the articles published in the *National Post,* the Beaufort region is ready for investment. When it comes to setbacks, instead of pointing the blame towards the federal government, the *National Post* shifts the wording slightly, claiming that industry is cautious due to the region's history of unattained projects. In this sense, the *National Post* portrays industry as the player whose decisions are the most impactful.

Taking a more local perspective, *News/North*'s articles evoke a sense of anticipation for readers, that the Northwest Territories is booming economically and residents should feel enthusiastic about the future. Rather than promoting the region for potential investors like in the *National Post*'s articles, *News/North* promotes the benefits of resource development for people who live in the region. These differences might seem subtle, but they shape who readers perceive as having agency to make decisions.

As the only newspaper in this study situated right in the Beaufort Sea region, the *Inuvik Drum* acts the least excited for resource extraction and focuses attention instead on the extension of the Dempster Highway and the multitude of benefits this will bring. Of these benefits, like cheaper goods and more employment, the *Inuvik Drum* mentions better access

to resource development only as an aside. This marks another example where the stories that fit within national newspapers might not necessarily match the stories within local newspapers.

These variations reflect the lived experiences of the journalists and the news outlets, incorporating their assumptions as well as their versions of history. This project does not imply that one newspaper is 'truer' than another, or more factual, but rather that resource development in the Beaufort Sea is interpreted according to each region and each journalist. National newspapers have a larger readership and thus much more power to shape perspectives than local newspapers, which creates a power imbalance. Readers are more likely to perceive industry or the federal government as key players in resource development and less likely to perceive the significance of local leaders and residents. This helps to answer the research question "What types of knowledge are silenced?" This research highlights the importance of thinking critically about what is read in the news. Readers can ask themselves what assumptions news articles make, who the news articles cite as experts, and how the news articles might fit into national and local narratives.

Overview of Chapters

This section provides a quick summary of the chapters that follow and explains how they relate to the research questions. Chapter One begins with an overview of cultural studies, how it developed, and what types of questions cultural studies theorists might ask. Next, I introduce Donna Haraway (2000; 2010) and Roland Barthes (1988) and discuss six concepts that form this research's theoretical underpinnings: semiotics, intertextuality,

multiple knowledges, postmodernity, subversion, and hegemony. The chapter then addresses how cultural studies views the media, emphasizing most importantly that knowledge is a form of power (Allen, 2001; Barthes, 1988; Evans, 2002; Foucault, 2010; Fürsich, 2002; Haraway, 2000, 2010; Roth, 2005) and that journalists are readers too (Barthes, 1988; Fürsich, 2002). Finally, I examine cultural studies research conducted on northern media and explain how it tends to take a postcolonial lens.[11] These studies concluded either that the media act as a tool of empowerment for Indigenous communities (Daley & James, 2004; Evans, 2002; Roth, 2005; Wachowich & Scobie, 2010) or that the media perpetuate colonial thinking (Higgins & Alia, 1999).

Chapter Two looks deeper into the history of the Beaufort Sea region by showcasing the interconnections between resource development and regional autonomy. Starting broadly with Alaska and the Northwest Territories, I argue in this chapter that the discoveries of oil and gas in the 1960s and 1970s spearheaded the state and territory's desires for more autonomy from the federal government. With the extensive wealth that the oil and gas industry can provide for a region, residents wanted to ensure that extraction occurs on their own terms and that the benefits extend directly to communities instead of solely to the federal government. These sentiments matched those of Indigenous communities in Alaska and the Northwest Territories and sparked desires for Indigenous self-determination. Negotiations leading to Alaska's statehood in 1959 (Haycox, 2002a), the signing of the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* in 1971 (Berger, 1985), the founding of the North Slope

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[11] In their book *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin describe postcolonialism (or post-colonialism) as a field grounded "in European colonialist histories and institutional practices, and the responses (resistant or otherwise) to these practices on the part of all colonized peoples" (2007: 171). In relation to the Canadian and American north, Indigenous groups such as the Iñupiat, the Inuvialuit, and the Gwich'in have a lengthy history of colonization through various western institutions such as the Canadian government, the American government, the British government, the Catholic Church, the Russsian Orthodox Church, and the Anglican Church.

Borough in 1972 (Knapp & Morehouse, 1991), the signing of the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* in 1984 (Alunik et al., 2003), and a devolution agreement in the Northwest Territories in 2013 (GNWT Press Release, June 5, 2013) highlight the close linkages between regional autonomy and resource extraction in the Beaufort Sea region.

This thesis attempts to connect Haraway's (2000; 2010) and Barthes' (1988) theories to methods. Chapter Three reviews the methodology employed in this research and begins with a statement of assumptions, which explains my relationship to the research as well as the lenses through which I view it. Following this is a section justifying the use of print media as opposed to another form, or multiple forms, of media. Next, the chapter addresses the methods used in this research: a qualitative discourse analysis comparing how national and local (as well as Canadian and American newspapers) discuss resource development in the Beaufort Sea, and six semi-structured interviews with journalists who work in either Fairbanks or Yellowknife in order to learn about how the media function in the north. I coded the newspapers and the interviews separately, although many of the interviews' recurring themes matched the newspapers' signifiers. Chapter Three ends with a section highlighting the research's limitations.

Chapter Four is the first of three chapters to discuss the findings. Drawing from Barthes' theories on semiotics (1988), Chapter Four reveals five signifiers that the newspaper articles and the journalists used to discuss resource development in the Beaufort Sea. The remainder of the chapter focuses on the newspapers and explains how each newspaper used the five signifiers in varying capacities and with varying interpretations to portray resource

development. Chapter Five concentrates on the interviews with journalists, linking their perspectives to the signifiers as well as to northern literature addressing cultural studies, resource development, and regional autonomy. The three main themes that the interviews reveal are 1) northern media play an indirect role in society, 2) The Northwest Territories' large Indigenous population influences journalism in the region, and 3) substantial differences exist between how northern and southern media portray resource development. The chapter ends with two sections on unexpected findings: one discussing the language journalists used to differentiate 'north' from 'south,' and another mentioning some outlying, or satellite themes (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). Finally, Chapter Six presents the most- and least- common sources that newspapers used to discuss resource development, which links the research back to Haraway (2000; 2010) and Barthes (1988) and emphasizes themes like knowledge and power. The chapter connects newspapers' sources to the five signifiers for resource development and concludes that northern newspapers tend to imply that resource development must gain the consent of local politicians, Indigenous leaders, and residents, whereas national newspapers tend to imply that the federal government and industry have the most power to approve or delay projects.

Summary

I began this introduction by outlining the purpose of the research, which compares how national and local, as well as Canadian and American newspapers, portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. Next, I discussed the importance of the research, which fills a research gap because a similar study has not yet been conducted, and also invites readers to think critically about what they read in the news. The news, like any text, is

full of underlying assumptions and experiences. I then briefly reviewed cultural studies and how it frames this research, as well as introduced Alaska and the Northwest Territories and their histories of resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. My main findings are that newspapers tend to use five signifiers, in various proportions, to portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea region: 'Thriving,' 'Obsolete,' 'Protect/Develop,' 'Local Significance,' and 'The Last Frontier.' In general, the most striking difference is that national newspapers portray the federal government and industry as the key players, whereas local newspapers portray local communities, local leaders or Indigenous leaders as the key players.

Chapter One: Theoretical Framework

Overview

Cultural studies emerged as a recognizable school of thought in Britain during the 1950s, with the incorporation of Marxist thought into the realm of culture (During, 2007). Although cultural studies tends to reject some Marxist notions, like its "orthodoxy, its doctrinal character, its determinism, its reductionism, its immutable law of history, [and] its status as a metanarrative" (Hall, 2007: 36), the approach nevertheless built on Marxist notions of cultural production, hegemony, and celebrating the working class. In short, cultural studies examines "culture in relation to individual experiences and lives" (During, 2007: 1). Both the individual and the communal intersect through culture. Stuart Hall, an influential cultural studies theorist, explains how "there is always something decentered about the medium of culture, about language, textuality and signification, which always escapes and evades the attempt to link it, directly and immediately, with other structures" (2007: 41). Some questions cultural studies theorists ask are: How do thinking processes manifest themselves in culture? Who has the power to shape thought? How does culture shape communication, and vice-versa? What are the relationships between language and culture? These questions enabled the field to branch out into many different directions, intersecting with structural semiotics, psychoanalysis, subculture, media reception, ideology, pop culture, sexuality studies, postcolonialism, technology, globalization, and science, among others (During, 2007).

An underlying assumption of cultural studies is that knowledge is a form of power (Barthes, 1972, 1988; Baudrillard, 1994; Foucault, 2010; Hall, 2007; Haraway, 2000, 2010). As a purveyor of knowledge, the media can contribute to building or reinforcing power

relationships. Cultural studies fits nicely with a comparative approach because although the meanings underlying language are never fixed, researchers can nonetheless compare how these meanings relate to each other and how relationships change over time. Although cultural studies offers many directions, this research focuses on the work of theorists like Roland Barthes and Donna Haraway, who value instability, embrace complexity, study knowledge intersections, and recognize power dynamics.

Cultural Studies: Key Concepts

In critical theory, Haraway and Barthes are known for their work on intertextuality, multiple truths, and semiotics that emphasize the signifier over the signified.[12] Across disciplines, their work is used differently depending on the text.[13] This research might stretch the confines of an acceptable use of Haraway or Barthes' theories because many would argue that applying their theories destroys the very purpose of research.[14] Elfriede Fürsich (2002), however, sees more use for cultural studies, criticizing the discipline for rarely venturing outside of abstraction but also criticizing journalism for rarely considering theory. In response to Fürsich (2002), this research applies cultural studies to an interdisciplinary study

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[12] See page 21.

[13] Donna Haraway is also known for her influence on feminism. Within cultural studies, she can be considered a poststructuralist, a postmodernist, a sci-fi theorist, a feminist, and/or a Marxist. Depending on the text, Roland Barthes can be considered a structuralist, a poststructuralist, a semiotician, and/or a humourist. These multiple trajectories for Barthes' and Haraway's theorizing undermine attempts to rigidly position them within a single school of thought, thus emphasizing one of the major tenets of their work: their critique of taxonomies and categorizations.

[14] Many scholars dismiss Haraway (2000; 2004; 2010) and Barthes (1988) for being radical, nihilistic and relativistic (Linklater, 1996; Sarup, 1993; Vasquez, 1995). For example, "if everything is a social construction and nothing is permanently true, how can postmodernism's view of the world and history as a set of constructions be anything but a social construction?" (Linklater, 1995: 2005). The entire purpose of research would then be useless. Stuart Hall provides a rebuttal to claims similar to Linklater's (1996). Hall writes, cultural studies "can't be just any old thing .... It is a serious enterprise ... [it has] tension between a refusal to close the field, to police it and, at the same time, a determination to stake out some positions with it and argue for them" (2007: 35).

of the media in a complex setting like the Arctic. Although Haraway and Barthes differ in many ways, they both endorse the following six concepts that frame this research: semiotics that emphasize the signifier over the signified, intertextuality, multiple knowledges, postmodernity, subversion, and hegemony.

To start, the sign, signifier and signified are the units of analysis in semiotics, which is the study of signs (Barthes, 1972; de Saussure, 2010). In Barthes' essays, "The Death of the Author" and "From Work to Text," published in his seminal book *Image, Music, Text* (1988), the certainty of a signifier, a written/oral word, to represent a signified, a concept, is called into question. Whereas it was previously understood that a finite number of signifiers can represent a signified, these two essays argue that every signified could have an infinite number of signifiers (Barthes, 1988). This means that a single word can have an infinite number of meanings, depending on each individual's situated knowledge.

The second point of conflation in Barthes (1988) and Haraway (2000; 2010) is their theorizing of intertextuality, which suggests that discursive texts[15] inevitably refer to many other discursive texts because understanding requires individuals to contextualize stories, actions, and ideas within their own lived experiences (Barthes, 1988). As Barthes explains, "[t]he Text is plural" (1988: 159). Texts refer to each other indefinitely, the text itself "being the text-between of another text" (Barthes, 1988: 160). By way of example, in David Cronenberg's novel *Consumed,* which centers around a noted French philosopher's murder, Célestine Arosteguy, the victim of the crime, exclaims: "the only authentic literature of the modern era is the owner's manual" (Cronenberg, 2014: 2). For me, this phrase jokingly

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[15] A discursive text refers to a text in discourse. In her book *Discourse,* Sara Mills explains how there are many definitions for the term 'discourse' (2005). Perhaps most succinctly, discourse refers to language that does "not occur in isolation but in dialogue" (2005: 10). To elaborate, because discourses occur in interaction, "discourses structure both our sense of reality and our notions of our own identity" (2005: 13).

evokes Baudrillard (also a French intellectual) and his essay "The Precession of Simulacra," where 'new' ideas no longer exist in a postmodern world, but only simulations of ideas (1994). Connecting Célestine's quote to Baudrillard then further reminds me of Umberto Eco's *Travels in Hyperreality* (1983), where Eco pokes fun at America's plethora of wax museums: "the 'completely real' becomes identified with the 'completely fake'" (1983: 7). This process of texts connecting to other texts, so on and so forth, whether explicitly or through a reader's own perceptions, is intertextuality.

Just as there are many ways to understand a text (Barthes, 1988), there are many ways to understand the world. Both Barthes (1988) and Haraway (2000; 2010) recognize that there exist multiple knowledges rather than a single, universal knowledge. If newspapers portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea region differently, this is likely due to newspapers being influenced by various ways of knowing. Haraway also explains how interdisciplinarity is an important way to weave together multiple knowledges, and this research borrows from numerous disciplines: Political Science, Critical Theory, Northern Studies, Communications Studies, and International Studies. Haraway writes, "we need to be doing both vertical deep studies and lateral, cross-connecting ones" (Haraway, 2000: 46).

By accepting that multiple knowledges exist, meanings are infinite, and that texts can refer to each other indefinitely, values like fixed identities, universal truths, and linearity are called into question. Cultural studies theorists call this era postmodernity. Haraway refers to postmodernity more explicitly than Barthes through her metaphor of the human as a cyborg (2010). Postmodernity marks the era following modernity, where there is both a rejection of the idea of progress and a rejection that history operates as a grand narrative (Lyotard, 2010). Progress might not lead to human emancipation after all. In terms of how postmodernity

influences this research, news articles are not treated as part of a grand narrative, but instead as multiple narratives addressing the same topic, neither of which claim singularly 'true' representation. News articles pass indirectly from journalist to reader. Layers upon layers of ideologies, texts, and lived experiences are woven together (Barthes, 1988; Haraway, 2000; 2010) so that journalists (as well as readers) carry these influences with them when they read news. What formerly might be understood as a news article's single 'meaning' is, from a postmodern perspective, the dominant culture's interpretation.

Not all cultural studies theorists embrace postmodern premises. Many tend to see postmodernity as either an apathetic demise of humanity (Baudrillard, 1994, 2010; Jameson, 2010) or as a neutral force (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010). Haraway, though, accepts postmodernity's rejection of foundations because, she argues, it allows for subversion, a recoding and "retelling [of] origin stories" (Haraway, 2010: 2215), stories that were previously silenced. Barthes also feels a certain "jouissance"[16] (1988: 161) because postmodernity frees texts from their authors, enabling readers to take the text in any direction they please (Barthes, 1988). This notion of subversion suggests that holders of marginalized knowledges might find ways to re-appropriate and reconfigure dominant codes to suit their own epistemologies. Because the Beaufort Sea region is a region where Canada and the United States colonized Indigenous peoples, it is possible that Indigenous communities use newspapers to subvert and re-appropriate dominant knowledges.

Finally, Haraway (2000; 2010) and Barthes' (1988) understanding of hegemony also binds their theories together. Simon During describes hegemony as "relations of domination which are not visible as such. It involves not coercion but consent on the part of the

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[16] 'Jouissance' is the French word for 'joy.'

dominated" (2007: 4). Hegemony, then, refers to dominant ideas or entities in unequal power relationships. The term was coined by Marxist cultural studies theorists who perceive culture as operating in a binary between hegemony and suppression (Gramsci, 2010; Hardt & Negri, 2010; Hebdige, 2010; Williams, 2010). In postmodernity, with a multiplicity of competing narratives instead of only two narratives, Haraway (2000; 2010) and Barthes (1988) reinterpret hegemony to refer to knowledges that individuals or groups, in a given time and place, might believe without question because they are so prevalent. These knowledges thereby have power over other knowledges and become hegemonic. Hegemony is important in this research because I look for underlying assumptions, or underlying epistemologies within newspaper coverage in order to determine whether some interpretations are more prevalent than others, which can create unequal power relationships. Whether certain knowledges are *intentionally* dominant in the media is less important than asking what the effects are on readers if they are only exposed to certain knowledges.

Applying Cultural Studies to the Media

In relation to the roles of the media in society, cultural studies takes the perspective that knowledge is a form of power (Allen, 2001; Barthes, 1988; Evans, 2002; Foucault, 2010; Fürsich, 2002; Haraway, 2000, 2010; Roth, 2005). Although Michel Foucault would not necessarily be considered a cultural studies theorist, his work on the relationship between power and knowledge was hugely influential in the development of the discipline. In the introduction to his seminal book, *A History of Sexuality* (2010), Foucault provides an insightful example of how power and knowledge interrelate, sometimes more directly,

sometimes inadvertently.[17] To have power to disperse knowledge means to have power to influence culture and shape norms according to one's own ideals. Haraway also offers an example of the interrelations between knowledge and power when she argues that "all theoretical systems in biology depend upon a central metaphor" (2000: 20). Whether the body works as a machine or is built like a crystal (Haraway, 2004),[18] society uses these metaphors to codify the body and control it through such definitions. Metaphors make powerful statements concerning how society understands the world around it.

How might knowledge and power relate to journalism? How would cultural studies theorists conceptualize the media? Many contemporary scholars study the roles of the media and their relationship to power and knowledge. Maxwell Boykoff analyzes the media as a means to "interrogate how power and scale construct, reflect and reveal heterogeneous and complex phenomena such as language, knowledge and discourse" (2007: 479). In examining how the media represent climate change and how this influences the American public, he concludes that the media often provide "a truncated view" (2007: 484). While science clearly

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[17] In the eighteenth century, many state institutions realized that reproduction was important for building a wealthy economy: the higher the population, the bigger the workforce, and thus the wealthier the state. During this time, though, discussions about sex were largely taboo. How could the state normalize discussion about sex while continuing to stay in power, especially since only some aspects of sexuality were helpful to the state, such as heterosexuality? Foucault explains how many institutions reframed sex into a "form of analysis, stocktaking, classification, and specification" (2010: 1506). Sex was now organized, analyzed, and scrutinized in order to best benefit the state, which inevitably led to normalizing certain sexualities and abnormalizing sexualities that did not comply with heteronormativity. Not surprisingly, diagnoses for 'deviant' sexualities grew exponentially. In its attempt to ensure a growing, wealthy economy, the state took control of sexual knowledge, therefore gaining the power to classify sexuality as either 'normal' or 'abnormal.' Unexpectedly, though, in its attempt to control knowledge, the state also created a space for its own subversion through marginalizing a large community of sexual 'abnormality.'

[18] As a triple major in zoology, philosophy, and literature, Donna Haraway conducted her doctoral research on changes in biological paradigms. She noticed how different paradigms used different metaphors to conceptualize the human body (2004).

influences media reporting, so do many other aspects of a society, including journalists themselves, who ultimately mediate the stories they tell (Boykoff, 2007: 478).

Elfriede Fürsich also perceives journalists as mediators between different institutions of knowledge (2002: 72). Criticizing cultural studies for rarely venturing outside of abstraction but also criticizing journalism for overlooking theory (2002: 63), Fürsich applies cultural studies and visual anthropology to journalism in order to provide strategies for journalists to better account for cultural hybridity (2002: 65; 2002: 73). Like Boykoff, she agrees that knowledge is situational, which creates "a unique position [for journalism to hold] in the creation of representations" (2002: 66). If knowledge varies, how can journalists tell stories that validate multiple perspectives? Instead of reducing the media to an entity with the goal of "getting both sides" (Fürsich, 2002: 59), hybridity allows journalists to be as open as possible, acknowledge their biases and allow for "a range of decodings" (Fürsich, 2002: 73).

Specifically studying editorial articles in print media, Sean Phelan arrives at similar conclusions to those of Boykoff (2007) and Fürsich (2002), that the media "legitimiz[e] particular understandings" (2009: 233). This is especially appropriate to editorials, because they highlight power and authority and serve as "barometers of the thinking of the most powerful voices within the newspaper and corporate hierarchy" (Phelan, 2009: 234). In a newspaper, therefore, editorial articles[19] have the most power to influence their readers because of their perceived expertise.

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[19] By referring to "editorial articles," I include staff opinion pieces and guest comments but not Letters to the Editor (see page 62 for more discussion on this topic).

Many more scholars address the ideas mentioned above, most notably that the media reflect only certain, often binary,[20] knowledges (Harding, 2006; Worthington, 2010; Follet, 2010), that the media influence the public on topics to think about (Daniels, 2006; Harding, 2006), and that the media tend to focus on event-driven stories (Daniels, 2006; Pew Research Centre, 2013; Worthington, 2010). To clarify, though, "rather than functioning as a monolithic bloc with singular aims and strategies" (Evans, 2002: 311), the media's roles in shaping society might not be so discernible. There is no single, straight line from a news article to a reader. Each news article crisscrosses multiple layers of social, cultural, political, environmental and economic discourses, as well as an individual's lived experiences. Barthes (1988) uses the notion of a 'Text' to refer to a piece of discourse 'in motion.' Texts have multiple meanings unique to different readers: how readers interpret texts is significant while the identity of the author is less so. What readers *do* with the information they receive thus contributes to their knowledge. With this emphasis on readers in mind, I should note that ideally, I would study how readers read the news and what readers feel are the main similarities and differences between newspapers (this is addressed further in Chapter Three). Given the time constraints of a Master's thesis, it was not possible to study readers other than myself.

Fürsich explains how "all constructions [of reality] are synchronous productions of knowledge grounded in their respective political, economic, and social conditions" (2002: 72). Journalists act not only as mediators between various institutions of knowledge, but

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[20] An example of the media portraying issues using binaries is Follet's (2010) research on how the media portray the Sacred Headwaters in northern British Columbia. She argues that the media depict the Tahltan First Nation and industry as working in opposition, in conflict, as though the issue has a clean, simple division.

also as readers of texts[21] (Barthes, 1988). As readers, journalists share what they 'read' with the rest of society. Although I am the only 'reader' of the news articles in this thesis, I also interview northern journalists to learn more about how they 'read' the north. As Fürsich explains: "beyond simply transmitting information, journalists establish the boundaries of civic discourse, normalcy and common sense" (2002: 59). Critically analyzing the similarities and differences between news stories creates a space to search for dominant knowledges, missing knowledges, new knowledges, and how these knowledges inform culture. This thesis also demonstrates that future research looking at how 'northern' and 'southern' readers perceive the news in 'national' and 'local' newspapers would be a valuable contribution to northern research.

Applying Cultural Studies to the Media in the Arctic

Some cultural studies theorists have conducted research specifically in the Arctic region, but generally, a research gap exists in this field. Emphasizing the signifier over the signified[22] can relate especially well in the circumpolar north because various actors understand situations differently, not only in terms of where the north is, but who the north is, and to whom it belongs. This research considers whether a cultural studies approach can help shine light on intersecting epistemologies in the Beaufort Sea region. Theoretically, almost all the existing research takes a postcolonial approach, one that examines the marginalization of Indigenous ways of knowing in a colonial context through Othering.[23]

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[21] Referring to journalists as 'readers' of texts demonstrates that journalists themselves interpret events or issues and then communicate their interpretations by writing news articles.

[22] See page 21.

[23] Othering refers to thinking about difference in a hierarchical fashion, whereby 'us' refers to 'better' and 'them' or 'other' refers to the marginalized culture. Othering is a key area of study in postcolonial studies (see Said, 2010; Spivak, 2010).

Interestingly, researchers use various types of media to highlight either marginalization or empowerment. In the field of broadcasting, Lorna Roth explains how Aboriginal broadcasters "have used broadcasting as an emancipatory tool" (2005: 9). Michael Evans looks specifically at Canadian Inuit broadcasting organizations and highlights differences between the more colonial, Ottawa-based Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and the more empowering, culturally-sensitive, Igloolik-based Isuma (2002). Evans argues, "the steady but erroneous portrayals of the Inuit in the Southern media .... fit the needs and perceptions of the Southern portrayers. These depictions often center on what is exotic" (2002: 315-216). This sense of exoticism contributes to Othering.

Nancy Wachowich and Willow Scobie (2010) study how the internet builds cultural identity. They use YouTube as a media platform to examine Inuit identity in Canada, observing that "while the Internet has been celebrated for its global reach, many of the social relationships and dialogues seemingly fostered by this technology are intimate and localised" (2010: 81). YouTube has many young, Canadian Inuit users who regularly post videos of themselves and their daily lives for other Inuit to watch, thereby bridging the large distances between communities in the north. Through viewing these short videos, Wachowich and Scobie assert that "storytelling is crucial to processes of re-empowerment" (2010: 99), and that "the Internet has become one of the tools that will ensure the survival of Inuit young people in the 21st century" (2010: 99).

Finally, Brian Higgins and Valerie Alia (1999) examine newspaper representations of northern Indigenous communities using quantitative content analysis and a comparison of local and national newspapers. Perhaps as expected, local newspapers like *Nunatsiaq News* and Yellowknife's *Press Independent* include much more Aboriginal content, while *The*

Globe and Mail rarely mentions Aboriginal culture and it typically does so in a negative context (Higgins & Alia, 1999). They conclude that "print media are essentially a creation of southern culture" (Higgins & Alia, 1999: 148) that reinforce colonialism. Patrick Daley and Beverley James (2004), in their book *Cultural Politics and Mass Media: Alaska Native Voices*, study former Alaska Native newspapers such as the *Alaska Fisherman* and the *Tundra Times* and their roles in resisting westernization. They note how "the mainstream newspapers in Alaska legitimated the Western industrial model of development .... Such official monopolies on public knowledge and expertise can go a long way toward constructing popular consent and reinforcing a dominating hegemony" (Daley & James, 2004: 136). By establishing Alaska Native newspapers, journalists could expose westernization differently and change perceptions. Daley and James (2004) even view the *Tundra Times* as playing a key role in the creation of the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act,*[24] highlighting the paper's importance as a tool of empowerment. Whereas Daley and James (2004) agree with Higgins and Alia (1999) that newspapers tend to reinforce western ways of knowing, if the newspaper is situated within an Indigenous community for an Indigenous audience, then it can resist westernization and promote Indigenous ways of knowing.

Overall, the cultural studies research on the media in the Canadian and American north tends to employ a postcolonial theoretical framework. Roth (2005), Evans (2002), Wachowich and Scobie (2010), and Daley and James (2004) assert that Indigenous communities find ways to use the media as a means of empowerment, if the content is aimed at local, Indigenous audiences. If not, the media tend to reinforce western ways of knowing

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[24] See Chapter Two for a discussion about the implications of the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.*

or even reinforce colonialism (Higgins & Alia, 1999). As such, another objective of my research is to confirm or contest these findings.

Summary

Whereas some cultural studies research examined the media through a postcolonial lens in the Arctic (Daley & James, 2004; Evans, 2002; Higgins & Alia, 1999; Roth, 2005; Wachowich & Scobie, 2010), none has applied Barthes (1988) and Haraway (2000; 2010) to this topic. Both Barthes (1988) and Haraway (2000; 2010) recognize that knowledge creates power dynamics, that multiple knowledges interact and intersect, that meanings are not fixed, and that texts refer to other texts ad infinitum. The media do not pass linearly from journalist to audience, but rather, the media pass through multiple layers of experience and interpretation. In my research, I look for certain assumptions within the news stories and examine how these contribute to building dominant narratives. The next chapter shows how this research applies a cultural studies conceptual framework to resource development. By employing analytical tools that are not often used in this context, I attempt to widen the scope of approaches with which to study resource development.

Chapter Two: Historical Context

Overview

In the following chapter, I provide a short history of the Beaufort Sea region by emphasizing the momentous role that oil and gas discoveries played in spearheading aspirations for regional autonomy. For the purpose of this research, regional autonomy refers to developments at the state/territorial and Indigenous levels of governance. Alaska attained statehood in 1959 (Haycox, 2002a), oil was discovered on the North Slope in 1968 (Grant, 2010), and the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* followed soon after in 1971 (Berger, 1985). In the Northwest Territories, 1970 saw the discovery of oil and gas in Tuktoyaktuk (Grant, 2010), the territory held its first legislative elections in 1975 (Alia, 1999), and the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* was signed in 1984 (Alunik et al., 2003). Only recently, in 2013, did the territory approve a devolution agreement, enabling it to exercise province-like powers, which include control over its natural resources (GNWT Press Release, June 5, 2013). This chapter explores how resource development in Alaska and the Northwest Territories influenced regional autonomy and northern identity.

Cultural Studies and Resource Development

Gail Fondahl and Stephanie Irlbacher-Fox understand governance "as the exercise of legitimate authority within a group to make decisions regarding the allocation of resources and the coordination and management of communal, and, to some extent, individual activities" (2009: 1). From popular western forms of government, like the state of Alaska, to the consensus-based legislature of the Northwest Territories, to the autonomous municipality of the North Slope Borough, to Indigenous corporations like the Inuvialuit Regional

Corporation and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, each of these institutions act as governing structures for communities.

In the newly released *Arctic Human Development Report II*'s chapter on Arctic governance, Greg Poelzer and Gary Wilson (2014) explain that northern citizens construct multiple identities for themselves, a process which adds to the complexity of northern governance. For example, Iñupiat in Barrow may identify as Iñupiat, as residents of the North Slope Borough, as Alaskans, as Americans, and/or as members of the Inuit Circumpolar Council. Similarly, Gwich'in in Aklavik, NWT may identify as members of the Gwich'in Tribal Council, as members of the Dene National Council, as residents of the Beaufort-Delta region, as residents of the Northwest Territories, as Canadians, and/or as members of the Arctic Athabaskan Council. Poelzer and Wilson (2014) further explain how the desires of these multi-level political communities can coincide, but oftentimes they diverge significantly: "multi-level governance is at the center of Arctic political life, reflecting these attachments to different political communities" (2014: 186).

As reviewed in the previous chapter, the cultural studies research that focuses on the north tends to draw from postcolonial theory (Daley & James, 2004; Evans, 2002; Higgins & Alia, 1999; Roth, 2005; Wachowich & Scobie, 2010). In this research, postcolonialism connects to regional autonomy because both Alaska and the Northwest Territories have a history of colonization and desires for self-determination. In their definition of governance, Fondahl and Irlbacher-Fox specify further that Indigenous governance "is consistent with beliefs, values, practices and worldviews of Indigenous cultures" (2009: 2). A postcolonial lens is instrumental in studying the extent to which structures of governance decolonize or

re-colonize, or the extent to which they forge empowered identities for either Indigenous communities or Alaskans or residents of the Northwest Territories. In this thesis, though, I shift slightly to examine the role that resource development plays in terms of strengthening identities in the north. Although I focus on how newspapers depict resource development, the issue is closely linked to regional autonomy in the Beaufort Sea region.

The discovery of oil and gas in the region during the late 1960s and early 1970s placed both Alaska and the Northwest Territories on the map for southerners. Residents of Alaska and the Northwest Territories saw that their isolation could change quickly if big industry came into the picture. This set the precedent for the state, the territory, and Indigenous groups to ensure that control over their land would not end up solely in southern hands. The Inuit Circumpolar Council's (ICC) *Circumpolar Declaration on Resource Development,* which includes signatories representing both the Inuvialuit and the Iñupiat, declared: "economic development and cultural development must go hand in hand .... A proper balance must be struck. Inuit desire resource development at a rate sufficient to provide durable and diversified economic growth, but constrained enough to forestall environmental degradation and an overwhelming influx of outside labour" (ICC, 2011). The document provides seven statutes for industry and government to consider, emphasizing throughout that "Inuit welcome the opportunity to work in full partnership ... including related policymaking" (ICC, 2011). Clearly, in the minds of Inuit, regional autonomy and resource development are intricately related.

Alaska

Statehood

Haycox is straightforward in his assertion that "oil has transformed Alaska" (2002a: 9). The United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867 for $7 million (Grant, 2010). At the time, most of the region's population consisted of Indigenous groups, or Alaska Natives, as they are called today: Unangan (Aleut), Tlingit and Haida, Sugpiaq (Alutiiq), Yupik, Iñupiaq, and Athabaskans (Schweitzer et al., 2014). After America purchased Alaska, Haycox (2002a) writes that non-Natives settled in the state through three waves of political and economic development: the Gold Rush, World War II and the Cold War, and finally, the oil boom that started in the 1970s. Amidst these three waves, the prevailing mentality of new settlers was that only by "going to a place as yet undeveloped and uncorrupted by government, could they live out the old American dream" (Haycox, 2002a: 5).

Unsurprisingly, this entailed distrust for the federal government, which governed Alaska from Washington. Alaskans were soon rallying for political autonomy[25] and, in a referendum in 1946, 59% voted in favour of statehood (Haycox, 2002b).

Despite achieving statehood, a key component still missing in Alaska was a strong state economy, one that was less financially dependent on the federal government. According to Daley and James (2004), Alaskan political and economic leaders at this time envisioned two major resource development projects, Project Chariot and the Rampart Dam,[26] to provide

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[25] As well as executive and legislative branches, Alaskans wanted a "unified court system, multilevel local government options for rural, underpopulated areas, and an elected attorney general" (Haycox, 2002b: 270).

[26] Project Chariot, in collaboration with the Atomic Energy Commission, aimed to "create a harbor on the northwest coast of Alaska by exploding six atomic bombs .... [forcing] the relocation of some Iñupiat villagers" (Daley & James, 2004: 83). The Rampart Dam was "a plan to create the world's largest hydroelectric facility .... [a lake] larger than Lake Erie .... [causing] the relocation of seven Native villages" (Daley & James, 2004:

the state with greater economic autonomy from Washington. Alaska Natives were unimpressed with these proposals[27] and the effects they would have on their livelihoods (Daley & James, 2004). Thus, they began their fight for their land and their rights.

Regardless of protest from Alaska Natives, the impressive sound of Project Chariot and the Rampart Dam helped solidify Alaska's goal for statehood (Daley & James, 2004) and on January 3, 1959, Alaska officially became its own state (Haycox, 2002a). Statehood marked the era where another level of regional autonomy, that of the Alaska Natives, really started to take hold. Sensing many Alaska Natives' lack of support for the Rampart Dam and Project Chariot, as well as the added complexity that the region had no treaties with Alaska Natives[28], the Association on American Indian Affairs, a national American Indigenous advocacy group, sponsored a conference in Barrow in 1961 to discuss Alaska Native rights (Daley & James, 2004). This conference proved seminal. Alaska Natives realized they needed a unified voice. The *Tundra Times*, a news outlet based out of Fairbanks, was established in 1962 to "strategically [align] all Alaska Native groups" (Daley & James, 2004: 14).

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

As the state busied itself choosing its 104 million acres of land allotted to it in the *Statehood Act* (Haycox, 2002a), it met a massive roadblock in 1965 "after learning that an

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83). As Daley and James observe, these two projects were "touted [by Alaskans] as an economic linchpin" (2004: 84) for Alaska statehood.

[27] In March, 1960, when the Atomic Energy Commission visited Point Hope to inform the Iñupiat about Project Chariot, the Commission told them that nuclear explosions have never injured anyone (Daley & James, 2004). Regardless of the Commission's convincing, "the Point Hope Village Council wasted no time in rejecting Project Chariot" (Daley & James, 2004: 93-94).

[28] Four years after the United States purchased Alaska from Russia, the American Congress ended treaty-making in 1871 (Haycox, 2002a). As such, there are no treaties with Alaska Natives.

obscure section in the *Statehood Act* denied the right to claim any lands that might be subject to Native title" (Grant, 2010: 345). In other words, until Alaska Native land claims were resolved, the state could not claim any of its 104 million acres. This realization prompted Interior Secretary Stewart Udall to issue a moratorium on land allotment, which many Alaskans perceived as a "land freeze" (Haycox, 2002a: 93). On October 18, 1966, the *Tundra Times* announced the formation of the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), with resolution of land claims set as the organization's main goal (Daley & James, 2004).

This same year, a federal committee addressing Alaska Native land claims concluded "that Alaska Natives were so poor in material amenities as to be denied equal opportunity" (Haycox, 2002a: 95), providing yet another reason to settle land claims and give Alaska Natives the political power and financial backing to provide services in their communities. Negotiations began for a settlement between Alaska Natives and the federal government, later known as the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* (ANCSA). As opposition to Project Chariot and the Rampart Dam reached a peak among Alaska Natives, more and more Alaska Natives filed lawsuits claiming land title to their traditional territories. Meanwhile, as Secretary of the Interior Udall imposed a 'land freeze,' Atlantic Richfield Oil Company (ARCO) discovered oil in Prudhoe Bay, in Alaska's North Slope, on December 27, 1967 (Haycox, 2002b). Suddenly, oil companies wanted Indigenous land claims signed just as much as Alaska Natives so that litigation would not hold up construction (Daley & James, 2004). The Prudhoe Bay oilfield was America's largest (Knapp & Morehouse, 1991), housing an estimated thirteen billion barrels of oil (Sherval, 2013). In the midst of the federal government's negotiations with Alaska Natives, the state held a lease sale for oilfields in the North Slope. The sale brought the state $900 million in lease revenue, "more than three times

the total state budget at the time" (Haycox, 2002a: 122). Alaska now had the economic viability it hoped for.

With leases sold, exploration underway in the North Slope, and the Alaska Natives continuing to negotiate ANCSA with the federal government, "a consortium of oil companies led by British Petroleum (BP) formed to design, engineer, and operate a 780-mile (1250 km) pipeline across the whole [s]tate to the southern port of Valdez. From Valdez, tankers would take the crude oil primarily to refineries in California and Washington State" (Sherval, 2013: 307). Constructing the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System (TAPS) across the Alaska Natives' unceded territories provided the leverage Alaska Natives needed to have ANCSA signed. As Stephen Haycox maintains, "without ANCSA, there would have been no pipeline, no oil production, no oil" (2002a: 100). When ANCSA came to a standstill in the House of Representatives, it was oil lobbyists, not Alaska Natives, who managed to push it through so that it finally reached approval in 1971 (Haycox, 2002a). The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) imposed an oil embargo on the United States in 1973 (Haycox, 2002a), making Alaskan oil even more appealing. Finally, after five years of negotiations with the federal government and resistance from the state of Alaska, the *Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act* was signed on December 17, 1971 (Grant, 2010). ANCSA transferred $962 million and title to 40 million acres of land transferred to Alaska Native groups, a sum that was split between twelve regional corporations[29] and 200 village corporations (Berger, 1985). Regional corporations had subsurface rights but village

[29] A thirteenth regional corporation, based out of Seattle, was also incorporated for Alaska Natives who live outside of the state (Berger, 1985).

corporations did not.[30] All the corporations chose to be profit-making so they could distribute dividends to Alaska Natives, their shareholders (Berger, 1985). Within a year, Alaska's 'land freeze' was lifted, land was allotted to the state and to the Alaska Native corporations, and construction of the pipeline began.[31]

Figure 2.1 Map of Alaska

Source: Alaska Department of Fish and Game, 2015.

[30] Also, ANCSA only applied to land, not water (Berger, 1985).

[31] As an aside, I should mention that as opposition spread among Alaska Natives through *Tundra Times* and into the limelight of continental United States, neither the Rampart Dam nor Project Chariot materialized (Daley & James, 2004).

The North Slope Borough

Alaska boomed. July 20, 1977 saw the first barrels of oil flow through TAPS (Haycox, 2002a). Only seven years earlier, oil was worth $4 per barrel, and by 1980 it reached $40. With all the revenue coming in, the state majorly improved its infrastructure, built a high school in every community with over fifteen students, and started the Alaska Permanent Fund, a 25% oil royalty in which half of its earnings are paid each year in dividends to Alaska residents and the remaining half is invested into savings (Haycox, 2002a). With so much wealth funneled into the state, one might presume that negotiations for Indigenous regional autonomy in Alaska ends with ANCSA and regional corporations like the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC). Many scholars still disagree on the efficacy of ANCSA, though. On the one hand, ANCSA marked the largest distribution of land and capital of any previous land claim, making it a model example for other Indigenous groups. ANCSA "introduced a remarkable new idea: development stock corporations .... capitalism to protect the basis of Native culture" (Haycox, 2002a: 96). On the other hand, scholars such as Berger (1985) argue that even so, ANCSA is insufficient, providing Alaska Natives with no clearly defined rights as Indigenous people, and making their corporations vulnerable to takeovers by non-Natives or to bankruptcy, at which point all land would be lost. [32]

In 1972, shortly after ANCSA was signed, the predominantly Iñupiat residents along Alaska's North Slope, which includes eight communities, including Barrow, and borders the

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[32] A clause included in ANCSA allowed Native corporations twenty years to accustom to the market economy (Haycox, 2002a). By 1991, though, non-Natives could invest in the corporations. Sure enough, in the late 1980s, many Alaska Natives worried they would lose their corporations, and their land. Whereas Justice Thomas Berger recommended a return to tribal governments as a solution (1985), in 1986, Alaska Senator Ted Stevens "wrote into the tax law a provision allowing Alaska Native corporations to sell their net operating losses to another company. The buyers could then write off those losses against their profits" (Haycox, 2002a: 132). Companies like Campbell's Soup and Pillsbury bought over $1 billion of losses to lessen their corporate tax. Haycox writes how "without question, the deal gave new life to Alaska Native corporations" (2002a: 133).

Beaufort Sea (see Figure 2.1), decided to incorporate as the North Slope Borough. This helped compensate the Iñupiat "in some part for the lands and resources that … [they] felt they had lost [by signing ANCSA]" (Knapp & Morehouse, 1991: 304). Before 1972, even the region's most populous community, Barrow, "had no high school, and no privately-owned homes had piped water or sewer systems. Conditions in the smaller villages were worse" (Knapp & Morehouse, 1991: 303). Through incorporation, the North Slope Borough took on state-like authority to provide services in the region, from policing to search and rescue to education to wildlife management to cultural programs, and most importantly, property taxation. As Poelzer and Wilson write, "Alaska has a number of autonomous regions or boroughs …. [They] are nested within Alaska as political subdivisions of the state, and, therefore, do not challenge the state's territorial integrity" (2014: 190). Gunnar Knapp and Thomas Morehouse assert that "the borough has been led and controlled mainly by Iñupiats (sic), and this measure of self-government may be one of the borough's most important contributions to North Slope development" (1991: 311).[33]

The North Slope Borough's incorporation was highly fortuitous, as the Prudhoe Bay oilfield is located in this area. Even today, Prudhoe Bay continues to provide revenue for the borough in the form of property taxes, and as a result, "the North Slope Borough [has] one of the richest local and regional governments in the United States as measured by taxable wealth and tax revenues per capita" (Knapp & Morehouse, 1991: 304). In 2012, its regional corporation, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC), based in Barrow, conducted "over a billion dollars of business … and is the largest corporation in Alaska, with more than

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[33] Looking into the future, though, Berger (1985) worries that if more non-Natives reside in the North Slope than Iñupiat, the Borough would no longer represent Iñupiat interests.

6,000 employees" (Reiss, 2012: 102). Bob Reiss asserts that "in federal or state elections, the ASRC wields heavy political clout" (2012: 102).

Alaska Today: Oil Dependence

The Prudhoe oilfield reached peak production back in 1989, at two million barrels of oil per day, which "provid[ed] the U.S. with 25% of its daily needs" (Sherval, 2013: 309). Twenty years later, in 2010, production "slipped to less than 619,000 barrels" (Sherval, 2013: 309), and Alaskans now worry about their oil dependence. How can the state continue to assert its autonomy and frontier identity with falling revenue? Even with the Permanent Fund boasting over $27 billion (Haycox, 2002a), one of the state's main concerns is finding new oilfields to prevent TAPS from running dry.

Meg Sherval (2013) discusses two common possibilities that would extend oil production in Alaska: either open up the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), a protected area, to resource development, or drill offshore. The year after Alaska attained statehood, and eight years before oil was discovered in the state, Congress passed the ANWR bill (Haycox, 2002a), protecting a vast area along the North Slope and the herding grounds of the Porcupine caribou. Resource development in ANWR is a contentious issue in Alaska today because the refuge houses an estimated ten billion barrels of oil and opening it up for drilling would divert attention from offshore development (Sherval, 2013). Opening ANWR therefore seems like the lesser of two evils.

In the North Slope Borough, many Iñupiat support development in ANWR because they worry that the decline in oil production will lead to a decline in revenue and, therefore, would affect their autonomy. For many Iñupiat, ANWR "was a huge area that the federal

government had arbitrarily drawn a line around and decreed that you could not take oil from" (Reiss, 2012: 50). Haycox (2002a) counters that Americans as a whole prefer to protect ANWR. Sherval (2013) notes that Congress voted twelve times already on whether to open ANWR, with no result. Interestingly, the Gwich'in, whose traditional territory borders the south area of ANWR, do not support opening ANWR to drilling (Haycox, 2002a).

If ANWR remains protected, the second option to renew oil production in Alaska is offshore drilling. In the late 2000s, the US Geological survey conducted seismic tests in the Beaufort and Chukchi Seas. The Beaufort is estimated to hold "8.22 billion barrels of oil and 27.64 trillion cubic feet of natural gas" (Sherval, 2013: 309). ExxonMobil, British Petroleum and Shell Oil bid billions of dollars on offshore leases (Huebert, 2011: 31), igniting a strong sense of concern among the Iñupiat, who worry about the devastation an offshore oil spill would cause. The North Slope Borough challenged Shell in court in 2007, "charging the federal agency responsible for permitting any offshore drilling with failing to conduct underlying science, [and] failing to show whether the drill plan would do harm to the areas offshore" (Reiss, 2012: 8). Over the next five years, Shell rebuilt its relationship with the Iñupiat, scaled down their project, and learned to compromise (Reiss, 2012), but plans came to an abrupt halt in late 2012 when its exploratory drill rig, *Kulluk*, disconnected from its tugboat and ran aground near Kodiak Island, off the coast of Alaska. It is at this point that my research begins, looking at how newspapers discuss resource development in 2013, given the history of the region and recent developments such as the *Kulluk* grounding.

The Northwest Territories

From Fur to Oil

Perhaps more so than Alaska, resource development is the thread weaving together various forms of regional autonomy in Canada's Northwest Territories, both broadly in terms of the territory and also on a smaller scale regarding Indigenous self-governance. When oil was discovered in Norman Wells in 1920, there were no treaties in the Mackenzie-Delta region and the territorial legislature consisted only of appointed members who met in Ottawa, not in Yellowknife. Economically, the territory's settlers and Aboriginal groups focused mostly on fur trapping and trading (Alunik et al., 2003). Over the next decade, though, oil and gas exploration continued and, in 1921, the federal government signed Treaty 11 with most of the territory's Aboriginal groups, except for the Inuvialuit. Treaty 11 enabled the federal government to have more control over the resource-rich land and to build stronger relationships with oil and gas companies engaged in development. At the time, the Northwest Territories' main responsibility as a governing body was to provide services on behalf of the federal government. This included services to Aboriginal communities (McArthur, 2009).[34] By 1938, oil revenues surpassed trapping revenues in the territory for the first time (Sabin, 1995), thereby ushering in a new era of economic development.

Government of the Northwest Territories

With increased resource exploration in the region, the federal government recognized a need for improved governance. The year 1951 marked the first time the Northwest

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[34] Due to treaty-making, the federal government is responsible for providing services for Aboriginal groups in most provinces.

Territories Council included both elected and appointed members, who "alternat[ed] meetings between Ottawa and the North" (Alia, 1999: xxi). Soon after, Imperial Oil began seismic testing in the Mackenzie Delta and within ten years, an oil boom was in full swing. Interestingly, it was not until 1975 that the territorial Legislative Assembly was fully elected (Alia, 1999). Because of the territory's large Aboriginal population, many elected members are Aboriginal, which led to a different form of government known as consensus government.[35]

Even with elected representatives, the territory was still only at arm's length from the federal government. Unlike Canadian provinces, territories[36] are not constitutionally recognized, so they must negotiate their authority with the federal government (McArthur, 2009). The most significant outcomes of this type of arrangement are that the territories have not been responsible for their natural resources and their budgets are financially dependent on transfer payments from the federal government (McArthur, 2009). Graham White refers to the territories as "proto-provinces" (2000: 83). Over the years, the Northwest Territories negotiated with the federal government in order to gain powers similar to those of the provinces, including control over forests, health care, and education. When a transition of powers from a central to a regional government occurs, it is known as devolution. Understandably, though, the federal government is reluctant to give up control over resource revenue, and, as McArthur writes, Aboriginal groups also show reluctance "to support a transfer of resources until their claims are settled or they have received assurance that the

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[35] Consensus government "means that decisions are made with the consensus of those present, rather than by the more adversarial and competitive process that is common in other jurisdictions .... [This] is consistent with traditional governance methods of the Indigenous peoples who inhabit Northern Canada" (Poelzer & Wilson, 2014: 189). In other words, the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) has no political parties.

[36] Canada has three territories: Yukon Territory, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut.

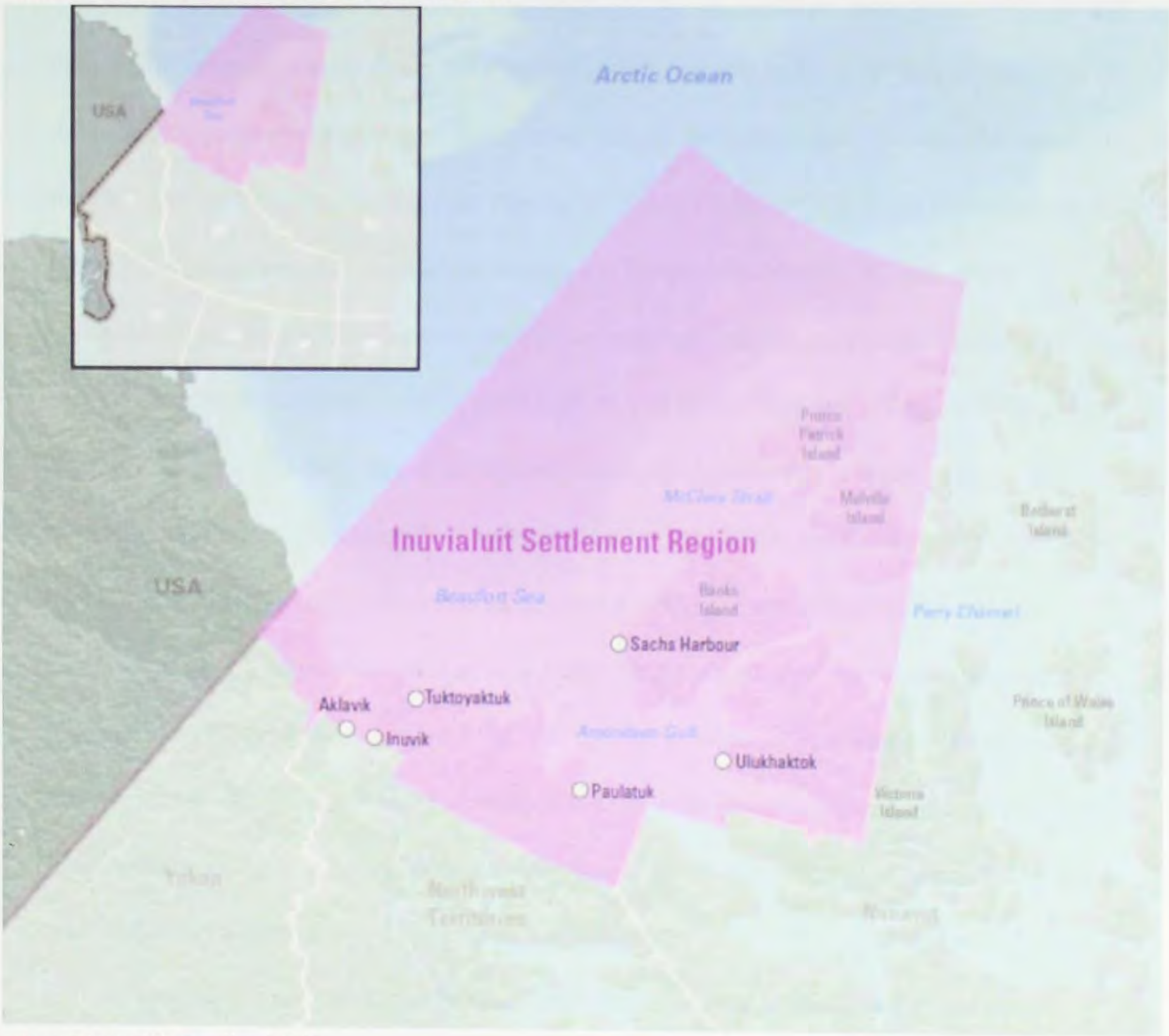
[territory] will agree to resource transfers and resource revenue sharing" (2009: 215). As was the case with Alaska, this is where the relationships between territorial autonomy and resource development intermingle with Aboriginal autonomy.

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement

The Beaufort Sea region covers the traditional territories of two Canadian Aboriginal groups, the Gwich'in and the Inuvialuit (see Figure 2.2). The federal *Indian Act* never applied to the Inuvialuit and they never ceded land to the federal government, so when resource exploration occurred on their territory, they began to worry that there was no institutional structure for industry to listen to their concerns. Paul Sabin writes how "government and industry planners have viewed their hinterlands as distant resource frontiers" (1995: 17), assuming that the small number of northern residents had little power to support or reject projects. Aboriginal groups in the Northwest Territories dismissed such depictions and they formed their own organizations to protect their interests, like the Dene-controlled Indian Brotherhood and the Committee for Original Peoples' Entitlement (COPE), an Inuvialuit organization (Alunik et al., 2003). It was through the formation of COPE that the Inuvialuit threatened a court challenge to stop seismic exploration in the Beaufort-Delta region in 1971 (Alunik et al., 2003). In 1973, the federal government "announced that it would negotiate comprehensive claims agreements with those Aboriginal groups that had

never signed treaties with the Crown" (Alcantara, 2008, as cited in Wilson & Alcantara, 2012: 792), so the Inuvialuit began working on their land claims proposal.[37]

Figure 2.2 Map of the Inuvialuit Settlement Region



Source: National Energy Board, 2014.

Aboriginal concerns with oil development in the Northwest Territories continued throughout the 1970s. In March 1974, when "a consortium of 27 United States and Canadian oil and gas firms advanced a plan to build a 2,625 mile pipeline east from Prudhoe Bay,

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[37] White (2009) describes land claims as when an Aboriginal group gives up title to land in exchange for cash transfers, fee simple ownership and mineral rights of some land, hunting and fishing rights, and co-management board participation.

Alaska, to the Mackenzie Delta … and then south" (Sabin, 1995: 19), Aboriginal opposition to the project heightened to such an extent that the federal government appointed Justice Thomas Berger to conduct an inquiry (Alunik et al., 2003). Over the next three years, Berger visited all the communities along the proposed pipeline route to listen to their perspectives on the proposed project and provide recommendations to the federal government. This marked the first time in Canadian history that Aboriginal groups were meaningfully consulted on a proposed megaproject. By the end of the Inquiry, Berger concluded, "so long as the [Aboriginal] people are obliged to participate in political institutions that are not of their making or of their choosing … their participation will be half-hearted" (Berger, 1988: 236). With reference to industry, he noted, "present scientific knowledge is inadequate … in assessing the impact of proposed oil and gas development in the North" (Berger, 1988: 92). Most importantly, though, Berger recommended a ten-year moratorium on oil and gas exploration in order for Aboriginal groups along the proposed pipeline route to negotiate land claims with the federal government. The federal government responded by enacting a moratorium in 1977. Berger wrote, "we have the opportunity to … open a new chapter in the history of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. We must not reject the opportunity that is now before us" (1988: 264).

That same year, the Inuvialuit submitted their land claims proposal to the federal government. They ratified an *Agreement-in-Principle* the following year, and signed a *Final Agreement* in 1984 (Alunik et al., 2003). At this point COPE dissolved, replaced by the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, or the IRC, the organizing body tasked with implementing the *Final Agreement* (Wilson & Alcantara, 2012). The IRC borrowed some of the structures set out in ANCSA, except that the IRC was never left vulnerable to takeover from non-

Inuvialuit. ANCSA grants no special status for Alaska Natives, whereas the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* does (i.e. Alaska Natives are shareholders in corporations, not beneficiaries with an Indigenous status recognized by the Canadian Constitution). Wilson and Alcantara (2012) assert that the IRC is a transitional institution that will dissolve once the Inuvialuit sign a formal self-government agreement with the federal and territorial governments.[38] In Alaska, by contrast, a Native corporation like the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC) will not eventually dissolve in favour of self-government. ANCSA marked the endpoint of negotiations. This could explain why the Iñupiat pushed further, taking a different approach and incorporating the North Slope Borough, because this provides them with more autonomy than the ASRC. Regardless, the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement*, ANCSA, and the incorporation of the North Slope Borough enabled Indigenous communities to participate and benefit from resource development.

Post-Moratorium

By 1988, Berger's ten-year moratorium effectively ended the oil boom in the Northwest Territories' side of the Beaufort Sea. Whereas Alaska's resource wealth successfully helped reach an all-encompassing agreement like ANCSA and then successfully opened the north to southern markets, the process went more slowly in the Northwest

[38] As Wilson and Alcantara write, "despite the lack of a formal Inuvialuit political authority in the [Inuvialuit Settlement Region], de facto Aboriginal self-government does exist" (2012: 793). The IRC holds regular elections whereby only Inuvialuit beneficiaries can vote and the IRC provides numerous services throughout the region, including employing over 400 beneficiaries, enhancing community development, diversifying the corporation's assets, redistributing income through dividend payments, and playing a role in hunting, trapping, fishing, and environmental regulations (Wilson & Alcantara, 2012). In this sense, the IRC very much takes on the role of a governing body. Eleven years after the signing of the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement*, the federal government acknowledged Aboriginal right to self-government (White, 2009). At the time of the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement*, this was not yet possible. In 1996, formal self-government negotiations began between the IRC and the federal and territorial governments (Alunik et al., 2003). What is most interesting about these negotiations is that the Gwich'in and the Inuvialuit decided to work together, for a cumulative Beaufort Delta self-government.

Territories. During the moratorium, most land claims negotiations had begun, and the federal government reopened the rights issuance process for exploratory drilling in the Beaufort-Mackenzie basin in 1989 (Erlandson, 2009). As a result of the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement*, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation "conducted its [own] first lease-sale of gas rights on its lands near Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk" (Stern, 2006: 113) in June, 2000, making $75.5 million. A year later, in 2001, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between pipeline developers and the newly formed Aboriginal Pipeline Group[39] "to acquire a one-third equity stake in a Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline" (Stern, 2006: 113). Aboriginal groups started affirming their full participation alongside industry.

Throughout the first decade of the new millennium, the price of oil continued to rise, reaching $140 per barrel in 2008. On the cusp of another oil boom, this time residents in the Beaufort-Delta region were active participants in the process. Industry continued to drill exploratory wells and plans for the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline project were rekindled. Also at this time, the Premier of the Northwest Territories, Nellie Cournoyea, an Inuvialuit beneficiary and a negotiator during the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement*, stepped down to lead the IRC (Stern, 2006). This exemplifies the close connections between Northwest Territories' quest for devolution and the Beaufort-Delta region's quest for self-government, both of which aim to have more control over services and resources like oil and gas.[40] In 2011, after a seven-year review, the National Energy Board approved the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline (*The Globe and Mail,* October 18, 2013: B1). By this time, however, a recession hit,

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[39] The Aboriginal Pipeline Group consists of thirty Aboriginal groups throughout the Northwest Territories (Aboriginal Pipeline Group Website, December 11, 2015). "The APG represents the interests of Aboriginal people in the Northwest Territories in maximizing the ownership and benefits in a Mackenzie Valley natural gas pipeline" (Aboriginal Pipeline Group Website, December 11, 2015).

[40] In 2005, the Gwich'in pulled out of the negotiations (White, 2009). The Inuvialuit then re-started the negotiations process in 2007 for Inuvialuit self-government.

generating a grim outlook for the pipeline's eventual construction. Forty years had passed since the pipeline's initial proposal.

Today, many are frustrated with the complicated regulatory process that industry must navigate and urge for streamlining (Cournoyea, 2009; Erlandson, 2009; Fenge, 2009). As Terry Fenge explains, with today's complex intergovernmental relationships between the federal government, the territorial government, and Aboriginal governments/corporations, "the Government of Canada no longer has the ability to unilaterally reform the northern regulatory system, even if it has the political will to do so" (2009: 384). In 2013, the territory and the federal government reached a devolution agreement, marking the moment where this research begins examining newspaper coverage. Devolution marks a small step towards beginning to simplify the regulatory process. In this research, I look at whether newspapers depict devolution as playing an important role in terms of resource development and whether this affects the regional autonomy of Aboriginal groups such as the Inuvialuit.

Summary

This chapter demonstrated how proposals for resource development in the Beaufort Sea region initiated negotiations of multiple forms of regional autonomy, state/territorial autonomy and Indigenous autonomy. Many scholars see ANCSA, the *Inuvialuit Final Agreement* and self-government negotiations in a positive light, as an innovative means for Indigenous groups to exercise autonomy (Haycox, 2002a, 2002b; Knapp & Morehouse, 1991; White, 2009; Wilson & Alcantara, 2012). That said, although Indigenous groups show adaptability in the face of western governance styles, many scholars worry that they risk

losing some of their traditional decision-making values, like an emphasis on sharing (Berger, 1985, 1988; Fondahl and Irlbacher-Fox, 2009). Nonetheless, the goal of all these forms of regional autonomy is to enable communities to exercise more control over their livelihoods, and especially in the Beaufort Sea region, more control over resource development.

Resource development has the potential to empower communities but at the same time, it can negatively affect Indigenous lifestyles (Cournoyea, 2009). Inuit in the region, whether through the North Slope Borough or through the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, recognize the necessity of a controlled pace of development, one that minimizes environmental risks, brings jobs to communities, enhances social development, and builds infrastructure (Cournoyea, 2009; Erlandson, 2009). With most land claims signed and devolution almost complete, the biggest barrier for industry, both in Alaska and the Northwest Territories, is an extremely complicated, lengthy, convoluted regulatory process (Cournoyea, 2009; Erlandson, 2009; Fenge, 2009; Reiss, 2012). Erlandson (2009) explains how industry aims to mitigate risk, but regulatory and political risks pose the biggest threats for industry, and the most frustration, because of their unpredictability. Even though there were numerous attempts to streamline the regulatory processes (Erlandson, 2009), BP's oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010 even further diminished industry's confidence to mitigate risk (Reiss, 2012).

In late 2012 and early 2013, two important developments occurred in Alaska and the Northwest Territories: the territory signed a devolution agreement with the federal government, granting the GNWT control over its natural resources, and Shell's *Kulluk* drill ship disconnected from its tugboat off the coast of Alaska, renewing fears about industry's

ability to drill offshore in the north. This research examines how the media portray resource development in the region at that time, and how this might affect readers' perceptions of the north.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Overview

How do print media depict resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, and what effects could result from presenting resource development in a particular way? I use qualitative methodologies in this research because I look for nuances in language, in the sense that various epistemologies might not be measureable with statistics and frequency (i.e. how often words/terms are used). Although a quantitative analysis would certainly enable larger data sets, more generalizability, a larger variety of newspapers, and a longer timeframe, in this case a qualitative study more suitably answers the research questions. I do employ some basic quantitative analyses because I examine the sources that newspapers quote from and compare them using percentages. Adding tangible numbers to link the discourse analysis with the interviews builds a more robust analysis and helps establish more rigorous research.

Cultural studies theorists note that it is impossible to discern the intentions of a text (Barthes, 1988), so this project considers journalists as readers who communicate their perceptions instead of as authors with deliberate intentions. When comparing news articles both across the United States and Canada and between north and south, the aim is not to decipher which articles are the 'truest' but instead to compare the ways that resource development is interpreted and shared with audiences and whether this leads to various understandings of what resource development 'means.' There is no objective way to explain an issue because explaining occurs through language, and language builds power dynamics (Barthes, 1988; Foucault, 2010). Barthes writes, "to speak in stereotypes is to side with the

power of language" (1988: 199). Dominant epistemologies feed off stereotypes to maintain their power. If not reflected upon, language can unwittingly reinforce stereotypes because language is embedded within dominant epistemologies.[41] Relating to Barthes' insight into the ubiquity of dominant epistemologies, Janet Newbury writes, "modernist[42] assumptions have become so 'true' to most of us … we rarely consider that they are in fact one collection of options among many" (2011: 336). This research studies the epistemological assumptions that occur when referencing resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, how they are shown to interact, which epistemologies are silenced, and finally, how specific language use might reinforce various power relationships.

Statement of Assumptions

In the 1980s, social science researchers in disciplines like human geography and anthropology began to question the systems, norms, and methods by which research could effectively 'represent' culture. Many scholars acknowledge that research processes tend to represent Enlightenment, colonial ideals (Davidson et al., 2006; ITK & NRI, 2007; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Wandel et al., 2011). With the hegemony of Enlightenment thought somewhat less entrenched in the north than elsewhere in Canada or the United States, 'research' might take on new meanings. For example, ingrained procedures like the scientific method and ethics approval might not correspond with Indigenous knowledge and methodologies (Davidson et al., 2006). In response, the Association of Canadian Universities for Northern Studies (ACUNS) recognized these ethical challenges and published special northern

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[41] For example, many media outlets branded the shooting in Parliament in October 2014 as an "attack" (Global News, March 6, 2015). This reinforces the stereotype of Islamic terrorism.
[42] By "modernist," Newbury (2011) refers to values such as progress, empiricism, capitalism, and reason.

research protocols emphasizing the need to acknowledge multiple ways of knowing (ACUNS, 2003). This demonstrates a shift away from importing the 'south' to the 'north,' and instead enables northerners to create their own identities.

Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), Canada's national Inuit organization, might still perceive ACUNS as a southern organization because in 2007, it teamed with the Nunavut Research Institute (NRI) to create their own northern research guide. The document explicitly states some common concerns Inuit communities have with 'southerners' who conduct research in the north: lack of consultation, lack of local involvement, topics seem irrelevant to local needs, tokenism, decontextualization of local knowledge, and inappropriate methodologies (ITK & NRI, 2007: 2-4). Most importantly, ITK and NRI challenge researchers to think beyond their own preconceptions and ask, "What are some of the predictable misinterpretations of the research?" (2003: 21).

When researchers started rethinking the ethics and power relationships embedded within research, they saw that recognizing positionality and promoting self-reflection might help alleviate the projection of dominant epistemologies onto marginalized ones (Gomez & Jones III, 2010; Madge et al., 2007). In this sense, I can reflect upon some of the underlying assumptions in this research, which provides a lens to explore its limitations as well as its strengths.

To begin, this research assumes that interdisciplinary research is desirable and worthwhile. In her essay on theoretical inconsistency, Newbury explains how "the purpose of this interdisciplinary approach is to … begin to work against the socially constructed constraints that limit our sense of what may be" (Newbury, 2011: 339). Applying Haraway

(2000; 2010) and Barthes (1988) to an issue like resource development is useful in terms of widening the conceptualizations of cultural studies or of political science.

This research also assumes that newspapers play an influential role in society. With the growth of digital media, newspaper readership in print format continues to decline but online readership is growing (Pew Research Centre, 2013). Personally, I enjoy reading the news and have read newspapers since I was a child. I can discern instances where newspapers shaped or influenced my perspectives, an idea that media scholars also affirm (Chaffee & Frank, 1996; Higgins & Alia, 1999; Phelan, 2009).

By Canadian standards, I am a 'southerner,' born in Calgary and now living in Prince George, a small city in northern British Columbia. An irony within this research is that my perceptions about how northern newspapers portray the north risk propagating southern ways of knowing. I have never lived in Canada's Arctic and this will likely shape the findings. Mostly, this research challenges southerners to think critically about why they might see the north in a particular way, and to assert that there might be numerous ways to see the north. Ultimately, although the theoretical framework celebrates multiple epistemologies, the theory itself is still grounded in 'western' ways of knowing. For example, Homi Bhabha (2010) explains how western epistemologies that draw on ideas from the Enlightenment are rooted in binary oppositions, and sure enough, this research starts by constructing a 'North-South' binary that entails comparing 'one' and 'the other.' However, in my approach I do not grant any special designation to 'north' or 'south,' nor do I assign them positive or negative values. Many western cultural studies scholars,[43] including Haraway, discuss ways to "think difference differently" (Haraway, 2000: 70) in order to avoid reductive approaches based on

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[43] Louise Archer's essay, "Re-Theorizing Difference" (2004), provides an overview of some of the ways cultural studies theorists try to rethink difference.

the rigidity of binary oppositions. To Haraway, this process involves "knowledge tuned to resonance, not to dichotomy" (Haraway, 2000: 71). Through relationships, concepts gain their meanings, such as 'north' and 'south,' which implies that numerous relationships between concepts will lead to multiple meanings, thereby subverting the propensity to dichotomize. As a researcher conducting a comparative study, my challenge is to experiment with 'difference' by showing meanings through relationships and acknowledging that meanings are not fixed.

Focus on Print Media

Before venturing into the details of the methods, this section addresses why this research focuses on print media instead of another form of media like social media or broadcast media. Although print media revenues continue to decline with the rise of the internet, this does not mean that 'reading' the news is in decline. In 2013, the Pew Research Center's *State of the News Media* noted how "the clearest pattern of news audience growth in 2012 came on digital platforms" (Pew Research Center, 2013), suggesting that instead of paper format, readers now read newspapers online. The same can also be said about broadcast media, where audiences might not physically turn on their televisions to watch the news but stream online instead.

Furthermore, print media are generally more informative than broadcast media (Chaffee & Frank, 1996), especially when it comes to editorial articles, which assume knowledge and authority in and of themselves (Phelan, 2009). The Pew Research Center (2013) notes a decline in local television's story lengths, implying that broadcast media are shifting towards providing less information and analysis on issues. Print media thereby make

an effective form to study how issues are portrayed because of their reputation to provide more information than other media platforms.

Qualitative Discourse Analysis

Based on the theories outlined earlier by Barthes (1988) and Haraway (2000; 2010), James Gee's *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (2005) provides a suitable method to study newspapers' language use, their contexts, and their underlying epistemologies. Gee (2005) agrees that multiple truths exist, and he recognizes intertextual relations as well as power dynamics. For Gee, "a discourse analysis involves asking questions about how language, at a given time and place, is used to construe the aspects of the situation network as realized at that time and place and how the aspects of the situation network simultaneously give meaning to that language" (Gee, 2005: 110). In this sense, the possibilities for identifying various knowledges and various meanings remain as open as possible. Another important component in Gee's approach to discourse analysis is that he refrains from searching for authors' intentions and focuses instead on interpretations (Gee, 2005). As mentioned earlier, my research understands journalists as 'readers' of an event or situation (Barthes, 1988). The mechanisms journalists use to disseminate knowledge give them power to shape perspectives, yet this power is generated by and operates within existing cultural or epistemological assumptions. Also, in a comparative context, Gee's approach to discourse analysis enables an exploration of how articles relate to each other, both locally and nationally.

Concerning the process of discourse analysis, Gee writes that discourse analysis is not meant to be a step-by-step method but instead provides "thinking devices" (Gee, 2005: 9)

the rigidity of binary oppositions. To Haraway, this process involves "knowledge tuned to resonance, not to dichotomy" (Haraway, 2000: 71). Through relationships, concepts gain their meanings, such as 'north' and 'south,' which implies that numerous relationships between concepts will lead to multiple meanings, thereby subverting the propensity to dichotomize. As a researcher conducting a comparative study, my challenge is to experiment with 'difference' by showing meanings through relationships and acknowledging that meanings are not fixed.

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to facilitate research. Gee proposes a list of twenty-six questions to consider when reading a text (Gee, 2005: 110-113), which he subdivides into the following seven categories:

1. How the text builds significance: Given that meanings are situated, "how and what different things mean."
2. How the text explains activities: How the actions within the text are explained.
3. How the text builds identities: How the text reinforces and shapes certain identities and certain values.
4. How the text builds relationships: How the text alludes to other situations and how other discourses are relevant or irrelevant.
5. How the text builds politics: How the text discusses "social goods (e.g., status, power, aspects of gender, race, and class, or more narrowly defined social networks and identities)."[44]
6. How the text connects within itself and to other situations: How the text builds coherence (i.e. based on what assumptions), how the text divides, how the text situates itself in the conversation, and how the text employs other texts.
7. What knowledge systems are relevant: Which ways of knowing are reinforced and which are ignored.

Gee (2005) notes that not all texts will relate equally to these seven categories and it depends on the text and the context.

Using Gee's questions, I compared newspaper articles across four regions: Alaska, the Northwest Territories, southern Canada, and continental United States. The archives for many online news agencies like the *Alaska Dispatch, Huffington Post* and *CBC North* were difficult to navigate and do not use Boolean search terms or precise date searches, so this research focused on news outlets that publish newspapers in print format. I chose a total of eight newspapers: the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* (Alaska regional newspaper), the *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik community newspaper), *News/North* (Northwest Territories regional newspaper), the *National Post* (Canadian national newspaper), *The Globe and Mail*

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[44] When coding the news articles, it was more helpful to ask, "how the text builds power relationships" instead of "how the text builds politics."

(Canadian national newspaper), *USA Today* (American national newspaper), *The New York Times* (American national newspaper), and *The Washington Post* (American national newspaper). For a complete list of the news articles, see Appendix C. Although Barrow, Alaska does have a newspaper, *The Arctic Sounder*, it does not have an online archive nor were the 2013 issues available at the University of Alaska-Fairbanks' Rasmuson Library.

The national newspapers have online archives accessible through the University of Northern British Columbia's Geoffrey Weller Library. I travelled to Fairbanks and Yellowknife in April and May of 2014 to collect news articles from the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, the *Inuvik Drum*, and *News/North*. The *News-Miner* has an online archive accessible through the University of Alaska-Fairbanks' Rasmuson Library, and in Yellowknife, I visited the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre to view PDF versions of *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum*.

I then identified all the articles that focused on resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, using the search terms "Beaufort Sea" AND "resource development" OR "offshore drilling" OR pipeline OR oil OR gas. As I read news articles in the *Inuvik Drum*, I noticed that few articles specifically mentioned the search term "Beaufort Sea," likely because Inuvik is located in the Beaufort Sea region and to mention this seems redundant. To a lesser extent, this also occurred in *News/North*. As a result, I included articles in the *Inuvik Drum* and *News/North* that do not necessarily use the specific term "Beaufort Sea" when the articles discussed resource development in the region.[45] I also included editorials and guest

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[45] An example of this is in the context of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline. It was slated to begin along the Beaufort Sea and extend for thousands of kilometers south through the territory. With the recent shale oil discovery in the Sahtu region near Norman Wells, many *News/North* articles discussed the Mackenzie Valley pipeline in this context. I only included these articles if they made a specific reference to resource development in the Beaufort Delta.

comments because, as mentioned previously, readers tend to see them as authoritative texts written by experts (Phelan, 2009). I did not include "Letters to the Editor" because to include them entails much more research relating to their purpose and the relationships they help build between newspapers and readers, which is certainly interesting but beyond the scope of this research.

Although originally I hoped to use articles from as far back as 1989, which would allow for historical as well as geographical comparisons, this resulted in thousands of articles, which was beyond the scope of a Master's thesis and beyond the scope of a qualitative discourse analysis that considers each article using Gee's (2005) seven categories. As a result, I narrowed the dates to 2013 because I interviewed journalists in early 2014, so the year 2013 was still fresh in their minds. As mentioned in the previous chapter, 2013 was a significant year for resource development in both Alaska and the Northwest Territories: Shell's much-anticipated exploratory drill ship disconnected from its tugboat off the northern coast of Alaska in late 2012, and in Canada, the Northwest Territories signed a devolution agreement with the federal government.

Across the seven newspapers, a total of 106 news articles discussed resource development in the Beaufort Sea region in 2013. *News/North* published 36 news articles, amounting to approximately one third of all the articles that I identified. As a comparison, the *News-Miner* published only nine articles. These varying numbers posed interesting coding challenges because 36 articles allowed for more repetition in the content but nine articles was easier to examine as a whole. Also, that the number of articles varied quite

substantially across the newspapers illustrates the extent to which newspapers perceive the significance of resource development in the Beaufort Sea region (see Table 3.1). Resource development might be less important for the *News-Miner* and more important for *News/North*.

Table 3.1 News Articles Published in 2013, Referencing Resource Development in the Beaufort Sea Region

Newspaper	*The New York Times*	*USA Today*	*The Washington Post*	*The Globe and Mail*	*National Post*	*Inuvik Drum*	*News/North*	*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*	**TOTAL**
Number of News Articles	9	0	8	11	14	19	36	9	**106**

To keep the data organized, I used Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna's (1989) chapter, "Preparing For and Doing Analysis," as a starting point for how to store files and how to code into 'bibbits,' which means 'key phrases.' During the coding process, I built tables for each newspaper with a row for every news article. The table had eight columns, one for each of Gee's seven categories, and an eighth row titled 'Key Phrases' (see Table 3.2 for an example). Once all the news articles were in tables, I coded for repeating themes across each newspaper. I did not narrow the analysis into editorials, guest columns, etc., and instead treated each newspaper as a broad entity in order to answer the question: what is each newspaper telling its readers in terms of resource development in the Beaufort Sea region?[46] Similarly, I did not code the articles by individual journalists because I wanted to discern whether each newspaper tends to take a particular perspective, so when I present the findings

[46] To narrow the analysis further (i.e. to separate by journalist, month, guest column, editorial, etc.) is beyond the scope of this Master's thesis. I would have to include more than one year to really be able to generalize. For example, *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* only published nine articles in 2013, which would not allow for much consistency across these variables (i.e. I cannot generalize about *News-Miner*'s guest columns because they only published one guest column).

and refer to 'newspapers' as an entity, I am speaking of 'newspapers' as including multiple journalists. Every newspaper had 2-4 recurring themes and I narrowed these down to five signifiers. Both the recurring themes and the signifiers are presented in Chapter Four.

Table 3.2 News Article Tables

News Articles	Builds Significance	Builds Activities	Builds Identities	Builds Relationships	Builds Power	Builds Connections	Builds Knowledges	Key Phrases	Title/Author/Page
News-Miner - January 25, 2013									

Semi-Structured Interviews

Simon During writes that cultural studies, "particularly of media audiences, has mainly used qualitative research in order to avoid the pitfalls of sociological objectivity and functionalism and to give room to voices other than the theorist's own" (2007: 19). To offset the limitation that I only use my own perspective to analyze newspaper articles, an additional component of this research was to interview journalists who work in the north to learn more about northern media. Assuming northern media work the same as in the south is an improper assumption, so I interviewed journalists or editors who work in Alaska and the Northwest Territories to learn about how they feel the media function in the north and what roles they feel the media play in shaping northern identity. To build on the discourse analysis, I also asked journalists what issues they felt were most important in their regions and what they thought caused these issues to become important. The results of these interviews enriched the research not only by providing a more localized context with which

to examine northern media but also by helping to answer why newspapers might depict resource development similarly or differently.

The two media hubs in the regions are Yellowknife and Fairbanks. I conducted six in-depth interviews which should provide sufficient context to begin understanding how the media operate in the north. To recruit the journalists, I visited the media outlets' websites and contacted journalists by phone and by email. At first, I only contacted editors and journalists who report specifically on resource development, but some were unavailable to meet so they connected me with a co-worker instead. The interviews were semi-structured and included 13 questions (see Appendix B for the Interview Guide). The lengths varied from twenty minutes to an hour. In-depth interviews enabled journalists to dissect northern media and northern issues, as well as build more detail to contextualize their responses. That said, journalism is notorious for its tight deadlines so the duration of the interviews depended on the amount of spare time the journalists had.

From April 9 to 16, 2014, I visited Fairbanks and interviewed two journalists and an editor in an hour-long group interview. All three journalists work for the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*. From April 27 to May 2, 2014, I visited Yellowknife and interviewed two editors for *News/North* as well as a journalist who works for CBC North. Five of the journalists were male and one was female. All the interviews were conducted in person so as to better capture the nuances and gestures of a conversation. Since I have never met the journalists before, I began the interviews with a quick warm-up period (Dunn, 2010) to make the setting more comfortable. I sent the journalists my Interview Guide ahead of time and invited them to bring a picture or a news article or anything else they thought would help

answer the questions. Although I thought this was a helpful suggestion, no one brought any items, possibly due to time constraints.

After the interviews in Fairbanks, I made some slight alterations to the Interview Guide in order to make the questions clearer for the interviews in Yellowknife. Question 7, "What kinds of knowledges influence your writing?" seemed unclear to the journalists, until I clarified, "What kinds of knowledges influence *the content* of your writing?" I altered this question accordingly for the interviews in Yellowknife. As I mention in Chapter Six, I felt that the term "southern media" provided too much of a lead, and some journalists even refuted the term "southern media" in favour of "national media." For the interviews in Yellowknife, I altered questions 8, 9, and 11 to read "national media" instead of "southern media" not only in an attempt to avoid leading the journalists to thinking solely within a particular dichotomy but also to see whether journalists used their own terms, as they did in Alaska.

The interviews were recorded with the journalists' consent, using both a recording device as well as written notes. The journalists could choose whether they preferred to provide a pseudonym, use their real name, or remain anonymous. They all agreed to remain anonymous. I keep the transcript and coding files in a locked cabinet that only my supervisors and I can access. I also keep digital copies on a secure, password-protected computer. After five years, I will delete and shred the files containing the journalists' identities.

Table 3.3 Journalists' Responses Coded by Question

	Journalist 1	Journalist 2	Journalist 3	Journalist 4	Journalist 5	Journalist 6
QUESTION 1						
QUESTION 2						
MISCELLANEOUS						

I coded the interviews using a slightly different method than the news articles, although I coded both the interviews and the news articles by hand in order to closely acquaint myself with the material. Instead of using Gee's seven categories to frame the interviews, as with the news articles, I used the interview questions as a frame. I coded the interviews into 'bibbits' (Kirby & McKenna, 1989), I searched for both latent and manifest codes[47] (Cope, 2010) and paid special attention to satellite codes, which are outlying codes (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). As mentioned earlier, this research assumes that surprises and complexities are valuable, so satellite codes are equally as important as repeating codes. To begin, I created a table with fourteen rows (one for each of the interview questions, plus one for 'miscellaneous' comments) and six columns (one for each journalist), as per Table 3.3. This enabled me to code the journalists' responses to the questions in the Interview Guide. On many occasions, journalists answered one question while responding to another question, or while telling an anecdote, so I conducted a detailed read of the interviews to find instances that addressed the interview questions. Next, I coded the responses in Table 3.3 for common codes among the journalists, as well as satellite codes from each journalist, again sorted by question. These were inputted into another table (see Table 3.4). Finally, I coded Table 3.4 for common themes and satellite themes throughout the entire interview. Interestingly, some satellite codes tended to repeat themselves (see the 'Satellites' section in Chapter Five).

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[47] Latent codes refer to codes that are not so obvious and that lie under the surface, similar to connotation. Manifest codes are codes that are explained right on the surface whose meanings are clear, similar to denotation. In this research, an example of latent codes are the subtle differences between how the newspapers explain that the Northwest Territories is resource-rich (i.e. the region is booming, the region is ripe for investment, and the region has new roles to play in new markets). A manifest code was when newspapers highlight the significance of resource development for locals. See Chapter Five more information.

Table 3.4 Interview Questions Coded by Common Codes and Satellite Codes		
	Common Codes	Satellite Codes
QUESTION 1		
QUESTION 2		
MISCELLANEOUS		

I coded the interviews before the news articles to allow the journalists' perspectives to influence how I viewed the news articles. This marks a bias, but the purpose of the interviews was to enable multiple perspectives, especially northern perspectives, to shape the research. That said, I gathered the news articles at the same time that I conducted the interviews so the two methods were not completely separate. For example, when I noticed a common theme in the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*'s articles, I asked the journalists about this theme during the interview. More so than the other interviews, I felt that those I conducted in Fairbanks really shaped my analysis of the news articles. Most likely, this is because I am not an Alaskan resident, nor am I American. I had a large contextual gap that the interviews helped to fill.

Limitations

There are many limitations to this research. As mentioned, conducting ethical research in the north poses many challenges. Even though ITK and NRI advocate for participatory research in the north (2007), this research is not rooted in participatory methodology, which seems a growing trend in northern research. Rachel Pain defines participatory research as "research [that] is undertaken collaboratively with and for the individuals, groups or communities who are its subject" (2003: 653). Many people will point out that I continue to perpetuate colonialism by being a southerner conducting research 'on'

the north instead of 'with' the north (Kindon, 2010). Ideally, if I were not limited by the costs or time constraints of a Master's thesis, this research would study how readers perceive news articles in different regions instead of how the researcher perceives news articles. Not only would this make the research more participatory but it would also fit better with the theoretical approach because citizens would 'code' the news articles themselves, as readers. This would create a much clearer idea of how news articles impact readers' perspectives in various regions.

Given that I am unable to study readers' perspectives, I included some small adjustments to make this research slightly more participatory. In conjunction with a discourse analysis, I interviewed journalists who work in the north to see how they view northern media and to ask for their perspectives on how the media address resource development in Beaufort Sea region. Since cultural studies also treats journalists as readers of events (Barthes, 1988; Boykoff, 2007; Fürsich, 2002), to some extent I also interviewed 'readers,' although journalists are 'readers' in more powerful positions because they are tasked with sharing how they 'read' with other readers.

Another way that I tried to make the research more participatory is by sending the Interview Guide to the journalists beforehand so they could think about what they would like to say ahead of time. I also invited them to bring in a news article, or a photograph to help answer the questions. Lastly, upon completion of the project, I will contact local radio stations (i.e. CBC North) as well as send copies of the findings back to the journalists.

A limitation relating to the theoretical framework is the uncertainty of working with multiple intertextual relations. Since the authors' intentions are never discernible, nor

relevant, it is important to study "not what a text means, but what it does" (Sarup, 1993: 168). This relates to Barthes' differentiation between a 'Work' and a 'Text,' whereby the 'Work' resides solely within the fixed parameters of a physical book, while a 'Text' is let loose into society, challenging readers to create meaning based on their own interpretations (Barthes, 1988). What print media *do* is expose and construct different types of knowledges that can enforce, dismantle or subvert dominant epistemologies. One way to examine what print media *do* is to compare how similar issues are portrayed in different regions by treating journalists as 'readers' of events or issues, who communicate these events through their own epistemologies and share them with other readers. Although this marks a start in conducting intertextual research, ultimately I, the researcher, am the only interpreter of these texts. As mentioned, a more participatory research project would compare how readers perceive news articles, but such a project would likely be helped by first having a general sense of convergences and divergences in how newspapers represent resource development. As such, this research can act as a precursor to a more extensive project.

Finally, another limitation is the small scope of this research. Because the analysis required a deep exploration of themes across multiple newspapers, and also because of the limited time required in a Master's thesis, I was only able to examine news articles from one year, 2013, and to interview six journalists. Due to difficulties consistently searching online news archives, like *Huffington Post*, *CBC North*, and *Alaska Dispatch*, I was unable to examine online news websites. Also, I only interviewed journalists who work in northern regions, excluding journalists who work in southern regions. Although I could have limited the research to a single method, which would enable the discourse analysis to include online

news websites or the interviews to include southern journalists, using multiple methods gave this research a larger lens as well as created an insightful set of relationships between the journalists' experiences and the news articles' main themes. As mentioned previously, interviewing journalists also enabled their perspectives to influence my discourse analysis.

Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the methodology and the methods used to answer my research question: how do northern/local and national/southern newspapers, as well as Canadian and American newspapers, portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea region? I began by stating some of the underlying assumptions that shape how I perceive this research, and then discussed why I chose to look at print media, or newspapers, even though statistics demonstrate that newspaper readership is in decline. Following this, I introduced the first method I use in this thesis, a qualitative discourse analysis that examined eight newspapers published in 2013 which discuss resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. To build upon the discourse analysis, I then introduced another method, semi-structured interviews. I interviewed six journalists who work in either Fairbanks or Yellowknife in order to provide a more localized context to frame how I coded the news articles, as well as to learn more about 'northern' journalism in general. Finally, I ended the chapter with a discussion of potential limitations relating to this thesis.

Chapter Four: Newspapers

Overview

In this chapter, I shed light on the research questions asking how Canadian and American newspapers represent resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, how national and local newspapers represent resource development, and, what are the variations and the similarities between newspaper coverage? Appendix C contains a complete list of all the news articles included in this study. After considering the articles in each newspaper, I identified five recurring signifiers that newspapers used to discuss resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. As mentioned, Barthes' (1988) later work in semiotics, the study of signs, noted how each signified (or concept) can have an infinite number of signifiers (words that represent a concept). In other words, resource development in the Beaufort Sea region can be described using many different terms, which mean different things to different readers. Broadly speaking, newspapers tended to portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea region using the following five signifiers: "Obsolete," "Thriving," "The Last Frontier," "Local Significance," and "Protect/Develop." Would someone who only reads the *National Post* see resource development in the same way as someone who only reads the *Inuvik Drum* or *The New York Times?* What attitudes do newspapers construct? How do they use the five signifiers?

As discussed in the previous chapter, 2013 makes a suitable year to study the Beaufort Sea region because of two significant events that influenced the future of resource development in the region. In the Northwest Territories, the recent devolution agreement gave the territory control over its own natural resources. Meanwhile, in Alaska, Shell's much-followed efforts to drill an exploratory well offshore came to an abrupt end when its

drill ship, *Kulluk*, disconnected from its tugboat. Throughout 2013, the newspapers in this study collectively published 106 articles that address resource development in the Beaufort Sea region.

Signifiers

Barthes describes a text as a "weave of signifiers (etymologically, the text is a tissue, a woven fabric) … woven entirely with citations, references, echoes, cultural languages" (Barthes, 1988: 159). In this manner, news articles are loaded with possible interpretations and situated knowledges just as life is. Haraway clarifies that signifiers are powerful because they can assert "control strategies" (2010: 2204). The most culturally-accepted signifiers, or the most ubiquitous, reinforce the epistemologies that underlie them. Most of this occurs unconsciously for readers, but this bolsters the power of ubiquitous signifiers even more because readers might not be cognizant of their own epistemologies being shaped or affirmed.

The following list represents the most prevalent signifiers for resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, identified from the eight newspapers I reviewed:

1. Obsolete: In the Beaufort Sea region, resource development is an obsolete idea. Most emphatically in the case of the stalled Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline, there is little hope for the project to rekindle (*National Post*, August 27, 2013; *News/North*, April 29, 2013; *The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2013). After decades of companies prospecting and consulting with local communities, with little or no results, people feel tired of projects like offshore drilling and pipelines. Whether through

exasperation with Shell's failed effort at exploratory drilling (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 3, 2013; *The New York Times*, January 9, 2013), or industry acting cautious (*National Post*, August 27, 2013), or the regulatory process imposing endless project delays (*The Globe and Mail*, December 24, 2013), or local residents showing more enthusiasm for the Tuktoyaktuk highway than for community-industry consultations (*Inuvik Drum*, May 3, 2013), newspapers depict a strong sense of irritation towards resource development in the region. For industry, for government, for local residents, the concept is obsolete. The time is ripe to refocus on new directions.

2. Thriving: Even amidst some lengthy setbacks, the Beaufort Sea region is incredibly resource rich, making it appealing to industry. The Alaskan economy depends on oil revenue so resource development will not end anytime soon (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, February 28, 2013; *The New York Times*, April 16, 2013). The recent shale oil discovery in Norman Wells thrust the Northwest Territories into the limelight once again (*National Post*, September 23, 2013; *News/North*, April 29, 2013; *The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2013), and with devolution signed, the territory is more ready than ever to welcome industry (*National Post*, August 27, 2013). Local and international concern for oil spills hints at the inevitability of offshore drilling, not its demise (*National Post*, May 17, 2013; *News/North*, July 5, 2013).

3. The Last Frontier: The Beaufort Sea region is the last frontier in North America (*The Globe and Mail*, September 30, 2013; *The Washington Post*, February 28, 2013). The region boasts a small population and a vast, untamed wilderness with endless possibilities to encounter wildlife. Its severe weather also poses a great challenge to

development (*The New York Times*, February 28, 2013; *The Globe and Mail*, December 18, 2013). Successfully conducting offshore exploratory drilling is equivalent to humanity conquering the region at last.

4. Local Significance: Residents of the Beaufort Sea region play an active role in resource development. Whether they are expressing dislike for decisions made by outsiders (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, August 4, 2013), promoting the perspectives of local municipal and Indigenous leaders (*Inuvik Drum*, May 24, 2013; *News-North*, February 4, 2013), or highlighting instances where industry consults with residents (*Inuvik Drum*, April 18, 2013), the underlying image is that local residents have a strong voice when it comes to resource development, even amidst interest from big industry. Locals' opinions, therefore, are valuable.
5. Protect/Develop: This signifier invokes the complex debate between environmental protection and development. In some instances, newspapers refuse to surrender to this dichotomy, instead asserting how the two ideals can operate in balance (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 24, 2013). Local residents simultaneously yearn for the income that resource development entails, while at the same time worry deeply about the possibility of an oil spill (*News/North*, May 13, 2013). At other times, newspapers separate these two concepts as far as possible, implying that no middle ground exists (*The New York Times*, February 12, 2013; *The Washington Post*, February 28, 2013).

Barthes illustrates how "the *infinity* of the signifier refers not to some idea of the ineffable … but to that of a *playing*; the generation of the perpetual signifier" (Barthes, 1988:

158). The unending possibilities for signifiers mark a playful, positive occurrence because the doors open wide for many interpretations. These five signifiers show various ways to interpret and explain the issue of resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. In only one year, in one language, in one place, studied by one person, five different signifiers apply various meanings to resource development. Imagine all the possibilities for more interpretations. The remainder of this chapter uses these five signifiers to frame how each newspaper discusses resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. Some newspapers use certain signifiers more prevalently than others, but all the newspapers use multiple signifiers. Resource development is a complex issue and even on a small scale it invokes many interpretations.

United States National Newspapers

To assess national coverage of the Beaufort Sea region in the United States, this research focused on *The Washington Post, USA Today,* and *The New York Times*. In 2012, *The Washington Post* averaged a daily circulation (online and in print) of 462,228 readers, *USA Today* averaged 1,713,833 readers, and *The New York Times* averaged 1,613,865 readers (Pew Research Centre, 2013). In 2013, *USA Today* did not publish any articles about resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, whereas *The Washington Post* published eight and *The New York Times* nine. The themes that emerged in both *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* were strikingly similar to each other, so I coded them together.

Based on the coverage in American national news articles, readers might perceive offshore drilling in the Beaufort Sea as an "Obsolete" issue, due mostly to the newspapers' focus on Shell Oil's *Kulluk* drill ship that ran aground in late 2012. As a result of this

incident, Shell's fervent efforts to conduct exploratory drilling in the region ground to a halt, setting off renewed debate between industry supporters and environmentalists ("Protect/Develop" signifier). The newspapers also revealed the challenges of Alaska's oil dependence and frustration from oil companies towards the federal government's permitting processes ("Thriving" and "Obsolete" signifiers). Underlying these complex relationships is a depiction of Alaska as wild, harsh, and uninhabited, which plays directly into the "The Last Frontier" signifier.

Grounding of Shell's Kulluk Drill ship

The most common issue between the two American national newspapers relates to Shell Oil and its 2012 drilling season. Every news article, except for one (*The New York Times*, April 16, 2013), focuses on either the *Kulluk*'s grounding specifically or its repercussions for Shell and other oil companies working in the region (*The New York Times*, 2013; *The Washington Post*, 2013). Shell spent years preparing for exploratory drilling in Alaska's Beaufort Sea. While undergoing testing, its drill ship, *Kulluk*, disconnected from its tug, drifted and ran aground. The news articles exude a sense of exasperation with Shell. For example, one article states that this is "the latest in a series of mishaps to befall Shell's ambitious plans to prospect for oil" (*The New York Times*, January 2, 2013). Another article continues with a similar tone, explaining how Shell faced "a series of blunders and mishaps … [with its] $4.5 billion effort that has been plagued by equipment failures, delays, mismanagement, and bad weather" (*The New York Times*, January 9, 2013). Even late into 2013, these portrayals remain the same: "last year, ice and late permits forced Shell's rigs to abandon the area without completing a well" (*The Washington Post*, November 7, 2013).

After all its efforts and capital invested, Shell postponed drilling in the Beaufort Sea for its 2013 season in a bid to refocus its efforts on the Chukchi Sea, farther east (*The New York Times*, November 1, 2013; *The Washington Post*, November 1, 2013; *The Washington Post*, November 2, 2013). The exasperation expressed by the news articles falls clearly within the "Obsolete" signifier. The American newspapers suggest offshore drilling may have encountered a plateau and it is no longer feasible in Arctic waters.

Dichotomy of Environmentalists and Industry

Almost every article interpreted the *Kulluk*'s grounding as rekindling a debate between oil industry supporters and environmentalists. According to *The New York Times,* the incident threatened "environmental damage and [called] into question Shell's plans to resume drilling in the treacherous waters" (January 2, 2013). Likewise, Shell's unfortunate end to the drilling season "may strengthen the position of environmentalists" (*The New York Times*, February 12, 2013). When Shell discontinued drilling for 2013, one article explains how this is akin to "declaring a cease-fire in one of the nation's fiercest political battles over energy development and environmental protection" (*The Washington Post*, February 28, 2013). When America's national newspapers discuss offshore drilling in the Beaufort Sea, they highlight a raging debate between environmentalists and industry supporters. This polarizing interpretation connects most obviously to the signifier "Protect/Develop" and to a lesser extent the "Thriving" and "Obsolete" signifiers.

Wild Alaska

Another recurring depiction in both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* is Alaska as a wild place void of people, with an extremely harsh environment. Using dated terminology to refer to Alaska Native people, like "American Indian" (*The New York Times*, January 1, 2013), and by consistently describing areas as uninhabited, like "a narrow beach consisting of cobbles, sand and gravel" (*The New York Times*, January 4, 2013), Alaska houses a very small population, if one at all.[48] Many articles describe in detail the animals, plants, and natural environment of Alaska (*The Washington Post*, January 2, 2013):

> The Kodiak archipelago … is home to nearly 250 bird species, including horned puffins, red-faced cormorants and Harlequin ducks. It boasts among the highest winter bird counts in Alaska. It is also home to Kodiak brown bears, who feed on salmon streams …. Ocean Bay beach, the actual site of the [*Kulluk*] grounding, is a scenic beach and home to two important archaeological sites.

Adding to this depiction of Alaska as wild are numerous descriptions of the state's harsh climate, conditions that humanity has yet to fully 'conquer.' One article explains how "frontier exploration is intrinsically difficult" (*The Washington Post*, February 28, 2013), while another mentions the "unforgiving waters of the Arctic Ocean" (*The New York Times*, February 28, 2013). Using the term 'frontier' implies a certain roughness and distance from places already 'tamed' by humans. That said, an interesting contrast arises because most articles consistently include the perspectives of Alaskan federal politicians, local Coast Guards, and Shell-Alaska representatives. This could imply that Alaska has institutional representatives, yet there are very few 'actual' residents of Alaska. In terms of signifiers, the newspapers' depiction of Alaska as wild matches with "The Last Frontier."

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[48] In 2013, Alaska's population was approximately 735,132, with a population density of 1.2 people per square mile (United States Census Bureau, 2014).

Dependence

Another angle the American newspapers take relates to Alaska's dependence on oil. The news articles make it obvious that Alaska is rich in natural resources, "one of the last oil-producing regions in the United States" (*The New York Times*, January 1, 2013), but alongside such vast wealth is a strong dependency factor, whereby "the Alaskan economy runs on crude" (*The New York Times*, April 16, 2013). Alaska's Republican Senator, Lisa Murkowski, the politician cited most often in the news articles, voiced her strong support for the Alaskan oil industry (*The New York Times*, February 28, 2013; *The Washington Post*, November 1, 2013). As such, the articles reason that Alaska needs oil development to survive financially, which invokes the "Thriving" signifier.

Many articles also reiterate how the Coast Guard, Shell, and government officials worked cooperatively to rescue the *Kulluk* (*The New York Times*, January 1, 2013; *The New York Times*, January 2, 2013; *The Washington Post*, January 2, 2013; *The Washington Post*, January 7, 2013). Ultimately, though, the power to approve projects or to put a moratorium on projects lies with the federal government (*The New York Times*, April 10, 2013; *The New York Times*, January 9, 2013; *The Washington Post*, August 6, 2013; *The Washington Post*, January 9, 2013), with debates erupting in Congress between Democrats and Republicans (*The New York Times*, January 4, 2013; *The Washington Post*, February 28, 2013). Depicting the *Kulluk*'s grounding as such a controversial issue plays to the "Obsolete" signifier.

The National Post

The *National Post* is a national Canadian newspaper averaging 746,200 print and online readers daily (*National Post* Reader Kit, 2014). In 2013, the *National Post* published

14 articles that mention resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. Prior to even reading the articles, I noticed that all of them, except for one (*National Post*, April 26, 2013), appear in the *Financial Post*, or the FP section, implying that the newspaper understands the issue as mostly relevant for business. *The Globe and Mail's* articles were published in multiple sections of the newspaper, making it logical to conceptualize the *National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* separately and not group them together as 'Canadian national newspapers.'

As I discuss throughout this section, the *National Post* portrays resource development in the Beaufort Sea as a significant issue primarily for investors and policy analysts. This connects to the "Thriving" and "Obsolete" signifiers. With a renewed emphasis on the territory's resource wealth, the region is ripe for investment. Nevertheless, the territory has a history of exhausting companies who waited for decades for approvals, so industry feels cautious and skeptical about the new 'boom.' Specifically relating to offshore drilling, the *National Post* discusses how communities, industry, and governments prepare for oil spills, which appeals to the signifier "Protect/Develop" as well as to "Thriving." The articles imply that offshore drilling will proceed eventually, but the question is when?

The Northwest Territories is Ripe for Investment

The most obvious significance the *National Post* applies to resource development in the Beaufort Sea region concerns the region's potential for investment. Many explain how "so-called devolution"[49] (*National Post*, August 27, 2013) constitutes one of the most

[49] It is uncertain why this news article refers to devolution as "so-called" because devolution is institutionally-recognized. Using the term "so-called" seems to make a value judgment, implying that the Northwest

enabling factors for the territory to re-brand itself "as an energy powerbroker and resource powerhouse in its own right" (*National Post*, April 26, 2013). Now that the Northwest Territories controls its natural resources, it has "fresh impetus to take control of its destiny" (*National Post*, April 12, 2013).

To do so, Premier Bob McLeod travelled to China, "courting investment" (*National Post*, April 23, 2013). In a bid to alleviate Alberta's pipeline woes,[50] territorial Industry, Trade, and Investment Minister David Ramsay "is in 'serious talks' with [Alberta] to build an oil pipeline to Tuktoyaktuk" (*National Post*, April 26, 2013), which would then allow for export oil by supertanker. One article explains how "offshore activity … is poised to accelerate" (*National Post*, June 19, 2013), while another writes, "a major discovery of shale oil deposits was made … near Norman Wells" (*National Post*, September 21, 2013). For industry and investment, the image is clear: "maybe [the Northwest Territories'] time has finally arrived" (*National Post*, September 21, 2013). This connects very strongly to the "Thriving" signifier.

Cautious Industry

If the *National Post* shows a recurring theme of excitement about resource development in the Northwest Territories, a curious image lurking alongside is that of industry remaining cautious, even skeptical. By and large, the *National Post*'s articles cite the Mackenzie Valley pipeline as a disappointment, an example of what not to do, and as a

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Territories is unprepared for the 'reality' of controlling its own natural resources. See Chapter Six for more detail on what this implies for readers and whether such depictions are systemic.

[50] Over the last few years, the Government of Alberta and the Alberta oil industry lamented over the lack of access to markets for oil extracted in Alberta. They argue this lack of access lowers the price of Alberta's oil. Former Premier Alison Redford coined this situation a "bitumen bubble" (Edmonton Journal, January 4, 2014), and the government began seeking alternative pipeline routes to Keystone XL and Northern Gateway, which face much opposition.

reminder for industry to stay prudent: "the specter of the aborted Mackenzie Valley pipeline [warns] that resource projects have a limited shelf life .... by the time [the regulatory approval] was done, the opportunity had passed" (*National Post*, August 27, 2013). Many articles reiterate this language when discussing the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline or the *Kulluk*'s grounding (*National Post*, April 12, 2013; *National Post*, March 14, 2013; *National Post*, September 10, 2013), invoking the "Obsolete" signifier.

Concerning how industry reacts to the apparent rush for resources in the Northwest Territories, articles explain how "oil companies are in no hurry" (*National Post*, August 27, 2013), or that "it's far from clear ... that industry activity will follow" (*National Post*, September 10, 2013). Resource development in northern regions is replete with challenges and companies do not feel overly confident they can overcome them. A cold, harsh, northern climate is a major obstacle, leading to higher costs and narrower profit margins (*National Post*, August 27, 2013; *National Post*, February 13, 2013). Besides climate, communities in the Northwest Territories lack infrastructure (*National Post*, April 12, 2013; *National Post*, August 27, 2013; *National Post*, October 19, 2013; *National Post*, September 10, 2013). They are also still negotiating land claims (*National Post*, September 23, 2013) and finally, the *National Post* hardly perceives the regulatory process as easy for companies to navigate, as it oftentimes leads to lengthy delays or project withdrawals (*National Post*, April 12, 2013; *National Post*, June 19, 2013; *National Post*, March 14, 2013). This lack of interest on the part of industry affiliates with the "Obsolete" signifier. Whereas the territory appears resource rich, many conditions, including time, are not on the side of investors, although the *National Post* does not make a connection between the devolution agreement and the regulatory process. When the news articles do mention devolution, the agreement is

beneficial because it affirms the power of the territory to negotiate with industry (*National Post*, April 12, 2013; *National Post*, April 23, 2013; *National Pos*t, August 27, 2013; *National Post*, March 14, 2013). As one article quips, "there is an Arctic-sized gap between potential and execution" (*National Post*, April 12, 2013). Compared to the American national newspapers' sense of exhaustion with Shell, the *National Post*'s depiction of industry as apathetic is similar in the sense that they both imply that resource development is simply too difficult in the north.

Oil Spill Preparedness

Another connection the *National Post* makes to resource development in the Beaufort Sea region is oil spills. Even though industry might not show as much enthusiasm for resource development as the territorial government hopes, organizations like the Arctic Council[51] are preparing for offshore drilling and devising international oil spill response protocols (*National Post*, May 17, 2013). Importantly, an underlying assumption of preparing for oil spills is that, eventually, offshore drilling will occur, simultaneously invoking the signifiers "Thriving" and "Protect/Develop." Unlike the American national news articles, though, "Protect/Develop" is much less divisive when expressed in the *National Post.* One article explains how the Canadian government raised the minimum oil spill liability for companies drilling offshore to $1 billion. It highlights how "what to do –and who pays—in the event of a disaster has emerged as a major issue" (*National Post*, May 17,

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[51] The Arctic Council "is the leading intergovernmental forum promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic states, Arctic Indigenous communities and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues, in particular on issues of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic" (Arctic Council Website, December 16, 2015). The Council consists of eight member states (Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Russia, Sweden and the United States), six Indigenous organizations that sit as Permanent Participants, and Observers (non-Arctic states or organizations).

2013). Another article argues that "an oil spill is everybody's worst fear" (*National Post*, February 13, 2013). Even though offshore drilling "is strongly in the state's and nation's interest .... some locals are less sure" (*National Post*, February 13, 2013). These articles tend not to discuss industry's spill response preparedness but instead how other institutions, like the federal government and the Arctic Council, can help.

The Globe and Mail

The Globe and Mail is a Canadian daily newspaper averaging 898,000 readers each weekday and 1,098,000 readers each weekend, including both print and online platforms (The Globe and Mail Media Group Website, 2014). In 2013, *The Globe and Mail* published eleven articles referencing resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. As mentioned in the previous section, because these articles tended to be published in the A or B sections instead of solely the business section, my analysis of *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* articles is presented separately.

Overall, *The Globe and Mail* presents resource development in the Beaufort Sea as less of a contemporary issue and more of an issue for the future. The newspaper favours the "Obsolete" signifier, but notes how, in a decade, the region has potential to be "Thriving." *The Globe and Mail* emphasizes the roles the region can play in the flourishing liquefied natural gas (LNG) industry and the recent shale oil discovery near Norman Wells rather than offshore drilling or building the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline. Although the news articles mention forthcoming development proposals, offshore drilling still seems decades down the road. The delay in developing the region's resources, according to *The Globe and Mail*, is mostly due to the lengthy regulatory process companies must navigate in order to receive

permits. The paper also uses "The Last Frontier" signifier by depicting the region as a pristine wilderness.

New Roles for the Beaufort Sea Region

After almost forty years of prospecting for either a gas pipeline or offshore drilling, the Beaufort Sea region, according to *The Globe and Mail,* is shifting emphasis to adapt to changes in the economic market. Even with an upcoming proposal from Imperial Oil, "[offshore] drilling is at least seven years off" (*The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2013). The newspaper acknowledges that the Northwest Territories is wealthy in resources, but "following decades of high hopes and bitter disappointments" (*The Globe and Mail*, December 18, 2013), the region remains cautious about excitement over offshore drilling.

In the meantime, the articles focus on the Beaufort region's relevance to today's markets, which favour Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) and extracting shale oil. One article explains how Imperial Oil is considering "a major revamp of its Mackenzie Gas Project that would see the stalled northern venture reborn as part of an expansive liquefied natural gas development …. LNG is seen as the next big opportunity for Canada's energy sector" (*The Globe and Mail*, October 18, 2013).

From another angle, Industry, Trade and Investment Minister David Ramsay pitches "the idea of a 'made in the north' [oil] pipeline" (*The Globe and Mail*, August 27, 2013) to help transport Alberta's oil to new markets. Another article focuses entirely on the shale oil discovery near Norman Wells, painting the Beaufort region as old news (*The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2013). In this sense, although *The Globe and Mail* continues to depict the region as "Thriving," its pipeline hopes and offshore dreams are shelved for the time being,

leaning towards the "Obsolete" signifier. On the surface, *The Globe and Mail* resembles the *National Post*'s portrayal of the Northwest Territories as "ripe for investment." Word choice is significant, though, because the term "new roles" depicts a region looking for a place to belong, whereas the term "ripe for investment" implies a wealthy region valuable in and of itself. Also, in terms of audience, "new roles" appeals to the 'average' reader whereas "ripe for investment" more explicitly targets important players in the market economy.

Lengthy Regulatory Process

Another recurring image in *The Globe and Mail*'s depiction of resource development in the Northwest Territories is the long regulatory approval process. Whether decades ago during the proposals for the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline (*The Globe and Mail*, December 24, 2013; *The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2013), or today in relation to shale oil (*The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2013), or a decade in the future with offshore drilling (*The Globe and Mail*, January 31, 2013; *The Globe and Mail*, November 7, 2013; *The Globe and Mail*, September 30, 2013), the Northwest Territories seems plagued by lengthy regulatory approvals. One article warns how the Northwest Territories "could face a repeat of its disappointment with the stalled Mackenzie Valley Gas Project, this time in shale oil, unless authorities speed up approvals" (*The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2013). Another article quotes an industry representative lamenting, "we don't have the luxury of waiting until everybody's ready. The market isn't very empathetic to our challenges in Canada in terms of getting things off the ground" (*The Globe and Mail*, December 24, 2013). These regulatory delays correspond to the "Obsolete" signifier and, similar to the *National Post*, the articles make no direct connections between devolution and the regulatory process.

Late in 2013, the federal government made some changes to the approval process (*The Globe and Mail*, November 7, 2013). This marked an attempt to make it easier to approve projects. One article takes a worried tone, lamenting that the changes "[reduce] environmental oversight" (*The Globe and Mail*, November 7, 2013). Such caution connects to the "Protect/Develop" signifier. Apparently, the regulatory process is a complex issue that must balance many points of view. Given this complexity, one article grumbles it is no wonder that "it takes so long to get anything done in Northern Canada" (*The Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2013). Although the phrase "lengthy regulatory process" superficially associates with the *National Post*'s "cautious industry," the federal government is portrayed as having agency in the former, whereas the latter shows industry as maintaining primary agency when it comes to resource development. According to my analysis, *The Globe and Mail* affiliates closer to the American national newspapers' depictions compared to the *National Post* in that it shows the federal government as having final approval on northern projects.

Wild North

Perhaps the north's fragile and harsh environmental conditions explain the lengthy regulatory delays. *The Globe and Mail* articles repeatedly depict the region as remote, cold, and sparsely populated. Tuktoyaktuk is described as a place where "the sun barely [rises] above the horizon on the northernmost reaches of Canada's mainland …. A collection of modest wood homes with few stores and no restaurants or hotels" (*The Globe and Mail*, December 18, 2013). During Shell's *Kulluk* grounding, one article describes Alaska as a place "where people are scarce … but bears, puffins, and whales are regular sights against the stark mountain backdrop" (*The Globe and Mail*, January 8, 2013). Another article

quotes a representative of the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada explaining how it "is not appealing to everyone in terms of moving from the South to the North" (*The Globe and Mail*, August 27, 2013). Imperial Oil's proposed drilling location is "the farthest offshore, and the deepest [in the Canadian Arctic]" (*The Globe and Mail*, September 30, 2013), and climate change causes faster-flowing ice to "pose a new threat to drilling operations" (*The Globe and Mail*, March 16, 2013). Closely matching the American national newspapers, this depiction associates with "The Last Frontier" signifier.

The Fairbanks Daily News-Miner

The *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* is the northernmost daily newspaper in Alaska. Located in Fairbanks, the paper covers not only municipal issues, but also issues pertaining to the state of Alaska as a whole (Journalist 1, April 14, 2014). The newspaper is locally owned and has approximately 14,087 daily print and online readers (Mondo Times Website, 2014). In 2013, the *News-Miner* published nine articles discussing resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, a striking decline from previous years. In 2012 there were 46, in 2011 there were 62, and in 2010 there were 28 (see Appendix A). Right away, this points towards the "Obsolete" signifier.

From reading the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, offshore drilling in the Beaufort Sea connects to multiple forms of resource extraction in Alaska. Whether drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge or opening the National Petroleum Reserve,[52] Alaska is resource-dependent and utilizes multiple forms and locations of extraction to satisfy this dependence.

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[52] The National Petroleum Reserve, formerly called the Naval Petroleum Reserve, is "a vast 22.8-million acre area on Alaska's North Slope. In 1923, mindful of the land's conceivable petroleum value, President Harding set aside this area as an emergency supply for the U.S. Navy" (U.S. Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management Website, January 20, 2016).

Simultaneously, this invokes both the "Obsolete" and "Thriving" signifiers. The *News-Miner* highlights the importance of resource development to Alaska's livelihood but also values the state's beauty. This applies an interesting angle to the "Protect/Develop" signifier. The two concepts work in balance. When it comes to the many players involved in resource development, the *News-Miner* asserts a constant, yet subtle, dislike for any 'outsider' institutions that decide on Alaska's behalf, corresponding to the "Local Significance" signifier.

Balance

Whereas American national news articles tend to pit the issues of environmental protection against oil development, the *News-Miner* articles do not see these as mutually exclusive. It *is* possible to drill for oil and keep Alaska beautiful, but this requires care and consideration. One editorial bemoans how "the entire exercise of predicting oil production is subjective" (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, January 25, 2013), implying that it is difficult to take a strong pro- or anti- oil perspective. Another editorial expresses frustration with taking development issues to the extreme: "I cringe when I hear those who want to tap ANWR's oil riches declare it an ugly wasteland … at the same time, those who would prevent oil drilling in the coastal plain often talk in apocalyptic terms" (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 24, 2013). Instead of taking sides, the *News-Miner*'s articles highlight the need for a "measured and responsible pace" (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, February 28, 2013), and that it is in the "interest of the nation and the state for such exploration to proceed, but only with the right equipment, personnel and policies in place" *(Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* February 28, 2013). When the federal Department of the Interior expanded the protected

areas within the National Petroleum Reserve, one article quotes Alaskan federal Democrat Senator Mark Begich: "'I think we should listen most closely to those who live there and depend on both these critical subsistence resources as well as the economic opportunity resource development can bring'" (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, March 10, 2013). According to the *News-Miner*, resource development touches close to home for Alaskans but does not necessarily divide the state into strong pro- or anti-development contingents, as do the articles in American national newspapers. This pertains to "Thriving" in the sense that the Alaskan economy depends on oil extraction, but more obviously to "Protect/Develop" in the sense that these concepts are not mutually exclusive and can work together. This marks a different way to characterize "Protect/Develop" than the American national newspapers.

Distrust for 'Outsider' Institutions

Many of the *News-Miner*'s articles show disgruntlement with countless 'outside' institutions whose actions affect Alaska, deliberately or inadvertently. These institutions spread all along the continuum of organizations involved in resource development: national environmental groups (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 24, 2013), the federal government (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, August 4, 2013; *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, January 26, 2013; *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, March 10, 2013), the Supreme Court (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 6, 2013), oil companies (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, February 28, 2013; *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, January 25, 2013; *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 3, 2013; *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 24, 2013), and shipping companies (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, August 4, 2013). If a decision about Alaskan oil is made outside of Alaska, Alaskans are unhappy. One article about oil

forecasting quickly points out that the forecast consultant lives in Colorado, not in Alaska, and claims that the validity of his forecasts is questionable (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, January 25, 2013). In the case of a shipping spill off Alaska's coast, another article explains how the state of Alaska worries "whether the US Coast Guard will be given adequate resources by Congress" (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, August 4, 2013).

When Shell decided to postpone exploratory drilling in the Beaufort Sea until at least 2014 due to the *Kulluk* drill ship debacle, the *News-Miner* interpreted this as "more fallout from the mess the company made of the effort last year" (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, November 3, 2013). The *News-Miner* is frustrated with Shell when the company's plans go awry because Alaska depends on Shell: "taking a break this summer should help Shell make sure it is fulfilling its obligations" (*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, February 28, 2013). The implication is that Shell owes it to Alaska to successfully drill for Arctic oil. These examples demonstrate how the *News-Miner* exudes a strong distrust for 'outsider' institutions. The newspaper regularly presents Alaskans as a single entity rather than specific individuals, organizations, or communities within the state. Whereas the American national newspapers emphasize Alaska as wild and empty, "The Last Frontier," the *News-Miner* reiterates that Alaska has a dedicated community with a strong sense of identity. This depiction favours the "Local Significance" signifier.

News/North

News/North is a territorial newspaper in the Northwest Territories, owned by Northern News Services Limited, an independently owned company based in Yellowknife. Northern News Services Limited was founded in 1945 and prints five different weekly

newspapers across Nunavut and the Northwest Territories (Northern News Services Website, 2014). *News/North* has approximately 7,779 weekly readers in its print format (*News/North*, 2013). Compared to the other newspapers included in this research, *News/North* published the most news articles (36) referencing resource development in the Beaufort Sea region in 2013.

In general, *News/North* emphasizes how the Beaufort Sea region experienced a lull in resource development over the past decade due to the postponement of the Mackenzie Valley Gas Project, but with devolution and the construction of the Tuktoyaktuk highway underway, the territory feels renewed excitement towards resource extraction. Many regions in the Northwest Territories are ready for investment and *News/North* frequently mentions multiple new projects in the same article, comparing and contrasting their benefits and drawbacks. This resembles the "Thriving" signifier. Readers of *News/North* might sense that local communities have a strong influence over development in the region, a sentiment that affiliates with the "Local Significance" signifier. According to *News/North,* local communities support offshore drilling only when they are effectively consulted and only if the utmost care is provided to avoid an oil spill. This also connects to the "Protect/Develop" signifier. *News/North* also suggests that offshore drilling is still ten years away, at the earliest, resembling the "Obsolete" signifier.

Resource Boom in the Northwest Territories

One of the main messages to emerge from *News/North*'s articles is the extent of the Northwest Territories' resource wealth and the level of excitement associated with beginning resource extraction. The region is energized by many opportunities: upcoming offshore

drilling proposals in Beaufort Sea (*News/North*, July 25, 2013; *News/North*, June 17, 2013; *News/North*, May 13, 2013; *News/North*, May 27a, 2013; *News/North*, May 27b, 2013; *News/North*, October 7, 2013), the easy access the Tuktoyaktuk highway will provide for investors (*News/North*, March 18, 2013; *News/North*, December 23, 2013), the recent shale oil discovery in the Sahtu region near Norman Wells (*News/North*, April 29, 2013; *News/North*, July 29, 2013), the prospect of building an oil pipeline to the Arctic coast from Alberta (*News/North*, April 29, 2013; *News/North*, July 29, 2013; *News/North*, March 4, 2013), and the visits local politicians made to China to promote investment opportunities (*News/North*, April 29, 2013). Inuvik's annual Petroleum Show continues to bring in over 450 delegates to discuss development in the region (*News/North*, June 17, 2013). According to *News/North*, Inuvik definitely sees itself as investor-friendly (*News/North*, April 29, 2013; *News/North*, June 17, 2013; *News/North*, January 28, 2013). Very obviously, this image corresponds to the "Thriving" signifier.

Curiously, the one area where *News/North* shows declining interest (i.e. "Obsolete" signifier) is with the shelved Mackenzie Gas Project. One article quotes David Ramsay, territorial Minister of Industry, Trade and Investment, who warns, "the stakes are high ... if energy companies … cannot complete their exploratory wells … then industry will move on, making the Sahtu another Inuvik …. We've had stranded gas in the Mackenzie Delta for 40 years now" (*News North*, April 29, 2013). Nonetheless, from local Aboriginal leaders like Nellie Cournoyea to territorial leaders like Premier Bob McLeod to national leaders like MP Leona Agglukak, the message is clear: "we're trying to show that the NWT is a good place to invest" (*News/North*, April 29, 2013). *News/North* parallels the *National Post* in its assertion

that the region is booming economically, except it is important to note that *News/North* also emphasizes that the boom is significant for local citizens.

Local Perspectives

Amidst *News/North*'s positive framing of resource development, the articles underscore how these sentiments are rooted in the territory as much as they come from Ottawa. In one article, the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation Chief Executive Officer (CEO) Nellie Cournoyea explains how "we worked long and hard on [the Tuktoyaktuk highway] regionally, we had very little help from anyone else" (*News/North*, February 4, 2013). Another article reinforces this sentiment by indicating that "people in the region want and deserve to benefit [from development in the region]" (*News/North*, May 20, 2013). When the National Energy Board[53] CEO Gaeton Caron visited the Inuvialuit Settlement Region to consult with communities in the spring of 2013, he repeated over and over, "we are committed to taking the time to listen to all of your concerns .... We are here to protect your rights and interests" (*News/North*, May 27, 2013).

News/North also depicts local communities expressing frustration with resource development. Not everyone is optimistic. For example, Cece Hodsgon-McCauley, an Aboriginal editorial writer with *News/North*, frequently bemoans that the territory fails to take effective care of its Aboriginal people. She ends one article by lamenting, "I think I will go to my corner and have a good cry!?" (*News/North*, February 18, 2013). In another article, a local youth, when asked about her experience at a consultation meeting with the National

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[53] The National Energy Board "is an independent federal regulatory agency that was established in 1959 with the mandate to regulate aspects of the energy industry under federal jurisdiction, and to inform the government and public about energy matters" (National Energy Board Website, December 17, 2015).

Energy Board, replies, "the format of the meeting wasn't conducive to encouraging youth participation" (*News/North*, February 25, 2013). When National Dene Chief Bill Erasmus signed an agreement against offshore drilling in the Arctic, local Gwich'in leader Robert Alexie Jr., a member of the Dene National Council, explains how "I take offence when others take it upon themselves to speak for us" (*News/North*, May 27, 2013). Whether in agreement or in disagreement with issues surrounding resource development, *News/North* suggests that local perspectives matter. This resembles the "Local Significance" signifier. Compared with the *News-Miner,* where the term 'locals' implies all Alaskans, as though Alaskans have a strong, unified identity, *News-North* tends to further specify the identity of 'locals,' whether this means Aboriginal communities or residents of Inuvik, for example.

Concern for Oil Spills

Another common depiction emerging from *News/North*'s articles relates to concerns over oil spills. When a draft Arctic Council agreement on oil spill response was leaked in February 2013, one article responds, "critics voiced concerns about its vague and potentially ineffective requirements" (*News/North*, February 11, 2013). While covering a National Energy Board consultation meeting in Inuvik later in the month, another article explains how "few [residents] were happy with the prospect of an environmental disaster …. The land and drum dancing is all that we have to remember our ancestors" (*News/North*, February 25, 2013). An editorial cites British Petroleum's 2010 Gulf of Mexico spill as "the tar-laden poster child for the danger's [sic] of offshore drilling" (*News/North*, March 4, 2013), concluding that offshore drilling is simply too risky for current technology. When the federal government responded to oil spill concerns by raising its offshore liability to $1 billion from

$40 million, Tuktoyaktuk mayor Merven Gruben responds, "that's probably not enough, but it's better" (*News/North*, July 15, 2013). Such concern relates to the "Protect/Develop" signifier. Whereas the American national newspapers split these concepts and the *News-Miner* portrays them as working in equilibrium, *News-North* sees them as oppositional but not without a possibility for reconciliation.

Given their concern over oil spills, local residents hope to reopen a disbanded oil spill response program that closed back in the 1990s (*News/North*, May 13, 2013). The article states how even though companies are liable for oil spills and not communities, "communities want to ensure there is a spill response system in place before any development begins" (*News/North*, May 13, 2013). This affiliates with the "Local Significance" signifier. From another angle, preparing an oil spill response team could show that residents admit offshore drilling is a probable reality for the future, even with challenges. This connects to the "Thriving" signifier.

The Inuvik Drum

Northern News Services Ltd. also owns the *Inuvik Drum*, a weekly newspaper that focuses specifically on Inuvik and the surrounding Beaufort-Delta region. Approximately 2,152 subscribers read the print version of the *Inuvik Drum* each week (Northern News Services, 2013). In 2013, the *Inuvik Drum* published 19 news articles mentioning resource development in the region. The articles do not allude to the Beaufort Sea region explicitly, likely because Inuvik is located in the Beaufort region. Instead, they refer to specific communities within the Beaufort region: Tuktoyaktuk, Inuvik, Paulatuk, Ulukhaktok, and Aklavik.

The *Inuvik Drum* portrays resource development as dependent on community approval, which clearly associates with the "Local Significance" signifier. If companies want to extract resources in the Beaufort region, they must consult with local communities and keep them regularly informed. As well, the newspaper connects resource development to the construction of a permanent highway to Tuktoyaktuk. Beaufort-Delta residents seem thrilled to finally see the highway come into fruition, as it will bring a multitude of benefits for the region, although easier access to natural resources is mentioned only as a tertiary benefit. Such excitement is indicative of the "Thriving" signifier, albeit to a lesser extent with offshore drilling, which links more to the "Obsolete" signifier.

Local Perspectives

The *Inuvik Drum* connects resource development most strongly to local perspectives. As noted earlier, in the early 1970s the federal government hired Justice Thomas Berger to visit communities along the proposed Mackenzie Valley pipeline route to hear their perspectives on the proposed pipeline and its impacts on the region (Berger, 1988). The Berger Inquiry "was the first of its kind to travel to the territorial communities, instead of simply sitting in Yellowknife" (*Inuvik Drum*, November 14, 2013). A traveling exhibit about the Berger Inquiry visited Inuvik in 2013 and, expectedly, attendees reminisced about the positive energy back in the 1970s (*Inuvik Drum*, November 14, 2013). They recognized how seminal the Inquiry was in terms of shaping today's consultation processes.

The results of the Berger Inquiry live on. Numerous articles discuss upcoming consultations between industry and the Beaufort-Delta region. During their stay in Aklavik (*Inuvik Drum*, April 18, 2013a), Inuvik (*Inuvik Drum*, April 18, 2013b), or travelling with

elders throughout sacred sites (*Inuvik Drum*, July 18, 2013), representatives of the National Energy Board took serious steps towards improving relationships between Aboriginal communities, government, and industry. Industry also visited the region for community consultations. ConocoPhillips visited Paulatuk and Imperial Oil visited Aklavik (*Inuvik Drum*, November 28, 2013; *Inuvik Drum*, December 5, 2013).

The *Inuvik Drum* publishes regular commentary from local leaders like Inuvik mayor Floyd Roland or Nellie Cournoyea. Roland visited Ottawa to promote the idea of a joint gas pipeline serving British Columbia, the Beaufort-Delta, Alberta, and Saskatchewan (*Inuvik Drum*, February 14, 2013; *Inuvik Drum*, February 21, 2013), and Cournoyea voiced her distaste for a Greenpeace-sponsored anti-offshore agreement signed by Dene National Chief Bill Erasmus: " 'We don't need people like Greenpeace and Bill Erasmus speaking on our behalf. Their statements are disrespectful to us' " (*Inuvik Drum*, May 23, 2013). When MGM Energy allowed one of its offshore licenses to expire, "the public reaction from people here in Inuvik was one of disappointment" (*Inuvik Drum*, June 13, 2013). When it comes to resource development, local perceptions matter because local communities are on the frontlines of the development. They experience both its benefits as well as its drawbacks. Such a portrayal connects strongly to the "Local Significance" signifier. Similar to *News-North* and in contrast to the *News-Miner*, the *Inuvik Drum* tends to specify 'locals' not with reference to all Beaufort-Delta residents but to residents of either Aklavik, Paulatuk, Inuvik, or to municipal leaders and Indigenous groups like the Inuvialuit and the Gwich'in.

Anticipation for the Tuktoyaktuk Highway

Another recurring connection the *Inuvik Drum* makes to resource development is the construction of the Tuktoyaktuk highway.[54] Instead of speaking only about resource development, the *Inuvik Drum* interprets the Tuktoyaktuk highway as bringing numerous benefits to the region (*Inuvik Drum*, February 7, 2013; *Inuvik Drum*, June 20, 2013; *Inuvik Drum*, March 21, 2013; *Inuvik Drum*, May 3, 2013). The Inuvik Petroleum Show even scheduled a session on the Tuktoyaktuk highway (*Inuvik Drum*, March 15, 2013). Most articles emphasize the localized advantages of the highway, like cheaper goods, more jobs, and more tourism. When resource development is mentioned, articles tend to end with a statement about the highway's significance for resource development and sovereignty (*Inuvik Drum*, February 7, 2013; *Inuvik Drum*, March 21, 2013), which implies that, ultimately, resource development and sovereignty are not the most important advantages of the highway. In a guest editorial, Tuktoyaktuk mayor Merven Gruben writes, "the construction of the Inuvik to Tuk highway has been a long-standing goal of … the residents of this region" (*Inuvik Drum*, May 3, 2013). Such feelings of anticipation certainly point towards the "Thriving" signifier, but because the *Inuvik Drum* mentions resource development only as an aside, this also points towards the "Obsolete" signifier.

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[54] After many years of Beaufort Delta leaders pitching the project to Ottawa, the federal government announced funding for a permanent, 140-kilometre long highway from Inuvik to Tuktoyaktuk in 2011 (Up Here Magazine, December 2012). Without a highway, the community of Tuktoyaktuk is only accessible in the winter by driving along the frozen Mackenzie River. Presently, the Dempster Highway reaches as far as Inuvik, but this new expansion will mark the first time in Canada that a permanent highway reaches the Arctic coast.

Summary

This chapter began by presenting five recurring signifiers for resource development in the Beaufort Sea region that weave themselves throughout the seven newspapers. These five signifiers help explain the similarities and variations when newspapers cover resource development. All seven newspapers use the "Obsolete" and "Thriving" signifiers. The most obvious contrast occurs between the national and local newspapers: national newspapers tend to use "The Last Frontier" signifier while local newspapers tend to use "Local Significance." Most newspapers use the "Protect/Develop" signifier, with the exception of the *Inuvik Drum* and *The Globe and Mail.* The American national newspapers use the "Protect/Develop" signifier to create a division between developing resources and protecting the environment, whereas the *News-Miner* uses the same signifier to show how they work in balance.

In Canada, *News/North, The Globe and Mail,* and the *National Post* each discuss a "Thriving" Beaufort Sea region, yet they appeal to different audiences and provide various explanations for why the region is "Thriving." Similarly, all the Canadian newspapers explain how resource development is "Obsolete," but again, they appeal to different audiences. Finally, although local newspapers all use the "Local Significance" signifier, the *News-Miner* describes Alaskans as one proud entity, but *News-North* and the *Inuvik Drum* focus more specifically on smaller groups and communities. The next chapter builds upon this analysis by adding the perspectives of northern journalists, and then in the discussion, I link back to Barthes (1988) and Haraway (2000; 2010) with regards to power and ways of knowing.

Chapter Five: Learning from Northern Journalists

Overview

If newspapers portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea region somewhat differently, why is this significant? What effects can these variations have on readers? This chapter begins by introducing the perspectives of six northern journalists who discussed northern media's relationships with southern media. Their attitudes provide personal context linking the newspaper articles to actual people who live in the north and begin to answer the research question, "What roles might print media play in shaping perceptions of resource development in the Beaufort Sea region?" Next, this chapter returns to Barthes (1988) and Haraway's (2000; 2010) theories and discusses how power dynamics play a role in shaping the news. Ultimately, this chapter prompts readers interested in resource development in the north to think critically about what they read and where they read because even subtle differences can alter meanings.

Northern Journalists' Perspectives

Studying newspapers' portrayals of resource development in the Beaufort Sea region makes for interesting comparisons, but interviewing journalists working in the north adds more perspectives to this issue. In total, I interviewed six journalists. Three journalists from the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* participated in an hour-long group interview. The other other journalists were interviewed individually in Yellowknife: two from Northern News Services Ltd. and one from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC).[55] The interview

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[55] When I spoke with CBC Yellowknife's managing editor over the phone, I asked to interview a journalist who writes online content. During the interview, the journalist explained to me that, in Yellowknife at least, CBC journalists are tasked with writing online content as well as broadcasting.

lengths ranged from twenty minutes to an hour. Of the six journalists, five were male and one was female. One journalist was born in the north while the others moved to the north from southern Canada/United States for work.

Throughout the interviews, some common themes emerged, both broadly concerning the relationships between the media and society, and more specifically in terms of similarities and differences between the media's representations of resource development. The common themes are as follows: the media play an indirect role in society; the Northwest Territories' large Aboriginal population influences news in the region; and southern newspapers tend to exaggerate or sensationalize northern issues, removing them from their northern context.

The Media Play an Indirect Role in Society

A common theme arising from the interviews is that the media's roles in society are not so direct or clear. Two questions in the Interview Guide specifically probed into this topic:[56] what do you feel is the relationship between news and society in a northern context? Do you feel that the media play a role in shaping northern identity? In what ways? When asked these questions, journalists looked uncertain. For example, three journalists responded identically with, "I'm not sure how to answer that one" (Journalist 1, April 14, 2014: Line 166; Journalist 2, April 14, 2014: Lines 201-2; Journalist 3, April 14, 2014: Lines 217-18), while a fourth journalist took a long pause to think about the question but did not respond (Journalist 6, April 30, 2014: Lines 186-7). Apparently, these questions do not involve a simple answer.

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[56] See Appendix B for full Interview Guide.

As the interviews continued, though, these uncertainties somewhat dissipated. Many instances arose in which journalists mentioned offhand how the news conforms to its audience. Journalist 5 explained, "we have to rely on our audience to give us material" (April 30, 2014: Line 95), and Journalist 1 agreed: "everyone's lobbying for their piece of our time" (April 14, 2014: Lines 185-6). When discussing how the media represent Aboriginal peoples, Journalist 6 explained, "Idle No More[57] really started to shape the media. And change the way Aboriginal people are perceived" (Journalist 6, April 30, 2014: Lines 277-79). Journalist 2 commented, "I think the biggest way that the media play a role in shaping northern identity is if the northern identity disagrees with something in the newspaper" (Journalist 2, April 14, 2014: Lines 349-52). The *News-Miner* receives many phone calls and emails from readers if they disagree with how the newspaper discusses an issue. From first glance, the audience shapes the news.

The journalists also pointed towards the news subtly shaping their audiences. Because of the large distance between Alaska and continental United States, Journalist 2 discussed why non-Alaskans, or continental Americans, read the *News-Miner*: "Alaska has that … draw to people, to read about what's going on up here. We sort of have a unique 'in' for people outside" (April 14, 2014: Lines 84-6). In this instance, the *News-Miner* shapes the news for audiences who do not live in Alaska. Journalist 4 also mentioned how the media shape the audience when he explained, "Aboriginal people don't necessarily like to take a confrontational stance …. It's kind of frustrating for newspaper people because we always

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[57] Idle No More is "one of the largest Indigenous mass movements in Canada …. Idle No More seeks to assert Indigenous inherent rights to sovereignty and reinstitute traditional laws and Nation to Nation Treaties by protecting the lands and waters from corporate destruction" (Idle No More Website, December 17, 2015). The movement began in November 2012 "when a group of women in Saskatchewan held the first community teach-in about proposed omnibus federal legislation removing protection of water …. [The women] used the hashtag #idlenomore to help publicize the issue" (CBC News, December 7, 2014).

want people to be outspoken and combative" (Journalist 4, April 28, 2014: Lines 270-3). Here, the journalist hints at the existence of a larger media enterprise with its own norms that do not necessarily coincide with the views of certain audiences. Providing another example of the media taking an active role, Journalist 6 asserted how "[the term] 'Native' I don't find as disrespectful, but it's the way that it's been played out in the media that's made it disrespectful" (Journalist 6, April 30, 2014: Lines 313-5).

Looking at these comments through a cultural studies lens, it seems that the media's relationships to society work multi-directionally (Barthes, 1988; Boykoff, 2007; Evans, 2002; Fürsich, 2002; Phelan, 2009). Whereas journalists strive to report what their audiences enjoy, sometimes certain institutional or cultural norms overpower their ability to satisfy their audiences' expectations, resulting in journalists adopting a different approach and thus shaping their audiences. As Journalist 2 said succinctly, "I'd say it's both. It's guided by the people who send us information but then we also have to make a choice" (April 14, 2014: Lines 208-10).

This intriguing relationship between news and society can begin to explain why newspapers tend to use similar signifiers, but with certain adjustments, when discussing resource development in the Beaufort Sea region: they cater to different audiences. For the *National Post*, it makes sense for its news articles to appear in the Financial Post section if their main audience interested in the Beaufort Sea region predominantly consists of investors and oil companies. Likewise, it seems logical that many of the *Inuvik Drum*'s sources are local leaders and that the newspaper takes a local lens if residents of the Beaufort-Delta make up most of its audience. On the one hand, that newspapers cater to their audience helps

explain why all the newspapers in this study use both the "Obsolete" and "Thriving" signifiers: readers across both Canada and the United States are impacted by oil and gas development and they see development as a contentious issue. Their opinions vary.

On the other hand, both the *Inuvik Drum* and *News/North* have similar audiences, residents of the Northwest Territories. Yet the *Inuvik Drum*, the only newspaper in this study located in the Beaufort Sea region, shows must less excitement for resource development than *News/North*. Although both newspapers emphasize "Local Significance," *News/North* tends to cite territorial politicians while the *Inuvik Drum* tends to cite municipal politicians and Indigenous groups. Perhaps the territorial government's excitement over a devolution agreement, coupled with the recent shale oil discovery in the Sahtu region, has the territorial government quite optimistic, which then spreads through their interviews published in newspapers.

Another interesting question to ask, given the northern newspapers' strong assertion of "Local Significance," is where the notion of the Beaufort region as an unpopulated, harsh wilderness, too fragile to decide for itself derives from (i.e. "The Last Frontier")? Are national newspapers simply synchronizing with their 'southern' audiences, who have never visited the Arctic, or are these newspapers distributing such an image? According to the journalists, the responses to these previous questions are impossible to determine for certain. The news can shape the audience as much as the audience can shape the news.

Northern Journalism and the Northwest Territories' Large Indigenous Population

Another theme that the three Canadian journalists highlighted as a key component of their work is the influence of the Northwest Territories' large Indigenous population, which

constitutes roughly 50% in the territory as a whole and 80% in the Beaufort-Delta region (Government of the Northwest Territories Bureau of Statistics, 2014). When introducing the various newspapers published by Northern News Services, Journalist 4 (April 28, 2014) provided much detail about how their audience varies depending on the newspaper:

> Yellowknife [is] pretty much a southern city as I'm sure you've observed. Outside of Yellowknife it's like going to another place. And with *News/North* we try to aim to that market .... So we cover all those things outside of Yellowknife for that market out there. Which is largely, probably 50-50 Dene/Métis, and the other 50 would be non-Aboriginal .... [The newspaper] *Yellowknifer* is really directed towards Yellowknife. (Lines 714-25)

In this quote, the *Yellowknifer*[58] caters less to an Indigenous audience than newspapers like *News/North* or the *Inuvik Drum* because Yellowknife has a large population of non-Indigenous people. Journalist 6 agreed that "probably 80% of our stories are Aboriginal stories .... Because there's like, 70% Aboriginal people here [in the Northwest Territories]" (April 30, 2014: Lines 633-6). When asked why she works in journalism, Journalist 6 responded, "basically it's to be able to be telling stories that represent Indigenous people in an accurate and fair way" (April 30, 2014: Lines 6-8). Specifically because of their audience, media outlets in the Northwest Territories try to adapt their stories to the region's large Indigenous population.

Adding some complexity, journalists in the territory highlight how appealing to an Indigenous audience represents a challenge for media outlets. For example, Journalist 6 maintained that "[it] can be challenging as a reporter [because] the land-based stories are often considered fluff, and you are of course trying to keep up with reporting in the big

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[58] I did not consider *Yellowknifer* for this study because the paper does not cover the Beaufort Sea region as much as *News/North* (which is a territorial-wide newspaper) or the *Inuvik Drum*. Although the *News-Miner* is located in Fairbanks and not the Beaufort Sea region, its journalists nonetheless feel the newspaper takes a regional focus:. "We try to have a statewide reach, not in our distribution but in some of the things we cover" (Journalist 1, April 14, 2014: Lines 282-3).

cities" (April 30, 2014: Lines 79-81). Journalist 4 alluded to a similar disconnect between the media and Indigenous groups: "Sometimes, especially in Nunavut, you'll find [local] reporters are, sort of, well, 'we're not like that here.' Or, 'we don't talk like that here' .... Sometimes that's a ploy to shut reporters up and shut down the news" (April 28, 2014: Lines 509-12). Journalist 5 noted how Indigenous readers tend to dislike sensationalism: "I know there were times when we have tried to be more sensationalistic and we get beat up for it" (April 30, 2014: Lines 76-8). Even more telling, Journalist 6 worried, "I don't really want to exploit people. And be like, "Great, you're a residential school survivor. Can you talk to me for twenty minutes and bawl your eyes out and possibly be re-traumatized, and then I'm going to use thirty seconds?"" (April 30, 2014: 243-7). According to journalists in the Northwest Territories, the media's institutional norms do not necessarily show sensitivity towards northern Indigenous groups.

From a larger lens, that Indigenous groups in the Northwest Territories see the news as a colonial institution reaffirms Higgins and Alia's (1999) research comparing how Canadian local and national newspapers discuss Aboriginal issues. They conclude that print media "perpetuate colonial thinking" (Higgins & Alia, 1999: 158). Although the journalists interviewed in this study make a concerted effort to serve Indigenous audiences, they notice how the media's institutional norms can offset this endeavor. Curiously, most of the literature suggests that the media can empower Indigenous groups (Daley & James, 2004; Evans, 2002; Roth, 2005; Wachowich & Scobie, 2010). Higgins & Alia (1999) looked at northern newspapers serving both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences, though, which is similar to this research, whereas Daley and James (2004), Evans (2004), and Wachowich

and Scobie (2010) focused on media rooted within Indigenous communities. In this sense, it appears that media stemming from Indigenous communities can 'recode' (Haraway, 2010) the colonial structure of mainstream media and empower communities, whereas recoding poses a more difficult challenge to overcome when a newspaper focuses on both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences. In this study, both the *Inuvik Drum* and *News/North* consistently interview local Indigenous groups and *News/North* regularly publishes editorials by Cece Hodgson-McCauley, an Indigenous activist based in Norman Wells. Maintaining the usual uses, reputations, and norms of the media, while at the same time enabling Indigenous audiences to recode these structures, marks a difficult pendulum for journalists to balance. As they explained, fulfilling the needs of such a diverse northern audience is a complex and challenging task.

One important aspect to note is that this research looked only at news articles that discuss resource development. Although *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum* include Indigenous perspectives, one would have to read the newspapers in full to really say more on this topic. Also, the previous section related only to the Northwest Territories and not to Alaska. Although Alaska's Beaufort Sea region also includes Indigenous traditional territory, that of the Gwich'in and the Iñupiat, the Alaskan journalists did not mention whether Alaska's Indigenous population affects journalism in the state. Alaska's population is only 14.7% Indigenous (US Census Bureau, 2013) compared with over 50% in the Northwest Territories. In their study of Alaska Native-run newspapers, all of which are now closed, Daley and James note how the mainstream urban press perpetually "[represents] the country and the state of Alaska monoculturally" (2004: 85). According to this view, the *News-Miner* acts more like a southern or mainstream newspaper because it consistently refers to Alaskans

as a single entity. From yet another angle, Haycox (2002a) asserts that because of the frontier mentality of Alaska's settler population, a strong Alaskan identity continues to permeate throughout the state, which takes precedence over localized identities like those of the Iñupiat or Gwich'in when it comes to newspaper coverage.

Alaskan journalists explicitly discussed the existence of a strong Alaskan identity. When the journalists were asked whether newspapers play a role in shaping it, Journalist 1 replied, "not at all. I think the identity is here" (April 14, 2014: Line 315). Journalist 3 responded, "I think we cater to that identity some" (April 14, 2014: Line 336), and Journalist 2 explained, "I think there is a huge learning curve to working in media in Alaska .... Just because the identity is so unique" (April 14, 2014: 469-72). The three journalists elaborated further on some characteristics of Alaskans' identity: dislike for the federal government, pride for the state, less resistance in terms of environmental activism, and keen interest in the weather (Journalists 1-3, April 14, 2014). This resembles Haycox's (2002a) characterization of Alaskans and also associates with the ways in which the *News-Miner* describes resource development: distrust for outside institutions and a desire for balance between environmental protection and resource development. Haycox's use of the term 'frontier' mentality implies Alaskans "have been insensitive to their impact on nature and landscape" (2002a, ix), a sentiment with which neither the journalists nor the news articles in this study would agree. The Alaskan journalists would claim it is 'outsiders' who treat Alaska as though it is a frontier. This marks a very interesting incongruity in relation to identity construction that deserves further research.

This section showed how Indigeneity marks a more prominent characteristic for northern journalism in the Northwest Territories than for Alaska. When comparing the *News-Miner*'s use of the "Local Significance" signifier to the *Inuvik Drum*'s and *News-North*'s, the *News-Miner*'s pride for the state points towards a strong Alaskan identity, as described by the literature as well as by the journalists. "Local Significance" for the *Inuvik Drum* and *News-North* means to appeal to local residents, but also specifically to the territory's Indigenous audiences, which helps to explain why the articles focus less on a territory-wide identity and more on various communities and groups.

Differences Between Northern and Southern Newspapers

Overwhelmingly, all six journalists agreed that substantial differences exist in the ways in which northern and southern media portray issues. This creates strong sentiments of bitterness and antagonism from northern journalists towards southern journalism. Although the interview questions sought to identify instances where journalists felt 'southern' media portrayed resource development similarly or differently, it quickly became clear that northern and southern media diverge on many other issues, like health, environment, education, and social issues.

Many journalists spoke of southern media sensationalizing issues. As Journalist 5 explained, "I don't think we tailor the sensationalistic aspect to try to draw people in as we would if we were down south. Because we're the primary [news] source, we're not really competing in that way" (April 30, 2014: 61-4). Journalist 6 (April 30, 2014) also vented her frustrations with southern media's tendency to sensationalize:

> There are things that I won't do now [as a journalist]. Like, I'm often told, "There's a divide in the community? We've got to get that." And I just won't do that anymore. Because it's stupid. There's a lot more than just this divide. Like this issue is about fracking, it's not about the divide … it's about people having legitimate concerns …. There was this story … and [the reporter] didn't mention fracking once … was just about the violent Natives …. They're not just being savages. They have a reason, a legitimate reason why they're angry. And this has happened over and over again. (Lines 714-25)

The journalists mentioned further instances whereby southern media exaggerate the north, whether through minimizing, amplifying, oversimplifying, stereotyping, or focusing extensively on negative interpretations. Journalist 4 cited one instance where southern media published "an old story that'd been taken up like an old sock and hauled out of the closet and held up for the rest of the country to smell" (April 28, 2014: Lines 662-4). Journalist 3 showed frustration towards the "million terrible reality shows about Alaska. That all play to not completely inaccurate, but silly stereotypes about Alaska" (April 14, 2014: Lines 256-9).

More bluntly, many journalists spoke outright of instances where southern media "don't know, and [they get] things wrong" (Journalist 6, April 30, 2014: 283-5). Reporting on the north without actually living in the north often results in imposing southern ways of knowing onto northern contexts. Journalist 4 elaborated further: "we often get southern voices making comments, and especially environmental voices to a large extent, making judgments about what people up in the north want" (Journalist 4, April 28, 2014: Lines 667-70). Overall, the journalists interviewed tended to agree that living in the north creates a distinct understanding of certain issues.

Given the many examples of southern media negatively or inaccurately portraying the north, I conclude that relationships between northern and southern media might not be the most amiable. Most journalists explained how they limit their interactions with southern

media: "we don't have a real working relationship, if you will, with southern media. It's just chance encounters" (Journalist 1, April 14, 2014: Lines 648-50). In another instance, Journalist 4 asserted: "we may or may not cooperate, but we'll charge them [if they ask us for help reporting on an issue]" (Journalist 4, April 28, 2014: Lines 717-8). Journalist 5 agreed: "we limit our cooperation, if any" (Journalist 5, April 30, 2014: Line 162).

Journalists also stressed how southern journalists rarely travel north to report on an issue. When they do, "it comes across as if they're the first ones to ever report on [the north]" (Journalist 1, April 14, 2014: Lines 627-9). As a result, northern journalists described feeling "weird … kind of put off" (Journalist 6, 2014: Lines 960-1), or "standoff-ish [and] skeptical" (Journalist 2, 2014: Lines 592-4). They feel intruded upon. Higgins and Alia (1999) address these sentiments in their research as well, stating how "it is rare for a northern journalist to have credibility in the national or global media" (1999: 141). Even though northern journalists are closest to a story, national media prefer to send their own journalists (Higgins & Alia, 1999). Unsurprisingly, this generates negative sentiments from northern journalists towards southern journalists.

The journalists discussed three possible causes for the discrepancies between how northern and southern media portray the north. Firstly, the large distance separating northern Canada and Alaska from southern Canada and continental United States certainly contributes to varying interpretations. For example, Journalist 1 noted how this is "probably something that just comes with distance … the more you are removed from something, the more it gets minimized" (April 14, 2014: Lines 695-701). Secondly, Journalist 6 mentioned how the lack of Indigenous voices in southern media can play a role in why issues are portrayed

differently in the south: "a lot of the stories I've seen [in southern news] don't get into as much of the Indigenous perspectives as they can, because [they] don't have that relationship with people" (April 30, 2014: Lines 674-9). Finally, Journalist 3 (April 14, 2013) highlighted how southern or national media function more to explain issues in the context of broader themes rather than from local perspectives:

> I think for southern media it's more of an abstract issue that kind of fits into larger themes. Like the question of whether a specific region in Alaska should be developed for oil. I don't think for southern media it's necessarily about whether they really care about that region. It fits more into a broader discussion about whether there are certain places that should be protected [or] whether you should just get oil from where you find it. I think it's not abstract at all in Alaska. (Lines 770-9)

In this instance, media outlets have varying norms that contribute to the divergent approaches taken when depicting the north. In the case of local media, the news serves to discuss local community perspectives and local events. In the case of national media, the news serves to build or reinforce national identities, most of which derive from southern Canada or southern United States, even if this sometimes occurs at the cost of local, northern perspectives.

Overall, the six northern journalists strongly believe northern media characterize issues differently than southern media.[59] Whether this is due to various forms of exaggeration on the part of southern media or to the projection of southern viewpoints onto northern issues, by and large northern media do not aim to build strong, lasting relationships with southern media. They prefer to work on their own. The next question to ask, then, is whether

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[59] Although the Interview Guide asked specifically about resource development, the journalists made it very clear that this occurs not only with resource development but also with issues such as health care, education, social issues, and environment. More research is therefore needed to look broadly at the similarities and differences between northern and southern media.

the literature and the news articles in this research showed comparable outcomes to what the journalists described. Curiously, the exaggerations are not nearly as overt in the news articles as the journalists and the literature implied. Perhaps this is due to the topic of the news articles, resource development.

Michael Evans (2002) highlights similar sentiments to those expressed by the journalists when it comes to the relationship between northern and southern media. He explains how the "steady but erroneous portrayal of the Inuit in the Southern media .... fits the needs and perceptions of the Southern portrayers. These depictions often center on what is exotic" (Evans, 2002: 315-16). Indeed, the Canadian and American national news articles definitely published some news articles that could cause frustration on the part of northern journalists. This is made most obvious in the American national newspapers and *The Globe and Mail*, which use "The Last Frontier" signifier to describe the north as wild, remote, and sparsely populated. As mentioned in the previous chapter, none of the northern newspapers use "The Last Frontier" signifier, favouring "Local Significance" instead. The journalists explained numerous causes for these exaggerated images of the north: 1) perhaps a 'wild' north fits into a national desire to protect what little remains of North American wilderness, or 2) perhaps a lack of Indigenous perspectives in national media perpetuates the notion of Indigenous people as 'wild' and distant, or 3) the large distance separating Washington D.C, New York City, and Toronto from northern communities prevents national journalists from spending time in and becoming acquainted with the north, thereby perpetuating the assumption of the north as an 'unpopulated' region. In terms of what this could mean for audiences, readers of southern media would think that if no one lives in the north, then the north cannot decide for itself.

Higgins and Alia (1999) assert that southern media portray the north more negatively than northern media, which tends to be more neutral or positive. This connects to Wilson Rowe's (2013) contention that southern media tend to frame issues in the context of conflict. This occurs less obviously in the Canadian national newspapers than in the American national newspapers, which overwhelmingly portray offshore drilling as dividing America into industry supporters and environmentalists, dichotomizing the "Protect/Develop" signifier. One could imagine that such a strong rift would make its way into the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, yet, interestingly, a main theme in the *News-Miner* is a desire for balance between development and environmental protection. On the one hand, readers of American national newspapers see a fierce debate over development, involving Shell and Greenpeace, or Democrats and Republicans. On the other hand, the *News-Miner*'s readers are invited to dislike such debates and recognize that, indeed, the Alaskan economy depends on oil, but it also depends on a healthy environment. As the journalists explained, national news' tendency to portray issues in broader, national narratives could clarify why the American national newspapers divide the main players into pro- or anti-oil factions: the United States as a whole grapples with the dilemma of seeking oil independence but at the cost of some ecosystems. Also, Alaska's significant distance from Washington D.C and New York City could perpetuate the re-contextualizing of news stories. Interestingly, although the *News-Miner* portrays the north with more neutral tones, it portrays faraway, 'outsider' institutions quite negatively, with suspicion.

One obvious instance of journalists who "don't know, and [they get] things wrong" (Journalist 6, April 30, 2014: 283-5), arose in a *National Post* editorial, where the journalist, excited for the Northwest Territories' wealthy prospects, explained how "infrastructure

already exists too; Tuktoyaktuk has a deep-water port for exploration and shipping" (*National Post*, September 21, 2013). Actually, Tuktoyaktuk does not yet have a deep-water port. As a *News/North* editorial written earlier in the year suggested, "we *could* build a deep sea port in Tuk" (*News/North*, March 4, 2013, emphasis added). A month later and without publicly admitting the error, the *National Post* corrected, "there's already a seaport in nearby Tuk that *could* be built into a major shipping point" (*National Post*, October 19, 2013, emphasis added). This small error may seem inconsequential, but for northern journalists who regularly lament about the region's lack of infrastructure, this oversight would feel extremely frustrating.

Although national and northern newspapers' portrayals of resource development in the Beaufort Sea region vary, by and large the variations are subtle and less strident than what the literature and the northern journalists described. This thesis marks only a small study of 106 news articles published in 2013, discussing exclusively resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. A research project conducted over a longer timeframe and including more extensive topics would be useful to draw conclusions about the journalists' perspectives in comparison with the news articles they write. The most glaring instances of northern and southern media portraying resource development differently occurred between the American national newspapers and the *News-Miner*, although even then, there were no blatant instances of deceit or misinformation.

All the newspapers portray resource development in the region as both "Thriving" and "Obsolete," and most newspapers use the "Protect/Develop" signifier, albeit characterizing this signifier differently, sometimes in opposition and other times in balance. The most obvious differences between northern and southern newspapers occurred with the

"Local Significance" signifier, which all northern newspapers used, and "The Last Frontier" signifier, which most national newspapers used. For readers of national newspapers, the Beaufort Sea region is remote, resource rich and sparsely populated, leading readers to view industry and the federal government as the relevant decision-makers. For readers of northern newspapers, local residents have a strong voice and a strong identity, leading readers to view local political leaders as the relevant decision-makers.

Language

For the purposes of this research, the terms 'northern' and 'southern' were used to differentiate between local and national newspapers. This builds a 'North-South' binary. Even though the Interview Guide referred to 'northern' and 'southern' journalism, the journalists themselves tended to use their own terms of differentiation. Examining these small variations makes a thought-provoking component of this study, especially in terms of how journalists situate themselves within their own work, how this influences their perception of events, and finally, how they write about them.

To begin, Journalists 2 and 5 really questioned the terms 'North-South.' Instead, they hinted that 'National-Local' or 'Urban-Rural' seemed more appropriate. According to Journalist 2, Fairbanks news is unique because Fairbanks feels more rural than most American cities of a similar size. Its uniqueness has nothing to do with Fairbanks being 'north.' Journalist 2 also favoured the terms 'National-Local' instead of 'North-South,' commenting: "I don't think that's necessarily different for Alaska than anywhere else, where it's just a more regional paper and then a national outlet comes in" (April 14, 2014: Lines 600-602). Journalist 5 used a similar characterization when he said, "I prefer community

journalism as opposed to like, big daily national stuff just because it's more intimate" (April 30, 2014: Lines 6-7). These comments challenge my assumption that 'northern' and 'southern' journalism make a suitable comparison. At least according to two northern journalists, broader themes like 'Urban-Rural' or 'National-Local' are more suitable descriptions for journalism in their region.

Interestingly, all the Alaskan journalists, including Journalist 2, used the term 'Lower 48' to refer to the continental United States. Whereas an 'Alaska-Lower 48' binary also corresponds geographically to 'North-South,' this interpretation marks a subtle difference in perception. 'Alaska-Lower 48' builds strong sentiments of 'Alaska-Outside,' which, to expand further, can be viewed as 'Alaska-Other.' In his book *Frigid Embrace: Politics, Economics and Environment in Alaska,* Haycox (2002a) addresses this relationship between Alaska and the rest of the United States:

> The only means through which a modern economy can be constructed in Alaska is through extraction of natural resources. But this requires extensive capital .... It must, therefore, come from 'Outside.' Thus, the capability to replicate modern American material culture creates a significant dependence on absentee capital investment. (x)

According to Haycox, Alaska's economy is forever dependent on an 'Other.' In the interviews, Journalist 3 built upon this characterization by differentiating between "*Alaskan* media coverage and *outside* journalists' coverage of the state" (Journalist 3, April 14, 2014: Lines 789-91, emphasis added). Similarly, Journalist 2 explained, "*Alaska* has that ... draw to people ... to read what's going on around here. We sort of have a unique 'in' for people *outside*" (Journalist 2, April 14, 2014: Lines 84-86, emphasis added). Journalist 1 also said, "I read *outside*, national media" (Journalist 1, April 14, 2014: Line 503, my emphasis). Using words like 'outside' and 'the Lower 48' constructs a different image than 'North-South,' one more divisive and emotional. Attempting to assert one's autonomy while depending on an

external force (the federal government) would definitely foster strong emotions and perhaps antagonism. It comes as no surprise, then, that journalists using an 'Alaska-Other' binary suggest that Alaskans have a unified statewide identity. Using the term 'Lower 48' implies that the rest of the country has its own, distinct identity.

With its strong sense of distrust for outsiders, this 'Alaska-Other' binary seeps through the *News-Miner*, although none of the articles in this study use the term 'Lower 48.' By not referencing 'Lower 48,' the *News-Miner* establishes a fairly prominent difference between the journalists' interviews and the news articles. Maybe the term 'Lower 48' is more informal and vernacular. In day-to-day speech, in media coverage, and in the academic literature, an 'Alaska-Other' binary is more frequently used throughout the state, rather than a 'North-South' binary.

Did journalists in the Northwest Territories use similar language to differentiate the territory from the provinces or from southern Canada as a whole? Journalists 4 and 5 used the terms 'North-South,' but not in isolation. Oftentimes, they used 'Us-Them' instead of 'North-South.' In one instance, Journalist 4 mentioned, "we would discourage [cooperation with national media] because *we* don't care about *those* guys" (Journalist 4, April 28, 2014: Lines 713-4, my emphasis). Journalist 5 invoked a similar characterization when stating, "*they* focus on the negative a lot more than *we* would …. *They*'re a little bit more outlandish" (Journalist 5, April 30, 2014: Line 168, my emphasis). Although neither Journalist 4 nor 5 built dichotomies like 'Inside-Outside' or 'Northwest Territories-Other,' differentiating between 'Us' and 'Them' nonetheless creates a division and shows negativity towards southern Canadian media. Residents of the Northwest Territories might not feel such a

strong, unified, proud identity as Alaskans do, but they are still bitter towards southerners. With a devolution agreement signed, northern newspapers certainly seem optimistic about the territory's future, so perhaps now that the territory has control of its natural resources a stronger sense of identity will emerge.

Working for CBC, Journalist 6 occasionally used the terms 'up here' and 'down south,' but she mostly referred to 'Mainstream-Non Mainstream' instead of 'Us-Them.' For example, she affirmed, "like I said before, CBC is considered really different. And I think I try to take a different approach than mainstream media. But I think CKLB[60] will tell you that they're very different ... they're huge for Indigenous people up here" (Journalist 6, April 30, 2014: Lines 663-71). In this quote, she explains how Indigenous people still perceive CBC North as mainstream compared to an Indigenous radio station like CKLB. Perhaps she used this differentiation because her purpose as a journalist "is to be able to tell Indigenous stories from a perspective that is unlikely in the mainstream media" (Journalist 6, April 30, 2014: Lines 15-17). Working within the CBC, she aims to introduce non-mainstream perspectives and present stories from Indigenous points of view.

Throughout these examples, we see how journalists' own experiences and epistemologies shape the language that they use to distinguish between 'northern' and 'southern' media. In turn, this influences the ways in which journalists perceive news stories and the ways in which they communicate these news stories. Alaskan journalists feel a strong state identity that is clearly apparent in the *News-Miner*'s articles. Although journalists in the Northwest Territories indeed feel a divide between local media and southern media, these

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[60] CKLB was an Indigenous radio station based in Yellowknife at 101.9FM. Since this interview, the station closed due to lack of funding (CKLB Radio Website, November 13, 2014).

frustrations appear more diluted in *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum* than in the *News-Miner*. Both territorial newspapers strongly emphasize the importance of local perspectives, but not as a unified territorial voice clashing against a national voice. Instead, local perspectives include Indigenous groups, municipal leaders, and residents, each from various communities.

> As to whether the terms 'North-South' even constitute a valid characterization in the media, or whether they simply equate to binaries like 'Rural-Urban' or 'National-Local,' Ken Coates suggests it is "remoteness … rather than Northernness that is the fundamental characteristic of life in northern regions" (1994: 36), although he does acknowledge more research is required to study how northerners self-identify. Haraway (2010) contends that multiple ways to perceive one's own self compared with another (i.e. northern, rural, national, urban, local, southern) reinforces the idea that boundaries fuse, flip, and obliterate in a postmodern society. She writes, "networks of connection among people … are unprecedentedly multiple, pregnant and complex" (2010: 2202). To Haraway, identities are networked. Likewise, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (2010) use the metaphor of a rhizome to make a similar point. In their conceptualization of complexities within multiple, non-hierarchical relations, rhizomes are "all the more total for being fragmented" (Deleuze & Guattari, 2010: 1458). The lack of a single binary to differentiate 'North' from 'South' showcases the richness of peoples' identities. As Poelzer and Wilson (2014: 185) note, "part of the complexity of governance in the Arctic region is the multiple identities and political allegiances that Northern citizens hold."

These comments raise an interesting question that is certainly worthy of future research: to what extent do northern and southern media capture interweaving identities? In

their assertion that media tend to portray issues using dichotomies (Boykoff, 2007; Follet, 2010; Fürsich, 2002; Harding, 2006; Rowe, 2013; Worthington, 2010), the academic literature preliminarily hints that media are not conducive to capturing complexity. Within this research, national newspapers' use of "The Last Frontier" signifier and their division between "Protect/Develop" also imply that the media struggle to capture complexity. The *News-Miner*'s tendency to refer to all Alaskans rather than specific communities reinforces this argument, though *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum* usually specified which community or group each news article was referring to, which points towards an ability to account for multiple identities. That said, these are very preliminary findings that start to diverge from my research questions, and more research is required in order to make any compelling claims.

Satellites

Amidst the general sense that northern journalists perceive themselves differently from southern media, some discrepancies occurred, which highlight the complexities of describing the media's roles in society. Aside from the journalists using diverse terms to distinguish between 'northern' and 'southern' media, two contrasting notions, or satellites (Kirby & McKenna, 1989), surfaced occasionally during the interviews. Both call into question the interview's main purpose: to learn more about 'northern' media. Firstly, some journalists mentioned offhand how, for the most part, the media function uniformly across many regions and that most readers, regardless of where they live, tend to care about similar issues. As Journalist 4 noted, "we cover the same thing in the sense that we cover our legislature, we would cover our city hall, we would cover the courts and crime and things

like that" (Journalist 4, April 28, 2014: Lines 742-6). In a comparable manner, Journalist 2 explained, "in a lot of ways it's very similar. I mean, every place is focused on a lot of the same things –education, cost of living, health of the community, jobs, military towns" (Journalist 2, April 14, 2014: Lines 730-41). Both journalists spoke using certain binaries, whether 'North-South,' 'Alaska-Other,' 'Us-Them,' or 'National-Local,' yet they also felt their news coverage contains some generalizable aspects. On the one hand, regardless of location, the media operate in accordance with certain paradigms, yet on the other hand, there are some qualities about Alaska and the Northwest Territories that make their respective media feel unique.

Secondly, another detail that adds to this complexity is the idea that no two places are identical and many factors influence how the media portray an issue, to the point where relationships between location and news coverage become impossible to decipher. Journalist 1, an editorial writer, clarified some of the questions in the Interview Guide with comments like, "that assumes that everybody in the north has the same view on something" (Journalist 1, April 14, 2014: Lines 672-4), or "you know, there are two components to the media .... There's the news coverage and then there's the opinion coverage ... on the opinion side of it I think it might have something to do with the ownership of the particular media outlet" (Journalist 1, April 14, 2014: Lines 804-814). In another instance, Journalist 4 asked, "are you talking about the NWT or are you talking about Nunavut, because we cover both" (Journalist 4, April 28, 2014: Lines 32-33). In these examples, the journalists temporarily veered away from describing northern and southern media to point out that the questions I asked are more complicated, and that many elements, not only geographical variations,

influence the news. For the most part, though, journalists had no difficulty making some general remarks about 'northern' media, even amidst this complexity.

Summary

This section showed how the functioning of the media is complex and difficult to characterize. According to the journalists, my research question asking what roles newspapers play in shaping perceptions of the Beaufort Sea region does not entail a simple response. To some extent, one can generalize that all media outlets, regardless of their geography, report on similar issues. Society is multi-faceted, though, and many factors contribute to how a journalist or a newspaper presents an issue. Whether through a journalist's own experiences, the media outlet's viewpoint, its location, or the type of news article (i.e. editorial or news piece), the journey an article takes from start to finish is the result of many sets of relationships, to the point where generalizations seem impossible.

Between this contrast of universalism and relativism, journalists still supported the notion that 'northern' media exhibit unique qualities. Whether they agree with the label 'northern' or prefer another label like 'local' or 'rural' or 'non-mainstream,' journalists had much to discuss with regards to differences and similarities between 'northern' and 'southern' media. Consciously or not, when they suggested that all media outlets operate similarly, or that each media outlet operates differently, they reaffirmed that these complexities matter. More research is needed into what the media *means* for northern communities and how these varying perceptions of remoteness, rural, outsiders, and northernness intermingle and interrelate. Perhaps northerners in general feel similar

frustrations towards southerners. If this is the case, then what roles do the media play in perpetuating these ideas?

Chapter Six: Adding Context: Signifiers, Knowledges, and Power

Overview

The two previous chapters discussed the ways in which newspapers portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea region and how this relates to the perspectives of northern journalists. These chapters also explored how readers might perceive subtle differences in emphasis: newspapers might agree on the importance of resource development but they tend to promote different actors or organizations as key players. This chapter connects the discussion to larger themes like knowledge and power by first providing an overview of the main experts cited in each newspaper (i.e. answering the research question "What types of knowledge are cited as sources of expertise") and then by reintroducing the cultural studies approaches drawing on Haraway (2000; 2010) and Barthes (1988). In doing this, I shed light on the last research question, "What types of knowledge are silenced?"

Knowledges and Expertise

In order to relate the newspapers to broad concepts like knowledge and power, this section discusses the sources referenced in each newspaper. The aim is to consider whether a newspaper consistently cites similar sources of expertise, what this could mean in relation to the knowledges the newspaper values, and whether this affects the various ways it presents and interprets resource development. I scanned each news article for the people or organizations quoted, as well as for specific documents or reports cited. Adding some very basic statistics (percentages) to this research enhances the analysis. Comparing the results in this section to the interviews and the discourse analysis helps to reinforce the research findings.

Table 6.1 Sources Cited in 2013 Newspapers						
	NEWS-MINER	*INUVIK DRUM*	*NEWS-NORTH*	*NATIONAL POST*	*THE GLOBE AND MAIL*	AMERICAN NATIONAL
Oil/Gas Company	3	3	3	18	7	24
Investor/Consultant/Think Tank	2	0	0	15	3	3
Academic	1	0	6	0	4	1
State/Territorial Department or Institution	7	2	2	1	1	3
State/Territorial Politician	2	3	14	9	3	1
Federal Department or Institution	7	4	6	5	5	15
Federal Politician	8	0	4	2	0	1
Municipal Leader/Organization	0	11	12	2	2	0
Environmental Group	2	0	4	2	1	17
Resident	0	2	4	0	0	0
Indigenous Leader/Group	0	7	10	4	0	0
Co-Management Board	0	1	4	0	1	2
Editorial	4	2	7	1	1	0
Infrastructure/Transportation	0	1	2	2	1	0
TOTAL SOURCES:	36	36	78	61	29	67
TOTAL NEWS ARTICLES:	9	19	36	14	10	17

Not all newspapers cited the same types of sources. The seven newspapers referenced a total of fourteen different types of sources, as shown in Table 6.1. In the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*'s nine news articles referencing resource development in the Beaufort Sea in 2013, the newspaper cited sources on 36 occasions. The *Inuvik Drum* published 19 news articles citing 36 sources, *News/North* published 36 news articles citing 78 sources, the *National Post* published fourteen articles citing 61 sources, *The Globe and Mail* published

ten articles citing 29 sources, and finally, the American national newspapers published cumulatively seventeen news articles citing 67 sources. Instead of including specific names of people referenced, I sorted the sources into categories. For example, GNWT Minister David Ramsay falls under "State/Territorial Politician." Shell Oil's spokespeople and its corporate managers fell under "Oil/Gas Company," while the Alaska Department of Environmental Conservation was categorized as "State/Territorial Department/Institution." Government departments/institutions and government politicians were kept separate in order to determine whether newspapers preferred to portray governments in terms of elected representatives or in terms of employees of departments (i.e. public servants) or other government institutions. This system of sorting into categories avoids presenting a long list of many different names and titles and also allows for better comparison between American and Canadian newspapers by grouping state and territorial sources together.

'Expert' Sources

Regarding common sources, every newspaper in this research included the following: oil and gas companies, state/territorial departments, state/territorial politicians, and federal departments. Interestingly, the national newspapers all referenced oil and gas companies most often in their news articles, but the three local newspapers focused on different sources (see Table 6.2). The *Inuvik Drum* quoted mostly municipal leaders/organizations, the *News-Miner* quoted mostly federal politicians, and *News/North* quoted mostly territorial politicians. In the case of the *News-Miner*, it is important to note that most of the federal politicians it quoted represent Alaska in Congress. Right from the start, striking differences arise between who newspapers portray as 'experts' on resource development in the region.

Table 6.2 Most- and Least- Common Sources in Newspapers Referencing Resource Development in the Beaufort Sea, 2013						
	NEWS-MINER	***INUVIK DRUM***	***NEWS/NORTH***	***NATIONAL POST***	***THE GLOBE AND MAIL***	**AMERICAN NATIONAL**
Two Most Common Sources:	Federal Politician (8) 22%	Municipal Leader/ Organization (11) 31%	State/Territorial Politician (14) 18%	Oil/Gas Company (18) 30%	Oil/Gas Company (7) 24%	Oil/Gas Company (24) 36%
	Federal Department (7) 19%	Indigenous Leader/Group (7) 19%	Municipal Leader/ Organization(12) 15%	Investor/ Consultant/ Think tank (15) 24%	Federal Department (5) 17%	Environmental Group (17) 25%
	State Department (7) 19%					
Two Least Common Sources:	Resident (0)	Investor/ Consultant/ Think Tank (0)	Investor/ Consultant/ Think Tank (0)	Academic (0)	Federal Politician (0)	Municipal Leader/ Organization (0)
	Municipal Leader/ Organization (0)	Academic (0)	State/Territorial Department (2) 3%	Resident (0)	Resident (0)	Resident (0)
	Indigenous Leader/Group (0)	Federal Politician (0)	Transport/ Infrastructure (2) 3%	Co-Management Board (0)	Indigenous Leader/Group (0)	Indigenous Leader/Group (0)
	Co-Management Board (0)	Environmental Group (0)				Editorial (0)
	Transport/ Infrastructure (0)					Transport/ Infrastructure (0)

Newspapers also show noticeable differences with regards to who they cited least often. Whereas each newspaper obviously leaned towards one or two preferred sources, six of seven newspapers omitted at least three sources altogether, sources that other newspapers included (see Table 6.1). *News/North* is the only newspaper to include sources from all categories except one: investors/consultants/think tanks. None of the national newspapers sourced local residents (see Table 6.2). Although the American national newspapers and the *News-Miner* tended to cite different sources, the sources they did not cite were similar: local residents, municipal leaders/organizations, Indigenous leaders/groups, and

transportation/infrastructure officials. *The Globe and Mail* did not cite the perspectives of federal politicians, local residents, and Indigenous leaders/groups, while the *National Post* did not cite perspectives from academics, local residents, and members of co-management boards. As mentioned, *News/North* did not cite investors/consultants/think tanks, and rarely cited state/territorial departments or transportation/infrastructure officials. The *Inuvik Drum* did not cite perspectives from investors/consultants/think tanks, or academics, federal politicians, or environmental groups.

Finding instances where one newspaper's most cited source matches another newspaper's least cited source is also valuable (see Table 6.2). This occurs with investors/consultants/think tanks, which the *National Post* cited 25 percent of the time, whereas the *Inuvik Drum* and *News/North* did not cite at all. *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum* referenced municipal leaders/organizations 18 and 31 percent of the time respectively, yet the *News-Miner* and the American national newspapers did not cite them. *News/North* cited Indigenous leaders/groups 19 percent of the time, but neither the *News-Miner,* nor *The Globe and Mail,* nor the American national newspapers, cited them. The *News-Miner* quoted mostly federal politicians (22 percent of the time), but the *Inuvik Drum* and *The Globe and Mail* did not. *The Globe and Mail* cited federal departments/institutions 17 percent of the time. Perhaps this shows that *The Globe and Mail* prefers to seek perspectives from public servants rather than elected officials. Conversely, *News/North* quoted territorial politicians 18 percent of the time but did not cite any territorial departments.

Finally, not all newspapers cited similar sources to the same extent. While all national newspapers cited oil and gas companies as their most common sources, the American

national newspapers referenced oil and gas companies more often (36 percent) than the *National Post* (30 percent) and *The Globe and Mail* (24 percent). When examining whom the national newspapers cited most often after oil and gas companies, the American newspapers' second most-cited sources were environmental groups, at 25 percent of the time. In total, environmental groups and oil and gas companies made up 61 percent of their sources. The *National Post*'s second most-cited sources were investors/consultants/think tanks, at 25 percent. Adding this to the percentage of oil and gas companies equates to a total of 54 percent of the *National Post*'s sources. After oil and gas companies, *The Globe and Mail* cited federal departments 17 percent of the time, totaling 41 percent of its sources. Whereas representatives of oil companies constituted the most common 'experts' according to national newspapers, that the American national newspapers highlighted environmental groups as their next most common source points towards a very different image of resource development in the Beaufort Sea region than the *National Post*, which cited investors/consultants/think tanks as their next most common sources, or *The Globe and Mail*, which cited federal departments.

Connecting Signifiers to Knowledge Sources

In this section, I link together the newspapers' signifiers for resource development with the sources they cited. Does the information and opinions offered by these 'experts' affect how newspapers portray resource development? The most obvious finding is that the American national newspapers' sources connect very strongly to the ways in which they used the signifiers. Their two most often cited sources, oil and gas companies and environmental groups, reinforce the dichotomy between environmental groups and industry supporters,

especially since a cumulative 61 percent of all their sources are either oil companies or environmental groups. This reinforces the newspapers' strict separation of the "Protect/Develop" signifier, suggesting to readers that they can choose either development or protection of the environment, but not both. According to the northern journalists, this is an example of exaggeration.

Depicting Alaska as wild and uninhabited, as "The Last Frontier," also connects to the American national newspapers' sources because they do not source any local residents, municipal leaders/organizations, or Indigenous leaders/groups. According to *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post,* experts on resource development in the Beaufort Sea do not necessarily have to live in the north.

The *National Post*'s most prevalent sources are investors/consultants/think tanks and oil and gas companies, making it unsurprising that the articles appear in the Financial Post section and relate predominantly to investment. Industry acting cautious ("Obsolete") and the region being ripe for investment ("Thriving") relate directly to knowledges pertaining to oil companies and investors/consultants/think tanks. Interestingly, although the *National Post* highlights a need for oil spill preparedness, the newspaper sources environmental groups only twice. According to the *National Post*, industry and government are the main entities preparing for oil spills.

The Globe and Mail cites mostly oil and gas companies and federal departments, but not by wide margins compared with the other national newspapers. As such, its sources correspond less overtly to the signifiers, although referencing the federal government and oil

and gas companies reinforces my connection of the "Obsolete" signifier to the lengthy regulatory process. Also, because *The Globe and Mail* cited few municipal leaders/organizations, local residents, or Indigenous leaders/groups, it is not surprising that the newspaper tends to portray the region as "The Last Frontier."

The *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* sources its editors and Alaska politicians or departments 72 percent of the time, so the image of distrust for 'outsider' institutions is understandable because most of the perspectives derive from within the state. Such distrust for outsiders appears contradictory given that the *News-Miner* does not cite any municipal leaders/organizations, residents, or Indigenous leaders/groups. But if Alaskans have a very strong statewide identity that reinforces "Local Significance," incorporating municipal or Indigenous perspectives might be less pressing. Given that the newspaper links "Protect/Develop" less in terms of a strict separation of concepts like the American national newspapers and more in the context of seeking balance, it is understandable that the *News-Miner* does not cite oil and gas companies or environmental groups very often, only three times and twice, respectively. As mentioned by the Alaskan journalists, Alaskans feel the impact of protection and development more directly than environmental groups, oil companies, and government officials based in southern cities.

News/North depicts the Beaufort Sea region as participating in a territorial-wide rush for resources ("Thriving"), and indeed, its most cited sources are territorial politicians. As with the *National Post, News/North* also discusses oil spills, but from the viewpoints of "Local Significance" and "Protect/Develop." Instead of citing industry, *News/North* cites

many local sources like municipal leaders/organizations and Indigenous leaders/groups. Regarding the "Protect/Develop" signifier, *News/North* frames the concepts as working in balance, similar to the *News-Miner*. *News/North* cites oil and gas companies only three times and environmental groups only four times, creating less of a dichotomy than the American national newspapers.

Finally, the *Inuvik Drum* connects resource development to local perspectives and anticipation for the Tuktoyaktuk highway through the use of the "Local Significance," "Thriving," and "Obsolete" signifiers. This certainly links to its two most common knowledge sources, municipal leaders/organizations and Indigenous leaders/groups. Because it seldom references territorial departments and politicians, oil and gas companies, and investors/consultants/think tanks, this might explain why the *Inuvik Drum* does not create a strong sense of the Northwest Territories undergoing a resource boom. Another explanation could be that residents of the Beaufort-Delta waited for forty years for either the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline or offshore drilling to commence, to no avail, so they are oversaturated with the concept of a resource boom.

Evidently, the types of 'experts' quoted by newspapers reinforce how they understand and present resource development. With infinite possibilities for signifiers of resource development, the challenge becomes decoding the most powerful, or most prevalent signifiers. Haraway describes this challenge as navigating the relationships between "communications engineering (for the managers) [and] theories of the text (for those who would resist)" (Haraway, 2010: 2204). Powerful signifiers like "The Last Frontier" or

"Thriving" resonate with national audiences because they share common epistemologies: most Canadians would not feel challenged by the notion of "The Last Frontier" because they never visited the north and it feels distant. Similarly, many Canadians enjoy wealth. A booming region like the Northwest Territories matches their aspirations for a wealthy Canada. As such, they might accept these signifiers without much assessment, without realizing more interpretations exist. The challenge, then, is to consider how signifiers shape our own viewpoints, which ones tend to fit within our own epistemologies, and which ones we can learn from. Who benefits from signifiers like "The Last Frontier" and "Thriving"? Who benefits from signifiers like "Local," "Protect/Develop," or "Obsolete"?

Power and Emphasis

Barthes writes, "in the multiplicity of writing, everything is to be *disentangled*, nothing *deciphered*" (Barthes, 1988: 147). Reiterating from previous chapters, this research aimed not to determine which newspapers provide the 'truest' or 'best' news, but rather, to show that variation between newspapers' coverage can also lead to variation in how readers understand resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. Newspapers with more readership carry more power to shape perspectives because their 'truths' are more prevalent. Not only do national media have readers all over the country, but their offices are located quite far from the Beaufort Sea region. Thus, the newspapers with the most power to shape perspectives are situated farthest away from the issue, which contributes to a power imbalance because smaller newspapers situated in or near the Beaufort Sea do not have as much influence.

The journalists I interviewed in this research explained that national newspapers often fit local issues like resource development into national themes. Reading northern newspapers would thus provide different viewpoints, like how resource development affects local communities. In her essay describing meaning construction in the information age and advocating for cyborg politics as an antidote to totalizing and homogenizing, Haraway writes, "cyborg politics is the struggle for language and struggle against perfect communication, against the one code that translates all meaning perfectly" (Haraway, 2010: 2216). In the context of the media, a powerful newspaper is one that overwhelms readers' abilities to consciously interpret an issue because readers are only exposed to certain interpretations. To enable readers to recognize how national newspapers shape their own perceptions, they can read less prevalent interpretations (i.e. local interpretations) like the *News-Miner*, the *Inuvik Drum*, and *News/North*.[61]

Adding another layer of complexity, power dynamics exist not only among newspapers in the context of readership but also regarding how they portray issues like resource development. For example, who do newspapers choose to showcase as the decision-makers? *The Globe and Mail*'s emphasis on the Beaufort Sea region finding new roles to suit today's economic market, the lengthy regulatory process, and a sense of the north as wild, coupled alongside its main sources of expertise (oil companies and federal departments), may influence its readership into thinking that the north does not decide for itself. Readers of *The Globe and Mail* may have the impression that few people live in the Beaufort Sea region, its largest hindrance for development is the federal regulatory process, and those

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[61] Northern News Services Ltd. posts PDFs of its newspapers each week on its website, as well as publishes online content. (http://www.nnsl.com/index.php). *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* requires an E-subscription to view its newspaper digitally and the paper also publishes online content on its website (http://www.newsminer.com/).

most interested in the north are southern-based oil companies. The newspaper implies that southern Canada should decide for the Beaufort Sea region. The *National Post* relays a similar message: the Northwest Territories is ripe for investment, industry acts cautiously, and international organizations show concern for oil spills. With oil companies and investment analysts making up their most quoted experts, the *National Post*, like *The Globe and Mail*, depicts the Beaufort Sea as important to institutions based in southern Canada, but specifically to industry rather than the federal government.

Portraying the Beaufort Sea region in this light might seem reasonable to southern readers; however, *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum* do not opt for such a passive depiction. Both these newspapers repeat over and over that resource development in the Beaufort Sea matters for local residents. *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum*'s most cited experts are municipal leaders, Indigenous leaders, and territorial politicians, reinforcing the notion that northerners can and should play active roles in the decision-making process. Even more interesting is that the *Inuvik Drum* does not take the perspective that resource development creates a sense of excitement in the region. Rather, the *Inuvik Drum* shows much more anticipation for the construction of the Tuktoyaktuk highway. The newspaper closest to the Beaufort Sea is the least excited when discussing resource development, whereas newspapers farther away show more enthusiasm. These varying perspectives are constructed by (as well as construct) distinct power relationships. On the one hand, oil companies and senior governments are presented as key players, while on the other hand, local leaders are presented as the key players. This will in turn impact who readers perceive as the decision-makers.

Similar contrasts occur in Alaska. American national newspapers' depiction of Alaska as wild and dependent on oil, amidst a fierce debate between environmentalists and industry, tends to characterize the state and its residents as passive non-participants. The American national newspapers do not give much space to the perspectives of Alaskans, choosing instead such sources as national environmental groups (i.e. Greenpeace) or oil representatives (i.e. Shell). The *News-Miner* contests the national newspapers' portrayals through its emphasis on distrust for outsider institutions and a desire for balance. According to the *News-Miner*, its citizens care deeply about resource development, both in terms of environmental protection and in terms of future projects. Alaskans quoted in the *News-Miner* may think differently about resource development than the American national newspapers, but they are assertive and proud of the state. They feel that state and local interests still have power to decide.

Although the *News-Miner* and the Northwest Territories newspapers emphasize local decision-making, a noticeable difference between the two regions is the types of experts cited. Unlike *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum*, the *News-Miner* cited mostly federal politicians representing Alaska instead of municipal leaders or Indigenous leaders. The *News-Miner* helps Alaskans feel like their voices are heard in Washington by regularly citing the perspectives of Alaska representatives in Congress. This is in contrast to *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum*, which might not perceive northern Members of Parliament (MPs) in Ottawa as an effective means of asserting power so they focus instead on local decision-making (territorial, municipal, and Aboriginal leaders). Another reason could be that until recently, the Northwest Territories was in negotiations with the federal government for a devolution agreement, and continues to negotiate with it for Indigenous land claims and self-

government agreements, whereas Alaska attained statehood and signed ANCSA decades ago. Journalists with *News/North* and the *Inuvik Drum* might not feel like federal politicians effectively encapsulate northern perspectives so they prefer to cite local leaders.

Summary

As my comparative analysis demonstrates, it matters which newspaper a reader chooses to read. Barthes explains, "in writing, the enunciation deludes the enounced by the effect of the language which produces it" (Barthes, 1988: 198). Language is replete with underlying epistemologies. Language encapsulates values such as profit, state unity, resource extraction, science, local knowledge, or trust in government. Variations in describing resource development in the Beaufort Sea feel subtle, but their effects can be very powerful. Consciously or unconsciously, the words journalists use and the experts they cite set the stage for how readers attribute meaning.

More Canadians read *The Globe and Mail* or the *National Post* than *News/North* or the *Inuvik Drum*. Likewise, more Americans read *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post* than the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner.* Because of this imbalance in readership, Canadians and Americans are likely to perceive resource development in the Beaufort Sea as an important issue for the federal government and for industry rather than an issue that meaningfully affects northerners. Expecting readers to read every newspaper across North America in order to balance their perspectives is impractical, but readers can nonetheless think critically about the newspapers they do read. Haraway contends that readers can "embrace the status of a partial explanation" (2010: 2201) and try to determine what assumptions underlie the newspapers' epistemologies.

Conclusion

In late September of 2014, CBC North reported that national newspapers like *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* would no longer be sold in Yellowknife. According to the news release, "the few stores that still shipped papers to the north stopped earlier this month, blaming lack of demand and increased freight costs" (CBC News North, September 21, 2014). The article highlights Yellowknife resident Marie Adams' disappointment: "she stares at screens all week, and will miss catching up with an actual newspaper" (CBC News North, September 21, 2014). Although the tangible format of national newspapers is no longer available, Yellowknifers can still subscribe online. The Pew Research Centre's *State of the News Media* (2013) explains how online readership continues to grow, so it can be argued that readers will just have to adapt. To look deeper, though, the article points out that Whitehorse and Iqaluit continue to sell national newspapers (CBC North, September 21, 2014), making Yellowknife the only capital city in the country unable to sell hardcopy national newspapers. In this light, access to hardcopy editions of national newspapers represents more than just a comfortable habit, it builds and reinforces what it means to be Canadian. For a capital city like Yellowknife to no longer sell national newspapers in paper format means that its residents who prefer hardcopy newspapers risk losing out on an option which would otherwise expose them to national representations.

The goal of this thesis was to explore the ways in which newspapers represent a single issue, resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, using a cultural studies approach. The four main research questions were: 1) How do newspapers in Canada and the United States present resource development? 2) How do 'northern' and 'southern'

newspapers present resource development? 3) What are the variations and what are the similarities between newspaper coverage? 4) What roles might newspapers play in shaping perceptions of the Beaufort Sea region, or do they play a role at all?

To study representations of resource development in newspapers, I drew on Barthes' (1988) and Haraway's (2000; 2010) concepts of infinite signifiers, intertextuality, multiple knowledges, subversion, and hegemony.[62] Their theories shaped this research in the sense that, instead of treating newspapers as messages sent linearly to audiences, journalists were treated as mediators, or readers, of an event (Barthes, 1988; Boykoff, 2007; Fürsich, 2002), who communicate their understandings through their own epistemological lenses. In other words, all news draws on a complex network of social, cultural, political, and economic influences, leaving texts open to multiple interpretations. Furthermore, if no single 'truth' exists, then oftentimes the most powerful or prevalent 'truth' tends to outweigh other truths.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of this research, methods like qualitative discourse analyses and semi-structured interviews, combined with a cultural studies conceptual lens, provide ample space for flexibility and interpretation. As a result, this research examined eight newspapers for the subtle ways in which they depict resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, using James Gee's *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (2005) to frame the coding process. For the semi-structured interviews, I interviewed six journalists who work in the north to learn more about northern journalism as well as to learn whether northern journalists perceive differences or similarities in how newspapers portray resource development.

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[62] See Chapter One 'Key Concepts' for descriptions of these terms.

Overall, when asking how northern and southern, as well as Canadian and American newspapers portray research development in the Beaufort Sea region, I discerned five signifiers that the newspapers used: "Obsolete," "Thriving," "Protect/Develop," "The Last Frontier," and "Local Significance." Whereas every newspaper used more than one signifier, newspapers also applied varying meanings to the signifiers. For example, many newspapers described "Thriving" differently,[63] which points towards different epistemological assumptions. Another striking example of varying assumptions relates to the "Local Significance" and "The Last Frontier" signifiers. National newspapers tended to portray the region as "The Last Frontier," unpopulated and ready to be conquered, whereas northern newspapers emphasized over and over how resource development is important to locals and that projects will not pass without local approval. These variations begin to shed light on the roles newspapers play in shaping perceptions of the region.

To help explain these varying depictions, we can look to the journalists' interviews. All six journalists agreed that there are differences in how 'northern' and 'southern' media portray resource development. They spoke quite bitterly about 'southern' media, frustrated by their tendencies to exaggerate, sensationalize, and impose southern viewpoints on the north. The large distances separating the south from the north, southern media's challenges in capturing Indigenous perspectives, and national media's tendency to broaden issues into national contexts were reasons the journalists provided to explain why northern newspapers might portray resource development somewhat differently.

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[63] "Thriving" meant that there is a resource boom in the region (*News/North*), that the region is ready for investment (the *National Post)*, that there are new roles for the region economically (*The Globe and Mail*), that Alaska's economy depends on oil and gas (American national newspapers and the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*), and that the Tuktoyaktuk highway will make the region more accessible for resource extraction (the *Inuvik Drum*).

National media regard the federal government and industry as the most important players for resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, whereas northern media interpret local leadership as a critical player. However, because it has a larger readership, and because few Canadians and Americans have visited the Beaufort Sea region, national media risk decontextualizing northern resource development in order to fit the issue into larger narratives. The journalists explained how this usually entails a form of exaggeration. On the one hand, southern institutions like the federal government or industry are portrayed as having power to decide whether projects pass, while on the other hand, local politicians, Indigenous leaders and residents are portrayed as having final say. This highlights obvious differences in power and agency. As such, this study highlights the importance of thinking critically when reading newspapers. All newspapers do not necessarily make the same assumptions. Reading multiple newspapers can provide a variety of interpretations and help to uncover one's own epistemological assumptions.

Contributions

This thesis contributes to the fields of journalism, northern studies, political science and discourse analysis, as well as promotes critical thinking among readers at large. Firstly, it is valuable for the 'south' to see how the 'north' represents resource development in the Beaufort Sea region, and vice-versa. For Canadians and Americans who have never visited the north, this research shows how newspapers employ different representational strategies that result in variability of meaning. Southern newspapers tend to present resource development in the Beaufort Sea region as "The Last Frontier," whereas northern newspapers perceive resource development as having "Local Significance." One could argue

that these results reinforce the assertion that newspapers struggle to capture complexity (Harding, 2006; Worthington, 2010; Follet, 2010), especially with regards to Indigenous epistemologies in the Northwest Territories and with the American national newspapers' propensity to divide resource development among supporters and opponents ("Protect/Develop" signifier).

That being said, this research also demonstrates that the 'North-South' binary is not so rigid. Northern newspapers did not portray resource development identically and neither did southern newspapers. Whereas a postcolonial theoretical framework might view northern media as empowering Indigenous groups and southern media as disempowering them, the results of this research challenge these assumptions. Although I was able to make some generalizations across north and south, this research shows that even a signifier like "Local Significance" is interpreted differently in Alaska than in the Northwest Territories. Subtle variations matter because they highlight the complexities of representation and the extent to which meanings are situated, reinforcing Barthes' (1988) theory that there are infinite signifiers per signified.

Two more ways that northern newspapers might challenge the 'North-South' binary are that the *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* did not cite any Indigenous groups when discussing resource development in the Beaufort Sea region and that journalists in the Northwest Territories admit that they struggle to include Indigenous perspectives. All the northern newspapers included in this study serve both Indigenous and non-Indigenous audiences, thus providing an example of newspapers moving towards hybridity. However, to produce a more balanced perspective, newspapers could employ more Indigenous journalists, whose insights will enable newspapers to capture the heterogeneity of the north in a more profound manner.

This research shows that northern newspapers do not portray issues identically, nor is it possible to generalize that all northern media either empower or disempower Indigenous groups.

Furthermore, none of the northern journalists used only a 'North-South' binary in their interviews. They also used binaries like 'Alaska-Other,' 'Us-Them,' 'National-Local,' 'Urban-Rural,' and 'Mainstream-Non Mainstream.' Even journalists, the mediators between news articles and readers (Barthes, 1988; Boykoff, 2007; Fürsich, 2002), have multiple ways to conceptualize themselves within their work, which adds yet another layer of complexity. If northern journalists use multiple terms for self-identification, and northern newspapers portray resource development similarly but not identically (and likewise for southern newspapers), then it could be argued that this research questions the rigidity of binary relationships and proposes a sort of hybrid movement that does not dismiss binaries but recognizes the mutability and unlimited number of binaries, each of them operating with different power dynamics. Overall, I believe this research effectively applied Barthes' (1988) and Haraway's (2000; 2010) theories to an unconventional topic, while examining how newspapers portray resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. Whereas Barthes (1988) and Haraway (2000; 2010) are often criticized for taking a seemingly relativistic approach, the findings demonstrate that it is possible to navigate, albeit carefully, a field where meanings are infinite. 'Northern,' 'southern,' Canadian and American newspapers each apply meanings to resource development, and these meanings are situated in place and within varying epistemological assumptions.

Areas for Future Research

To conclude, I highlight some areas for future research. Firstly, another research project could focus on a single topic within a single newspaper over a longer period of time (such as how a newspaper like the *Inuvik Drum* portrays resource development in the Beaufort Sea region over a period of five years). Such an approach would allow for an in-depth assessment of a newspaper's epistemological assumptions and an exploration of whether epistemologies change over time (i.e. whether the articles include more 'northern' perspectives as time passes).

As mentioned, I did not interview journalists who cover northern issues and who work for 'southern' or 'national' newspapers. Contrasting 'northern' journalists' perspectives with those of 'southern' journalists would make for an interesting study and allow for a greater number of interviews to be conducted. Do journalists who work in the north view resource development similarly to journalists who work in the south? Are journalists working in the south aware of the distrust their northern colleagues feel towards them? Do they have similar misgivings?

Another area deserving future research is a quantitative study examining how newspapers change over time in their depictions of resource development. For example, news articles published from 1989 to the present can be included to determine whether newspapers in Alaska, the Northwest Territories, southern Canada, and continental United States cover similar topics and whether the coverage stays consistent over time. Comparing the results of a quantitative study with the results of this study would likely spawn many more areas for future research.

To widen the scope even further, a research project could study how newspapers across all eight Arctic countries (Russia, Canada, United States, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, and Iceland) portray resource development in the Arctic. Such a project entails proficiency in many languages, or collaboration with multiple researchers/academic institutions, but it would cover a large region and have relevance across the Arctic.

As well, this study only examined print newspapers. Including different types of media is valuable because it will show whether emphasis changes. For example, a study could compare online news outlets, social media like YouTube and Facebook, and broadcast media. Perhaps there is a difference between social media, broadcast media, and print media in relation to empowerment and subversion of colonialism, as the literature suggests (Evans, 2002; Higgins & Alia, 1999; Roth, 2005; Wachowich & Scobie, 2010). Another addition could be to study how pop culture (music, film, poetry, fiction) addresses resource development in the north.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the study that best fits this research's theoretical assumptions is to interview readers of newspapers to determine how they perceive news articles discussing resource development in the north. Not only would this take a more collaborative approach but it would demonstrate more thoroughly that meanings are plural.

Finally, whereas this study takes a theoretical approach drawing on Barthes (1988) and Haraway (2000; 2010), a similar study could apply a different conceptual framework, like postcolonialism or institutionalism or use Indigenous methodologies. I am curious to see how the findings would relate and vary and what insights would arise from asking similar questions across multiple disciplines.

Summary

As seen throughout this research, national, local, Canadian, and American newspapers take various perspectives when portraying resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. Although none of the newspapers were substantially different from one another, each had subtle variations in emphasis. The main reason for conducting such a study was to demonstrate that knowledge is situational and that various regions and their newspapers carry different assumptions and experiences that can affect how they understand an issue like resource development in the Beaufort Sea region. For example, a resident of Toronto who has never visited the north might feel confused to read that the Iñupiat, the Inuvialuit, and the Gwich'in are unhappy with Greenpeace for speaking on their behalf about offshore drilling (Inuvik Drum, May 23, 2013; Reiss, 2012). Therefore, this research encourages readers to discern the underlying assumptions of a news article and how they relate to their own understandings. Although it is impossible to read every newspaper and achieve a 'balanced' perspective, readers can nonetheless try to recognize their own preconceptions and think about why newspapers may or may not reinforce them.

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Appendix A: The *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* Articles

Articles Referencing Resource Development in Beaufort Sea: The *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*, 2008-2013

Year	Number of Published Articles
2008	22
2009	15
2010	28
2011	62
2012	46
2013	9

Source: UAF Rasmussen Library Database, 2014

Appendix B: Interview Guide

1) Why do you work in journalism?

2) Who do you feel is your primary audience?

3) How long have you worked in journalism in the north? Have you noticed any changes in northern media?

4) What do you feel is the relationship between news and society in a northern context?

5) Do you feel that the media play a role in shaping northern identity? In what ways?

6) Do you feel that northern media have some unique characteristics compared with media in other regions?

7) What kinds of knowledges influence the content of your writing?

8) Describe northern media's relationship with national media.

9) Describe some similarities and differences in the ways issues are portrayed in the north compared with national media.

10) In your view, what are some of the Northwest Territories' most important issues? How do you think these issues become important? How are they addressed?

11) Do you feel northern media and national media take similar or different perspectives with regards to resource development in the north? Why?

12) Do you feel that resource development is linked to any other northern issues? Why or why not?

13) Who influenced you as a journalist?

Appendix C: List of Newspaper Articles

The New York Times

"ConocoPhillips Suspends Its Arctic Drilling Plans." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), April 11, B4.

"Interior Dept. Expedites Review Of Arctic Drilling After Accidents." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), A12.

"Oil Rig Aground Off Alaska is Damaged But Not Leaking, Shell And Coast Guard Say." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), A12.

"Profits Dive At Exxon Mobil And Shell." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), November 1, B2.

"Rig Runs Aground In Alaska, Reviving Fears About Arctic Drilling." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), January 2, A8.

"Runaway Oil Rig Off Alaska Under Control, Shell Says." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), January 1, A11.

"Shell Vessels Sidelined, Imperiling Arctic Plans." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), February 12, B1.

"To Reinvigorate Production, Alaska Grants A Tax Break To Oil Companies." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), April 16, B3.

"With Two Ships Damaged, Shell Suspends Arctic Drilling." 2013. *The New York Times* (New York, NY), February 28, B2.

The Washington Post

"Also In Business." 2013. *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), August 6, A9.

"Also In Business." 2013. *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), November 7, A12.

"Business." 2013. *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), August 11, G2.

"No Sign Of Fuel Spills After Shell Rig Runs Into Alaskan Shore." 2013. *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), January 2, A3.

"Shell Suspends Exploratory Drilling Off Coast Of Alaska." 2013. *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), February 28, A11.

"Shell Weighs Second Try At Drilling Off Alaska Coast." 2013. *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), November 1, A5.

"U.S. To Review Arctic Oil, Gas Drilling." 2013. *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), January 9, A11.

"Weather Disrupts Efforts To Free Oil Rig In Alaska." 2013. *The Washington Post* (Washington, DC), January 7, A2.

The *National Post*

"Alberta Takes New Direction On Pipeline: This Time It's North." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), April 26, A1.

"Can Big Oil Handle The Arctic? As Industry Works On Oil-Spill Response, Questions Remain About Ability To Contain A Disaster In Harsh Environment." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), May 17, FP7.

"Chevron Recommits To Canada." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), September 20, FP6.

"Damaged Shell Alaska Drilling Rig Kulluk Towed To Safety After Running Aground." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), January 8, FP5.

"Global Warming Blessing And Curse For Road To Tuk." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), September 10, FP1.

"Land of Stable Politics And Shallow Water: Despite Risks, Shell Will Return To Drilling In The Arctic –And It Won't Be Alone." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), February 13, FP3.

"Logistics, Environment Make Arctic A Long-Term Play." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), August 27, FP8.

"N.W.T. Premier Eyes Chinese Investment: Territory Has New Oversight And Powers Over Land." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), March 14, FP3.

"N.W.T.'s New Play: Fresh From Concluding Devolution Talks With Ottawa, NWT Eyes The Future." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), April 12, FP7.

"N.W.T. Pushing Ottawa To Pay Tab, Infrastructure." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), August 27, FP1.

"N.W.T. Targets Chinese Investment." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), April 23, FP1.

"Ottawa Boosts Offshore Spill Liability, Up To $1-Billion." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), June 19, FP1.

" 'Pipeline Bogeyman' The New Baby Seal Hunt [Editorial]." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), October 19, FP2.

"The Last Frontier Needs A New Message [Editorial]." 2013. *National Post* (Don Mills, ON), September 21, FP2.

The Globe and Mail

"Cold Weather, Distance, Won't Discourage N.W.T. In Worker Search." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), August 27, A5.

"Dream Of A Road To The Arctic Ocean Takes Shape." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), December 18, B5.

"Imperial Oil Aims for Arctic Depths." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), September 30, B1.

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"Mackenzie Valley's New Price Tag: $20-Billion (And Rising)." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), December 24, B1.

"New Drilling Rules Reduce Oversight." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), November 7, A12.

"Ottawa To Raise Liability Limits." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), January 31, B11.

"Slow Approvals Dim N.W.T. Shale Hopes, Explorer Says." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), October 7, B4.

"Stricken Rig Finds Shelter In Alaskan Bay." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), January 8, B3.

"Why Is Arctic Sea Ice Vanishing Even Faster Then Climate Models Predict? A World-Leading Research Centre In Manitova Is Trying To Find Answers." 2013. *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), March 16, A8.

The *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*

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"NPR-A Nipped: Interior's Final Decision Extends National Trend [Editorial]." 2013. *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* (Fairbanks, AK), March 10.

"Thumbs Down." 2013. *Fairbanks Daily News-Miner* (Fairbanks, AK), November 3.

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News/North

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"Canada's Arctic Choices [Guest Comment]." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), September 23, p.9.

"Community Consulted On Energy Development." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), April 22, p.6.

"Critics Dismayed By Leaked Document." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), February 11, p.32.

"Dene Have Stake In High Arctic." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), May 27, p.14.

"Drill Ship Grounded In Alaska." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), January 7, p.27.

"Energy And Mining Push." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), September 2, p.11.

"Exploration Licences Cancelled in Delta." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), June 17, p.16.

"Exploratory Fracking In Sahtu Gains Support." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), April 29, p.11.

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"Heavy On Rhetoric, Light on Details." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), October 21, p.7.

"How To Build A Road To Tuk." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), April 1, p.10.

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"Inuvik-Tuk Highway Approved." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), March 18, p.17.

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"Nellie Cournoyea Remains Head Of IRC." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), February 4, p.17.

"Northern Oil Spill Response Team Needed." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), May 20, p.8.

"Nothing Happens Without Roads [Editorial]." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), November 4, p.9.

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"NEB Tours Delta." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), August 5, p.15.

"New Investment Expected In Canol Shale Deposit." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), July 29, p.32.

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"Resource Development Roundtable." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), December 9, p.4.

"Review Board Approves Inuvik-Tuk Highway." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), February 4, p.17.

"Talking With ConocoPhillips." 2013. *News/North* (Yellowknife, NT), December 2, p.16.

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"A Hit To Energy Market." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), June 13, p.4.

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"Community Consulted On Energy Development." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), April 18, p.6.

"Gwich'in Object To Dene Stance." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), May 23, p.7.

"Highway Excitement Builds." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), March 21, p.4.

"Highway Work 'Looking Really Good.'" 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), June 20, p.16.

"Land Issues Top Dene Agenda." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), July 18, p.3.

"MGM Pulls Out Of Delta [Political Cartoon]." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), June 20, p.5.

"NEB Tours Beaufort Delta." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), August 1, p.3.

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"Offshore Drilling In The Spotlight [Political Cartoon]." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), April 25, p.5.

"Petroleum Show On Tap." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), June 6, p.3.

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"Review Board Approves Tuk Highway." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), February 7, p.8.

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"Talking With ConocoPhillips." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), November 28, p.4.

"To Ottawa And Back." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), February 14, p.8.

"Yellowknife MLA Is Misinformed [Guest Comment]." 2013. *Inuvik Drum* (Inuvik, NT), May 3, p.6.