

# Reporting From Afar or Far From Reporting?

Using Nunavut as a case study to explore domestic core coverage of the periphery

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Post Doctoral Affairs in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Journalism  
School of Journalism and Communication  
Carleton University  
Ottawa, Ontario  
2012

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*Your file Votre référence*

*ISBN: 978-0-494-93647-4*

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*ISBN: 978-0-494-93647-4*

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## Abstract

There have been decades of research into how the media in core countries cover nations in the periphery, but there has been far less research on how news organizations cover the periphery within their own borders. Using coverage of Nunavut as a case study, two questions are addressed: How does the core cover the periphery, and what are the implications of this reporting? A content analysis is presented on how *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* covered Nunavut in 2011. Journalists who wrote about the territory were interviewed. The paper reviews literature on Nunavut, as well as Canadian and international news flow patterns. The findings show the newspapers cover the territory from afar, relying on reporters who have rarely, if ever, been to Nunavut. The articles often ignore people who live in the territory and leave many Canadians with little knowledge about an increasingly important part of their country.

## **Acknowledgements**

Returning to academics after 15 years of working in TV News was intimidating. I found the thought of going from telling stories in 360 words to writing a 120-plus page thesis was more frightening than flying off to a war zone. There are many people who helped me on the journey whom I wish to thank. My supervisor Allan Thompson took this thesis from a rough idea to a finished product. Chris Waddell pushed me over and over again to pursue my passion but narrow my focus. Tokunbo Ojo went way above and beyond the call of duty in helping me to develop many parts of my thesis. Kanina Holmes provided many ideas on how to structure and write my paper. Cindy Kardash-Lalonde in the Resource Centre provided a key that was critical to the early stages of my researching and writing.

I also want to thank my parents for supporting me through all of my education. My mother deserves an extra mention for more than 30 years of editing my writing.

Last, but definitely not least, thank you to my wife for supporting me through the journey to complete this thesis.

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## CHAPTER 1

### **INTRODUCTION**

“The morning after the church service, the man with the broken back borrowed a snowmobile and sledged home to a ramshackle assemblage of landfill scraps about six kilometres from town. He has been on a waiting list for a real home 18 months and counting. He creaked upstairs to his bedroom filled with Montreal Canadiens memorabilia, cookie tins, Cuban cigar boxes, pulp paperbacks and video cassettes. An old brass thermometer read minus 15. It felt colder. He lit two Coleman stoves for heat and lay on his bed beneath a huge ceiling mirror. “I can’t stand to look at myself,” he muttered, and sat back up. Leo Nangmalik’s life story is a kind of microcosm of the modern history of Canada’s Eastern Arctic.” (White1, 2011)

The above paragraph was pulled from what may well be the best reporting from Nunavut to appear in *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* or *National Post* in 2011. *The Globe and Mail* report by Patrick White ran in the paper on April 2, 2011 to mark the 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Canadian territory of Nunavut. It was a story that immediately caught my attention.

The idea of writing my thesis on how the media covers the Canadian Arctic came to me while preparing for a job interview with Al Jazeera English TV. I was at a crossroad in my life. I had been covering Canada for AJE from my home in London, Ontario for a few years. I had also been working towards getting hired full-time as a teacher at the University of Western Ontario’s Master of Arts in Journalism program. In order to accomplish this goal, I needed to earn a graduate degree. In March 2010 I was accepted into Carleton’s Master of Journalism program for mid-career journalists. A few days later AJE held interviews for jobs at the news bureau it was planning to open in Toronto. I was invited to interview for the producer position and was told to be

prepared to answer the question: “What are some stories should AJE focus on telling from Canada?”

One of AJE’s unofficial mandates is to be a “voice for the voiceless.” It occurred to me that with the financial resources at the company’s disposal, AJE could afford to cover the Arctic in a way that no else does. It was my observation as a news consumer that there was very little coverage of the North. Improving this coverage would give a voice to the people in the region and the stories would resonate around the world. They would be relevant to AJE’s viewers in other Arctic nations and to people in countries that have interests in the Arctic. Given that those interests include shipping, climate change and resource opportunities, the area of interest includes much of the planet. While preparing for my AJE interview I was also in the process thinking about a topic for the thesis I would be required to submit to earn my MJ degree at Carleton. It was an easy leap to go from thinking about how easy it would be to do a better job of covering the Arctic to thinking about looking at how poorly the Arctic is currently covered by media organizations.

It soon became necessary to narrow the focus of the thesis. Looking at the Arctic as a whole involves too big an area and the issues between the eastern and western parts are diverse. For reasons that will be explained in more detail later in this essay, a decision was made to focus on Nunavut, and to limit the media outlets for the content analysis segment of my thesis to *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post*. Almost a year to the day of first coming up with the idea to write my thesis on coverage of the Canadian Arctic, I gave a presentation at Carleton University in my “Arctic Passages” class. The lecture outlined how little news coverage of the

North there had been in the past. The talk presented a limited content analysis that showed that not much attention was paid to Nunavut by news organizations in the South and that many people in the South did not know much about the territory and its inhabitants.

A few days later *The Globe and Mail* devoted the top half of the front page of its weekend newspaper to promoting a story on Nunavut. The article filled the full first seven pages of the Focus section. The story ran more than 7,500 words. It felt almost as if *The Globe and Mail* knew I was in the process of trying to prove how poorly southern newspapers covered Nunavut and the editors wanted to prove me wrong. Half-a-dozen people in my “Arctic Passages” class at Carleton brought me a copy of the Focus section to help me with my research.

One year later I find myself writing the introduction to my thesis on how Nunavut is covered by three big southern newspapers. I have now read every story that *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* ran on Nunavut in 2011. Based on just about every standard I can think of to judge the strength of a print story, the epic story Patrick White wrote for the *Globe’s* Focus section is far better than any other report about Nunavut that appeared in the three papers that year. The story was engaging, powerful, moving, educational, informative, entertaining and touching. It made readers care about the people in the story, taught them about their culture and community and made them feel invested in the territory and its inhabitants. As someone who has devoted most of my professional life to broadcast journalism, I may not be the best person to judge the quality of a newspaper story. In this case, however, the experts agreed that White’s story about Nunavut was journalism at its best. In April

2012 White received the National Newspaper Award for best long feature for his story about Nunavut.

### **Why study coverage of the periphery?**

Over the past half a century there has been much research on how the news media in countries in the core cover countries in the periphery. (Galtung and Ruge 1965) (Kim and Barnett 1996) (Chang 1998) (Golan 2008) (Hamilton 2010) (Himmelboim, Chang and McCreery 2010) But there has been far less research on how news organizations cover the periphery within their own borders. This thesis examines how one part of an extreme geographic periphery is covered by news media in the Canadian core. Looking at how the North is covered is timely because the region is currently at the centre of many national and international issues. Prime Minister Stephen Harper has described the Arctic as being “central to our national identity.” (Harper 2007) Resource companies are rushing to try to cash in on the potential riches in the North and trying to position themselves to take advantage of opening Arctic passages. Governments are positioning themselves for sovereignty battles over the region. Environmentalists have called the region the canary in the coalmine of climate change. Academics in Canada and elsewhere have written many books in recent years about the Arctic. While there is an incredible range of ideas and opinions about the North, almost everyone seems to agree that it is an important region for Canada and the world. In the words of Prime Minister Harper, “Those who want to see the future of this country should look north.” (Press 2012)

Without any prompting, most of the journalists interviewed for this thesis said that the Arctic is often covered like a foreign country. I have first hand experience covering countries on the periphery, having reported from such places as Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Sierra Leone, India, Sri Lanka and Iraq. Like news organizations in the United States, many of the bigger Canadian outlets over the past couple of decades have closed most of their foreign bureaus, steadily pulling back and increasingly covering the periphery from the core.

Ignoring the periphery can come at great peril. The attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001 provided a wake up call for many Americans. They suddenly discovered that there were people in the world who hate the U.S. so deeply that they were willing to commit suicide and kill civilians. Arguably, if Americans had a better idea of how their country was seen in some peripheral parts of the world, they might well have been better prepared to protect themselves from the 9/11 attacks.

Canadians are also at risk because of their ignorance of what is happening in many countries on the periphery. In November 2009 the *Toronto Star* reported that Canadian mining companies are facing allegations of abuse and assault on local citizens in dozens of developing countries. Locals in countries such as Ecuador say the companies have used armed guards to violently trample any opposition to mines that threaten rainforests and their way of life. Most Canadians are not aware of the negative reputation their country has in some parts of the world. The *Star* reported that: "The word "Canada" is so reviled in some places that travelling Canadians mask their citizenship by wearing American flags on their caps and backpacks." (Popplewell 2009)

In 2010 Canadians got a taste of how some countries feel about Canada's foreign policy. Canada's request for a seat on the United Nations Security Council was rejected in favour of Portugal. On all six prior occasions when Canada sought a seat it was successful. This was the first time since the U.N. was formed that Canada's bid for a seat was turned down. A member of the opposition said losing the vote for a Security Council seat was a catastrophe for Canada's reputation and credibility. (CBC2 2010) Canadians need to know about what is happening in some parts of the periphery. This is especially true of peripheries within their own country. Canadians to a large extent rely on news organizations to keep them informed about stories and issues that matter to their lives.

This thesis will show that in the past almost no private news organization in southern Canada has invested much effort in covering Nunavut. Many people in both the North and South have criticized the way media in the Canadian core cover the Arctic. The President of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, a national organization that represents Canada's 55,000 Inuit, says that for the most part southern media are only interested in stories about resources, climate change and sovereignty. Mary Simon says, "I often hear up North: how come we never got to be part of these stories? We are the experts of the North." (Iwanek 2012) Simon recognizes these issues are important to all Canadians, but she argues there are many other issues in the North that are largely ignored in favour of focusing on these three. Even those three issues receive inadequate of narrow coverage.

In her book, Un/Covering the North, Valerie Alia says Northern and indigenous people receive coverage in "mainstream" media primarily in times of crisis. She writes:

“This preference for, or tendency toward, "disaster coverage"- a product of conventional training and thinking in southern journalism schools and media - creates a perception of the North as hostile, dangerous, remote, and foreign ... Such coverage exaggerates the worst tendencies of journalistic practice and perpetuates colonial thinking about northern issues, lands, and peoples. Rendered invisible are the long-term issues vital to the future of northern people, specifically self-government and land claims. This imbalance ends up affecting the ability of readers in all regions of Canada to understand the fundamental questions most important to the North and, often, to the rest of Canada as well.” (Alia 1999, 158) In his book, Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North, historian Ken Coates calls on the *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail* and the CBC to get away from crisis coverage and instead cover Arctic issues. Coates says that the result of the current media coverage is that the government does not take action on the most important issues in the North because satisfying public opinion seems to matter more than meeting real needs. (Coates et al. 2008, 210 and 196) Donald Purich in his book, The Inuit and Their Land: The story of Nunavut, also criticizes southern coverage of the North. He says that while southern Canadians have an important stake in Nunavut, the North remains a mystery to most Canadians. (Purich 1992, 4) What is clear even from a brief analysis of newspapers in the Canadian core is that most of the stories about the North are written from the South. This is problematic because it means that reporters who possess little knowledge or insight about the region are dictating what stories the majority of Canadians are learning about the North.

This thesis will use coverage of Nunavut by *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* as a case study to address two related questions: How does the core

cover the periphery and what are the implications of this type of coverage? The reasons why I chose to focus on Nunavut and these three papers will be explained in greater detail in the next chapter.

There are major challenges to covering Nunavut. The territory comprises more than one-fifth of Canada's landmass and if it were an independent country it would be the 14<sup>th</sup> largest in the world, just ahead of Mexico. With only 33,000 people the population is spread widely and thinly over three time zones. There are no roads connecting towns and hamlets. Flights between communities are expensive. From Ottawa it costs about as much to fly to the capital of Nunavut as it does to fly to Australia. From Iqaluit it can cost a few thousand more dollars to reach the most remote communities in Nunavut. Even media outlets in Nunavut cannot afford to follow politicians on campaign tours because it is too expensive to travel out of Iqaluit. Communities across the territory are so small that it is impossible to keep stringers in each one. (Ladurantaye, April 5, 2011) In a territory where 84 percent of the population is Inuit, language and culture are two more barriers to reporting for the South.

### **A hard road to travel**

In recent years I have run up against many barriers to reporting from Nunavut while trying to do a series of stories from the territory for Al Jazeera English TV. I first pitched AJE the idea of doing stories in the Canadian Arctic in the spring of 2008. In November 2007 the magazine *The Walrus* ran a special Arctic issue that explored many of the issues and challenges in the North, both from the point of view of people in the South and residents of the North. The magazine provided many ideas that could be

adapted for TV stories. In the end pulling together an expensive and time consuming trip to the Arctic seemed too daunting.

In the late winter of 2010 I was asked by AJE to organize a trip to the Northwest Territories to do a story about a Canadian company that was exploring the possibility of mining rare earth metals at a fly-in location near Yellowknife. The planning team in Washington, D.C. asked me to line up a couple of other stories to help justify the costs of flying myself from London, and a reporter and cameraperson from Washington, D.C. AJE decided to go with a story about Japanese tourists flocking to Yellowknife to see the aurora borealis, and a story about how Canadian diamond mines in the Far North were trying to influence people to associate diamonds with polar bears rather than with blood. There was a lot of interest in D.C. in all three stories, but the logistics became complicated. The rare earth metals mining company was about to wrap up its fieldwork; it was the off-season for northern lights tours; and the diamond mines were not cooperating with journalists because, as we found out later, the financial news coming out of the mines was not good. On top of all of this, it became clear that the CRTC was about to approve AJE in Canada. AJE wanted a series of feature stories on Canada to run the first days that AJE would be on the air. I could not fly to Yellowknife to do these stories and at the same time be setting up more stories to shoot from the South. As the sole person in Canada producing stories for AJE, I lacked the resources to cover all of the stories. Again, the trip to the North did not happen. Even with AJE's financial resources, there were too many challenges to trying to get to such a remote part of the country.

My third attempt to get to the Arctic for AJE unfolded in the summer of 2011. I had spent much of the previous year doing research for my Master of Journalism thesis looking at how Canada's biggest newspapers cover Nunavut. During this process I came across many ideas that would make engaging, powerful TV feature stories. I pitched a few ideas and once again the planning team in Washington, D.C. was interested. They asked me to put together a proposal including costs and travel time. I decided that if I was going to go North, I would make sure the stories were great, so I produced a budget that allowed us to hire local journalists to help us in each community that we would visit.

The plan was to do stories about: the dramatic and far too often painful changes Inuit culture is under going; the startling health issues Inuit face; and the boom and bust cycle that threatens to devastate many Inuit communities as the world rushes in to exploit resources in the Arctic. The AJE team would fly from Ottawa to Iqaluit, Iqaluit to Rankin Inlet, do a side trip to Baker Lake, and then fly from Rankin Inlet to Winnipeg. Assuming there were no delays due to weather, the entire trip would take ten days. The budget for expenses for the trip was about \$40,000 and that did not include the salaries of the reporter and cameraperson. The costs would be significantly reduced if a print reporter was reporting on these same stories and their newspaper decided to only send one person.

The cost should be put in perspective through comparisons with travel expenses incurred by the *National Post* and the CBC. In spring 2011 the *National Post* sent Richard Johnson to Afghanistan to cover the last days of Canada's combat role in that country. Johnson says that he did the entire three-week trip for \$4,000, including his

flight. He was able to do this because he embedded with the Canadian military. The downside to this is that he was limited in what he could cover because his schedule was controlled by the military. When I worked in India in 2003-2004 the CBC's standard rate for longer TV pieces was \$200 per minute. The Corporation paid my expenses, but I travelled relatively low budget. The three stories planned for AJE from Nunavut might have in total been ten minutes long. That would be the equivalent of more than \$4,000 per minute to produce. Faced with these kinds of costs, it is no surprise that southern newspapers, even the biggest in Canada, even the ones that describe themselves as national papers, rarely send anyone to report from Nunavut.

In the end it was not the money that derailed my third attempt to organize a trip to the North; it was a lack of manpower. Compared to the CBC, Al Jazeera English has a lot of money to put towards producing good news stories. Like every other news channel, however, it has limited human resources. In August 2011 AJE was busy preparing for special coverage of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 9/11 attacks against the United States. The costs and travel time pose significant challenges to producing stories from the North.

### **A Note about your author**

During my 15 years in TV news I have moved around a lot, bouncing back and forth between the core and the periphery. For the first ten years of my career I frequently changed cities and continents. In January 1998 I moved from Vancouver to Toronto to start my career at what was at the time called CBC Newsworld. By the fall I had a staff job as an Associate Producer, chase producing for CBC TV's national

morning show. I moved from Toronto to Halifax for the job. About eight months later I did the same move in reverse and started working full-time as a Senior Writer.

In September 2000, I packed up once again and moved to London, England where I worked at BBC World TV. I spent three years there, again doing many of the jobs I did at the CBC: writing, lining up and producing newscasts; as well as chasing guests. I also produced a news program called Asia Today. This is where I first spent a lot of time covering the periphery.

In April 2003 I was ready for a new challenge. I bought a video camera, laptop computer and Final Cut Pro software, and boarded a plane for a country I had never been to. In New Delhi I set up a one-person news bureau and worked as a freelancer for CBC and BBC TV and radio, and also did some writing for *The Globe and Mail*. I chose India because I knew the CBC and *The Globe and Mail* had no correspondent in South Asia, despite the fact that there are about one million people of South Asian descent living in Canada. I thought that if there were anywhere in the periphery that Canadians would be interested in getting news from it would be India. In the late 1990s, the CBC had Patrick Brown based in India and *The Globe and Mail* had John Stackhouse, but neither were replaced after they left. *The Globe* eventually moved Stephanie Nolan to New Delhi a couple of years after I left.

I spent two years in India. New Delhi was my base. My trips outside the capital included going to Kashmir to cover the conflict between India and Pakistan; to Dharamsala to report on the Tibetan exile community; and to Bhopal to cover the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of what was the world's worst industrial disaster. I spent my time reporting

from the periphery to the core. While doing this I decided that when I returned to Canada I wanted to report on people living on the periphery within my own country.

Two years after landing in New Delhi a former colleague of mine asked me if I wanted to help run Iraq's first post-Saddam Hussein elections. I boarded a plane to Washington, D.C. I was hired to help to run Iraq's Out-of-Country Voting (OCV) program that was being set up in 14 countries to allow the country's diaspora to have a say in the first free elections in their country in more than a generation. My official title was Chief of External Relations for the United States for the OCV program. In October 2005 I went to Baghdad to help Iraq run a referendum and election. I was brought in as an International Advisor to the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq. Baghdad was my home for four months. This time I operated behind the scenes and managed the information coming out about the elections.

After leaving Iraq I moved back to Washington, D.C. to join Al Jazeera. The network was preparing to launch an English news channel and I was brought in as the Head Output Producer for the Americas. I moved to D.C. in May 2006 and in November we launched the channel. AJE has two unofficial mottos. One was to give a voice to the voiceless. The other was to reverse the flow of information, which had usually travelled from northern developed nations to developing countries in the south.

The summer after AJE launched I quit my staff job and moved back to London, Ontario, where my wife had found a tenure-track job teaching Fine Arts at Fanshawe College. London, Ontario is not a hotbed for international news but for five years it served as a base to cover Canada for AJE. Some of the time I worked as a video journalist, producing, shooting and writing stories; other times AJE sent a cameraperson

and reporter to work with me. I produced stories from the Canadian periphery, including such issues as: survivors of residential schools, American war resisters who were trying to claim refugee status in Canada, and terror suspects that Ottawa was trying to deport through a system of secret trials. It is worth noting that for an international audience, Canada is the periphery. In my experience of living abroad, foreign news organizations produce little news about Canada. While covering Canada for AJE I also started to teach on a part-time basis in the Master of Arts in Journalism program at the University of Western Ontario. This became a full-time position in May 2012.

### **Writing about the North from the South**

One of the problems raised throughout this thesis is that people in the South who have rarely, if ever, been to the territory do much of the writing about Nunavut that ends up in Canadian newspapers. There are many drawbacks to reporting on the periphery this way. During the planning stages of this thesis my advisor pointed out to me that it would be awkward if while criticizing newspapers covering the North from the South, I did the same while conducting my research. I have never been to any of Canada's territories, or beyond the Arctic Circle in any country. I had hoped to at least go to Iqaluit to get a taste of what life in Nunavut is like, but unfortunately I was hampered by some of the same barriers southern newspapers face. I began planning my trip after spending \$400 to have ethics clearance forms translated to Inuktitut. What would be considered a crummy hotel room in the South would cost about \$1,000 for four nights in Iqaluit. Basic restaurant food would require several hundred dollars more. I planned

to book a flight to Iqaluit using air miles. Unfortunately, in August 2011 Air Canada stopped flying to Nunavut. In theory it is possible to use Aeroplan miles for First Air and Canadian North flights to Iqaluit, but during a four-month period from March to June there were no seats available for a return flight. The cost of paying for the ticket would be another \$2,000. In the end, like so many newspapers and journalists before, the high cost of traveling to Nunavut forced me to write about the North from the South.

By not travelling to the North I miss out on an opportunity to gain more insight into the issues that are important to the people who live there, however, this will not affect my ability to analyze how the core covers the Nunavut and what the implications are for this kind of reporting. The thesis is a study of how the North is covered from the South and as such it is possible to conduct the research from the South.

### **Limitations**

This paper sets out to analyze how newspapers in the Canadian core covered Nunavut in 2011. Three newspapers, *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post*, will be used in the content analysis. *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post* were selected because they promote themselves as national newspapers. The *Toronto Star* was picked because it has the highest readership of any Canadian newspaper and because it is the most widely read paper in the nation's financial capital Toronto, arguably *the* core of Canada.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore how online news outlets covered Nunavut. It is also beyond the scope of this paper to analyze how television and radio stations covered the territory in 2011. Archives for news coverage of Canadian TV

channels such as the CBC, CTV and Global are much harder to access than archives for the three newspapers selected for this study. It would be interesting to analyze how the Canadian TV channels covered Nunavut in 2011 and compare them to the results of the content analysis conducted for this paper, but again, it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has presented the need for research to be done on how news organizations in the core cover the periphery.

Chapter 2 discusses past studies that looked at how Canadian media outlets in the South have covered the North, including ones by H.G. Kariel and L.A. Rosenvall, Debra Clarke, Valerie Alia and Mike Gasher. The chapter also provides a literature review of research on how news organizations in the core cover the periphery, including studies by Johan Galtung and Mari Hombøe Ruge, Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill and Guy Golan. This will include looking at patterns of international news flow and theories developed to explain those patterns. These theories will then be applied to domestic news flow patterns in general, specifically how they relate to news flow from Nunavut to media based in Toronto. The chapter also explains why the North is so important to all Canadians and argues that covering countries and regions in the periphery from the core has negative implications for people living in both areas.

Chapter 3 explores what it takes to do a good job of reporting from the periphery as well as look at a unique approach the *Toronto Star* recently took to covering the North. The chapter examines the importance of having journalists on the ground in the periphery and to finding ways to put a human face on stories.

Chapter 4 provides a content analysis of how *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* covered Nunavut in 2011. The methodology of the content analysis will be presented. The analysis will examine: what part of the paper the story ran in, the length of the story, where it was written, the main issue it deals with and who was quoted in the story. The findings from the three papers will then be compared, contrasted and analyzed.

Chapter 5 looks at specific examples of how *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* covered Nunavut. Interviews with reporters and national editors at the papers will provide insight into different ways the North can be covered from the South.

Chapter 6 explores the best and worst practices used by southern newspapers to cover Nunavut and discusses a variety of models that could be used to improve coverage of the periphery.

Chapter 7 reviews the findings of the thesis and maps out opportunities for future research.

## CHAPTER 2

### **NUNAVUT UNCOVERED**

“Canada’s Arctic is central to our national identity as a northern nation. It is part of our history. And it represents the tremendous potential of our future... More and more, as global commerce routes chart a path to Canada’s North and as the oil, gas and minerals of this frontier become more valuable, northern resource development will grow ever more critical to our country.”  
Stephen Harper, Prime Minister (Harper 2007)

Since taking office in 2006 Canada’s Prime Minister has often talked about the importance of the Arctic. If someone in the South of the country happens to skip reading newspapers during the one week a year Stephen Harper makes his annual trip to the North they could easily pass that year without giving more than an occasional thought or two to this expansive part of the country. Past studies show the North has rarely made the news in the Canadian core. (Alia 1999) (Clarke 1990) (Gasher 2007) (Kariel and Rosenvall 1978) The stories about the North that do appear in Canada’s biggest newspapers often follow the same patterns of international news flow from peripheral countries to core countries, leaving readers in the centre with a skewed vision of life in the North.

This chapter will review literature about patterns of domestic and international news flow and Nunavut’s place in Canada. The chapter will show that despite its importance to the future of Canada, southern media treat Nunavut much the same way news organizations treat a far off peripheral country. This has negative implications for people in the territory and the country as a whole. Nunavut’s importance to the rest of Canada will be explored. It will be shown that the territory has historically been poorly covered by the country’s biggest news organizations. Past studies, including ones by

Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill, and T.K. Chang, that have looked at international news flow will be discussed and an argument presented that the coverage of Nunavut in the past has many similarities with those international patterns. Studies and commissions long ago, including the 1970 Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, known as the Davey Commission and 1981 Royal Commission on Newspapers, known as the Kent Commission, concluded that the way news organizations in Canada cover international news fails to meet the needs of Canadians. (Soderlund and Lee, 1999, 2) By using a similar approach to covering the North, Canadian news organizations are likely to do a poor job of covering that periphery. This chapter will conclude by arguing that by covering domestic peripheries in a similar way news organizations are failing their viewers and readers.

Much of the research into news flow in the past has focused on how news from the international periphery is covered by news organizations in core countries. There have been many studies about international news flow and predictors of news worthiness. In a 1998 paper, H.D. Wu notes that 15 relevant studies were completed prior to 1980, 23 between 1981 and 1990 and 17 in the six years that followed. (Golan 2010, 125) Far less has been written on domestic news flow and covering peripheries within a country like Canada. While one can only speculate about why this is the case, it is worthwhile to at least try to address this issue.

In countries like Canada, the United States and Britain many journalists start out working in the peripheries. There are local newspapers in many small cities and it is hard for these papers to find experienced reporters who will move to their communities and work for them. The small papers usually pay far less than newspapers in big

markets like Toronto, London or New York. Most journalists dream of working in the big markets for papers such as *The Globe and Mail*, *The New York Times* or *The Guardian*. The money is better, the articles reach a bigger and more influential audience, and journalists have an opportunity to write stories about major national and international issues rather than the type of local stories one would usually write for a newspaper in a small town like Port Alberni, British Columbia.

Many newspaper reporters get their start writing in small cities and towns in the periphery, but by the time they leave for bigger markets those reporters often do not look back. It is possible to cover the periphery in big cities. For example, my first experience reporting for a newspaper was writing for a bi-weekly paper in Vancouver called *Spare Change*. The paper was sold by homeless people as a way to help them earn money without having to resort to begging. The writing I did was unpaid and I used my clippings from the paper as part of my application to journalism school in 1995. I left *Spare Change* to go to the University of King's College in Halifax and after graduation I moved on to bigger news organizations.

In contrast to domestic peripheries, covering the international periphery is often viewed as exciting. Postings for foreign correspondents are usually limited to the bigger news organizations and even then there is a very limited number of jobs. Landing one is hard. Many people have an image of the life of a foreign correspondent as a glamorous one, but there are many hardships that come with the job. Still, there are often adventures that come with the position and opportunities for extensive travel. For example, CBC correspondents in London, England use the city as a base to cover most of Europe and Africa. In India many of the foreign correspondents based in New Delhi

also covered wars in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. Compared to the domestic periphery there is a great deal of interest among most journalists in the international periphery. It is perhaps for this reason that more researchers with an interest in communications are drawn to exploring issues related to the international periphery. Many people would be more excited about doing field research in Kenya than in Hearst, Ontario.

In this chapter news flow theories developed for analyzing and understanding how news flows from peripheral countries to core countries will be used in order to better understand news flow patterns from Nunavut to the Canadian core. While those theories were developed for international research, the fundamental goal remains the same, measuring news flowing from a region in the periphery to an area that is considered a core. The chapter will examine news flow theories, review past domestic news flow studies in Canada and look at criticisms that have been made about how Canadian media in the South cover the North.

### **News flow theory**

Two Norwegians, Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge, did the seminal news flow study in 1965. They examined how newspapers in their country covered major events in three developing countries. They published their findings in *The Structure of Foreign News: The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers*. After analyzing the factors that influence the flow of news from abroad, Galtung and Ruge generated a list of 12 variables used to predict whether an international event would be covered. They are: frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to

elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to persons, reference to something negative. (Harcup and O’Neill 2001, 262-263)

Since then many other people have put forward alternative lists to expand and update the original. One that has been cited more than 200 times is: *What is News? Galtung and Ruge Revisited*. In that paper Tony Harcup and Deirdre O’Neill criticized Galtung and Ruge for being too focused on international news crises. The British researchers wrote of the study by the Norwegians: “Their concern was with events and how they did or did not become news. Our concern has been with published news items and what may or may not have led to their selection.” Harcup and O’Neill instead focused their study on examining news flow patterns in three of England’s major newspapers. After looking at 1,276 news articles published as page leads in the broadsheet *Daily Telegraph*, the tabloid *Sun* and the middlebrow *Daily Mail* in March 1999, Harcup and O’Neill proposed a contemporary set of news values. Their revised list included ten categories: the power elite, celebrity, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news, magnitude, relevance, follow-up, and newspaper agenda. (Harcup and O’Neill 2001, 279) There are problems with applying this list to coverage of the periphery in newspapers in the core. In an attempt to address concerns with Galtung and Ruge’s focus on major international news events, the British authors focused largely on newspapers in a market where there is a lot of coverage of celebrities. I lived in London, England from 2000 – 2003 and I was struck by how much mainstream news coverage there was of former Spice Girls like Victoria Beckham and Geri Halliwell, and even of Madonna who was taking time off from her career to raise her children.

Guy Golan produced a list that is in my opinion more appropriate for analyzing news coverage of the periphery. In his 2008 paper *Where in the World is Africa? Predicting coverage of Africa by U.S. television networks*, Golan produced a list of four variables he says have been consistently found to predict international news coverage. They are: deviance, relevance, cultural affinity and the prominence of the nation within the hierarchy of nations. (Golan 2008, 44). Golan places conflict in the first category of deviance. The Merriam-Webster's online dictionary defines deviant as "to depart from an established course or norm." Conflict, tragedies and disasters falls into this category. For example, when dozens of miners were trapped underground in Chile in the fall of 2010 the story was frequently in the news in core countries. Before and after that story ran its course, Chile was rarely in the news in the core. In the case of Nunavut, in August 2010 there were multiple stories in both of Canada's national papers when a cruise ship ran aground near Cambridge Bay and more than 100 passengers had to be airlifted to safety. In the content analysis of *The Globe and Mail's* coverage of the North in 1991 and 1992, Valerie Alia found that stories from the region are covered primarily in times of crisis. She found that 40 percent of all of the stories that ran about the North in the national newspaper during the two-year period were about the 1992 Yellowknife Mine disaster. (Alia 1999, 144) Alia wrote: "It seems an unavoidable fact of the Canadian news industry that extraordinary tragedy is the single criterion that brings southern media coverage to northern issues. (Alia 1999, 152)

Golan says his second variable refers to "relevance to the home nation," that is, will the news in the foreign country have an impact on people living in region where most of the paper's readers live. In order to illustrate this he points to a study of

American newspaper editors that found that a threat to the United States and its involvement are key factors that influence newspaper editors' news selection process. In the case of Nunavut, the issues or events would have to be relevant to people in Canada's big cities by being tied to the South. For example, these ties could be economic, historical and political ones. This variable would explain why so many of the stories from the North reported in the South are about resources such as gold, diamonds and iron ore.

In his paper *All Countries Not Equal to be News: World System and International Communication*, Tsan-Kuo Chang reports findings that suggest that peripheral countries are more likely to make the news in the core if they are seen in the company of core nations. He concludes this means peripheral countries are reported largely through their interactions with core countries. This is often the case in stories about Nunavut that focus on large southern mining companies that are doing work in the North. Other stories about Nunavut that appear in southern news are often connected to the South in economic, historical and political terms. This falls into Golan's news value variable as "relevance," that is, "relevance to the home nation," or in this case, home region. My experience reporting from India supports this argument. I found it much easier to get my story pitches approved by editors in Toronto if there was a direct Canadian connection. For example, a story I did about Mother Teresa's beatification focused on two Canadians who instead of using their savings and time off work to vacation in the Caribbean, went to Calcutta to volunteer in Missionary of Charity homes. This was a way to link a story in India directly to Canadians.

Golan's third variable of cultural affinity suggests viewers and gatekeepers would relate more closely to events that occur in culturally similar nations than to nations that do not share a cultural affinity, such as religion, ethnicity or nationality. Language also falls into this category. For example, Golan concluded that if an event occurred in an English-speaking country it was more likely to make the news in the United States. The cultural affinity variable works against stories involving Inuit making the news in the Canadian core because many in the South feel like they have very little cultural affinity with northerners. Portrayals of Inuit dating back even before the 1922 documentary 'Nanook of the North' have helped people in Canada, and the world, to develop an image of Inuit as being culturally extremely different from the rest of western society. Language is another barrier. Inuit make up 84 percent of the population of Nunavut and that Inuktitut is the mother tongue of most people in the territory. This would lead readers and most gatekeepers in the South to believe that the people in the territory share little cultural affinity with the rest of Canada.

Golan's final variable of prominence refers to the location of a nation in the hierarchy of nations, a hierarchy based on how big and powerful a nation is. (Golan 2008, 45) He found this to be a significant predictor of international news coverage. Golan argues that large, powerful, rich countries are viewed by gatekeepers as being more important than small, less developed nations. This would mean that stories about Russia, China or the United States are more likely to be included in international news than Malawi, Togo or Burkina Faso. To illustrate this point Golan refers to a content analysis of international news in the Wall Street Journal from 1990 to 1992 that found only three percent of overall international coverage was about Africa.

### **What is the periphery?**

The term *periphery* has often been used in international news flow research when referring to less developed countries. (Galtung and Ruge 1965) (Galtung 1971) (Kim and Barnett 1996) (Chang 1998) In *The Structure of Foreign News* Galtung and Ruge use the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus as examples of countries in the periphery, and refer to newspapers in Norway as being in the center. (Galtung and Ruge 1965) In *All Countries Not Created Equal to Be News*, Tsan-Kuo Chang writes that the “hierarchy among countries in international communication has long been recognized by scholars and researchers.” Chang argues that the “structural disparity of national status has a major influence on the flow of news “especially between developed and developing nations.” He says the reason for this is believed to be rooted in historical colonialism and contemporary economic practices. (Chang 1998, 529) While Chang writes about the relationship between countries in the centre and periphery, there are parallels between relationships between centers and peripheries within a country. As will be seen later in this chapter, there are significant financial and political imbalances between Nunavut and Ottawa, as well as a history of colonialism in that relationship. Galtung acknowledges that not only does the world consist of center and periphery nations, but that “each nation, in turn, has its centers and periphery.” (Galtung 1971, 81)

While some researchers choose to use the word *center* to describe developed nations, other authors, often influenced by the writings of Immanuel

Wallerstein, refer to these countries as being in the *core*. (Golan 2008) This thesis will use *the core* to refer to places at the center of power.

The terms *periphery* and *core* are problematic because different areas can be considered the periphery or core depending on their relation with the area they are being compared to. The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines *periphery* as “the outward bounds of something as distinguished from its internal regions or center.” (Merriam-Webster) Therefore, whether or not an area is considered part of the periphery really depends on where you are standing. For example, to someone in Toronto or Ottawa, the capital of Nunavut would be considered to be in the periphery because of Iqaluit’s distance from Canada’s financial and political centers of power. However, for someone in Resolute Bay, Nunavut, Iqaluit might be considered to be the core because it is the biggest city in the territory and the home of the territorial government.

### **Life in the periphery**

Comparing Nunavut’s socio-economic conditions to the rest of Canada makes it clear the territory on many levels ranks low in the hierarchy of Canadian provinces and territories. In her book, Nunavut: Rethinking Political Culture, Ailsa Henderson writes that the factors that most clearly emphasize the differences between Nunavut and the rest of Canada are economic, health related and employment-related indicators. In his article “Death at the 64<sup>th</sup> Parallel” *The Globe and Mail*’s Patrick White pointed out that within Canada, Nunavut ranks last in many measures, including: education, general health, substance abuse, employment, income and housing.

The territory has the highest rates of homicide, suicide and substance abuse. The rate of violent crime per capita is nine times what it is in the rest of Canada and the homicide rate is around 1,000 percent of the Canadian average. If Nunavut were an independent country, its crime statistics would place it in the company of South Africa and Mexico. Alcoholism is a major problem in the territory. Police in the capital Iqaluit say more than 90 percent of problems they deal with stem directly from alcohol. These statistics led *The Globe and Mail's* Patrick White to question if Nunavut is a failed state at the risk of becoming Canada's own "Haiti of the Arctic Circle." (White1 2011)

Suicide is a problem that many describe as an epidemic in the territory. The crisis began in the 1970s and has worsened every decade since. (McElroy 2008, 142-143) Inuit males age 15-24 have a suicide rate 40 times higher than that of their peers in the rest of Canada. There have been more than 320 suicides since 1999 in a territory with only 33,000 people. (White1 2011) One of the reasons for this high rate may be a feeling of hopelessness because of a bleak future. Nunavut has a 20 percent unemployment rate. According to Statistics Canada, in 2009 the median income by family in the country was \$68,419. In Nunavut it was \$60,160. This shows that the territory's median income is more than ten percent below the rest of the country. In order to understand the impact of this, it is important to remember that the cost of living in the North is far higher than in the South. The median family income in the other two territories is much higher than in Nunavut. In the Yukon it is \$84,640 and in the Northwest Territories it is \$98,300. (Statistics Canada June 27, 2012)

A lack of formal education is one reason for the low levels of employment in both the private and public sector. Mining companies have reported having a hard time finding locals who are qualified even for training. In the territorial government there is a mandate to fill 85 percent of government jobs by 2020 with Inuit, but that rate has sat around 50 percent for a decade because the education system is not producing enough qualified candidates. People from the South fill many of the civil servant jobs. A few weeks before becoming the mayor of Iqaluit in 2010 Madeleine Redfern told a reporter that: “We live in a chilly banana republic.” (White1 2011) Less than half of Inuit aged 25 to 64 have completed high school and only 1 in 25 has a university degree. Within Nunavut, the community of Repulse Bay is near the bottom of territorial socio-economic indicators. The median income in the 800-person community is below \$20,000 and unemployment is around 40 percent. As of 2006 only five of 175 people between 15-24 had a high school diploma. (White1 2011) With high levels of poverty it is not surprising that Nunavut has a serious housing shortage. A 2010 report prepared by Statistics Canada found that about half of the territory’s homes are overcrowded or need serious repair, with two or more people living in each room. (Statistics Canada 2010) The median number of people in crowded homes is six, with more than half of survey respondents saying they used the living room as a place to sleep. Housing issues may be at least partially responsible for one of the serious health issues facing Nunavut. In 2008 the rate of tuberculosis in Nunavut was 38 times that of the Canadian average. (Cameron 2011) The life expectancy for people in Nunavut is 11 years shorter than the Canadian average. The most recent statistics available for Nunavut show that in 2002 life expectancy in the territory was 68.5 years compared to 79.7 for Canada as a

whole. That means the average person in Nunavut lives seven years less than next lowest part of Canada, the Northwest Territories, where the average life expectancy is 75.8. The lowest province is Newfoundland at 78.3 years. (Statistics Canada 2004)

In his book, Global Communication: Theories, Stakeholders and Trends, Thomas McPhail says there is an imbalance of power in the relationship between countries in the core and in the periphery. He writes: “The core provides technology, software, capital, knowledge, finished goods, and services to the other zones, which function as consumers and markets. The semi-periphery and periphery zones engage in the relationship with core nations primarily through providing low-cost labor, and raw materials.” (McPhail 2002, 16) This pattern can clearly be seen in Nunavut where companies from the South often extract resources from the ground using a majority of employees from the South. The low-level jobs usually go to the locals who frequently lack the qualifications for more skilled positions. (Quenneville 2010) An example of this dynamic is the Agnico-Eagles Meadowbank gold mine near Baker Lake, Nunavut. Agnico-Eagle Mines Limited is a Toronto-based gold mining company. In June 2010 the *Nunatsiaq News* reported that the mine poured its first bar of gold: “Thanks to the wealth-producing power of industrial mining, the people of Baker Lake will enjoy jobs and a measure of dignity for as long as Meadowbank lasts.” (Bell 2010) The article reported the company hopes to produce about 350,000 ounces of gold per year at the mine until at least 2019.

The economy of Baker Lake is booming. Thanks to the gold mine, many of the 1,500 residents are making lots of money. Approximately 35 percent of the mine’s work force of about 390 people consists of Inuit from Baker Lake and other nearby

communities, but most of those jobs fall into lower skill categories. The highest hourly wage paid to Inuit workers, those working as drillers or blasters, is just over \$30 per hour. (Quenneville 2010) A few years before the mine opened, Inuit Impact Benefits Agreement was signed with the company and provided funding for education and skills development as a means to maximize Inuit employment and business opportunities. Unfortunately, the company found many applicants could not meet the Grade 10 requirement for the training.

While the previously impoverished residents of Bakers Lake enjoy the money that is rolling into their community, the biggest share of the profits is rolling out. *The Nunatsiaq News* reports mining exploration and development are putting \$3-million a year into Baker Lake's economy. At that rate during the expected nine-year life span of the mine, \$27-million will be pumped into the town. That is a lot of money for a small community but it is a small amount compared to the expected profits from the mine. (Quenneville 2010) There is clearly a risk of a traditional boom-bust cycle playing out in Baker Lake. The mine is expected to close in 2020 after the gold has been extracted. Unless other mines open in the area, people in the community could go back to being poor after getting used to having large amounts of disposable income. The boom-bust cycle is nothing new to the North. First the whaling industry and later the fur trade poured money into local communities for a short period of time while the larger slice of the profits were enjoyed by outsiders. First Europeans and later southerners have for much of the history of contact led a colonial type of relationship with Inuit. Retelling the history of this relationship is beyond the scope of this paper, but it has been well

documented by other authors. (Byers 2009)(Coates et al. 2008)(McElroy 2008)(Duffy 1988)(Henderson 2007)(Purich 1992)

The Meadowbank mine is providing relatively low cost labour and raw materials in the form of gold. (George 2010) Through its relationship with the North, the South has access to oil, minerals and other resources in the western Arctic, diamonds in the central, gold and other minerals in the east, not to mention sovereignty claims across the North. People in Baker Lake are spending much of their money to buy finished products imported from the South, such as snowmobiles, televisions and alcohol. When one considers the lower wages, lower quality of life, low education levels and the exploitation of raw resources, under world system theory Nunavut rates as part of the periphery.

### **Domestic news flow**

While far fewer in number, there are also Canadian news flow studies that reveal patterns of news flow from the country's periphery to the core. The studies that will be the focus of this section cover three media over four decades. They all found similar news flow patterns that do not bode well for community building in parts of Canada. H.G. Kariel and L.A. Rosenvall looked into Canadian newspapers during the 1970s, Debra Clarke examined Canadian television in the eighties, Valerie Alia looked at how two northern newspapers and one southern paper covered the North in 1991-1992 and Mike Gasher explored online news flow of Canadian newspapers from several years after the start of the new millennium.

In his essay *The View From Here*, Mike Gasher argues that news coverage plays an important role in bringing people, communities and countries closer together and can mobilize them to tackle a problem. He writes: “A lack of news coverage, similarly, renders events unimportant – at least to us... the choices of what not to cover can be as significant to this process of constructing community as the choices of what will be covered.” (Gasher 2007, 302) If news builds communities, an absence of news in the Canadian core about the periphery makes it far less likely that people in the core will feel that people in the periphery are part of their community. On top of what Gasher perceives as a lack of foreign coverage, his content analysis in *The View From Here* also suggests that aside from Ontario and Quebec, *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Le Devoir* gave “relatively scant coverage” to the rest of the country.

Former *Toronto Star* reporter Allan Thompson says reporters at the paper used to joke that: “Anything north of Eglinton is the periphery.” Places like Halifax in the Maritimes, Montreal in Quebec, Toronto and Ottawa in Ontario, Edmonton and Calgary in Alberta, and Vancouver and Victoria in British Columbia may be where the biggest regional and national decisions are made, but what happens outside of those cores has a major impact on the lives of people inside those city centres. Based on Gasher’s finding this reality is not reflected in Canada’s national newspapers. In their essay “*Circulation of Newspaper News Within Canada*” H.G. Kariel and L.A. Rosenvall also put forward an argument that suggests media have a role in building bridges between communities. The authors write: “the more knowledge a person has of a place, the more accurate his perception of it will be.” (Kariel and Rosenvall 1978, 85)

Given the potentially positive role media can play in bringing people together, it is unfortunate that all four news flow studies found that communities on the national or international periphery receive little news coverage in the core. In her paper *Constraints of Television News Production: The Example of Story Geography*, Debra Clarke gives examples of many cases of news flow inequalities (Clarke 1990, 69-72). News flow from the most physically and culturally remote regions, such as the Canadian North, appear to consistently receive the least news coverage. In research conducted in 1972 and 1973, Kariel and Rosenvall found that the news flow from the Yukon and the Northwest Territories (of which Nunavut was a part of until 1999) typically accounted for less than one percent of the total Canadian flow. (Kariel and Rosenvall 1978, 93) Research Clarke conducted a decade later found that in a sample of national CTV and CBC TV news stories taken over a two-year period, only one story out of more than 500 was from the Canadian territories. (Clarke 1990, 90) In his sample of online news taken about 20 years later, Gasher found only five out of 1,155 online newspaper stories about Canada cited one of the territories. (Gasher 2007, 311) Using Golan's prominence variable as a tool to predict news flow between the Canadian core and periphery, one would expect that the majority of stories in the big Canadian newspapers would involve stories from Ontario and Quebec, while few stories should appear about Nunavut. This is the pattern Mike Gasher found when he did the content analysis for his paper *The View From Here*. Nunavut only appeared in two out of 1,155 stories, while Ontario and Quebec appeared in 715 stories, or 62 percent. (Gasher 2007, 311) In her book, *Un/Covering the North: News, Media and Aboriginal People*, Valerie Alia did a content analysis of the coverage of two northern newspapers, the *Nunatsiaq*

*News and Up Here*, as well as *The Globe and Mail*. She looked specifically at how the papers covered northern issues in 1991-1992. During this period *The Globe* only published 20 stories in which “the North” is mentioned. Of these, northern aboriginal people are only mentioned nine times. (Alia 1999, 146-147)

The Ipsos Reid poll released to mark the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Nunavut found that many Canadians do not feel that they know much about the Canadian Arctic. The poll found 67 percent of respondents agreed that they “find it difficult to imagine what life is like for Canadians living in the North.”<sup>1</sup> (Ipsos 2009)

Without learning through the news about the people who live in a territory like Nunavut, it is likely that southerners will continue to think of Inuit as *the others* and therefore the harsh socio-economic realities of life in the North will not be of any concern. It also means that people in positions of power in the South may not be able to consider how decisions they make will affect life in the North, for example, on issues about sovereignty, resources or the environment.

All of the news flow studies found that stories from the core were far more likely to make the news than ones from the periphery. Gasher laments, “they are circumscribing Canada and making broad claims about who is part of, and matters to, the national community.” (Gasher 2007, 316) The authors of the book, Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North, echo Gasher’s sentiment and argue that southern media are not contributing enough to community building with the North. As a result, there are few connections between northern and southern Canada and little commitment

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<sup>1</sup> Online survey of 1,011 Canadian adults was conducted via the Ipsos I-Say Online Panel. On behalf of the Dominion Institute and the Institute for Canadian Citizenship from March 18 to 23, 2009.

from the South towards the North. Ken Coates et al. go on to say that unless the media changes its approach, Canadians will remain largely uninterested in the Arctic, especially because: “a large percentage of the population has little experience with the region, no historical or cultural connections to it, and thus very little interest in the North.” (Coates et al. 2008:193)

While H.G. Kariel and L.A. Rosenvall, Debra Clarke, Valerie Alia and Mike Gasher’s research cover a span of 35 years and three mediums, there are clear news flow patterns that emerge from their findings. The similarities include: a lack of coverage of peripheral areas and the missed opportunities to build links between communities in the core and the periphery.

### **Criticisms of past Arctic coverage**

The Washington Post’s Pamela Constable argues that news organizations need to do a better job of reporting from international peripheries. She writes: “Our economy is intimately linked to global markets, our population is nearly 20 percent foreign-born, and our lives are directly affected by borderless scourges such as global warming and AIDS. Knowing about the world is not a luxury; it is an urgent necessity.” (Constable 2007) She is referring to the United States, but her quote applies equally well to Canada. Furthermore, it is not just news from foreign countries that Canadians need and are often not getting, it is also news from parts of our own nation that might seem foreign to many. Throughout their book, the authors of Arctic Front raise concerns they have about how journalists cover the Canadian North. One of the criticisms Ken Coates and his fellow historians make is that media often play a major role in encouraging

conflict. Coates et al. point to the coverage of the dispute over Hans Island that flared up with the Danes in 2004. The authors say that the media portrayed what had been a long-standing and largely ignored disagreement over an inconsequential “tiny and isolated piece of windswept rock” as “a test of national will and commitment to the North.” (Coates et al 2008, 157) The coverage of the “slapstick nature of the ‘conflict’ over Hans Island,” (Coates et al. 2008, 158) was also criticized by Michael Byers in his book, Who Owns the Arctic? Byers points to an op-ed in *The Globe and Mail* by Rob Huebert entitled “The Return of the Vikings.” The piece by the professor at the University of Calgary’s Centre for Military and Strategic Studies was written in response to a Danish ice-strengthened frigate entering the channel between Greenland and Ellesmere Island and possibly landing troops on Hans Island. In his editorial Huebert described the Danes as “invading hordes.” The statement was meant as a joke, but opposition politicians seized it and tried to use the dispute to their political advantage. (Byers 2009, 27)

Coates et al. say that media frenzy over issues like sovereignty of Hans Island often encourages the government to take inappropriate action to appease voters and that as a result public opinion seems to matter more than meeting the real needs in the Arctic. The authors point out that often in the past as a sovereignty crisis would come into the news spotlight the government would make promises to boost Canada’s ability to enforce its claims. Then as the attention faded, the government would fail to live up to those commitments and the media would not hold them accountable. Coates et al. use the example of the promise made to buy nuclear powered submarines in the 1980s. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war, Brian Mulroney’s

government canceled plans to acquire the subs: “One by one, planned military acquisitions to serve the cause of Arctic sovereignty were cut.” (Coates et al. 2008,124) In other words, unless there is a crisis, there is no media spotlight. If there is no media spotlight, then the government will not take any action.

Instead of playing a positive role by pushing forward important issues in the North, the authors of Arctic Front say the media only step in when there is a crisis or conflict to cover. The authors argue the national media focus too much on news from Toronto and Ottawa and orient their coverage on crisis rather than to helping various parts of the country understand each other. As an example of this type of coverage, the authors point to the murder of two police officers in 2007, one in Hay River in the Northwest Territory and the other in the Nunavut community of Kimmirut. Coates et al. write that the shootings “attracted more attention to the North than a decade’s worth of aboriginal self-government and improvements in northern educational achievement.” (Coates et al. 2008, 210)

In her book, Un/Covering the North: News, Media, and Aboriginal People, Valerie Alia frequently criticizes the way media organizations in the South cover the North. She points out that “the continuing discrepancy between public access to northern information *in* the North and *outside* the North remains an irony in a world supposedly crisscrossed by the information highway.” (Alia 1999, 140) The world is far more *crisscrossed* now that it was in 1999, but as seen in Arctic Front the criticisms of media coverage of the North continues. Alia reported that the North and its people were featured in about 40 percent of stories in the northern media, but only 0.15 percent of stories in *The Globe and Mail*. (Alia 1999, 146) Alia states that Inuit and northern

issues are covered “only in times of crisis or when negative issues are involved.” (Alia 1999, 32) This lends support to Golan’s variable of deviance being a predictor of news flow from the periphery to the core. Alia says that this type of coverage creates a perception of the North as hostile, dangerous, remote and foreign. Furthermore, it renders invisible long-term issues that are critical to the future of people who live in the North. One problem with this is that it makes it impossible for readers in southern Canada to understand the issues that are most important to the North, issues that often impact the rest of the country as well. (Alia 1999, 158)

### **Why the North matters**

Canada’s Prime Minister says that the Canadian Arctic is part of our national identity, but according to a 2009 survey conducted for the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, only seven percent of Canadians have ever been to at least one of Canada’s three territories<sup>2</sup> (ITK 2009). In his book, The Inuit and Their Land: The Story of Nunavut, Donald Purich writes that Canadians have an important stake in the Far North, but that the region remains a mystery to most Canadians. (Purich 1992, 4) A poll by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami supports Purich. The results show that more than half of respondents thought Tuktoyaktuk is the capital of Nunavut, despite the fact that that the town is not even in the territory. More than four in ten Canadians thought that at least one member of the federal cabinet has to be Inuit. In the survey only six percent of respondents

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<sup>2</sup> Over a thousand Canadians from across the country were polled by Ipsos from November 5 - 7, 2009. The poll consisted of twenty true/false questions and ten questions about peoples experience and opinions concerning the Arctic and Inuit.

strongly agreed that they are “generally aware of the realities of life for Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. (ITK 2009)

Despite this lack of knowledge about the North, another poll suggests Canadians see the region as being very important to the country. This can be seen by the results of a poll released by the Dominion Institute to mark the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Nunavut on April 1, 2009. The survey found that 74 percent of Canadians agree that: “Canadian politicians should focus more attention on Canada’s North and less on our Southern neighbour, the USA.”<sup>3</sup>

Purich argues that Canadians owe it to themselves to learn more about what happens in the region and to the people who live there. (Purich 1992, 4) The ITK poll suggests this should not be a hard sell. The survey found that more than 80 percent of Canadians agreed with the statement: “I enjoy learning about Canada’s Arctic.” (ITK 2009) In the minds of many Canadians the North is a vast, empty expanse of frozen uninhabitable land, but what happens in the region has a big impact on the rest of the country, in particular around issues of climate change, resources and sovereignty.

The impact of climate change in the Arctic is changing the region in ways that make the area increasingly important to the rest of Canada. The Arctic has been called the canary in the coal mine of global warming (Coates 2008, 137) because the affects of climate change can be seen there more clearly than in any other part of the world (Byers 2009, 8). In their 2010 book, The Scramble for the Arctic: Ownership, Exploitation and Conflict in the Far North, Richard Sale and Eugene Potapov say the level of global

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<sup>3</sup> Online survey of 1,011 Canadian adults was conducted via the Ipsos I-Say Online Panel. On behalf of the Dominion Institute and the Institute for Canadian Citizenship from March 18 to 23, 2009.

warming in the Arctic is almost double the Earth's average. Winter temperatures are 3-4 degrees warmer than in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The impact of the changes can be seen in the fact that sea ice is 30 percent thinner than it was 10 years ago. (Sale 2010, 181)

There seem to be almost as many predictions as to when sea ice in the Canadian Arctic will melt, as there are essays and books written about the region. In general, everyone appears to agree that the ice is melting much faster than it was thought to be possible just ten years ago and that warmer temperatures will bring dramatic changes to the region. In, After The Ice: Life, Death and Geopolitics in the New Arctic, Alun Anderson acknowledges the uncertainty of trying to predict the melt of sea ice, but he predicts that sometime between 2015 and 2045 the Canadian Arctic will have ice free summers. (Anderson 2009, 256)

Climate change in the North is opening opportunities for new developments that could provide enormous wealth for Canada. If the melting continues, reduced sea ice will eventually open up the Northwest Passage, a shipping route that explorers in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century risked, and sometimes lost, their lives to discover. International shipping through the Passage could save the industry billions of dollars a year by cutting thousands of kilometres off current routes. (Bergerson 2009, 69) (Shoumatoff 2008, 235) In his 2009 book, The Arctic Gold Rush: The New Race for Tomorrow's Natural Resources, Roger Howard says the implications of an open Northwest Passage would be "staggering." (Howard 2009, 109) Instead of travelling through the Panama and Suez Canals or around the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, goods could be shipped through the Arctic between East Asia, Europe and both sides of North America. (Howard 2009, 109) New shipping routes and the melting of overland permafrost and

the polar ice caps will also open new sites in the Arctic for mining by making it easier to get minerals out of the ground and easier to transport them. (Howard 2009, 92)

There are downsides to these opportunities. Climate change poses a serious threat to the ability of Inuit in Nunavut to hunt. “Land food” is an important source of nutrition for many people in the territory. Increased shipping represents an environmental risk from potential accidents, including the possibility of oil spills. Canada is not equipped to deal with a major oil spill in the North, where frigid waters would pose extreme challenges to clean up.

The Canadian government sees the development of non-renewable resources in the Arctic as being a cornerstone to the country’s future prosperity. (Emmerson 2010, 171)(Loukacheva 2009, 86) A 2008 report about resources in the Arctic by the United States Geological Survey (USGS), a leading scientific research organization, concludes that the region is set to become a new frontline for oil and natural gas exploration. The USGS argues the Arctic has as much as 13 percent of the world’s total undiscovered oil and about 30 percent of its undiscovered natural gas. (Howard 2009, 63) This number has been disputed and most sources agree that all the current statistics concerning predictions of the extent of the oil and gas resources in the Arctic are unreliable. (Howard 2009, 73) (Emmerson 2010, 191) Still, numbers like the \$1-trillion in proven oil and gas reserves in the Sverdrup Islands of northern Nunavut that Byers writes about make it clear that the potential for vast riches exists (Byers 2009, 42)

Oil and gas are far from the only resources that hold the potential for riches to be extracted from the Far North. In early 2011 two companies fought over the right to mine the huge high-grade iron ore at Mary River in northern Baffin Island. There are

also large quantities of lead, zinc and sulfur in the Arctic islands, copper from the Central Arctic coast, as well as precious metals and stones including gold, diamonds and sapphires. (Duffy 1988, 174) (Howard 2009, 93)(Loukacheva 2009, 98)

The promise of these riches, however, comes with a warning: in the past the Arctic has often failed to live up to its promise of vast riches. A rush to cash in on resources in the Arctic is nothing new. In the 1800s whalers operated in the Arctic to gather oil. Between 1820 and 1830 more than 700 ships came to the Arctic and killed more than 8,000 whales. (McElroy 2008, 45) (Purich 1992, 29) The whales were eventually over hunted and other sources for oil emerged. This killed the industry.

After the whaling industry faded the fur trade took over, with the Hudson Bay Company moving north in 1911. At the peak of the fur trade the HBC ran more than 100 trading posts. By 1923 all Inuit were within travelling distance of one. This industry also collapsed as the worldwide demand for fur plummeted. (Purich 1992, 34)

Gold was found in the Klondike in 1896 and within a year thousands of people made the long and difficult journey to what is now the Yukon. The first people to stake their claims made fortunes, but far more were left destitute. Food shortages in the winter of 1897 were so acute that the President of the United States considered sending a humanitarian relief mission. By 1899 the Klondike gold rush was over. (Emmerson 2010, 170) More recently the promise of diamond mining has disappointed. While the three existing mines in the North have transformed the economy of the Northwest Territories where mining is about one third of its GDP, no large mine has been discovered in the territories in almost 15 years. (Koven 2011)

Even if the Canadian Arctic contains vast quantities of minerals, oil and natural gas, the wealth of these resources is no guarantee that they will ever be produced. The potential profits will have to offset the extremely high costs of northern exploration, extraction and transportation. (Duffy 1988, 180) The cost of exploiting many of the resources in the Arctic calls for infrastructure investments that will run into hundreds-of-millions of dollars. (Emmerson 2010, 193) This means there might only be a niche market for huge firms with a serious tolerance for risk. One of the biggest operations in the North is the Agnico-Eagle gold mine near Baker Lake, Nunavut. The only access to the mine is by a 110-kilometre gravel road the company had to build to Baker Lake that cost almost \$60-million. As of September 2011 the operation had a total cost of more than \$1.5-billion. Harsh weather, including temperatures that plunge to -50 degrees Celsius, mean that exploration sites are closed from October to March. Despite this, investments in exploration in the territory went from \$30-million in 1999 to \$325-million in 2011. (Ljunggren and Rocha 2011)

One example of the enormous costs of operating in the North that was in the news a lot in 2011 is the Mary River iron ore project. ArcelorMittal and Nunavut Iron Ore Acquisition Inc. started the year engaged in a bidding war to buy Baffinland, the company that owns the mining rights to the Mary River site on Baffin Island. When it is operational the mine is expected to triple the territory's annual gross domestic product rate and provide nearly \$5-billion in tax revenue and royalties to the territory over the life of the mine. The project will create more than 5,000 direct jobs and many more indirect positions, but the mine at Mary River is expected to cost more than \$4-billion

dollars to develop. Just building a 149-kilometre rail line to connect the mine site to the nearest port will cost nearly \$2-billion. (Waldie 2011)

There are also major technological challenges to harvesting resources in the North. Exploiting whatever oil and gas is found under the Arctic waters will be complicated because moving sea ice could pose a danger to the platforms. (Sale and Potapov 2010, 185) Other obstacles include a limited labour force and the cost of transporting oil and gas. (Sale and Potapov 2010, 186)

News out of the North can change very quickly. In February 2011, Dorothy Kosich wrote an article about the incredible promise and opportunities presented by mining in Nunavut. She wrote about the success of the Agnico-Eagle gold mine at Baker Lake, about the mines at Hope Bay and Meliadine Lake that were expected to be developed within five years, and the uranium mine at Kiggavik that was expected to be operational before the end of the decade. (Kosich 2011) A Reuters article by Julie Gordon one year later reported significant setbacks in the mining industry in the North. These included: the gold that Agnico-Eagle was expecting to produce at a cost of \$300 an ounce was actually costing \$1,000; and that the Hope Bay project had been shelved.

All that said, this time the promise of Arctic riches looks set to deliver. Where in the past the race for riches from resources was led by individuals and small operations, this time it is multi-million dollar exploratory teams (Coates 2008, 152). Ottawa is showing signs that it is determined to cash in on the resources in the North. The Prime Minister voiced his commitment and the Canadian government has spent more than \$100-million to map resources in the North with a view to development. (Emmerson 2010, 171) Parallels can be drawn between harvesting resources in the

Canadian Arctic and extracting oil from the oil sands in Alberta. Twenty years ago the cost of developing the oil sands made many of the projects unviable, but changes in technology and the rising cost of oil has made those same developments profitable. Now most of the biggest oil companies in the world, including Royal Dutch Shell, Suncor Energy Inc., and Exxon Mobil Corp. have invested tens and sometimes hundreds of millions of dollars to extract the oil. The oil sands in Alberta have developed from a tiny part, to a vital part of the Canadian economy. Similarly, climate change, new technology and rising resource prices are expected to lead to new developments in the Arctic.

Sovereignty is another major concern for Canadians when it comes to the Arctic. Canada faces sovereignty challenges in the Arctic from Russia, Denmark and the United States. The stakes in some of the disputes have been greatly exaggerated by the media and government, such as the disagreement with Denmark over Hans Island (Byers 2009, 27). Elsewhere the stakes are high, including: where the boundary between Canadian and American waters are in the Beaufort Sea; how far north Canada's claim of underwater rights to the seabed extends; and the legal status of the Northwest Passage. In 2007 Prime Minister Stephen Harper said: "It is no exaggeration to say that the need to assert our sovereignty and protect our territorial integrity in the North on our terms has never been more urgent." (Howard 2009, 184)

The Canadian government long ago realized that Inuit could help the country's claims of sovereignty of the Arctic. An entire chapter could be written exploring different meanings for the term 'sovereignty,' but suffice to say that most, if not all, definitions of sovereignty over a territory requires that people live in the land. Nunavut

alone makes up more than one-fifth of the entire landmass of Canada but there are just 33,000 people living there. That is about one-tenth of one percent of the country's population. Vast parts of the Arctic Archipelago are uninhabited. More than 60 years ago Canada already recognized this as a potential weakness of any claim over the Arctic. Concerns about Danish and American counter-claims led to Ottawa's decision to relocate 17 Inuit families to Grise Ford and Resolute Bay in 1953 and 1955. The 92 people, who are now known as the High Arctic Exiles, were misled about where they were going, the opportunities that would be available to them and how long they would have to stay. In describing how Ottawa saw Inuit who were relocated, Michael Byers said they were basically treated as 'flagpoles.' (Byers 2009, 109). More than 50 years later Canadians who know about it look back on this chapter of our history with a sense of shame. More than four decades after the relocation Ottawa gave the High Arctic Exiles \$10-million dollars as compensation and apologized to the survivors. (CBC1 2010)

Inuit once again have the potential to play a significant role in establishing Canadian sovereignty in part of the Arctic. This is particularly the case in the most sensitive and arguably most important sovereignty battle for Canada: who owns the Northwest Passage. Ottawa's position is that the Passage is an internal waterway and therefore fully under its control. The United States and other countries, however, argue the Northwest Passage is an international strait, free for any country to use. Some of Canada's most prominent Arctic scholars think the country's claim of sovereignty over the Northwest Passage is on thin ice (Byers 2009, 83). It is beyond the scope of this

paper to enter into a full-blown discussion about sovereignty of what has been called the 'Arctic Grail' (Berton 1988), but a brief summary will be provided.

Ottawa argues that the Northwest Passage is an internal waterway and therefore Canada should have complete control over all the activities in the Passage. Washington, as well as the European Union, argues the passage is an international strait. This would mean that it is open for any country to use for international navigation. If Canada is right, then it has the right to control who uses the Passage. This could have significant implications in terms of Canada's ability to collect tariffs for travel through the Passage, the country's ability to safeguard against environmental disasters such as unsafe ships transporting oil through the Passage, and the ability of the country to secure its borders. If the United States is right, then Canada can only control international shipping in regards to international rules and standards and faces limits on its ability to stop shipping. (Pharand 2009, 38) There are two main reasons why the Americans, Europeans and Chinese would challenge Canada on the legal status of the passage. First, both anticipate a substantial increase in transpolar shipping; and second, the United States in particular fears setting a precedent that could affect other straights around the world that are used for international navigation, including the Strait of Hormuz, the Strait of Gibraltar and the Malacca straits. (Huebert 2009, 26)(Howard 2009, 117) The concept of freedom of the seas and strategic mobility it provides has long been a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy. The United States has by far the world's largest Navy and would feel threatened if its ability to circumnavigate the globe were hampered. (Byers 2009, 78)

Many Arctic scholars argue the historical use of the passage by Inuit is Canada's best case for sovereignty (Byers 2009, 50)(Loukacheva 2009, 90)(Purich 1992, 34) but sometimes it seems like Ottawa is unaware of this. In July of 2007 Prime Minister Stephen Harper said: "Canada has a choice when it comes to defending our sovereignty in the Arctic: either we use it or we lose it." Lorne Kusugak, the Mayor of Rankin Inlet, wondered: "What the hell is he talking about? We've been using 'it' for thousands of years, and we're not going anywhere." (Byers 2009, 109) Inuit have literally lived on the Northwest Passage for thousands of years, hunting, fishing and sleeping on the frozen water. Byers writes: "When I speak about the Northwest Passage at universities and foreign ministries around the world, the thousands of years of Inuit use and occupancy of the sea-ice is the only dimension of our legal position that resonates with non-Canadians." (Byers 2009,114)

The poll conducted to mark the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Nunavut suggests that most Canadians agree that the Inuit are an important part settling any sovereignty disputes in the North. The Ipsos Reid online poll found that 88 percent of Canadians agree that the "most important guarantee of sovereignty in the Arctic is the presence of people living there." That poll, however, also suggested that many Canadians do not know much about the disputes in the region. The poll found that 62 percent of respondents know that the United States and other countries dispute Canada's sovereignty over the Northwest Passage, but 19 percent thought the dispute was over the Hudson Strait, 13 percent thought it was over the Northeast Passage. (Ipsos 2009)

Many academics and especially Inuit say that Canada's claims of sovereignty based on Inuit being Canadian would be much stronger if Ottawa would do more to

ensure that Inuit enjoy the same living standards as their fellow citizens. (Byers 2009, 119) (Simon 2000) (Coates et al 2008, 178) The socio-economic problems Inuit face are well documented in reports that go back at least half a century, including high population growth, high unemployment, poor education and poor job opportunities. (Irwin 1989) In his report “Lords of the Arctic: Wards of the State” sociologist Colin Irwin notes that many aboriginal people in northern Canada face these problems, but they are of particular concern for Inuit who live in the most inaccessible and inhospitable region of the country. (Irwin 1989) In fact, Nunavut has the country’s highest rates of homicide, suicide and substance abuse, and its worst health, housing and education. (White1 2011)

Canada’s claim to sovereignty over the Northwest Passage is hurt by the way the country is seen to treat Inuit. The Senior Policy Adviser for the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, John Merritt, told me in an interview at his office that: “There is a graphic incongruity between the extent to which Inuit are seen as important for moving national yardsticks in the Arctic, on the other hand, Inuit suffer arguably the worst socio-economic conditions in the country. The most disturbing part is that some statistics in relation to socio-economic distresses aren’t changing, gaps aren’t closing.” (Merritt 2010) The authors of, Arctic Front: Defending Canada in the Far North, write that the socio-economic problems Inuit face undermines the credibility of Canada’s claim of the Northwest Passage since “it is not as if other countries are unaware of the hypocrisy of holding forward Inuit use and occupancy as a central component of our legal position while allowing the same people to suffer so badly.” (Coates et al 2008, 122)

In 2009 the federal government published a document laying out its strategy for the North. The Government of Canada's paper *Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future* says that the "Government of Canada has a clear vision for the North, in which: self-reliant individuals live in healthy, vital communities, manage their own affairs and shape their own destinies." (Canada 2009) The statistics about the socio-economic issues Inuit face in Nunavut presented earlier in this chapter shows this vision is far from being realized.

This section has presented a case that it is in the economic and sovereignty interests of Canadians in the South to know more about the North. Yet there is another reason why Canadian media should be doing a better job of covering the North. Canadians should feel a sense of responsibility when their fellow citizens face dire living conditions and extreme social disparity. Social responsibility and human decency should compel media organizations to do a good job of informing their readers in the South about life in Nunavut. If Canadians living in the core do not learn about Inuit through the news, it is unlikely that there will ever be the political will to invest the time, resources and energy it would take to dramatically improve quality of life for people in Nunavut.

### **Why Nunavut?**

As mentioned in the last chapter, looking at how the entire Canadian north is covered by media in the South is too large an endeavor for this thesis. For this reason the paper will focus on one of Canada's three territories. Nunavut was chosen because it is a part of Canada that is on the extreme periphery, far removed both physically and

culturally from the rest of the country. As such, it shares many parallels in terms of how it is covered with peripheral countries around the world. Coverage of small developing countries outside the core is often expensive and time consuming because of travel. This holds true for covering Nunavut from southern Canada. For example, return economy seats from Ottawa to the capital Iqaluit usually cost about \$2,000 while flights to Rankin Inlet start at \$3,000 and smaller communities such as Gjoa Haven cost more than \$3,500. A flight from Ottawa to Resolute Bay is more than \$5,500<sup>4</sup>. Language barriers are another challenge of covering peripheral countries in many parts of the world. Most people in Nunavut speak Inuktitut as their mother tongue and many have at best a limited knowledge of English.

Selling stories to Canadians about people in far off countries is difficult because there is a sense of “otherness” about the people: that is, they somehow do not carry the same news value because they are not like us. Likewise, because Inuit make up 84 percent of the population of Nunavut, there is a sense that news about *those* people is not relevant to Canadians in the South. The rare times peripheral countries like Togo, Burkina Faso or the Ivory Coast make the news is usually when something extremely bad happens, such as a major disaster, tragedy or war. For example, if a commuter train in Germany crashes and kills 20 people it would likely be front-page news in Canada, but if a train crashes in India and 20 people are killed the news would at most probably just rate a short story buried deep in the front section.

As the dispute over sovereignty illustrates, Inuit are intricately linked to Canadian interests in the North, not just on issues of sovereignty, but also in terms of

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<sup>4</sup> Prices checked on April 16<sup>th</sup> 2012 on First Air for flights leaving on May 16<sup>th</sup> and returning one week later.

resource development. (Purich 1992, 3) In the past, this development has focused primarily on meeting the needs of the South and ignoring the interests of Inuit (Purich 1992: 54 and 152). It is in the interest of Canadians in the core to understand Nunavut but this will not happen unless news organizations report on the region.

## **Conclusion**

Many of the criticisms about how southern media cover the North are similar to concerns that have been raised about how media organizations in developed countries cover less developed nations. This chapter has drawn parallels between how media in the core cover countries that are in the periphery and how media in the core of Canada cover the peripheral regions of the country. Most of the research in journalism that has been done on how journalists cover the periphery deals with covering far off countries. Using theory developed from these studies can help us to understand the patterns and shortcomings of coverage of domestic peripheries. In the past, poor coverage of areas on the periphery, such as the North, has missed out on opportunities to help build bridges and a sense of community between people in southern and northern Canada.

An argument could be made that the portrayal of Nunavut and the 33,000 people who live in it is not relevant to other Canadians and therefore stories about the territory rarely belong in southern newspapers. This chapter rejects that position and has argued that the Arctic is an important part of Canada. Natural resources, sovereignty, climate change and the plight of the residents in the North are all issues that impact people in all parts of Canada. The author of, After the Ice: Life, Death and Geopolitics in the New Arctic, supports this argument. Alun Anderson rejects the notion of the Arctic as being

a separate, distant and remote place. “Nothing could be further from reality; the Arctic is ever more entangled with the South and ever more at the mercy of decisions made elsewhere, often without the slightest consideration for the top of the world.” (Anderson 2009, 9) This *entanglement* is why many people in the North are concerned that Canadians in the South are not learning about issues and events in the North.

The next chapter will present a content analysis of three of Canada’s biggest newspapers to see how they covered a specific part of the periphery, Nunavut, in 2011.

## CHAPTER 3

### **COVERING THE PERIPHERY**

“It’s the goal of all of our reporters and editors to focus on real people - not just institutions - to show in human terms how events affect our lives.”  
The Canadian Press Stylebook (Tasko 2004, 13)

Trying to provide a complete answer to the question of what constitutes good journalism is beyond the scope of this thesis. Still, a few elements that relate to covering the periphery need to be explored in order to explain why they will be measured when conducting a content analysis of how *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* covered Nunavut in 2011. This chapter will discuss one of the key elements that goes into the best storytelling: putting a human face on the news in order to allow readers to feel as if they are connecting with the people at the heart of issues.

#### **Boots on the ground**

As discussed in Chapter 2, in his essay *Where in the World is Africa?* Guy Golan proposed four variables that can be used to predict news flow from the periphery to the core. They are deviance, relevance, cultural affinity and the prominence of the nation within the hierarchy of nations. (Golan 2008, 44) One factor that does not fit into Golan’s four variables but seems to have a big influence on whether a story from a peripheral region is to make the news in the core is whether or not non-local journalists are present in a country that may or may not be covered. In his essay *All Countries Not Created Equal to be News: World System and International Communication*, T.K. Chang argues that the more foreign correspondents a country hosts, the more likely that

country is to command foreign media attention abroad. He cites Washington, D.C as an example, which he says is home to more foreign journalists than anywhere else in the world (Chang 1998, 536). The opposite must also be true, that is, the fewer foreign correspondents a country hosts, the less likely it is to make the news abroad. In a Canadian context, the fewer correspondents from the South who are based in a remote region such as Nunavut, the fewer the stories that will be reported from the territory in the core. If this is true, then Nunavut is far less likely to make the news in Vancouver than a story that happens in Toronto. There are many journalists in Toronto who write for Postmedia, which owns Vancouver's two main newspapers (the *Vancouver Sun* and *Province*), but Postmedia does not have anyone based in Iqaluit. For that matter, neither do any of the other big southern newspapers. Even the Canadian Press, which touts itself as being "unmatched for its breadth and timeliness" when it comes to news in Canada, does not have anyone posted in Nunavut.

In their essay *Circulation of Newspaper News Within Canada* H.G. Kariel and L.A. Rosenvall seem to agree with the notion that the fewer foreign correspondents a country hosts, the less likely it is to make the news abroad. They write that an event not observed by a correspondent is like the sound of a tree falling in the forest when no one is present: "as far as man is concerned, it may as well not have happened." (Kariel & Rosenvall 1978, 87) Tony Harcup and Deirdre O'Neill raise this point in their essay *What is News? Galtung and Ruge Revisited*. They argue it is wrong to think of journalists as merely reporting on events. The British authors write: "News is not out there, journalists do not report news, they produce news. They construct it, they construct facts, and they construct a context in which these facts make sense. They

reconstruct ‘a’ reality.” (Harcup and O’Neill 2001, 265) News does sometimes just happen because of deviance. The 2010 tsunami in Japan is an example of this but often news has to be produced. In peripheral countries and peripheral regions of Canada, if there are no journalists from the core on the ground then news is rarely reported or produced.

There were many stories that I filed from India that only made the news in Canada because I was there working as a reporter. For example, when the Dalai Lama visited Canada in 2004 most news organizations covered his three-week visit from the moment His Holiness landed in Vancouver until the moment he flew out of Toronto. As a result, almost all of the coverage was told from the Dalai Lama’s point of view. I was able to offer something else because I was in India where I could *produce* news, that is, *construct* stories that gave Canadians different perspectives and more in-depth take on the news. I did a radio documentary for the CBC program The Current that showed there were Tibetans who opposed the Dalai Lama’s so-called Middle Way approach of seeking autonomy for Tibet within China. The story was about a man who had spent most of his adult life fighting for a free Tibet. He started in the 1960s with CIA-trained guerrilla fighters launching attacks against Chinese troops from a base in Nepal. Later he shared his passion with young Tibetans living in the unofficial capital of the exile community in Northern India. The story allowed Canadians to hear from Tibetans who feel the Dalai Lama has sold them out by giving up on Tibet’s claim to independence. The voices of Tibetans calling for the use of violence helped dispel the myth that all Tibetans are peace-loving monks completely committed to non-violence. It was a far different story than what you would usually get in Canadian news about the

Tibetan freedom struggle. It would not have aired except for the fact that a Canadian journalist was living in India.

Chang points out what journalists and most readers know, that “coups, earthquakes, civil unrest, and other social disturbances are often the staple of news in the West about the rest.” (Chang 1998, 535) These types of stories fall into Golan’s variable of “deviance,” which he argues is a high predictor of when stories from the periphery make the news. (Golan 2008, 46) This resonates with my experience of working in India as a freelancer for CBC Radio, TV and online, as well as for *The Globe and Mail*. On occasions when there was major breaking news in India, almost always of a deviant nature, I would get a call from the news desks in Toronto. Examples of these kind of stories include: in 2004 when dozens of children died in a fire at a school because the doors were locked from the outside; in 2003 when more than 30 people were killed in a terrorist attack in Mumbai; and in 2004 when major flooding forced hundreds of thousands of people to leave their homes. I would turn these stories around as quickly as possible. Sometimes this meant delivering the story within the hour for radio news broadcasts, but always on the same day that the story occurred. The stories were reactionary in nature and provided little insight into the community or culture of India. They were sensational stories that took advantage of having video of a tragic, devastating, and/or violent incident. The disaster-type stories were in many ways the easiest to do and received the most attention. There were a couple of occasions when there was a big breaking news story in India that I led CBC Radio’s World Report at 6 p.m. CBC TV’s *The National* and then had the front page of *The Globe and Mail* the following morning. On the other hand, broadcast, print and

online feature stories were an opportunity to share insight into Indian culture with viewers and readers in Canada.

Selling stories to news organizations in the core was harder when there was no deviance involved. In order to generate work, I regularly pitched feature stories to my editors in Toronto. In television news a feature story is different from a news story in that it goes into more depth. While a TV news story often runs a maximum of two-minutes and would contain less than 350 words, a feature story generally runs anywhere up to five minutes, while a mini-documentary can run more than ten. The extra time in those stories allows a journalist to present a deeper and more complete story to viewers. Good feature stories also allow the journalist to develop a character that viewers can connect with, that is, provide human interest. The longer stories can be far more informative, engaging, relevant, powerful and memorable. From India I would pitch feature stories that I thought would interest CBC TV's audience. News editors would often commission these stories because they could see that the pieces would interest many Canadians, but without me on the ground to gather and tell those stories they would never be reported on Canadian television.

A news story generally just gives viewers news about an event that just happened or the latest in an ongoing story. This quick overview of a story or issue leaves the viewer to turn to other sources for more information. Likewise, a print news story generally give readers the most important details about an event that has just happened, for example a train crash or floods. A feature print story would go into more depth. For example, a feature story could look at the state of the railway industry in India, looking at safety issues and focusing on one or a few commuters who depend of

trains every day. Longer stories allow for more depth. For this reason, the length of story is important and the content analysis will measure how many words are in each of the stories about Nunavut.

Traditionally foreign correspondents base themselves in a city that allows them to cover a country or region. From New Delhi a journalist often covers all of South Asia, and from Beijing a CBC reporter covers much of Asia. In his paper *Looking Forward The Future of Foreign Correspondence*, Serge Schmemmann argues that: “without direction from a trusted interpreter of events on the ground, someone very much like a traditional foreign correspondent, will anyone know to look? Will anyone care?” (Schmemmann 2010) Schmemmann argues that foreign correspondents serve the purpose of explaining a foreign culture to readers back home through in-depth features. This is the role a journalist from southern Canada could play by spending a significant amount of time in the North. When a news organization does not have a correspondent based in a country or region where there is a major story, one will often be flown in. For example, when the Boxing Day tsunami of 2004 killed more than 200,000 people in South and Southeast Asia, the CBC sent James Murray to the Indonesian province of Aceh to cover the story. This is often referred to as parachute journalism. While Murray spent weeks in Indonesia reporting on the aftermath of the tsunami, journalists sometimes just parachute in for a number of hours. In 2011 while I was covering the reaction of the Tunisian community in Montreal to the protests in Tunisia that overthrew that country’s government, an Al Jazeera English correspondent flew up from Washington, D.C. to film a standup for the story. Other than that 15-second piece

of our story, the reporter could have stayed in D.C. The thinking in the industry is that it looks better to have a reporter on the ground where the story is taking place.

Parachute journalism is also happening in the North, where, as previously mentioned, no major southern newspaper has a bureau. CP ended its brief experiment with a Yellowknife bureau in the 1980s, as did the Edmonton Journal. For a time, the Globe and Mail ran a Yukon column on its “Nation” page every second Saturday, but the column was cancelled in 1985, “along with columns from other remote areas of Canada, as a cost-cutting measure.” (Alia 1999, 31) Many southern journalists usually report on the North by phone. (Iwanek 2012)

A measure of parachute journalism is the dateline. Making note of the dateline will show if the story was written from the North or by a journalist in the South using a telephone and Internet. The dateline of stories will be examined while conducting the content analysis of the three southern newspapers’ coverage of Nunavut in 2011. It is expected that the content analysis will reveal that the vast majority of the stories about Nunavut that appear in Canada’s biggest newspapers were written by reporters based in the South. In other words, journalists who live and work in big cities are covering the periphery from the core without ever, or only rarely, traveling to the area they are writing about. It is anticipated the content analysis will reveal a spike in the number of stories reported from Nunavut in late August 2011 when Prime Minister Stephen Harper made his annual trip to the North just days after a plane crash killed 12 people in a remote community that the Prime Minister was planning to visit.

### **The need to humanize stories**

One of the major drawbacks of reporting on the North from the South is that it is hard to put a human face on stories when you are not on the ground. Covering a story about a new mine opening in the North from the South is easy if the journalist only wants to report on the numbers involved and talk to the CEO or a spokesperson from the company. The story, however, will be much more memorable and informative if the journalist can find people on the ground who will be affected by the new mine. For example, someone whose life could be turned around because of a well-paid job the mine will provide them with, or someone who might lose an important source of food and piece of their cultural legacy because of how the mine impacts local hunting.

The Canadian Press recognizes the importance of telling stories through real people. The agency's statement of principles says: "context and perspective are fundamental parts of the CP report. It's the goal of all of our reporters and editors to focus on real people - not just institutions - to show in human terms how events affect our lives." (Tasko 2004, 13) As mentioned earlier, unfortunately the CP does not have a reporter based in Nunavut. As a journalism student at the University of King's College, I was taught to humanize stories, that is, to find people who are directly affected by the issue or event the story is about. This is something I now teach to my students because I think it is the best way to make sure stories have an impact on readers, listeners and viewers. When teaching students to produce feature stories for TV news I encourage them to use the small to tell a story about the big. For example, when telling a story about the high suicide rates in some Inuit communities journalists need to go beyond just presenting statistics. It would be better to tell a small story. A

viewer is far more likely to remember and care about the high rates of suicide in Nunavut if, rather than just reporting that the rates are more than ten times higher than the rest of Canada, the viewer is told about the impact of one person committing suicide. The journalist should put a human face on the issue by telling the viewer about a parent whose child committed suicide, the way the tragedy is now destroying a marriage, and how the suicide has left their other child depressed because he feels responsible for the death of his younger brother. In this way a viewer is far more likely to remember and care about the high rates of suicide in Nunavut. People do not feel attached to or compassion for statistics, but regardless of the colour of someone's skin, what part of the world they are from or the language they speak, everyone can feel for someone who loses a child or sibling to suicide.

The president of national Inuit organization Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Mary Simon, says this type of reporting on the North for the South is uncommon. "I often hear up North: how come we never got to be part of these stories? We are the experts of the North." (Iwanek 2012) The content analysis of *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post's* coverage of Nunavut in 2011 will examine the type of voices used in the stories. It will measure who is quoted in the story. For example, the content analysis will measure the number of times a company official, politician, analyst and resident are quoted in a story. The results are expected to show that there are more people in the North quoted in the newspaper stories when southern journalists write their stories from the North and few, if any, when journalists write their reports while sitting at a desk in the South.

## **From new hope to bumping the Arctic beat**

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, until a few years ago, the coverage of the North from the South had long since been cut to what could be described as minimal. The few southern journalists that were on the ground in the North were flown out. The Canadian Press, *Edmonton Journal* and Global TV had all closed their bureaus in the North by the time Nunavut was created in 1999. In 1984, *The Globe and Mail* cancelled its northern column that was predominantly about the Yukon and no longer has a reporter stationed in the North. (Iwanek 2012) The *Toronto Star*, like other southern papers, covered the North by telephone and occasional visits. That changed in 2009.

That year the *Toronto Star* decided to make covering the Arctic a higher priority. It was an initiative that was launched by one former reporter who was ready to return to Canada. Paul Watson is Canada's only Pulitzer Prize winner. He won the Spot News Photography award in 1994 for a photograph he took while covering Somalia's civil war for the *Toronto Star*. The photo showed a United States air force helicopter pilot's body being dragged by Somalis through the streets of Mogadishu. Watson's work at the *Star* earned him several national newspaper awards. He left the *Toronto Star* to join *The Los Angeles Times* as its South Asia bureau chief and then Southeast Asia bureau chief. His 2007 memoir Where War Lives won the Drummer General's Award.

In 2009 Watson approached the *Toronto Star* and proposed basing himself in Vancouver and creating a new beat. He became the paper's first Arctic – Aboriginal correspondent. The *Star's* national assignment editor at the time was Tim Harper. He says the idea was for Watson to provide coverage of an important part of Canada that

was being largely ignored by all of Canada's major newspapers. Watson's first story ran on July 28, 2009 and led off with:

“With this report, Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist PAUL WATSON returns to THE STAR and launches a challenging new beat. Watson becomes the world's first multimedia journalist covering the planet's NEW FRONTIER, THE ARCTIC, at a time when nations rush to stake their claims there and Ottawa aggressively fights back to protect our land.”

Some people in the North ridiculed the idea. The editor of Nunavut's biggest newspaper, the *Nunatsiaq News*, wrote a blog with the headline: “The Toronto Star Discovers the ‘Arctic.’” Jim Bell described Watson's first story as being not “nearly as bad as I might have feared” but Bell was critical of the *Toronto Star's* team in Toronto supporting Watson. Bell wrote: “The Star, despite its bloated staff and enormous cash flow, has never bothered to provide regular coverage of the three territories. Arctic issues are fashionable — for now — but the Star has no institutional knowledge with which to understand them.” (Bell 2009)

Despite the concerns of Bell and many other northerners, Watson's approach to covering the Arctic as if it were a foreign country produced many interesting feature stories. He was only with the *Toronto Star* for the last five months of 2009 but he managed to write a dozen stories from the North, including at least seven from Nunavut. Watson also wrote two stories from Vancouver about the North. Watson's stories about the North demonstrated high quality journalism by giving Canadians insight into the people, places and issues that are important to the territory and the country. The articles are written in such a way that they not only educate readers but also engage them. This is accomplished by humanizing the story, for example, building the article around one person rather than only relying on statistics. The stories are relevant to people across

Canada. Watson reported from several communities in Nunavut, including Gjoa Haven, Grise Fiord and Iqaluit. The stories covered a wide range of issues such as the high cost of transporting food to remote communities, the state of polar bears and the legacy of the federal government's treatment of the people known as the High Arctic Exiles. In his stories Watson included a diverse range of voices, including: an artist in Grise Fiord who makes work about the exiles, a young mother who finds it hard to feed her family healthy food because of the high cost of products imported from the South, and a man who faces challenges from climate change as he tries to preserve Inuit tradition of hunting by dog sled. These are real people who *Toronto Star* readers would be able to relate to and care about.

The range of voices is one of the strengths of Watson's stories and something that the content analysis is expected to show is often missing from the articles about Nunavut written from the core. People in the South reading Watson's articles learned about community and culture of fellow Canadians in the North. This kind of journalism can help to build bridges and a sense of community within Canada, between people in the North and people in the South.

Watson's beat allowed him to travel to the North rather than trying to report from the South. He was able to stay in the northern communities to try to earn the trust of local residents before tackling hard-hitting stories. He wrote three stories in 2009 about the High Arctic Exiles; Inuit who were relocated about 2,000 kilometres from their homes to two uninhabited locations in the Far North. As explained in Chapter 2, the Exiles were sent to help Canada strengthen its sovereignty claims in the Arctic. Watson's assignment editor at the time says the stories about the High Arctic Exiles

were some of his best work on the Arctic-Aboriginal beat. Tim Harper calls them “fabulous pieces.” “I thought he gave us exactly what he told us he would and I thought he did it in just a marvelous fashion and he was providing coverage that no other newspaper in the country could boast.” Harper says by allowing Watson to spend many days, and sometimes weeks in different communities, he could often avoid being seen as a southerner who did not know or care about the community he was covering. Harper says it takes awhile to gain the trust of local residents and to have people embrace you as someone to whom they can speak openly. Martha Flaherty, who was only five when her family relocated to Grise Fiord in the high Arctic, went back with Watson to tell her story. She says she was impressed with him. “We go through a lot of pain. We go through a lot of problems, but we also have a lot of beauty and people don’t see that when they don’t go up there.” “He’s seen the beauty of it.” (Iwanek 2012)

There are many benefits to the approach Watson took of covering the Arctic as a foreign country. These include his ability to get away from the usual short, shallow stories that could be told from the South. Instead Watson produced moving and educational stories about people living in the North, stories that could only be gathered by being on the ground. The *Star’s* former national editor Tim Harper says news from the periphery is often covered as “a novelty, sort of a shiny object like wow, look at this.” He says Watson was able get away from this and provide in-depth stories.

There are drawbacks to this type of coverage, most notably the cost. The *Star* devoted about \$150,000, excluding salary, for Watson to cover the North. This is comparable to the cost for the *Star* to run its foreign bureaus, but up to five times more expensive than other national bureaus in Canada. (Iwanek 2012) That is a lot of money

in an industry that has seen its revenues drop dramatically in recent years. The *Edmonton Journal's* Ed Struzik has been reporting on the North for more than 30 years and used to be sent up there once or twice a year, but his paper no longer has the budget to send him. (Iwanek 2012)

Although Watson was the Arctic-Aboriginal correspondent, starting in 2010 he made many trips to Afghanistan to cover Canada's combat mission. The *Toronto Star's* former national editor, Tim Harper, says it made sense for Watson to go: "As the countdown was going on to the Canadian combat troops exiting Afghanistan we wanted to ramp up our coverage there and here's a seasoned foreign correspondent, a Pulitzer prize winner on our staff who had been there before and knows his way around and is fabulous at that kind of work." As Watson spent more time in Afghanistan, he had less time to devote to Arctic coverage. In 2009 he did not write any stories about Afghanistan for the *Toronto Star*. In 2010 he wrote 17 about Afghanistan and in 2011 that number rose to 22. During that time the number of stories Watson wrote about the North declined. Although he only worked for the *Star* for five months in 2009 he wrote 14 stories about the North. In all of 2010 that number was only 11 and in 2011 it dropped to nine, including three stories from Russia. In the fall of 2011 the *Toronto Star* changed Watson's title from Arctic-Aboriginal correspondent to foreign affairs columnist. A portion of his time will still be spent in the circumpolar region, but he'll divide his time between even more countries around the world. (Iwanek 2012)

By splitting his time between the Arctic, Afghanistan and his family in Vancouver, Watson has left himself open to criticism from journalists who live in the North. *Nunatsiaq News* editor Jim Bell says this arrangement makes the *Star* look like

it is not serious about covering the region. The senior editor of the northern magazine *Up Here*, Katharine Sandiford, says that while Watson has become a trusted voice for his reporting, the fact that no southern newspaper has a correspondent in the North fulltime “baffles me.” (Iwanek 2012)

The *Toronto Star* has chosen to change the focus of Watson’s beat, but the reporting he did from the North from 2009 – 2011 is worth considering. There are many things that can be learned from how Watson covered the region.

Former *Toronto Star* national editor Tim Harper agrees that southern papers would benefit from doing more reporting from the North. He says it is a strategically important, resource rich part of Canada and that as an editor he was happy to have Watson covering the region: “I was absolutely delighted to have copy flowing in to me from someone who has actually spent enough time up there to understand enough to write with some depth and some context.” Harper acknowledges Watson’s Arctic-Aboriginal beat posed challenges beyond the cost. For one thing, people in the newsroom at times grew impatient with the amount of time it took Watson to produce each story. Harper knew it would take longer to get stories out of small communities in the North because “logistically it’s an extremely difficult place to cover.” It took Watson long periods of time to set up interviews, travel to remote destinations and hope that he did not get snowed in. Harper says people in the *Star*’s newsroom in Toronto were sometimes more interested in getting a quick story for the next day’s paper rather than a more in-depth story that would take longer to produce. Harper says another challenge as Watson’s editor was finding the space in the newspaper to print the stories that often ran more than 1,500 words. The former national editor says he had to constantly fight

for space even though, in his words, “the *Star* is probably as good or if not better at providing space in their weekend editions than any other paper.” Harper says this struggle to find space to run longer stories is just part of life at newspapers.

As the *Toronto Star*'s National Affairs columnist, Tim Harper is no longer responsible for running the national news desk. He hopes the paper continues to focus on the North, but he acknowledges coverage may continue to drop off. Harper says: “We often jump on a hobby horse for a while and then tire of it and move on to some other area that is underreported.” (Iwanek 2012) For his part, Watson says he has not come close to what he wanted to do with his Arctic beat. He says he wants to keep covering the region, but he admits that it would be easy to let it slip away. “No one’s going to notice, no one’s going to wail and say, ‘How dare you not cover Canada’s North?’” (Iwanek 2012)

## **Conclusion**

Watson’s Arctic beat started off strongly, but appears to have at least for now lost some momentum. For most people who want to see more coverage of the North in southern newspapers it was encouraging that the *Toronto Star* assigned Canada’s only Pulitzer Prize winning journalist to the job, but the fact that Watson now spends more time in Afghanistan than the Arctic is not a promising sign. His beat made it possible for the country’s newspaper with the biggest circulation to have boots on the ground in the North a significant amount of time. This in turn made it possible for Watson to put a human face on stories that reached hundreds of thousands of people in the Canadian

core. The next chapter will provide a content analysis of how *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* covered Nunavut in 2011.

## CHAPTER 4

### **NUNAVUT IN THE BIG THREE**

“The Star, despite its bloated staff and enormous cash flow, has never bothered to provide regular coverage of the three territories. Arctic issues are fashionable – for now – but the Star has no institutional knowledge with which to understand them. And they have no way of appreciating that the Arctic is a place full of people, people who work, love and suffer, people who worry about how to pay next month’s bills and how to feed their children and keep them healthy.” Jim Bell, *Nunatsiaq News* (Bell 2009)

Ask people in Nunavut how their territory is portrayed in southern Canada and you’ll find no shortage of people offering criticism. As noted in Chapter 1, complaints include that people from the North are left out of stories about the North; that for the most part the only times the North is covered in southern newspapers are in times of crisis; that most people in the South know very little about the North; and that the lack of coverage of non-deviance issues means there is little political will in the South to take action to address the needs of people in the North. In a 2009 poll by the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, the organization that is the national voice of Canada’s 55,000 Inuit, Canadians scored an average of 64 percent in answering 20 true or false questions about the Arctic. The survey found only seven percent of Canadians have been to the Canadian Arctic and only six percent strongly agreed when asked if they were “generally aware of the realities of life for Inuit in the Canadian Arctic.” (ITK 2009)

This should come as little surprise considering that, as highlighted in Chapter 2, news flow studies in recent decades have found that the North rarely makes the news in the Canadian core. Through a content analysis of coverage by *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* in 2011, this chapter will analyze what stories

Canada's biggest newspapers are covering in the North and how they are gathering the news. The chapter will explain the methodology that will be used for the content analysis, present the findings and then discuss the results.

## **Methodology**

In order to understand how Canada's biggest newspapers cover Nunavut we need to measure how much and what type of coverage they devoted to the territory. A quantitative analysis of the newspapers will be done to accomplish this. In their book, Empirical Political Analysis: Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods, the authors define content analysis as "a systematic counting, assessing and interpreting of the form and substance of communication." (Manheim et al. 2008, 180) This paper will focus on a quantitative analysis of the newspaper content as opposed to a qualitative one. These raw numbers will reveal statistical details about how Nunavut is covered. Combining this with information gathered from speaking with the journalists who do the reporting should provide insight into some of the best and worst practices of the way southern journalists cover the North. In their paper: "*Analyzing Newspaper Content: A How-To Guide*," Stacy Lynch and Limor Peer describe two types of content one can measure: "latent" and "manifest." Manifest refers to concrete things that can be pointed to in the text of the story, for example, how many different people are quoted. Latent content does not have those same concrete cues and is usually a result of more subtle things, for example, in measuring writing style it might be hard to point to a specific word or sentence that makes a story "lively." (Lynch and Peer 2002, 5) The content analysis in this chapter will focus on what Lynch and Peer call manifest content.

The goal of this specific content analysis is to measure how *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* covered Nunavut in 2011. *The Globe and Mail* and *National Post* were selected because they promote themselves as national newspapers. The *Toronto Star* was picked because it has the highest readership of any Canadian newspaper and because it is the most widely read paper in the nation's financial capital Toronto, arguably *the* core of Canada. The *Star* was also chosen because for much of 2011 it had a correspondent officially dedicated to covering the Arctic.

This content analysis will not include newspapers in the North. There are some well-respected newspapers and magazines aimed at people in the North. The *Nunatsiaq News* is a weekly paper based in Iqaluit and covers Nunavut. The Northern News Services publishes seven different weekly newspapers to serve communities across the North. The *Whitehorse Star* is published five days a week. The *Yukon News* is published twice a week and is distributed throughout the territory. *Up Here* magazine is based in Yellowknife and bills itself as “the flagship magazine of Canada's North, exalting, exploring and examining the Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut and related Northern areas for a national and international audience curious and passionate about the region.” CBC North airs radio programming in more than half-a-dozen aboriginal languages, including Inuktitut. CBC North has different broadcasts in each of the three territories.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze how television and radio stations covered the territory in 2011. Archives for news coverage of Canadian TV channels such as the CBC, CTV and Global are much harder to access than archives for the three

newspapers selected for this study. It would be interesting to analyze how the Canadian TV channels covered Nunavut in 2011 and compare them to the results of the content analysis conducted for this paper, but again, it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

While it might be interesting to compare how *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* covered other peripheries within Canada in 2011, conducting several more content analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. Likewise, doing a complete content analysis of how Nunavut was covered by online news organizations is beyond the research parameters of this paper.

Regularly accessing these news sources online would give someone living in the Canadian core a great deal of insight into lives of people in the North and the issues that affect them. Looking at the news sources infrequently might only succeed in turning people off of their interest in the North, because the news stories are aimed at a Northern audience and presume a certain minimum level of knowledge about the North. Finding a way to definitively establish the frequency and duration of consumption by people in the South of northern stories is beyond the scope of this paper. Still, given how little Canadians in the South feel like they know about the North, it is safe to assume that many of them are not searching online to find stories about the region. In chapter six of her book, Un/Covering the North, Valerie Alia uses a content analysis of stories about the North to compare news coverage in *The Globe and Mail* and two northern newspapers in 1991-1992. (Alia 1999, 140-159) This thesis, however, explores how the core covers the periphery so news outlets in the North will not be included in the content analysis.

The fact that there is not an abundance of stories about Nunavut in *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* allows the sample range of the content analysis to spread over a relatively long period of time. A 12-month period was used for the content analysis. To keep things current and simple, the last full calendar year prior to the writing of this paper was selected, that is, 2011. Any story that mentions Nunavut that appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* in 2011 was considered in this content analysis.

No matter how well a coding system is set up, ultimately all content analysis depends on human judgments about communication content. (Manheim et al. 2008, 191) This raises issues of consistency in measuring content, issues that can become problematic when more than one person is involved in the coding. (Deacon et al. 1999, 128) For these reasons, the author of this paper conducted all of the content analyses to decrease the risk of coding inconsistencies.

The choice of what source to use for counting the three newspapers also raises issues. The papers publish different editions with different content in various parts of the country. As a result, a hardcopy of an issue of *The Globe and Mail* in Toronto might contain fewer stories about the North than a copy of the same day's paper in Vancouver. After manually going through hardcopies of the Ottawa edition of more than 30 days worth of *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* it became clear that completing 12 months worth of papers would take many weeks. For these reasons an electronic database was used to conduct the search for articles about Nunavut. Many Canadian universities, including Carleton, subscribe to a ProQuest database called "Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies." The date range of January 1,

2011 to December 31, 2011 was used to search each newspaper for any story containing the word “Nunavut.” The search resulted in 145 findings for *The Globe and Mail*, 57 for the *Toronto Star* and 132 for the *National Post*. From these totals the following types of stories were rejected from the count: stories under 200 words long because those are essentially briefs; letters to the editor; opinion pieces, editorials, columns and stories that had virtually nothing to do with Nunavut, but simply mentioned it once in the story. For example, on March 19, 2011 *The Globe and Mail* ran a story about nominations for the National Pictures of the Year Awards. A picture that was taken in the Nunavut community of Cape Dorset received a brief mention in the story that had nothing to do with Nunavut and everything to do with *The Globe and Mail* trying to draw attention to the recognition of the excellence of some of its photographers. In the end there were 39 stories to analyze from *The Globe and Mail*, 37 from the *National Post* and 19 from the *Toronto Star*.

There are a number of downsides to relying on an electronic database as highlighted by Deacon et. al in the latest version of their book, Researching Communications: A Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis. (Deacon et al. 2007, 134) For one thing, many digital news archives, including ProQuest, only store news content in textual form and exclude visual aspects of news presentation. ProQuest sometimes offers a textual description of pictures that accompany articles in the newspapers, but there is no way to judge the size of the picture or get a sense if there were graphics such as maps or charts to accompany the stories. For this reason this content analysis will not include looking at the visuals in stories about Nunavut.

In analyzing *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post*'s coverage of Nunavut in 2011 the following details will be recorded:

1. Date of publication
2. Page and section the story appeared in
3. Reporter
4. Headline
5. Length of the story
6. Dateline
7. Main issue dealt with in the story
8. The type of people who are quoted in the story

These categories will now be explained in more detail. The page and section that the story appeared in is relevant because it gives insight into how much attention the editors think the story deserves. The research will note if the story appeared on the front page of the front section or the business section, on another page of the front or business section, or in a different part of the newspaper.

The name of the reporter will be noted so that we can see how often any one reporter writes about Nunavut and find out how many different reporters based in the South are writing about the northern territory.

As touched on earlier, the length of the story is significant because it reflects how much space the article deserves. A story that runs five hundred words will generally give a reader far less information about and insight into an issue that is dealt with in a story that is more than 2,000 words. A story that is less than 200 words will not be counted in the content analysis because it is considered a news brief rather than a

story. Ideally the length of the stories about Nunavut would be compared to the average length of all stories in each newspaper, but calculating the statistic for *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* is beyond the scope of this paper.

The dateline of each story will be tracked to see if the story was written from the North or the South. For stories from the South the research will track the city in which the story was reported. For stories from the North the research will count how many stories were done from Iqaluit and how many from other towns and hamlets outside of the territorial capital. The significance of reporters actually travelling to the place where the story took place was discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

The main issue dealt with in each story will be recorded. The issue headings used to sort the content are: resources, climate change, sovereignty, socio-economic, deviance, politics, travel/tourism, arts and entertainment, light human interest, food, obituaries and other. These first five categories were chosen because they were the ones I thought would be the most common issues dealt with in the newspaper articles. My opinion here was based on having researched Nunavut and followed the territory in the news for 18 months. The other categories were added on as the content analysis was conducted and it became clear that some issues were being repeatedly covered in the newspaper articles. Most of the categories are self-explanatory. Light human interest is a category used for soft feature stories such as the search to find the wrecks from the Franklin expedition. The results of the analysis of what issues were dealt with in the articles will provide insight into how many stories are written for a southern audience and how many are meant to serve people living in the North. For example, stories about

resources are generally written to benefit a southern audience by giving readers in the core information that might influence investment decisions.

When stories about socio-economic challenges that people in Nunavut face appear in southern newspapers, they can accomplish two things: 1) reinforce stereotypes about northerners, or 2) try to create political will in the South to do something to help people in the North. These stories are more likely to have been written with some concern for northerners in mind.

There will be a category to count the number of stories in which the primary issue is deviance, for example, conflict, a natural disaster, a plane crash or a murder. As mentioned earlier, these are the type of stories from the periphery that are often reported in the core. The crisis coverage places little emphasis on analysis, thereby giving readers little insight into the local community or culture that the story emerges from. (Kariel and Rosenvall 1995, 15)

The final category that will be measured in the content analysis is the type of people who are quoted in each story. The sub-categories will include company spokespersons, politicians, analysts, residents and local non-government organizations. Tracking the results of this category will allow analysis of how the news was gathered and its scope. Stories written from newsrooms based largely on news releases provided by private companies will often only quote people who work for a specific company, and sometimes include a comment from an analyst or academic. It would seem likely that stories in which residents are quoted would be more successful in humanizing stories. If it turns out that residents are frequently quoted in stories written from the South, it would be worthwhile to ask reporters how they are managing to connect with

Nunavummiut who live more than 1,000 kilometers from where the journalist is writing the story.

There are several things the content analysis is expected to reveal because of events that occurred in 2011. First, that there were a lot of stories at the beginning of 2011 about the bidding war between Nunavut Iron Ore Acquisition Inc. and ArcelorMittal to take over Baffinland Iron Mines Corp. and about that company's rights to mine the huge iron ore deposits at Mary River in Nunavut. Second, one can expect to see stories in April about the territory ahead of the federal election in Canada held on May 2. Third, the analysis is expected to show a spike in stories about Nunavut in *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* at the end of August when Prime Minister Stephen Harper made his annual visit to the North. Journalists travel with the Prime Minister during this trip, reducing two of the biggest impediments of reporting stories from the North: travel costs and time. The end of August 2011 was a relatively busy time for stories from Nunavut because on top of Stephen Harper's trip there was a plane crash in the territory that killed 12 of the 15 people on board. This story was widely reported in the South.

Any time a content analysis is done there is a risk that the time period chosen will have events in it that skew the results. For example, in the content analysis Valerie Alia did in her book, Un/Covering the North, the mine disaster in Yellowknife that occurred in September 1992 exaggerated the attention southern media paid to northern events. (Alia 1999, 144) I would argue that over a 12-month period the take over of a mining company and a small plane crash will not result in findings that would be significantly different from other years. In general many of the stories about the North

focus on resources, and in recent years there have also been relatively big deviance stories that have caused a spike in coverage, for example, the series of gun violence in Cape Dorset in 2010. (CBC3 2010) While Patrick White's story for *The Globe and Mail* in April 2011 was unusual in terms of its length and depth of coverage, it is only one story and therefore only has a tiny impact in the results of the content analysis. Even in the case of Valerie Alia when there was clearly a major spike in coverage due to the mine disaster, she argued that coverage from 1992 did reveal typical coverage. "Northern and indigenous people receive coverage in "mainstream" media primarily in times of crisis, a point borne out by the study, which encompasses coverage before, during and after the explosion." (Alia 1999, 144)

While the findings from a content analysis do not offer much opportunity to explore texts in order to develop ideas and insights, findings can be used to qualify or refute questions the researcher poses. (Deacon 1999, 117) In order to analyze how Nunavut is being covered in the Canadian core, the following hypotheses will be tested through a content analysis of *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post*.

- 1 Hypothesis: By covering Nunavut from the South most stories are written by reporters in the South without travelling to the North.
- 2 Hypothesis: By covering Nunavut from the South almost all stories are about the issues that most directly impact people in the South (sovereignty, resources, climate change) while other issues are largely ignored.
- 3 Hypothesis: By covering Nunavut from the South the majority of the stories that get reported from the territory that do not fall into the three issues above are tragedy and disaster stories, much like coverage of the foreign periphery; e.g. a small plane crash in Nunavut gets lots of coverage while housing issues, education and health issues receive little coverage.

- 4 Hypothesis: By covering Nunavut from the South journalists miss the human element of the story, because they are less likely to speak to people who live in the North.

## Findings

This section will present the findings from the content analysis of articles about Nunavut in *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star* in 2011. The following section will discuss the significance and implications of the findings. After stories that mentioned Nunavut only in passing were excluded, over the course of one year, the three papers combined ran 95 stories about Nunavut. As table 4.1 shows, *The Globe and Mail* ran 39 stories, the *National Post* 37 and the *Toronto Star* 19. About one-quarter of the stories were less than 500 words long, and just over 80 percent of the stories were under 1,000 words. Only six stories were 1,500 words or more in length, including a 7,524-word feature story by *The Globe and Mail's* Patrick White that covered seven full pages in the Focus section. Only four stories, nine percent, were more than 2,000 words in length. That is in stark contrast to the seven stories Paul Watson wrote about Nunavut in 2009 for the *Toronto Star* that were all very close to or longer than 2,000 words.

Table 4.1 Length of stories from 2011

Length	Total	Globe and Mail	National Post	Toronto Star
<b>200 - 500 words</b>	25	8	13	4
<b>500 - 1,000</b>	52	22	19	11
<b>1,000 – 1,500</b>	12	6	4	2
<b>1,500 – 2,000</b>	2	1	1	0
<b>More than 2,000</b>	4	2	0	2

As table 4.2 shows, stories about Nunavut made the front page of the three newspapers 12 times in 2011. That means 13 percent of all of the stories about Nunavut published by the newspapers appeared on the front page. Overall, about 20 percent of the stories appeared in the business sections. In the *Toronto Star* that number drops to about five percent.

Table 4.2 Section stories ran in during 2011

Section	Total	Globe and Mail		National Post		Toronto Star	
		# stories	% coverage	#	% coverage	#	% coverage
<b>Front page</b>	12	2	5	6	16	4	21
Front section	50	21	54	19	51	10	53
<b>Business front page</b>	5	3	8	1	3	1	5
Business section	14	4	10	10	26	0	0
<b>Entertainment/review</b>	6	3	8	0	0	3	16
Travel	3	3	8	0	0	0	0
<b>Obituaries</b>	1	1	3	0	0	0	0
Sports	1	0	0	1	3	0	0
<b>Focus</b>	2	2	5	0	0	0	0
Other	1	0	0	0	0	1	5

This could be a result of the increased focus that *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* put toward covering business news, or at least in covering Nunavut as a business story. Overall, 65 percent of the stories about Nunavut appeared in the front section, 20 percent in the business section, and the other 15 percent of stories ran in Entertainment, Travel, Sports and other sections. The discussion section of this chapter will go into more details about the type of stories that appeared on the front pages.

The content analysis recorded the dateline of each story to get a sense of how many stories were reported from Nunavut and how many were reported from the South. As Table 4.3 shows, almost 85 percent of the stories were gathered by reporters more than 1,000 kilometers away from Nunavut. The dateline for 75 of the 95 stories was

Toronto or Ottawa. These two cities are part of the Canadian core where most of the writers for *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star* are based. Only 14 stories about Nunavut were written from the territory. Of these stories, four were written by other news organizations, including the *Nunatsiaq News*, Canadian Press and Reuters. The role of other media outlets will be discussed in more detail in the discussion section of the chapter. Half of the stories reported from Nunavut in the three papers in 2011 were published during Prime Minister Stephen Harper’s annual visit to the territory. The significance of this will also be discussed below.

*Table 4.3* Dateline of stories from 2011

Dateline	Total	Globe and Mail		National Post		Toronto Star	
		# stories	% coverage	#	% coverage	#	% coverage
<b>Toronto</b>	62	24	62	29	78	9	47
<b>Ottawa</b>	13	6	15	2	5	5	26
<b>Calgary</b>	1	1	3	0	0	0	0
<b>Edmonton</b>	1	1	3	0	0	0	0
<b>Vancouver</b>	3	1	3	1	3	1	5
<b>Iqaluit</b>	3	0	0	3	8	0	0
<b>Other Nunavut</b>	11	6	15	2	5	3	16
<b>Other</b>	1	0	0	0	0	1	5

As Table 4.4 shows almost one-third of all stories about Nunavut in the papers focused on deviance, things such as a plane crash, a missing mayor and crime. About one-quarter of the 95 stories focused on the issue of resources. Of these 22 stories, 13 dealt with the fight to take over Baffinland Iron Mines Corporation. Most of those ran in the first month of the year. The *Toronto Star* focused far less on resources than the other two papers, again suggesting the paper is not as interested in business news at least in terms of Nunavut. The *Star* did not write any stories about the Baffinland takeover. Stories about resources and deviance combined to account for 55 percent of

all stories to appear in *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star* in 2011. There were six stories about sovereignty but only one about climate change. There were six stories about socio-economic issues, such as one in the *National Post* on February 16 that looked at problems the hamlet of Cambridge Bay was facing because of alcohol and crime. There were five stories about arts and entertainment, including a story in *The Globe and Mail* on July 9 about the closing down of the Inuit owned film company Igloodik Isuma Productions.

Table 4.4 Issues dealt with in stories in 2011

Issues	Total	Globe and Mail		National Post		Toronto Star	
		# stories	% coverage	#	% coverage	#	% coverage
<b>Resources</b>	22	9	23	11	30	2	11
Climate change	1	0	0	0	0	1	5
<b>Sovereignty</b>	6	2	5	1	3	3	16
Socio-Economic	6	3	8	2	5	1	5
<b>Deviance</b>	30	11	28	14	38	5	26
Politics	3	2	5	1	3	0	0
<b>Travel/tourism</b>	4	3	8	1	3	0	0
Arts/entertainment	5	3	8	0	0	2	11
<b>Light human interest</b>	5	2	5	1	3	2	11
Food prices	4	2	5	1	3	1	5
<b>Obituaries</b>	2	1	3	1	3	0	0
Other	7	1	3	4	11	2	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100</b>

There were also five light human-interest stories, including a *Toronto Star* story also from July 9 about the latest efforts to find the 160-year-old wrecks from the Franklin expedition. There were seven stories that did not fit into any of the categories, including a story in the *National Post* about the former Governor-General Michaëlle Jean eating seal meat at a fundraising dinner for the national Inuit organization the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami.

The voices that appeared in the stories were divided into ten categories. The results are presented in Table 4.5. In some stories there were multiple people quoted and these were all counted in the analysis. One story might quote an analyst, resident and national politician. In stories where there was more than one of the same type of person quoted the category was only counted once. For example, if three national politicians were quoted in one story it would count as one story containing a national politician, rather than scoring counting the national politician category three times. This decision was taken to avoid presenting misleading figures. If national politicians quoted within the same category were counted multiple times for one story, then it could appear that a far higher number of stories included national politicians than is actually the case. In the case of the 7,500 word story by *The Globe and Mail's* Patrick White, if he quoted ten residents in his story and that counted ten times in the voices category, it would make it appear as if half of the newspaper's stories about Nunavut in 2011 included that category of voice, when in fact it is only 21 percent. Someone who fit into the 'other official' category was quoted in more than half the stories. These included a wide range of people such as police officers, a spokesperson for the Canadian Tourism Commission and a film director. Residents, or what the Canadian Press would refer to as 'real people,' appeared in 15 of the stories. These are ordinary people quoted simply because they are residents of the territory, as opposed to residents who are quoted because of their official capacity. Even if we include NGOs based in or with close ties to Nunavut as providing the voice of 'real people,' the result is that less than one-quarter of stories about Nunavut include the voice of ordinary people. Officials,

politicians and analysts are the type of voices that can most easily be reached from the South by telephone.

Table 4.5 People quoted in stories from 2011

Voices	Total	Globe and Mail		National Post		Toronto Star	
		# stories	% coverage	#	% coverage	#	% coverage
<b>Company official</b>	18	7	18	7	19	4	21
<b>National politician</b>	14	9	23	3	8	2	11
<b>Territorial politician</b>	2	1	3	1	3	0	0
<b>Local politician</b>	13	6	15	5	14	2	11
<b>Analyst</b>	17	6	15	11	30	0	0
<b>Other official</b>	49	20	51	19	51	10	53
<b>Local/resident</b>	15	8	21	1	3	6	32
<b>Inuit/local NGO</b>	8	4	10	4	11	0	0
<b>None</b>	9	5	13	2	5	2	11
<b>Other</b>	8	5	13	3	8	0	0

The content analysis looked at the name of the reporter for each story. Over the course of 2011, 60 different people wrote stories about Nunavut for *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star*. Of those, 49 wrote only one story about the territory all year. That means reporters who had to think about Nunavut just one time all year wrote more than half of the stories. Seven of the other reporters only wrote two stories about the territory in 2011. This makes it highly unlikely that any of them would develop any kind of expertise in the area. Only five reporters wrote more than two stories about Nunavut. *The Globe and Mail's* Gloria Galloway wrote six and Patrick White five. *The National Post's* Tristin Hopper wrote eleven and Peter Koven four. *The Toronto Star's* Allan Woods wrote seven.

## **Discussion**

The findings from the content analysis of *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star*'s coverage of Nunavut in 2011 allow for discussion of a wide range of issues. This section explores the significance and implication of the data, keeping in mind the questions: How the core covers the periphery and what are the implications of covering the Canadian periphery from the core?

As noted above, 12 stories about Nunavut appeared on the front pages of the three newspapers. The decision to put a story on the front page is significant because that is where editors usually place the most important stories of the day. Of the 12 front-page stories, two dealt with socio-economic issues, three with resources and the other seven with deviance. Of these three issues, socio-economic ones are the most likely topics to inform readers about northern communities and culture.

Deviance stories are sensational in their nature, for example dealing with plane crashes, missing persons and crime. Resource stories are mostly aimed at potential investors, often focusing entirely on a story from the point of view of people in the South. This can be seen in the fact that 18 of 22 stories that dealt with resources in 2011 ran in business sections. Overall, 75 percent of the front page stories about Nunavut dealt with resources or deviance.

The dateline of a story is significant because of the importance of having boots on the ground. As discussed in the last chapter, in an ideal situation a journalist would be based in the community that he or she is reporting on, but the next best option would be to travel to the community in order to research and write a story. For this reason, the statistics about dateline revealed by this content analysis have serious implications.

Only 14 of the 95 stories that appeared in *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star* were reported from Nunavut. That means even a Canadian reading the three papers every day of the year would on average only be exposed once a month to a story reported from Nunavut. Furthermore, exploring the results of the analysis in more detail reveals that six of the 14 stories written from Nunavut were published during Prime Minister Stephen Harper's annual visit. *The Globe and Mail* ran three of its six stories during that one week in late August, the *National Post* ran one of its five stories and the *Toronto Star* published two of its three stories from Nunavut during Harper's trip. All three news organizations had a reporter travel with the Prime Minister. Gloria Galloway went for the *Globe and Mail*, Mike De Souza for Postmedia (the *National Post's* news agency) and Allan Woods travelled for the *Toronto Star*. These trips, as will be explained in the next chapter, are highly orchestrated by Stephen Harper's communications team. The journalists on the trip are held to extremely tight schedules that involve a lot of travelling and official events. There is little time for meeting local people and getting a sense of their community and culture. Rather than discovering stories for themselves, journalists on these trips are often left to report on stories that fit into the Prime Minister's schedule and agenda. For example, Galloway, De Souza and Woods all filed a story about mining from Baker Lake and both Galloway and Woods filed a story from Resolute Bay about the plane crash that happened just days before the Prime Minister arrived. These facts illustrate how little room this type of pack journalism leaves for original reporting.

Just eight stories reported from Nunavut that appeared in the three papers in 2011 were not filed during the Prime Minister's trip. Other than on that trip, the

*National Post* did not send a reporter to Nunavut all year. The four stories from the territory that the paper ran were written by people who are not employed by the *Post*, including three stories written by reporters for the *Nunatsiaq News* and one by the news agency Reuters. The *National Post's* limited partnership with Nunavut's biggest newspaper, the *Nunatsiaq News*, will be discussed in more detail in the next two chapters.

Apparently, the *Post* felt it could adequately cover Nunavut without ever sending a reporter out of its offices in southern Canada. The *Toronto Star* only published one story from Nunavut outside of Stephen Harper's visit and that was by freelance journalist Denis Calnan. Like the *National Post*, the *Toronto Star* decided to cover this part of the Canadian periphery without ever leaving the core. *The Globe and Mail* was the only paper to independently send a reporter to Nunavut in 2011. Of the three stories the paper published from the North outside of the Prime Minister's trip, one was a travel story written by freelance journalist Margo Pfeiff and the other two were by Patrick White. Both of his stories were gathered during a trip to Nunavut and ran as part of a special focus on the territory pegged to the 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the creation of Nunavut. As mentioned earlier, one of the stories ran more than 7,500 words. *The Globe and Mail* also created a multi-media platform for stories from and about Nunavut for its website. This site entitled "The Trials of Nunavut: How a Crime Epidemic is Challenging the Future of Canada's Newest Territory." There are five parts to the online series, including pieces on Nunavut, Iqaluit, Cape Dorset and Repulse Bay and a fifth part that has a link to the long story from the print edition of the paper. There are animated graphics showing crime and other statistics for each community.

There are stories about the people who live in each community, their culture and their territorial government. There is a photo essay from each town. There are also a series of video reports on various topics: a church service in Repulse Bay, the housing shortage in Cape Dorset, police on patrol in Iqaluit and an inside look at the men's' prison in the capital. The site provides insight into the community and culture in Nunavut. The reporter, Patrick White, says it took about two months of his time to put everything together while working with a small team at the paper. White's series is the clearest example from 2011 of any of the three big newspapers devoting a significant amount of resources to trying to let Canadians in the core know about something other than resources and deviances in Nunavut.

Looking at the issues that were featured in the 95 stories in *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star* reveals results that run counter to some expectations and fulfills others. The results refute the argument by Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami President Mary Simon's that for the most part, southern media are only interested in stories about resources, climate change and sovereignty. While resource stories made up almost one-quarter of all the stories, there were only six stories that focused on sovereignty and just one about climate change. In all, the three issues highlighted by Simon made up 31 percent of stories about Nunavut. That is one percent less than the number of deviance stories: 30 of 95 stories in the three papers focused on deviance. This high number supports Guy Golan's argument that deviance is a strong predictor of news flowing from the periphery to the core and shows clear parallels between coverage of the domestic periphery and international peripheries. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, these stories provide little insight about life in the North to people in the South.

Stories published from Nunavut, as opposed to stories published about Nunavut from the South, were less likely to have deviance as their main issue. Four of the 14 stories from Nunavut focused on deviance, but all but one of them were about the plane crash that by coincidence happened in a community just days ahead of a planned visit by the Prime Minister. The only other deviance story written from Nunavut was about a priest who was returned to the territory to face sex charges. That story was written by a reporter at the *Nunatsiaq News*. The most common issue reported from Nunavut was resources, with five of the 14 stories focused on this issue. Only one dealt with socio-economic problems. One was a travel article. One story focused on how a community reacts when their annual shipment of goods from the South arrives. Another one was about Inuit language and one was about the federal government's food subsidy program for the North.

All three of the newspapers used stories written from Nunavut that were by non-staff members, but the *National Post* was the only paper to use journalists based in the North. The paper has an agreement with the Iqaluit based *Nunatsiaq News* to share content. Of the three stories the *National Post* ran from the *Nunatsiaq News*, two of them focused on the community and culture in the North. These potentially gave readers in the South some greater understanding of their fellow Canadians. One of the stories was by Jim Bell and focused on Inuit language and the other was by Josh Windeyer and looked at the federal government's food subsidy program.

As noted in Chapter 3, including what the Canadian Press refers to as 'real people' in stories is important to make these stories relevant and memorable. Only 15 of the 95 stories contained a 'real person,' meaning someone who lives in the

community affected by the issue the story is about and is not in an official role, such as a police officer, company spokesperson, or representing a particular organization involved in the issue. Examples of a ‘real person’ could include: a shopper at a store where prices have suddenly and dramatically increased because the government changed its food subsidy program; a student at a school where three other students have committed suicide in recent years; a resident who is hoping to get a job if the Mary River iron ore mining project goes ahead. Only 16 percent of the stories about Nunavut included this kind of voice. Despite publishing 37 stories about Nunavut in 2011, the *National Post* had only story where a resident was quoted. That was in a story written by a *Nunatsiaq News* reporter.

As table 4.6 reveals, ten out of 80 stories, or twelve percent, from the South included a ‘real’ person, while five out of 14 written from Nunavut included this type of voice. Based on these numbers, a story written about the periphery from the periphery is about three times more likely to contain a ‘real person’ than a story written about the periphery from the core.

Table 4.6 Dateline and voices in stories from 2011

Dateline	# of stories	Company official	National politician	Territorial politician	Local politician	Analyst	Other official	Resident	Inuit NGO	None	Other
<b>Toronto</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>
Ottawa	13	1	1	0	2	0	8	3	1	2	1
Calgary	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Edmonton	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vancouver	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Iqaluit	3	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
<b>Other Nunavut</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
Other	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0

At the beginning of 2011 there was only one reporter at *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* or *Toronto Star* who was officially assigned to an Arctic beat. Paul

Watson was the *Star's* Arctic-Aboriginal correspondent. Over the course of the year he only filed one story that dealt with Nunavut and that article was written from the Russian Arctic. By the end of the year Watson's title had changed to foreign affairs columnist. (Iwanek 2012) The only reporter at his paper who wrote more than one story about Nunavut in 2011 was Allan Woods, a Parliament Hill reporter in the *Star's* Ottawa bureau. He wrote five of his seven stories the week around Prime Minister Stephen Harper's visit to the North. The other two were written July 8<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>. For the rest of the year the *Toronto Star* relied on writers who had not written a single story about Nunavut that year.

### **Testing the hypothesis**

1. *Hypothesis: By covering Nunavut from the South most stories are written by reporters in the South without travelling to the North.*

This hypothesis proved accurate. Of the 60 different people who wrote articles for *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star* in 2011, 58 were reporters based in the South. Of these, only eight travelled to Nunavut for their stories, including two freelancers, and a reporter for the Canadian Press and Reuters. This means only 14 percent of the journalists who wrote about Nunavut for the three big papers in 2011 actually went to the territory, and if you do not count freelancers and agency reporters, then that number falls to seven percent.

2. *Hypothesis: By covering Nunavut from the South almost all stories are about issues that most directly impact people in the South (sovereignty, resources, climate change) while other issues are largely ignored.*

This hypothesis proved false. The number one issue in Nunavut covered by the papers is deviance with 30 out of 95 stories. This makes up more than the three other issues combined. While there were 22 stories about resources, there were only six that focused on sovereignty and just one on climate change.

*3. Hypothesis: By covering Nunavut from the South the majority of the stories that get reported from the territory that do not fall into the three issues are tragedy and disaster stories, much like coverage of the foreign periphery.*

This hypothesis proved true. As noted above, deviance was the most likely issue from Nunavut to be covered in *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and *Toronto Star*. The category of socio-economic problems was tied for third as the most likely issue to be covered in the newspapers, but only six percent of the stories dealt with this issue.

*4. Hypothesis: By covering Nunavut from the South journalists miss the human element of the story because they are less likely to speak with people who live in the North.*

This hypothesis proved somewhat true but the sample size available from a content analysis taken over a one-year period was limited. It is true that based on the analysis a story written from Nunavut is three times more likely to include a ‘real person’ than a story written from the South.

## **Conclusion**

When coverage of the annual trip to the territory is taken out of the equation, of the three papers, only *The Globe and Mail* sent a reporter to Nunavut in 2011. And outside of these two trips, all of the stories about Nunavut written by employees of the

three newspapers were gathered in cities more than 1,000 kilometers away from the capital Iqaluit. This content analysis clearly demonstrates that *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and the *Toronto Star* are for the most part reporting from afar when it comes to covering Nunavut. The low number of stories that focus on socio-economic challenges, compared to the high number of stories that focus on the sensational in the form of deviance suggests that on average the newspapers are only reporting stories a handful of times a year that will provide readers in the South a sense of the community and culture of their fellow Canadians in Nunavut.

Readers of *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* in 2011 could easily end up with a skewed idea of Nunavut. If I formed my impression of Nunavut on all of the stories I read in the three papers from 2011, I would be left with the impression that the North is a vast and almost completely uninhabited region with extensive resources just waiting for people from the South to come and harvest. The North would be seen to be a cold, beautiful harsh land where mayors routinely go out to spend the afternoon in nature and never come back. It appears to be a place where living is hard; where the only transportation between communities is dangerous and unreliable; and where food is astronomically expensive. Based on newspaper reports, one of the most important issues in the North is searching for the wrecks of famous explorers as well as fighting to keep known wrecks from being taken back to museums in Europe. The portrait of the North based on the newspaper stories is of a land where good things rarely happen. Readers would see the region as a place of despair, with high suicide rates, severe substance abuse problems and high levels of crimes. The few people who are seen to live in the North would also be understood to be so poorly

educated that the only thing they are good for is taking menial jobs at mining operations when the big boys from the South come and set up shop. The North appears to be a place that journalists cannot be bothered to visit; a region that is only worth traveling to if the Prime Minister of Canada happens to be passing through.

The next chapter will take a closer look at some of the reporters who most frequently cover Nunavut for *The Globe and Mail*, *National Post* and the *Toronto Star*, through discussions with those reporters and their editors. This will provide more insight into how the papers covered Nunavut in 2011.

## CHAPTER 5

### **MAKING THE NEWS**

“This one year also confirmed my long-held belief in the traditional model of foreign correspondence, in the benefit – the necessity – of living in a place, if only for a year or two, in order to really understand it... You must be able to put yourself in the shoes of anyone, anywhere, to truly tell their story. People are not quotes or clips, used to illustrate stories about war and conflict. People *are* the story, always.”

Nahlah Ayed, *A Thousand Farewells* (Ayed 2012)

The content analysis of *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post*'s coverage of Nunavut in 2011 presented in Chapter 4 shows that there are many ways to approach reporting on the periphery. All together the three papers had 60 different reporters write stories about Nunavut in 2011. The *Toronto Star* had 13, the *National Post* 22 and *The Globe and Mail* had 25. The reporters covered a wide range of stories, including news, business, travel, sports and obituaries. Journalists who had travelled to Nunavut wrote some of the articles, but the vast majority were done by reporters sitting at their desks in the South, a relatively short drive from the Canada – U.S. border. This chapter will focus on how one reporter at each paper covered Nunavut.

Tristin Hopper at the *National Post* wrote more stories about Nunavut than any other reporter at the three papers even though he has never been to the territory. All of Hopper's reporting was done from afar. The reporter at the *Toronto Star* who wrote the most stories about Nunavut is Allan Woods. Five of his seven stories about the territory in 2011 were written over a one-week period around the time of Prime Minister Stephan Harper's trip to the north; a trip that Woods went on. *The Globe and Mail*'s Gloria

Galloway travelled on that trip as well and wrote more stories about the territory than anyone else at her paper, but instead of focusing on her I have chosen to examine the reporting by Patrick White at *The Globe and Mail*. While he wrote fewer stories than the other journalists mentioned above, he wrote by far the most words about Nunavut. Outside of accompanying the Prime Minister, he is the only journalist at any of the three papers that was sent to Nunavut to gather stories.

Examining the writing of Hopper, Woods and White will provide insight into three different ways to cover this part of the periphery. All three reporters were interviewed for this chapter. The national editor at the *National Post*, Rob Roberts, was also interviewed. The current national editor at the *Toronto Star* was on leave during the researching of this thesis. In her place a former national editor was interviewed. Tim Harper worked closely with the paper's Arctic-Aboriginal correspondent Paul Watson. The national editor of *The Globe and Mail* did not respond to e-mail or phone calls requesting an interview. This chapter will explore and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of three of the approaches to covering Nunavut taken by the newspapers in 2011.

### **National Post: Reporting from afar**

The *National Post* published 37 stories last year about Nunavut that qualified to be included in this paper's content analysis. That is 18 more stories than the *Toronto Star* and two less than *The Globe and Mail*. The *National Post* tended to run shorter stories, with only five of the articles running 1,000 words or longer. That means only 13 percent of the *National Post* stories were more than 1,000 words, compared to 21

percent at the *Toronto Star* and 23 percent at *The Globe and Mail*. Generally speaking, the shorter the story, the less in-depth a reporter can get on the issues dealt with in the article and the less opportunity people in the South will have to learn about the communities and culture in the North.

While the shorter stories might suggest that the *National Post* did not prioritize coverage of Nunavut as much as the high number of stories suggests, there are other factors that refute this argument. For example, the *Post* ran more front-page stories about Nunavut than the other papers. The *Post* ran six stories on the front-page compared to four at the *Toronto Star* and two at *The Globe and Mail*. The *Post* focused on business stories more than the other two papers. Eleven of the paper's stories, or 30 percent of all stories about Nunavut stories, ran in the Financial Post section. 18 percent of *The Globe and Mail's* stories about Nunavut ran in the business section. Only one, or five percent, of the *Toronto Star's* stories ran in the business section. These numbers reflect the general focus of each of the papers, with the *Star* making business reporting a lower priority than the other two papers. Far more of the *National Post's* stories were written in Toronto than the other two papers. Just fewer than 80 percent of the *Post's* stories were written by reporters in the newsroom in Canada's financial capital, as compared to 62 percent for *The Globe and Mail* and 47 percent for the *Toronto Star*. The reason for this likely comes down to economics as the *National Post* operates on a smaller budget and has fewer resources than the other two papers.

The *National Post* did not send a reporter to Nunavut at all in 2011 but the agency that is owned by the same company, Postmedia, did send a reporter on the trip in August with the Prime Minister. Reporter Mike De Souza had one story from Nunavut

published in the *Post*. It was a story about mining in Baker Lake that ran on the same day that the *Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* also ran similar stories from the town in Nunavut.

The *National Post* has a deal in place that allows it to use stories written by journalists in Nunavut without having to send a reporter to the territory. In 2011 the *National Post* ran three stories written by *Nunatsiaq News* reporters. The articles all ran in the first few months of the year before the reporter who would do most of the writing about Nunavut for the *National Post* joined the paper. Two of these stories were written by Chris Windeyer and the other by Jim Bell.

There were only two journalists at the *Post* who wrote more than two stories about Nunavut in 2011. One was business reporter Peter Koven with four and the other was a 25-year-old reporter named Tristin Hopper. Hopper wrote more stories about the territory in 2011 than any reporter at *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* or *National Post*. He accomplished this even though he only started working at the *Post* in April of that year.

Tristin Hopper grew up in Victoria, British Columbia. After completing high school he moved east to Toronto to study journalism at Ryerson University.<sup>5</sup> He left after a year and moved to Montreal to study international business at Concordia, where he also wrote for a student newspaper. While attending a conference about the media in 2007 he heard a speaker say that if you want to work as a journalist the best thing to do was to try to get a job at a small community paper in northern or western Canada because they are always desperate for staff. Hopper says the comment inspired him.

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<sup>5</sup> Tristan Hopper, *National Post* reporter. Interviewed by Jeremy Copeland on April 9, 2012.

Armed with clippings from his writing for the student newspaper, Hopper sent off a bunch of applications. He says he received five job offers, including one from the *Yukon News* in Whitehorse. Hopper says the editor at the time liked to take young journalists and mold them into his image. Hopper's one year of student journalism experience was enough to qualify him for the job. He abandoned his studies at Concordia, packed up his belongings in big and culturally rich Montreal and moved to a town of 26,000 people that is about 6,000 kilometres away from Quebec's biggest city.

Hopper wrote for the *Yukon News* for about a year and a half. He then spent half a year writing for *Up Here*, a publication that describes itself as: "the flagship magazine of Canada's North, exalting, exploring and examining the Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut and related Northern areas for a national and international audience curious and passionate about the region." (Up Here 2012) His time in the Yukon makes Hopper the only one of the three journalists featured in this chapter who has lived in the North. That said, it should be pointed out that he has never been to the Northwest Territories or Nunavut.

In April of 2011 Hopper started a paid internship at the *National Post* in Toronto. He worked there all summer and in September he was offered a staff position. He now works at the paper as a night reporter. As someone who has lived in the North, Hopper says he was able to pass himself off as a relative expert about the region and soon found himself writing many stories about the North. As well as the 11 stories he had published about Nunavut in 2011, he says he also wrote about 15 stories about the Yukon and several about the Northwest Territories. All of these have been written from the *Post's* Toronto newsroom.

Hopper has developed a routine to produce stories about the North without leaving his desk. When he has a quiet moment he uses the Internet to “troll” through northern newspapers and news services as well as Google news. He looks for stories he can rework to make them relevant to a national audience, or more specifically, to a Toronto audience, where Hopper says about two-thirds of the *National Post’s* readership lives. He says the stories that work best are ones where he knows some of the background and where he can use his understanding of the North to expand the story. This means rather than just reporting the latest news about what happened that day, he can put the story in context and in the process help a southern readership understand a bit more about what life is like in the North. For example, in December Hopper spotted a story on the wires about a mayor who had been missing for a month. He did a quick search and found some more background information about the story. He then went to his editor and pitched the story: “I said if you give me two hours I can just sort of fill it out with people go missing all the time.” Hopper says a story about how a prominent member of a community could be swallowed up by nature so close to his home is exotic to people in Toronto.. He calls these “hey neat” stories that might be mundane to a northern audience but can captivate readers in big cities in the South. Hopper says there are a lot of interesting stories that could be told from the North. He says: “It’s more violent than the most violent neighbourhoods in Toronto.” “There are more social problems than a lot of third world countries. There are resources, there are wild animals. Even things that are just sort of normal and commonplace up in the North are very interesting to a Toronto audience.”

Hopper says there is a lot of interest from his editors in stories from the North and that most of the stories he pitches get in to the paper. This would seem to be supported by the number of stories about Nunavut that Hopper had published in 2011. Hopper only worked for the *Post* for nine months that year, but he wrote 11 out of the 37 stories the paper published about Nunavut. That is 30 percent of all of the stories. He says that having lived in the North, even for a relatively short time, he can pass himself off as “knowing the north a bit better.” Hopper says he does not see himself as any kind of expert on the North but that he does know more about life up there than most people in the South. His time in the North appears to help Hopper choose and shape his stories. For example, when 12 people were killed in a plane crashed in Resolute Bay in August, Hopper could immediately understand that the impact of the crash would be far more severe on the local community than a similar crash would have on a small southern community. This is because in isolated northern communities like Resolute Bay, flights are the lifeline of the society. Food shipments, workers and family members are dependent on the airline for transportation. Furthermore, in a small community most of the residents would know many of the people who died in the accident.

The national editor of the *National Post* agrees that there is a lot of interest in news from the North in other parts of Canada. Rob Roberts has been the national editor at the paper for two years and has been with the *Post* since a few months before it launched in 1998.<sup>6</sup> He says as an editor he is always looking for stories that will be of interest to a national audience. Roberts calls Nunavut an exotic place that produces

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<sup>6</sup> Rob Roberts, National Post national editor. Interviewed by Jeremy Copeland on April 23, 2012.

“some interesting stories that carry for a wider audience, sort of punches above its weight.” To illustrate this point he says that the territory receives far more coverage than other communities with a similar size population, for example a town of 30,000 people in Saskatchewan or Nova Scotia.

Once he has chosen a story, Hopper says there is very little room for original reporting. For the most part, he takes the information and quotes from one or more articles that have already been written about the story and adds some background information and expands the story. He attributes the quotes he takes from other publications. This is a common practice in journalism, but it is always preferable for each journalist to get r his or her own quote, that is, to do his or her own interview. Hopper says he sometimes makes a phone call to someone in the South to add a quote, but often he just takes quotes from other sources. For example, in “Ottawa sinks Norwegian plan to raise the Maud,” Hopper took three quotes from other sources. The story was about how Canadian authorities had rejected a plan by a group that wanted to salvage a decaying ship that had once been commanded by a legendary Norwegian polar explorer. This ship sits half sunk near Cambridge Bay in Nunavut and the group wants to move it to a museum in Norway. In his story, Hopper uses a quote from the group’s leader that Hopper took from the Norwegian newspaper *Budstikka*; a quote from the Mayor of Cambridge Bay that ran in the Northern News Service six months earlier; and another quote from the Mayor that he gave to the *Nunatsiaq News*. (Hopper, 2011) Hopper calls this “cribbing” reporting from people who are where the story is happening. He says it is similar to how the *National Post* does foreign reporting. “We have a foreign desk, which, we don’t have any foreign correspondents

at the *Post*, we just bring in wire copy from Reuters and we have two people who will take a bunch of wire copy and just sort of compile it into a thousand word roundup of what's happened in Syria in the last 48 hours. They make it seem like they're there based on copy from other news publications.”

Hopper says there are many barriers to doing original reporting on the North from the South. He describes Nunavut as “this foreign, bizarre country that speaks a different language and has completely different customs and looks completely different, acts completely different, that happens to fall under our national desk jurisdiction.” With all of these differences, Hopper says it is hard to interview anyone by telephone. He describes the process: “They’ll answer in Inuktitut, that’s their language, and you have to, like a jackass, say hello and ask for someone who can speak English. Then they go and find their brother who went to residential school and got English beaten into him to translate.” Hopper says the way people in Nunavut communicate adds to the challenge. While many people in the South are happy to talk about what they do and what they think, Hopper says many of the people he has tried to interview in Nunavut give very short answers that do not make for good quotes in a newspaper story.

The *National Post* reporter says the barriers to reporting from the South means he can only being able to write “big, pretty clear cut stories, like plane goes down, everybody devastated, or policies about crime in the North.” Hopper says a lot gets lost as a result: “We can’t do anything really in depth about how people think.” As the content analysis presenting in the last chapter revealed, despite writing more stories about Nunavut than any other reporter at the three papers, Hopper’s stories did not

include a single quote from a resident who did not fit in to the story in an official capacity, such as a politician or police officer.

Hopper says being on the ground where the story is happening would be a much better way to report on stories from Nunavut. The editor of the *National Post* agrees: “There is no substitute ever for being somewhere and not only getting sort of the feel of the place and how that particular story fits into it, but you are also reliant on being able to find the right people by phone.” Roberts says for financial reasons, the *National Post* covers much of the country by phone. Beyond the challenges posed by language barriers in Nunavut and the difficulty in finding the right people to talk to, Roberts says “there are limitations to being somewhere for two days or a week rather than your entire life.” He says that unless you live in a place for an extended period of time you will miss many details and stories because you will not really understand the community you are covering, especially when that community is as dramatically different as the North is from big cities in the South. All of this said, Roberts acknowledges that, as at all news organizations, budget constraints limit the coverage the *National Post* can provide. Outside of its Toronto headquarters, the *National Post* only has bureaus in Montreal, Calgary, Vancouver and Ottawa. Roberts says he wishes he could have more, including ones in Atlantic Canada or the Prairies. As for the North, he says: “I think the interest is there. It’s just in an era of reduced resources it would be a couple of notches down the priority list even beyond other things we’re not able to do.”

When it comes to reporting on Nunavut from the South, the *National Post* does have one advantage over the *Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail*. The *Post* has a content sharing deal with the biggest newspaper in Nunavut, the *Nunatsiaq News*.

Hopper takes information and quotes from the *Nunatsiaq News* and uses them as part of his stories. Roberts says many stories written for a northern readership need to be rewritten to work for readers in the South. He says when someone in Iqaluit writes for people in Nunavut the reporter will assume that the reader will understand background information. People in the South will not know these things and as a result they will not be able to understand the story.

When asked about the possibility of getting reporters in the North to rewrite their stories for a southern audience, Roberts again pointed to financial constraints. He says all media outlets have to use their resources “judiciously.” “There are going to be some issues with coverage from afar no matter what, and I’m not sure whether we’d give Iqaluit special treatment and do that kind of thing more any place else. It sounds like a good idea, but I just don’t know how we could pull it off.” Roberts says another reason why stories written by reporters in the North rarely get printed in the *National Post* is the quality of the writing: “In a lot of cases some of the people up there are to me more junior, so the problems there are more related to that than they are too locally focused.”

Despite the limitations, Hopper says he thinks the *National Post* produces enough coverage of the North. He says a lot of people in Yukon feel like the rest of Canada does not care about them and that southern news organizations neglect stories from the North. Hopper rejects this. He notes that the population of the three territories combined is slightly over 100,000 people. Hopper says this is about the same as Red Deer, Alberta. Hopper says that city does not get anywhere nearly as much coverage as the North.

While Hopper says he thinks people in the North should be satisfied with the amount of coverage the *National Post* gives to the region, he says that people in the region would likely dislike his reporting. He describes the challenges of his job: “You’re writing for a national audience so you’re writing it in such a way that it’s old hat and it’s really basic and I hope it doesn’t sound condescending to a Northern reader. But it’s all stuff they know about... I’m almost slightly embarrassed that a Northerner would read it.”

Hopper says he enjoys the writing he does about the North but also feels limited as a journalist by reporting from afar. He says there is little scope to write stories that will change things because living in the South there is no way for him to really understand the issues and challenges that people in the North face. He says: “If there’s going to be good reporting on the North, it should originate from the North.” Hopper says short of opening a bureau in Nunavut, he thinks the best way to accomplish this would be to work more closely with journalists who are already in the territory, such as writers at the *Nunatsiaq News*, a newspaper he praised repeatedly. In contrast, while Roberts had nice things to say about some of the reporters at the *Nunatsiaq News*, he thinks papers like the *National Post* can do a decent job of covering the North by tapping into the people it has in the newsroom. He points to Hopper as an example of someone who has lived in the North, has developed an “expertise,” may know some of the players and may have a greater depth of knowledge. “I think specialization counts for a lot,” Roberts says. “(Hopper) writes stories for us based on the knowledge that comes from being up there. He’s a great resource. We’re not flying completely blind.”

Hopper says that his current way of covering the North is far from ideal. He says reporters in the South are just stealing stories from northern reporters. He says nothing the South can write about the North will benefit the North and wonders if people there would prefer it if southerners did not write anything about northerners. Hopper, however, says he enjoys writing about the North and thinks people in the South should know about what is going on up there.

### **Toronto Star: Riding with the Prime Minister**

The *Toronto Star* published about half as many stories about Nunavut in 2011 as the *National Post* or *The Globe and Mail*. Only four of the *Star's* 19 stories were longer than 1,000 words. Three of those were written from the South and the fourth was written from northern Russia. During the course of the year, the *Star* only sent one reporter to Nunavut. Allan Woods travelled with the Prime Minister on his tour of the North in late August. All other stories about the territory in the newspaper were written from the South except for a story by Paul Watson. He wrote a story from northern Russia that in part dealt with Nunavut.

There were some notable differences between the *Star's* coverage and that of the other two papers. The *Toronto Star* ran three stories about sovereignty. That is as many stories on this issue published by the *Post* and *The Globe* combined. The *Star* published only one story about Nunavut in its business section. It was a long one by Lisa Wright about diamond mining. Business stories only made up six percent of all the stories the paper ran about Nunavut, compared to 30 percent at the *Post* and 18 percent at *The Globe*. This could be explained by the fact that the two national papers are both

known for their business coverage. By running three stories in its entertainment section, the *Star* focused more on entertainment than the other papers, publishing stories when film or art from Nunavut was shown in the South.

Only one reporter wrote more than one story about Nunavut for the *Toronto Star* in 2011. Allan Woods wrote seven, five from the South and two during his trip with the Prime Minister. Five of his seven stories were written during a one-week period around Prime Minister Stephen Harper's trip. The other two were published one week apart in July. The findings from the content analysis of the *Star's* coverage suggest that there was no lasting focus on the North by any *Star* reporter.

The following section will focus on Allan Woods' trip to the North because it was the only trip to Nunavut taken by a *Toronto Star* reporter in 2011 and because it offers one way that stories can be gathered from the North. While the *Star's* Paul Watson was officially the paper's Aboriginal-Arctic correspondent for most of the year, he did not file a single story from Nunavut. More than two-thirds of the stories Watson wrote in 2011 were from Afghanistan. Watson's Arctic-Aboriginal beat was discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Allan Woods spent four years studying journalism at Ryerson University in Toronto.<sup>7</sup> In 2003 he joined the *National Post*, moved to Ottawa to work for CanWest Global in 2005 and in January 2007 he joined the *Toronto Star*. The 35-year old works from Ottawa and has done about ten trips with Prime Minister Stephen Harper, including ones to South America, Mexico, Haiti, Poland and Vietnam. 2011 marked the first time Woods travelled with the Prime Minister on his annual trip to the North.

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<sup>7</sup> Allan Woods, *Toronto Star* reporter. Interviewed by Jeremy Copeland on April 25, 2012.

Woods says because he is both the Defence and the Environment reporter at the *Toronto Star* it made sense for him to go on the trip where one of the main events would be the Prime Minister observing training exercises carried out by the Canadian military.

Woods was one of about a dozen journalists on the trip. He says they were locked in to following Harper's schedule. Woods flew in the back of the Prime Minister's plane and stayed in accommodations arranged by the Prime Minister's staff. The trip in 2011 lasted five days with stops in all three territories, including Resolute Bay and Baker Lake in Nunavut, Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories and Whitehorse and Haines Junction in the Yukon. Woods filed stories from both of the stops in Nunavut, as did *The Globe and Mail* and the Postmedia reporters who were also travelling with the Prime Minister.

The first stop was in Resolute Bay where just a couple of days earlier a plane had crashed killing 12 of the 15 people on board. Woods said the stopover in Resolute Bay was only a couple of hours. The journalists listened to a short speech delivered by the Prime Minister and then filed their stories while Harper made a very short visit to the town. Woods says he did not have time to even leave the airport. The military aircraft that was transporting the Prime Minister and the journalists then flew to Baker Lake. The flight landed near the town's gold mine early in the evening. Woods says the journalists had a few hours to themselves at the camp that night. The next day they were taken on an organized tour of the Agnico-Eagle gold mine and then were up in the air again. This time they were heading to Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories.

Woods says there are advantages and disadvantages to trying to cover stories on these types of trips with the Prime Minister. The biggest advantage is the cost. Woods

says there is little chance the *Toronto Star* would have spent the money to fly Woods to the places he visited on the trip. Woods says it is “prohibitively expensive to go up there.” To get to Resolute Bay from Ottawa would require two flights and cost \$2,800 one way<sup>8</sup>. The only commercial flight out of the community is back to Iqaluit. From there the only way to get to Baker Lake is by first flying to Rankin Inlet. It would have likely cost close to \$10,000 to get to the two communities Woods visited in Nunavut and involved several days of travel. That does not take in to account the flights to Yellowknife, Whitehorse and Haines Junction, as well as back to Ottawa.

The *Toronto Star*'s former national editor says costs are the main barrier to covering the North.<sup>9</sup> Tim Harper was the paper's national editor from January 2009 to March 2011. He is currently a national affairs columnist with the *Star*. Harper describes covering the North as “seriously expensive” and says that these days all newspapers are under pressure to cut costs: “I would say the main impediment to doing more, not just at the *Star* but anywhere, would be the budget.”

Woods says there are many disadvantages to trying to report on trips with the Prime Minister. The *Toronto Star* reporter says journalists are given very little free time and their movements are restricted. He described how journalists have to follow the schedule and itinerary set by the Prime Minister's Office. “The limitation is that you're there to do the story that they want you to do. It's a bit of a junket in that sense. If you stumble on a more newsworthy story there's not much you can do about it. You do your best while you're there, but sometimes your best isn't necessarily good

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<sup>8</sup> For a First Air flight on May 5, 2012 based on priced checked on April 24.

<sup>9</sup> Tim Harper, *Toronto Star*, former national editor and current national affairs columnist. Interviewed by Jeremy Copeland on May 2, 2012.

enough.” Woods pointed to the stop in Resolute Bay as an example of the limitations of this type of reporting. The journalists landed in a tiny community that is extremely dependent on air travel just days after a plane crashed as it approached the gravel runway. The crash was front-page news in the *Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail*. Woods says he would have liked to spend a lot of time in the community, meeting and talking to local people to do a story about the impact of the crash. Instead, he never got to leave the airport. Woods says: “I saw more members of the military than I did residents of the hamlet.” This is reflected in his story that appeared in the *Toronto Star*. It provides quotes about the crash from the Prime Minister, his Health Minister who was travelling with him and a spokesperson for the Canadian Forces who helped with the efforts to rescue the three crash survivors. No residents of Resolute Bay were quoted in Wood’s story. He says he had to write and file in the two hours he was on the ground. The stopover in Baker Lake was longer, but Woods says that even with a few hours of free time it was hard to do much in the way of original reporting. He points out that the time was spent at a mining camp, on the property of a private company. This means that to “a limited degree” he had to be escorted wherever he went. He says he “tried to do a little runaround the camp but a) there’s not much to see and b) there’s not all that much time.”

During his time at the *Toronto Star*, the former national editor Tim Harper has done many trips to cover the Prime Minister while travelling. He says good journalism often has to take a backseat to quick journalism when you only have a couple of hours to write and file an article. “We’ve all had to cobble stories together like that. You do the best you can but that’s firefighting journalism.” Harper says spending a longer

period of time in one community allows writers to capture more details about a community and its inhabitants.

Woods says part of the problem of following the Prime Minister's schedule is that the opportunity to meet "real people" is severely limited. Woods says in this case real people are ones who were not introduced to a reporter by the Prime Minister's staff. He says most of the people reporters had the opportunity to speak with on the trip were "canned opportunities," meaning that they have been chosen by the Prime Minister's staff or a company to specifically talk with journalists.

One of the results of being stage-managed during the trip is that journalists from different papers end up writing similar stories. Like Woods, *The Globe and Mail's* reporter on the trip, Gloria Galloway, also filed two stories from Nunavut. In her story from Resolute Bay about the plane crash she quoted the exact same three people that Allan Woods did in his *Toronto Star* story. Reporters for *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* (through Postmedia) all filed stories from Baker Lake. The papers all quoted the Prime Minister as well as Jean Robitaille, a senior vice-president for technical services at the Agnico-Eagle gold mine. Galloway and Woods both included a quote and a bit of colour from different workers they interviewed. Galloway and Postmedia's Mike De Souza had quotes from people in the South, including a professor at the University of British Columbia and a researcher at MiningWatch Canada. These voices added some balance to their stories. On August 25<sup>th</sup> all three newspapers ran a story from Baker Lake on page four of the front section. The headlines all promised similar stories. The *Toronto Star's* headline read: "PM sees golden future for North: Mining key to growth in territories, Harper says on Nunavut

visit.” *The Globe and Mail*’s headline was: “Harper pushes mining expansion.” The *National Post*’s read: “Harper defends Arctic mining; People have right to development, PM says in North.”

This section on the *Toronto Star*’s coverage has mostly focused on covering Nunavut while travelling with the Prime Minister. In 2011 Woods, like the *National Post*’s Tristin Hopper, wrote stories about Nunavut from the South. In Woods’ case it was from his desk in Ottawa. He too says that trying to call people in Nunavut for a story is challenging: “I’d be a bit suspicious if a journalist called me out of the blue and said, boom: what’s going on in your town. Say if someone called me from Argentina and said what’s going on in Ottawa right now, I’d find that a bit odd.”

Although the trip with the Prime Minister in August 2011 was the first time Woods had been to Nunavut, he says he is now interested in the region. He follows people he met in the territory on Twitter. On one occasion this led to a story in the *Toronto Star* after he read tweets about a power outage in the capital Iqaluit.

He says there is interest at his paper in stories from Nunavut, but that they have to be stories that would be relevant to a broad audience. The *Star*’s former national editor agrees. Tim Harper says stories from the North about the environment, the local culture and about Inuit in general are all issues *Star* readers are interested in, but Harper says that in Nunavut, like many parts of Canada, the paper falls short of providing the kind of on the ground coverage the area deserves. “It’s a cliché, but it’s true. Sometimes you have to be where you’re writing about and you just can’t get the context, you can’t get the nuance, you can’t get the feel for a story by sitting in an office and doing it by phone.”

Despite the interest in the North, Harper says it would not be cost effective to base someone in Nunavut: “We don’t have anybody based in Edmonton or Calgary, so it’s hard to justify having somebody based in Iqaluit.” Harper says when Watson was working full-time on the Aboriginal-Arctic beat he produced enough high quality stories from the North to meet the needs of the paper. With Watson’s attention turned to a large extent to other parts of the world, in particular Afghanistan, Harper says a good stringer would help to fill the gap created. He says a stringer would be able to file regular stories and tip off news editors in Toronto when there was a good story in Nunavut. Unfortunately, finding a good stringer in Iqaluit is, in Harper’s words: “not as easy as it sounds. You need somebody who is based there, who knows how to write and knows what a news story is.” He says such a person might exist, but in terms of trying to find him or her Harper “wouldn’t even know where to start.” He explains that during his two-plus years as national assignment editor at the *Toronto Star*, he had lots of people from across Canada writing to him and asking if they could submit freelance stories to him, but Harper says he never had anyone contact him from Iqaluit.

Harper offered an alternative to having Paul Watson on an Arctic beat and to finding a stringer based in Iqaluit. He says assigning the territory to one person of part of a larger beat, would allow that person to follow stories day-to-day, and once he or she has a few stories together, the reporter could travel North for a few weeks to produce them.

Like Hopper at the *National Post*, the *Star*’s Allan Woods does not think he is the most qualified person to be reporting on the North. “I don’t claim to be the most experienced. I may have done the most stories in the last year. I like to think I have a

general understanding, but I'm no expert." Expert or not, like Hopper, in 2011 Woods by far wrote more stories about Nunavut than anyone else at his paper.

### **Globe and Mail: Parachute journalism**

*The Globe and Mail's* coverage of Nunavut in 2011 shares many similarities to the *Toronto Star* and *National Post*, but *The Globe* was only newspaper to send one of their reporters to Nunavut on an independent trip. Like the other papers, *The Globe's* reporters wrote most of their stories about the territory from afar, most frequently from Toronto. Deviance and resource stories accounted for 51 percent of all the stories the paper ran and only three out of the 39 stories, eight percent, about Nunavut dealt with socio-economic issues. The paper ran no stories about the territory that focused on climate change and only two about sovereignty, the issues that the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's Mary Simon said were most often reported by southern news organizations.

The content analysis presented in Chapter 4 revealed some significant differences in how *The Globe* approached covering Nunavut from the way the *National Post* and the *Toronto Star* covered the territory. *The Globe* ran the most stories that were more than 1,000 words in length. This suggests that the issues in each story were dealt with in more depth. 23 percent of *The Globe's* stories about Nunavut were longer than 1,000 words, compared to 21 percent by the *Toronto Star* and just 14 percent by the *National Post*. *The Globe* published the most stories from Nunavut, although the numbers were pretty close. *The Globe* published six stories from the territory, the *Post* five and the *Star* three. *The Globe* was the only paper that had two reporters who filed more than two news stories about Nunavut. Gloria Galloway filed six articles and

Patrick White filed five. Galloway filed two during her trip to the North with Prime Minister Stephen Harper in August and the other four from her base in Ottawa. Patrick White's stories were mostly gathered during his trip to Nunavut.

This chapter has explored writing from afar the way that Tristin Hopper does for the *National Post* and writing about Nunavut while travelling with the Prime Minister the way Allan Woods did for the *Toronto Star*. This section on *The Globe and Mail's* coverage will focus on the work White did as the only reporter for the three big newspapers to travel to Nunavut without the Prime Minister. White's work is worth examining for several other reasons. His trip involved a parachute journalism approach of spending a few days in different communities in Nunavut to uncover material for more in-depth stories the way Paul Watson has for the *Toronto Star*. Furthermore, White took advantage of the space the *Globe and Mail's* Focus section can allow a reporter to use for in-depth reporting and published a 7,500-word story. Also, White took advantage of the *Globe's* ability to produce interesting and high quality multimedia material for the paper's website. In the past the paper has won two Emmy awards for its series "Talking with the Taliban" and "Behind the Veil."

Like all of the communities he would visit on his trip to Nunavut, Patrick White grew up in a small town.<sup>10</sup> It was during his childhood in Pender Harbour, British Columbia that the 31-year old *Globe and Mail* reporter would develop his fascination with the North. White grew up down the street from Bill White, a retired RCMP officer who spent two years living in Cambridge Bay, a community that is now part of Nunavut. Although there was no relation and many decades age difference between the

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<sup>10</sup> Patrick White, *The Globe and Mail*, reporter. Interviewed by Jeremy Copeland on May 3, 2012.

two Whites, Patrick enjoyed visiting Bill to hear fascinating stories about his experiences in the North. Patrick was so inspired by the tales that when he was 23 he wrote Mountie in Mukluks: The Arctic Adventures of Bill White.

Patrick White studied Canadian History at the University of Victoria where he wrote for the student newspaper *The Martlet*. He moved to Toronto and did internships at *Toro* magazine and *The Walrus*. He then moved to New York to do his Masters of Journalism at Columbia University. He spent a year after school writing for a few news organizations, primarily the *New York Post*. He was hired at *The Globe and Mail* in 2007. White spent a year writing for the paper's Life section and then moved to Winnipeg to make the jump to news. He covered Manitoba, Saskatchewan and "in a nominal way" Nunavut. He moved back to Toronto with *The Globe* in October 2010 and soon found himself packing his bags to go cover Nunavut.

White's trip to the territory was sparked by gun violence in Cape Dorset, a hamlet of about 1,200 people. In October 2010 the entire RCMP detachment in Cape Dorset, Nunavut, went on stress leave after the community witnessed six shooting incidents in four months. That month police engaged in a firefight with two youths after they opened fire down a residential street. One of the teens was wounded. In July there was an armed standoff in which an intoxicated man fired several shots in the direction of RCMP officers and a group of children. (CBC3 2010) The story about the latest shootings caught White's attention, but he was so used to being denied requests for travel because of financial constraints that he did not even bother to pitch the story to his national editor Sinclair Stewart. White was afraid that if he proposed the story he would be forced to write it from his desk using the telephone as his research tool. He

says he was not interested in covering the story this way. White says he was surprised when Stewart came to him and asked if he would like to cover the story. They discussed flying White to Cape Dorsett. In order to provide balanced coverage the editor and reporter also decided White should fly to a community in Nunavut that was doing relatively well. White says: “I thought we’d go and see a community that’s got it wrong and a community that perhaps got it right. I mean we knew it wasn’t going to be that simple, but that was kind of the rough idea.” It was then decided to also send photographer Pete Power along, doubling the travel costs.

White spent a couple of weeks setting up the trip, including interviewing people by telephone who could direct him to the right people to talk with when he arrived in Nunavut. White and Power then spent two weeks flying around the territory, stopping for a few days in Iqaluit, Cape Dorset, and Repulse Bay as well as short visits to Baker Lake and Rankin Inlet. The pros and cons of parachute journalism will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Basically parachute journalism is when a reporter comes into a community for a period of time that can vary from an hour to weeks, and then reports on that community. In White’s case he spent between a couple of hours at the airport in Rankin Inlet to a few days in Cape Dorset.

Although they travelled in November, *The Globe and Mail* chose April 2<sup>nd</sup>, the day after the 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the creation of Nunavut, as the day to run White’s 7,500-word story in the Saturday Focus section. The entire above the fold (top half) of the front page of the paper that day was devoted to promoting the story, including two pictures and the headline: “The trials of Nunavut: A rash of shootings in Cape Dorset last fall revealed a chilling pattern of crime and violence. Has Canada’s youngest

territory lost all the promise that surrounded its birth a dozen years ago?” The first seven pages of the Focus section were entirely devoted to White’s story. There were 13 colour pictures, a map of Nunavut and no advertisements. *The Globe and Mail* also produced an impressive multimedia presentation for its website that includes profiles of Nunavut as a whole, and of Iqaluit, Cape Dorset and Repulse Bay. The site has videos of people White interviewed, information graphics, pictures, videos showing things such as the housing crisis in the territory and the artists’ community in Cape Dorset.

The story White wrote illustrates many of the advantages of being on the ground rather than reporting from afar. For one thing, White says he could go and get a sense of what the story is by actually being there, rather than trying to impose an image that the reporter has of a community that he or she has never been to. White’s approach was: “Let’s go to Cape Dorset and see what the heck is going on. I just feel as a reporter you really shouldn’t go in with much more of an idea than that or else your thesis is set in stone before you even land.”

Right from the start of the 7,500-word article it is clear that White’s writing style is different than what you would find in a shorter news story. White creates a scene with his opening paragraph and repeats this process several times in his story.

“Inside the dead man's house, Elisapee Qaumagiaq fell silent. She let the walls speak for her. Someone had plunged his knuckles through the hallway drywall again and again and again, from the kitchen all the way down to the bedrooms. The blood had been washed away, but the tale of murder, outlined in felt-pen evidence markings, swirled beneath Ms. Qaumagiaq's snow boots. She looked around for a few moments

before saying the place was giving her “the creeps” and heading outside for a smoke in the minus-10-degree gale strafing the shores of Tellik Inlet.”

This writing makes readers feel like they are in Nunavut. White also introduces readers to people who live in the communities he visits. By doing this, White puts a human face on the crime statistics in the territory. By helping readers to connect with people in the communities, White makes it possible for readers to care about the issues that affect those individuals. Readers feel the hopes and despair of the Nunavut residents.

White says he could only produce his story because he was in Nunavut: “It’s indescribable how much it helped. I mean, it’s the very foundation of reporting, the very definition of reporting; you go there, you observe, you bear witness and you report back.” White says by retelling his trip in his article, he was able to take *The Globe and Mail* readers on a journey which makes for a much more readable story. He says being there also boosts the credibility of his reporting: “What you’re reading are things that Peter and I actually saw and participated in and were surprised by.”

White says if he had to do the story by phone he would have produced a bland article. He says without being on the ground there would have been no details about how the communities looked, what the housing was like, how many people lived in the houses and details about how people felt. White says it is hard to get reliable information if you are reporting about Nunavut by telephone from the South. “First of all there’s the language barrier, so you always end up getting kind of a cousin of a cousin of a cousin describing the events to you. It’s always sixth hand by the time it’s fed to you.”

White also says that people are usually far more forthcoming in telling their stories when they are talking to someone sitting across from them rather than to a complete stranger over a telephone. White says people in the small community of Repulse Bay were particularly welcoming. “It almost felt like you could open the door to any of the houses and no one would even ask you who you were. They would make you sit down and eat some caribou or something and you were like their best friend.” That said, White says Inuit are a “listening culture” and you have to be willing to sit back and listen for 20 minutes and only sometimes will your question be answered. This is a hard approach to take for a journalist writing to deadline at a desk in Toronto or Ottawa.

There is no doubt that White’s story made a big impact in terms of generating discussion and getting people in the Canadian core to be more aware of what is happening in Nunavut. White says the story produced by far the most feedback he has ever had. “A lot of people were recommending it, a lot of people, mostly southerners were reading it and were a little bit shocked and were asking, writing emails to me and asking how they can do something about this.” White says this was gratifying, but he says there were also people who were very critical about the article, including Nunavut’s Health and Social Services Minister at the time. Tagak Curley delivered a long rant in the legislature criticizing White’s reporting. He accused *The Globe* of running an exploitative, insensitive piece that disparaged Nunavut. “I get angry when I read the national newspaper that tries to portray Nunavut as hopeless, that there’s not hope, the leaders have their face under the snow and they’re not willing to admit it,” Curley said. (Iwanek 2012)

The Premier of Nunavut wrote a letter that *The Globe and Mail* published criticizing White for writing only about negative parts of life in the territory. While White welcomed constructive criticism of his work, he says he found the attacks by Minister Curley frustrating. White feels the comments were personal attacks against the messenger. The story in the paper's online site received more than 250 comments, the vast majority praising White's work. Here's a sample of some of the comments:

"An excellent, extremely interesting report - congratulations to Patrick White and the G&M editors. I have not spared more than a few thoughts for the problems of Nunavut, and until I read this, did not know even the half of it."

"This is the G&M's second article in a year that portrays the Iqaluit I've come to know in the three years since I moved here. Of all the southern perspectives I've read, in this paper or in papers from around the world, too many of them are superficial travel pieces ideal for giving the South a level of comfort about this place that 99% of Canadians will never visit....The author of this series of articles has put his back into this effort. I wish more writers of his skill and tenacity could demystify the story of Our Land."

"As most other ordinary readers of this, I too don't have solutions. But I am grateful for the opportunity to be made aware of the realities of life for all who live and work there... Hopefully it will raise enough alarm bells for action. Whatever that may be."

"Excellent reporting by Mr. White. Reminds me of the good old days of the Globe... solutions cannot begin until problems are recognized, and an article like this provides that crucial first step."

"This was a great piece of journalism, thank you for writing it. I live and work in Nunavut and certainly agree that the challenges here are complex and profound. Reducing them to simplicities as some commenter's have done is neither productive nor useful." (Globe and Mail April 2, 2011)

The National Newspaper Awards also thought highly of White's reporting from Nunavut. In April 2012, one year after the story ran, the NNA awarded White the best long feature prize for 2011. This prestigious award lends official support to the argument that on the ground reporting has the potential to produce much better stories than reporting from afar.

Although the type of parachute journalism White did for his story provides far more opportunity for in-depth reporting than the writing done by the journalists travelling with the Prime Minister, there are some limitations to this way of operating. White says there is only so much a reporter can do when they just go up to the North for a short period of time. He says a better model would be to have a stringer based in Iqaluit that could provide *The Globe and Mail* with stories. He says parachuting in once or twice a year is only going to provide readers in the South with a “stilted,” and often negative, understanding of Nunavut. He says the last stringer the paper had in the territory provided readers with a “richer portrait of an entire culture of everything that was going on” in Nunavut. White says short of having a bureau or a strong stringer in Nunavut, the model used by the *Toronto Star* and Paul Watson might be the next best way to cover the territory. He says Watson covered “a pretty good cross section of activity up there, mining, caribou, all kinds of other different things.”

White has mixed feelings about the reporting he did from Nunavut. In one breath he says that he would have jumped at the opportunity to cover the North full time. In the next breath he admits that he feels “divided about it. It is a beat that I think kind of exhausts people because you do get a lot of criticism, especially from up there and it’s not the easiest thing to take.” White says that spending “four months with my brain in Nunavut” left him exhausted. Without being prompted, during the interview for this thesis White on several occasions brought up Nunavut’s Health Minister. It seemed clear that the criticism by Tagak Curley frustrated *The Globe* reporter on a deep level.

After his stories from Nunavut ran in April 2011, White only wrote one more story about Nunavut that year. That one he wrote from Toronto and it was about the plane crash in Resolute Bay in August. As of half way through 2012 White has not written another story about Nunavut and has therefore been unable to put to use the contacts he made during his two-week journey through the territory. There is no sign that will change in the near future. The week before his stories from Nunavut were published in April 2011 White was moved to cover Toronto City Hall. In May 2012 he started to work on a special project for *The Globe and Mail's* 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary coverage of the Summit Series between Canada and the U.S.S.R.

White says he will always remain interested in and fascinated by the North even if he does not get an opportunity to report on it in the coming years. White says he was happy to receive the National Newspaper Award after all the stress that went into putting producing both the 7,500 word print story and the multimedia presentation. He says: "It probably took a year or two off my life to get it done."

## **Conclusion**

By examining the writing of Tristin Hopper at the *National Post*, Allan Woods at the *Toronto Star* and Patrick White at *The Globe and Mail*, this chapter has examined three different ways to cover Nunavut. Some of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach have been discussed. The next chapter will pull all of the research together and suggest various models for covering peripheries like Nunavut.

## CHAPTER 6

### **IMPROVING COVERAGE OF NUNAVUT**

This paper has argued that news media coverage of a periphery such as Nunavut is important for Canadians in both the North and the South. It has demonstrated that there is a limited amount of news from the North reported in the South and there are many constraints to increasing the quantity and quality of news that comes out of that periphery for readers in the Canadian core. The issue of quantity and quality of coverage of Nunavut from the South has some parallels with a study by David C. Thompson in 1978 called The Coverage of News From Canada in the United States. Thompson's Masters of Journalism thesis at Carleton University addresses the fact that news editors in the United States believed they were providing all the coverage of Canada that was needed. Thompson wrote: "the problem with this perspective is that it seems to ignore the exceedingly close ties—political social and economic – which exist between Canada and the United States." (Thompson 1978, 429) The reasons why newspapers in the Canadian core do not publish more stories from Nunavut seem to be different. Unlike their American counterparts, the news editors and reporters interviewed for this thesis all said they would welcome an opportunity to run more stories from the North. They said the region deserves the coverage but the news editors said financial considerations limit the way their papers cover Nunavut. The bottom line for any solution to increasing coverage of and from Nunavut will be finding a way to make it financially viable for a company to provide the resources needed to cover the territory.

This chapter will present various models newspapers in the Canadian core could use to gather news from Nunavut. The goal of the chapter is not to present one model that would work for all newspapers in all situations, but rather a range of ideas that could be used to cover Nunavut. These ideas could also be adapted to cover other parts of the Canadian or international periphery.

### **Ways around the high cost of covering the periphery**

One way that people can get more news from Nunavut is by going online. CBC North has a website that provides coverage of the territory. Rankin Inlet and Iqaluit both have weekly newspapers that publish online editions. The news is there, but there are many drawbacks to relying on this method to inform people in the Canadian core about stories in Nunavut. First, people are not seeking out the news from the North. As highlighted in Chapter 2, this can be seen by the lack of knowledge Canadians have about the North. Newspaper readers rely on editors to sort through countless news stories from around the world and select the most interesting and important ones. This is the role of a gatekeeper and currently, when it comes to news about Nunavut, what does go beyond the gate in southern newspapers is very incomplete. Another problem with this solution is that the stories in the *Nunatsiaq News* (Iqaluit), *Kivalliq News* (Rankin Inlet) and *Nunavut News North* (Iqaluit and Rankin Inlet) are aimed at a northern audience. In his study looking at how U.S. media cover Canada, Thompson discusses the problems of American news outlets using stories written for a Canadian audience. He says that the stories lack “the background needed to have them understood and appreciated for their news value” by an American audience. (Thompson

1978, 434) In the case of Nunavut, southerners who only occasionally turn to these sources for stories about the territory will be unlikely to come across much that they will find interesting or relevant.

I had a similar experience when I moved to India to work as a journalist. Before I left England I used to read online editions of Indian newspapers but found the stories uninteresting and difficult to understand. The papers assumed a level of knowledge and understanding of Indian politics and society that I found baffling. The acronyms alone left me confused. When I moved to New Delhi I used to get six newspapers delivered to my front door every day. It took me a number of weeks of reading the papers everyday before I could follow and engage with the stories written for an Indian audience. Only a tiny percentage of the stories were relevant to most people who live in Canada. For example, Canadians would not be interested to read about local property taxes rising by two percent, even though it may be a front-page story in the Indian capital. I acted as a gatekeeper, picking from hundreds of stories to find a select few to present to a Canadian audience through the CBC or *The Globe and Mail*.

Outside of Patrick White's trip to Nunavut for the stories that ran in April 2011, the only time *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* or *National Post* sent a reporter to the territory was with Prime Minister Stephen Harper in August. Trips like the one taken by the *Star's* Allan Woods do add value to the paper's coverage of the North, but as discussed in Chapter 5, even Woods acknowledged there are severe limitations to producing stories on these trips.

One way to increase the impact of a trip to the North would be for a newspaper to use the Prime Minister's annual visit as a news peg to run feature stories that go into

more depth and help to foster a better understanding of northern life and culture among readers in the South. This idea would require committing more time and energy to produce stories about the North and would still face the challenge of reporting from afar because the newsgathering would be done from the South. Another way to increase the benefit of the trips would be to send the same reporter North with the Prime Minister year after year. This would allow a reporter to develop a special knowledge of the region. We can see that starting to happen with Allan Woods after only one trip. He now has a better sense of some of the communities in the North having visited them, albeit briefly, and he now follows news from the region through Twitter feeds that he signed up for because of his trip. This approach alone would take years for a reporter to develop an advanced level of knowledge. If, however, this approach was combined with having the reporter also follow and write about stories from the North from afar during the rest of the year then that specialization could develop relatively quickly. Unfortunately, there are no guarantees that the same reporter would be available every year to go on the trip. There are also no guarantees that the Prime Minister and his successors will continue to take the trips.

### **Stringers**

Another way to cover Nunavut more comprehensively would be to use local stringers. This is a common way of covering foreign peripheries. Organizations like the British Broadcasting Corporation have stringers, often, but not always, British, in many countries where the company feels it cannot justify having a full-time correspondent but wants to have someone it can rely on when there is news to report.

The BBC pays these stringers a retainer fee and then pays a fixed rate for every story the journalist files.

Stringers are cheaper than full-time foreign correspondents because the company does not pay housing or office costs and for children to attend private schools. When a stringer is in an area that only makes the news every couple of weeks, it can be a very economical way for a news organization to cover a country in the periphery. Stringers often make their living by doing freelance work for several other non-competing news outlets. When I produced the program *Asia Today* at BBC World TV in London we relied on stringers to cover countries in the region, including Frances Harrison in Sri Lanka, Daniel Lak in Nepal, Jonathan Head in Bangkok and Caroline Gluck in South Korea. I played a similar role working in the periphery. I was a stringer for CBC Radio and TV in India for two years where I also did some writing for *The Globe and Mail*. I had little experience as a print reporter but *The Globe and Mail* used me because it gave them a byline from the periphery where the news was happening. The paper's foreign editor in Toronto at the time, John Stackhouse, felt the New Delhi byline was more important than assigning the story to a better writer sitting at a desk in Toronto. From 2007 until Al Jazeera English opened a bureau in Toronto in June 2010, I worked as a freelancer for the international news channel. I was the only person in Canada covering the country for AJE

There appears to be a reluctance to use stringers who are based in the North. In Nunavut The *National Post* has access to stories written by local writers through its deal with the *Nunatsiaq News*. In early 2011 the *Post* ran three stories by *Nunatsiaq News* reporters in Iqaluit. After Tristin Hopper joined the *Post* the paper started to run stories

about Nunavut that may have originated in the *Nunatsiaq News* but were rewritten by Hopper in Toronto.

There are several possible explanations for the reluctance to use stories by reporters based in Nunavut. Valerie Alia and Brian Higgins argue that northern journalists lack credibility in the national or global media. In *Print Media Coverage Up Here and Outside*, the chapter they wrote for the book, Un/Covering the North, Alia and Higgins say that southern media managers trust their own staff more than they do northern journalists. “Many northern journalists say that their work has been rejected by “major media, even when they were uniquely available for breaking news stories such as the Yellowknife mine explosion.” (Higgins and Alia 1999, 141) Comments made by the *National Post*’s National Editor Rob Roberts suggests there may be some truth to the Higgins and Alia argument. Roberts says that while some of the stories from the *Nunatsiaq News* would not work because they were written for a northern audience, there is also another problem with using northern reporters: “In a lot of cases some of the people up there are to me more junior so the problems there is more related to that than they are too locally focused.” On the other hand, Roberts, who acknowledges that he does not follow news from Nunavut as closely as he would like to, was able to name a *Nunatsiaq News* reporter he was impressed by. The *National Post*’s Tristin Hopper on several occasions mentioned how highly he thought of the quality of writing at the *Nunatsiaq News*.

Another possible reason for not using stringers from the North is that finding and training them takes time. The former national editor of the *Toronto Star* says it would be great if the paper had a stinger in Nunavut, but Tim Harper says that during

his tenure as editor he was never contacted by anyone in Nunavut who wanted to write for the paper. As for taking the initiative to find a freelancer in Iqaluit to freelance for the *Star*, Harper says: “I wouldn’t even know where to begin.” While the investment of taking the time to find and train a stringer in Nunavut would likely pay off in the long run, it might take some effort to bring a junior reporter for the *Nunatsiaq News* in Iqaluit up to the writing standards expected at the *Toronto Star*. No newspapers appear to be making that effort.

While on the topic of education, another option would be to create a program to encourage and support Nunavummiut to study journalism at colleges or universities in the South. This would require finding young northerners who want to be journalists and who also want to return to the North after studying in the South, but it could be a way to support Inuit who want to have their voices heard in the South. In the 1970s and 80s northerners like Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami President Mary Simon learned how to play the political game of southerners and used this knowledge to help Inuit negotiate the land claims agreement with Ottawa and create Nunavut. If some Inuit can now learn to play the media game and report for news organizations in the core, it could help them to generate the political will in the South to address the needs of people in the North.

### **Alternatives to stringers**

Another way to improve southern coverage of Nunavut would be to report stories from the territory using a combination of a journalist in the core and a journalist in the periphery. Having someone like the *National Post*'s Tristin Hopper working on an Arctic beat would ensure that he is well informed about news from the territory.

Under the model he would have a local stringer in Iqaluit he could call when there is a story in Nunavut and get that person to gather elements the story. Hopper would take information gathered in the North and combine it with elements he had gathered in the South and write the story that would be published under both of their names. Joint bylines are sometimes used for stories and could work well to cover the North. This way a local stringer would not have to be a national level writer, but could supply colour and comments from where the stories are actually happening. This would avoid having everything gathered and written thousands of kilometers from a desk in Toronto. Ideally a newspaper like the *National Post* would have a stringer in different communities across Nunavut, such as Iqaluit, Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay.

One possible risk of this way of covering Nunavut is that the local reporter could be working as a subordinate to the journalist in the South. While this might make sense when the person working in the North is just starting out with the southern media outlet, it could be a detriment if the imbalance of power in this relationship results in the person in the South dictating the selection and angle of all of the stories based on their limited knowledge of the local community. Finding a way to ensure that the reporter on the ground has a significant say in what and how stories are told would make this method of covering the North more effective.

Creating a beat that would see one journalist at a southern newspaper devoted to covering the North is another approach that could help improve coverage of Nunavut. The *Toronto Star* did this with Paul Watson, but after a little more after two years as the paper's Aboriginal-Arctic correspondent his title was changed to foreign affairs columnist. The costs of keeping Watson in the role are very high compared to other

national bureaus. (Iwanek 2012) The beat could also exist for a journalist who only reports from afar, the way Tristin Hopper did at the *National Post*. Some of the benefits of this are that the paper does not have to spend the tens-of-thousands of dollars it would cost to send their reporter to the North and the reporter would be available to write other stories when there was no big news in the North. In many ways, it appears Hopper has unofficially started to create this beat for himself simply by the stories he pitches. The problem of this arrangement is that Hopper could be reassigned from being a general reporter to a beat such as Queen's Park and would no longer have time to follow and cover stories from the North. At just 25 years old, it is likely that Hopper will move around within or outside the *Post* before long and there might not be anyone in the newsroom to fill the void of covering the North when he goes. *The Globe and Mail's* Patrick White is also a young reporter. His interest in the North allowed him to write an award-winning long feature story about Nunavut. He followed his reporting from Nunavut by working for a year as *The Globe and Mail's* Toronto City Hall reporter before moving on to work on special coverage of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Summit Series between Canada and the U.S.S.R.

An Arctic beat would allow reporters many of the benefits a foreign correspondent brings to covering part of the periphery. In his essay *International News in the North American Media*, Dan Halton says that one of the most important functions of a foreign correspondent is to help their viewers understand the background to international events happening in countries that they may not be familiar with. Halton writes: "Correspondents who live in a foreign country have built up contacts, acquired local knowledge, and become familiar with the political culture of the countries to

which they are assigned. Such knowledge enhances the authenticity of their reports.” (Halton 2001, 506) Reporters who have developed a specialization in covering Nunavut would also be able to bring these elements to their reporting even without having lived in the territory. They will likely not have as deep of an understanding of the community and culture in Nunavut as they would if they had live there, but reporters who spend years closely following and reporting on news out of the territory would be better positioned to write about Nunavut than the 46 writers at *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* who only published one story about the territory in these papers in 2011.

### **Pooling resources**

Another way to make covering news from the periphery cost effective would be for news organizations that do not compete directly to share a correspondent. In India I occasionally wrote freelance stories for *The Globe and Mail*. The paper had not had a reporter based in South Asia since John Stackhouse left a couple of years before I arrived. *The Globe* did not replace Stackhouse until Stephanie Nolan was sent in 2008, three years after I left India. While neither the CBC nor *The Globe* stationed a reporter in New Delhi full-time during those years, they could have guaranteed themselves a presence in the country for half the normal price by sharing a correspondent. If two national news organizations feel uncomfortable sharing a correspondent more creative partnerships could be explored. For example, one between *The Globe and Mail* and the English TV news channel run by Japan’s national broadcaster NHK. Joint efforts in Nunavut could also make sense. For example, the Aboriginal Peoples Television

Network could open up a one-person bureau with *The Globe and Mail*. Both news organizations might be more inclined to keep a reporter in Nunavut full-time if the costs of running a bureau could be cut in half. Having a dedicated bureau for one media outlet would be ideal, but sharing a correspondent between two or more news organizations could make opening an Iqaluit or Yellowknife bureau more financially viable.

Online and ownership convergence offers opportunities through economies of scale to produce more coverage from Nunavut. The Canadian media giant Quebecor can be used as an example. One reporter could produce print stories for the Sun chain of newspapers, print and video stories for the paper's online editions and video for the company's TV channel Sun News. Other news outlets owned by Quebecor could also run the stories. If the reporter is fluent in French he or she could also file for the wide range of French language media outlets owned by Quebecor. In this way the company could get more value for its investment and more easily justify the costs of sending a reporter to Nunavut for two weeks or even post someone to the North full-time.

In, Get Your 'Mojos' Working: How the Techniques and Technologies of Mobile Multimedia Reporting Affect the Practice of Journalism, Peter Martyn, a former *Toronto Star* deputy foreign editor, says digital technology has revolutionized the journalist's toolkit. In a Carleton Master of Journalism thesis published in 2008, Martyn describes and explores the role of a mojo and sojo. Mojoes are mobile journalists who travel around on their own and file stories for newspapers or TV stations. Sojos are solo journalists who travel around the world filing print and video stories for organizations like Yahoo. (Martyn 2008) The mojo model could work well in the Arctic. A news organization like *The Globe and Mail* could have a mojo based in

Ottawa and one in Edmonton. The mojos would split their time between covering the city and region they live in as well as the western or eastern Arctic. The journalists could offer up both print and video stories by going on occasional trips to the North and doing the type of human interest reporting done by Paul Watson and Patrick White. The mojos would also be well positioned to quickly travel to northern communities in the rare instances where there is breaking news in the Arctic.

Digital technology has changed journalism drastically over the past 15 years. The work I did in India was only possible because professional quality digital video cameras had dropped in price to well below \$10,000 and instead of requiring an edit suite with tens-of-thousands of dollars worth of equipment I was able to equip myself with a laptop editing system that only weighed a few kilograms and cost less than \$5,000. These days TV quality video can be shot on DSLR cameras and edited on laptop computers. These items can be purchased new for as little as \$2,000.

### **Parachute journalism**

As long as the relatively expensive option of opening a bureau is not viable, parachute journalism is one of the most straightforward ways of getting stories told from the North. The journalist could fly in to Nunavut from Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal or Winnipeg, or travel to communities within the territory from the capital Iqaluit. A journalist with the Arctic as a beat could do one or two trips per year. The reporter could fly to communities to report the way that Patrick Watson did for *The Globe and Mail*. It is beyond the scope of this paper to get into a lengthy debate about the pros and cons of parachute journalism, but the issues about this topic needs to be touched on

briefly because it is currently how many stories from the periphery are reported.

Parachute journalism is when a reporter travels to a community or country and stays just long enough to do a story. The stop can be very short. For example, Allan Woods spent two hours in Resolute Bay and despite the fact that he never left the airport he filed a story from there.

In their essay *Happy Landings: A defense of parachute journalism*, Emily Erickson and John Maxwell Hamilton acknowledge there are downsides to this type of journalism. They write that: “parachute correspondents end up in places they have never seen before, with no knowledge of the language, the customs or the background to the story they are covering. As a result they concentrate on violence and other sensational events, not on causes and consequences. News organizations save money, but at the cost of adequately informing their readers, viewers, and listeners.” (Erickson and Hamilton 2007, 131) Parachute journalism can also involve much longer stopovers, giving the reporter time to meet local people and get a sense of the issues that are important to the community. Many in the North have spoken out against this type of coverage. The author of, Un/Covering the North, Valerie Alia says that “people joke about it: if you go in for a day you get an article, if you go in for a week you get a book.” (Iwanek 2012) The Premier of Nunavut wrote an angry letter to *The Globe and Mail* to complain about Patrick White’s story in April 2011. She wrote:

“I am saddened by the stories of people in Nunavut in distress, as these are stories that I know too well. But I am also saddened that writer Patrick White managed to get through six full pages of text without a glimmer of hope. While the article was factual, by excluding important progress that has taken place it paints an incomplete picture of our territory... The people of Nunavut are doing great things every day and these stories deserve to be told as well.” (Ariak April 9, 2011)

Other prominent people who spoke out against White's stories include Darrell Greer, editor of the region's Kivalliq News and Nunavut's Health Minister Tagak Curley. The editor of the *Nunatsiaq News*, Jim Bell, spoke out in support of White. He said the story was accurate and that Canadians have a right to journalism that explores the reasons the territory is in trouble. (Iwanek 2012) In making their case in support of parachute journalism, Erickson and Hamilton state the obvious: no news gathering organization can afford to have someone everywhere that news breaks. The authors argue that there has to be an alternative to news bureaus. (Erickson and Hamilton 2007, 135) They say that parachute journalism can be much more than hit-and-run reporting and be an answer to legitimate problems of cost, as well improving coverage even when money is no object. (Erickson and Hamilton 2007, 135)

Parachute journalism is one response to the financial and human resource constraints of covering the periphery. Reporters Paul Watson and Patrick White were both able to spend at least a few days in the northern communities they wrote about. For the short term this way of reporting may be the most affordable and realistic way to provide some quality journalism from the North for Canadians in the South. With this in mind, creative ways should be found to improve the quality of the product produced by parachute journalists. Educational workshops could be set up by interested parties to brief southern reporters ahead of planned trips to the North. For example, the ITK, which represents Canada's 55,000 Inuit, could, and has in the past, provide briefings for reporters about Nunavut. The workshop leader could teach the journalists about the territory's community and culture, as well as answer any questions reporters have about life in the North. The training could happen ahead of the trip or on the ground as well,

through local NGO's, mayors or even teachers. I experienced this kind of training when I visited Sierra Leone in early 2003, the year after that country's civil war ended. I was briefed by the head of mission of a NGO operating in the capital Freetown. What I learned at this informal meeting gave me a better understanding of who to talk with and how to approach them, as well as general security tips.

### **Using locals**

Another method of covering the international periphery can be adapted for covering the Canadian periphery. Covering isolated communities in Nunavut poses some of the same barriers as covering isolated communities in Afghanistan. In both cases it is very hard, if not impossible, for a journalist from the core to access certain communities. In Nunavut the barriers are the cost and the time it takes to travel to communities where stories are unfolding, as well as language challenges and a cultural distrust of outsiders. In Afghanistan there are also language and cultural barriers. Travel is extremely limited because of security issues in many parts of the country. News organizations operating in Afghanistan have found ways to work around these challenges. One way is to hire locals in Afghanistan to do some of the newsgathering. This work can include the traditional role of a fixer who works alongside foreign journalists as an assistant, helping them to find good stories, compelling people to interview, acting as a translator and a driver. In Afghanistan locals are hired by international news organizations as photographers and camerapersons and sent out to capture photos and video from parts of the country Western journalists cannot access because of security issues. *The Globe and Mail* used this approach to help gather

material for their Emmy award winning series “Talking with the Taliban.” (Globe and Mail, 2008) Local fixers were given small video cameras and went out and interviewed members of the Taliban. In Nunavut, this approach could be adapted by giving video cameras to people who live in some of the far-flung communities outside of Iqaluit. Those locals could send in photographs and video of stories from their towns and hamlets. The locals could then work with a journalist in the South to write or produce a story. The material, including pictures and video, could be filed over the Internet.

### **Agencies and wire services**

Another way southern newspapers could improve their coverage of the Nunavut is for them to encourage and financially support Canadian Press in its efforts to cover the territory. Perhaps under the relatively new ownership of Canadian Press, the joint stakeholders can arrange to base someone in Iqaluit or at least have them travel up to the region the way Paul Watson did for the *Toronto Star*. This would help the Canadian Press meet its mandate to “focus on real people” and will help it to justify its claim of being “unmatched for its breadth and timeliness” when it comes to news in Canada.

### **Conclusion**

There are many approaches Canada’s biggest newspapers could take to improve how they cover Nunavut. When it comes to looking for alternative ways to cover the territory, there is not one option that will best serve all southern newspapers. The options presented in this chapter could be used on their own or in combination with others to improve coverage of this part of the Canadian periphery in the core. If one

newspaper starts to cover a peripheral area of interest well, it could help to build, develop and improve that paper's reputation. The benefits to a brand like Sun newspapers would spread to the company's TV stations as well. If one paper or station starts to cover Nunavut in a way that attracts new readers or viewers, especially young educated ones, then other news organizations may follow.

## CHAPTER 7

### **CONCLUSION**

“I look forward to the day when the North will be portrayed as a complex and important part of Canada with newsworthy people, issues and events that require hard work for reporters to understand. I look forward to the day when the north will be reported, not romanticized, and paternalism will have died.”

Valerie Alia, Un/Covering the North (Alia 1999, 34)

This thesis set out to use southern newspaper coverage of Nunavut as a case study to answer the questions: “How is the periphery covered and what are the implications of this kind of coverage?” From the content analysis and interviews with reporters and their editors at *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* we can see that much of the reporting about Nunavut is done from afar by people who have rarely, if ever, been to the territory. The result is domestic periphery coverage that follows many of the same patterns as coverage of the international periphery. As pointed out in Chapter 2, this type of coverage has been analyzed and criticized over many decades. This chapter will summarize and discuss the parallels between domestic and international periphery coverage, analyze the way that Nunavut has been covered in the Canadian core and suggest future research to contribute to this body of work.

#### **Domestic and international periphery coverage**

Chapter 2 introduced Guy Golan’s four variables for predicting international news coverage of the periphery. They are: deviance, relevance, cultural affinity and the prominence of the nation within the hierarchy of nations. (Golan 2008, 44) In the case of Nunavut’s relationship with an audience in big cities in southern Canada, we saw that

there are many cultural differences. Nunavummiut and southerners share a nationality, but their language, ethnicity, community, culture and history are very different. Socio-economic statistics show that Nunavut often ranks near the bottom of most categories that can be used to measure the hierarchy of provinces and territories within Canada. According to Golan's theory, a lack of cultural affinity and a low standing of Nunavut in the hierarchy of Canada indicates Nunavut would not receive much coverage in southern newspapers.

Relevance is another of Golan's variables for how stories from the international periphery make news in the core that has parallels with how the domestic periphery appears to be covered. Golan describes relevance as being something that is linked to the interests of the target audience. (Golan 2008, 44) The variable was useful in predicting coverage of Nunavut. 23 percent of the stories the three newspapers published in 2011 about the territory were about resources, a source of wealth that will for the most part be exploited by companies that are based in southern Canada or other countries around the world.

Golan's variable of deviance proved effective at predicting if a story from the domestic periphery would be reported in the core. About one-third of the stories about the territory in *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* were about deviance, such as the plane crash that killed twelve people in Resolute Bay. This suggests stories based on a deviant event in Nunavut were more likely than stories about any other issue to make the news in the big southern newspapers. Deviance and resource stories made up more than half of all the stories about Nunavut in the papers in 2011.

As with much international news from the periphery, coverage of Nunavut often does little to promote a sense of community between people in the core and in the periphery. Reporting on deviance usually involves a story quickly turned around about one isolated event. The stories that dealt with resources for the most part shed little light on life in the North for people reading the articles in the South. As with most stories, they were written from the South. Many of the stories focused on the companies involved in whatever resource issue was dealt with in the story, and did not include any mention of people who live in Nunavut. For example, at the beginning 2011 there were many business stories that reported on the latest twist as two companies fought over the right to mine the huge high-grade iron ore at Mary River in northern Baffin Island. By focusing on deviance and issues of relevance such as resources, current coverage of Nunavut does little to develop a sense of community between the North and the South. By digging a little deeper and gaining a greater understanding of the people and communities in the North, there are opportunities for news organizations to tell stories from the North that would resonate with people in the South and could help develop a shared sense of cultural affinity. The editor of Iqaluit's *Nunatsiaq News*, Jim Bell, says the stories are there. He points out in his blog: "The Arctic is a place full of people, people who work, love and suffer, people who worry about how to pay next month's bills and how to feed their children and keep them healthy." (Bell 2000) These are things that all Canadians can relate to, regardless of where they live.

Golan's variable of a country's "prominence of the nation within the hierarchy of nations" as a factor determining news worthiness of an event or issue in a peripheral country also seems to apply to Nunavut in terms of keeping it out of the news in the

Canadian core. News organizations in the South, however, need to move past this simple hierarchy. They should base their reporting not on the Gross Domestic Product per capita in the territory but on different standards of prominence that recognize the important place the North has in shaping Canada's future.

### **Measuring quality**

The content analysis presented in Chapter 4 measured the quantity of stories about Nunavut that ran in *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* in 2011, but it is impossible to make any definitive conclusions about the quality of journalism in the South when reporting on the North. To some extent, rating the work is subjective. There is not one definitive way to measure if an area is over or under reported.

Chapter 3 presented from various sources that argued that good journalism can create a sense of community and help Canadians understand and care about each other. I have argued that for the most part, the reliance of *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* on relatively short resource and deviance stories fails to accomplish these things. The occasional stories that involve what the Canadian Press and the *Star's* Allan Woods call "real people" are most successful in meeting the goal of the Canadian Press to "show in human terms how events affect our lives." (Tasko 2004, 13). *The Globe and Mail* reporter Patrick White's study of life in Nunavut that chronicled both the human and social costs of crime, substance abuse and poverty on the territory's 12th anniversary gave voice to far more "real people" than any other story that ran in the three papers in 2011 and also drew criticism in addition to praise.

Delving into a full-blown discussion about what a newspaper's responsibility is to its readers is beyond the scope of this paper. That said, in my opinion it is worth touching on one point concerning what type of stories should be told from the North. The content analysis conducted for this thesis shows that many stories from Nunavut that are reported deal with deviant or sensational issues or events. The *National Post's* Tristin Hopper calls these "hey neat" stories. For example, the cruise ship running aground in the Northwest Passage in 2010 or a mayor disappearing in the wilderness in 2011. These types of stories make news in the South far more often than stories about complex but important issues such as health, education and poverty. In his book, What Are Journalists For? Jay Rosen criticizes this approach. He argues that the press should operate in the public interest. Rosen says media should "resist and reject the comfortable illusion that Americans don't care about what's happening. If they seem not to care, the likely reason is they've been lulled into believing that far away events will have no real impact on their lives." (Rosen 2001, 287) There is no way to know if readers in southern Canadian cities would care about their fellow citizens in the North, but we do know that if people in the South know very little about northerners then there is almost no chance that they will care about them. Reporters and editors recognize "hey neat" stories sell, but good writing about the North, like that produced by the likes of Paul Watson or Patrick White, can be both engaging and educational.

### **Barriers and ways around them**

Many of the barriers to covering a peripheral area such as Nunavut have been acknowledged in this thesis, including language, distance, time, unfamiliar culture and

costs. Even Valerie Alia, who is very critical of how the South covers the North, acknowledges the challenges: “Vast geographical expanses, multiplicity of ethnic groups and unequal population distribution pose special challenges to the dissemination of news.” (Alia 1999, 141) Even with taking these barriers into account, some people in the North and South who closely follow news out of Nunavut say southern newspapers should be able to do better.

The editor of the *Nunatsiaq News*, Jim Bell, mocked the *Toronto Star*'s copy editors for how they presented Paul Watson's first story in 2009 as the paper's Arctic-Aboriginal correspondent. “The Star's dim-witted copy editors pack in more clichés per pixel than I ever thought possible. I now know the Arctic is, “the planet's new frontier,” a place where “nations rush to stake their claims” and where “Ottawa aggressively fights back to protect our land.”” Bell was also critical of the paper's choice of photos, asking, “Do we really need more pretty pictures of polar bears and Arctic sunsets?” He suggests that the *Toronto Star*'s staff in Toronto know nothing about the issues that are most important to the North, including economic and social development, governance and environmental protection. He says the *Star* has no institutional knowledge with which to understand Arctic issues. (Bell 2009)

The director of communications at the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Canada's national Inuit organization, recognizes that it is very expensive to travel to the North to report from on the ground. Still, Stephen Hendrie says newspapers could be smarter about how they choose to invest what time and financial resources they have to devote

to covering Nunavut.<sup>11</sup> Hendrie says the trip with the Prime Minister is a poor use of those resources. He notes the same drawbacks that the *Toronto Star's* Allan Woods described about the shortcomings of trying to report on Nunavut during these trips. Hendrie says there is almost no time for original reporting and that for the most part the only stories journalists are able to report on and the only people the journalists are able to talk to are the ones the Prime Minister's Office sets up for them. Hendrie says the money a news organization spends on the trip with the Prime Minister would be better invested by independently sending a reporter to the North. Hendrie says he helps journalists secure discounted rates for flights to Nunavut in an effort to lower the cost barriers for reporting from the territory. He also says journalists could travel with the ITK tour the organization runs every year for Members of Parliament to help them to understand Nunavut's communities and culture. Lowering the costs of travel would lower one of the barriers to covering Nunavut for newspapers in the South. Helping to educate journalists in the South about important issues in the territory could encourage editors to make covering Nunavut a higher priority.

### **The road ahead**

Many newspapers are suffering financially because their revenue from ads has fallen in the past decade. Barring a reversal of its financial position, it seems unlikely a paper like the *National Post* will be able to devote much in the way of extra financial resources to covering the North. For newspapers like the *Post* the best hope may be to

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<sup>11</sup> Stephen Hendrie, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, Director of Communications. Interviewed by Jeremy Copeland on May 30, 2012.

find and depend on people like Tristin Hopper who have spent time in the North and can cover the region from afar. Newspapers in a stronger financial position, such as *The Globe and Mail*, may have more options. The paper re-launched on October 1, 2010 in what was described as the most significant redesign in the paper's 166-year history. (Stackhouse, 2010) Despite predictions of the newspaper industry's impending death, the paper at the time made a \$1.7-billion commitment over 18 years to new printing presses. *The Globe's* Publisher and Chief Executive Phillip Crawley said: "We have thrown down the gauntlet and said this is where we think the future of newspapers is." (Austen 2010) At a talk a few weeks later at the Canadian International Council in Ottawa, Crawley explained his rationale for the investment. He predicted many newspapers would go out of business in the next decade, but he argued that there would always be a demand for high quality original reporting. He said for a newspaper to maintain readers it had to offer stories that were not available anywhere else in print or online. (Crawley October 26, 2010) This describes the stories Patrick White did from Nunavut, a trip that he undertook just one month after the *Globe's* re-launch. Patrick White's Nunavut stories in 2011 and Paul Watson's stories for the *Toronto Star* in 2009-2011 delivered original journalism. Many people spoke out to praise and criticize White's reporting. This created a debate, a discussion and a dialogue. It put Nunavut on the radar for people in the South and gave people in the core a way to learn about the opportunities and challenges that Nunavummiut and all Canadians face in the territory. Watson's writing about the North accomplished the same thing for *Toronto Star* readers.

Unfortunately, we are not seeing commitment to this type of reporting from

Nunavut. The *Toronto Star* and Paul Watson deserve a lot of credit for creating an Aboriginal-Arctic correspondent position at the paper, but for most practical purposes that beat seems to have been short lived. Some 18 months after he travelled to Nunavut for *The Globe*, there is no reason to believe that Patrick White's in-depth coverage was anything more than a one-off for the paper. Tristin Hopper at the *National Post* helped to provide his paper with many stories about Nunavut in 2011, but at 25 he is one young reporter pitching stories about the North on his own initiative. He could be assigned to a new position where he might be too busy to write about the region. There appears to be no plan in place at the *Post* to make sure the North does not fall off the radar if Hopper stops pitching stories.

### **Relevance to periphery coverage**

The lack of commitment to covering Nunavut is indicative of how media organizations in the core cover domestic and international peripheries. There are no indications that in the foreseeable future there will be a new influx of money at newspapers to open bureaus in national and international peripheries, nor is there any sign that money will be coming in to allow for more travel for reporters. National editors at *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* all have to try to make the most of their limited resources. This means it is unlikely there will be a Nunavut bureau opening in the foreseeable future. Instead, big southern newspapers would benefit from taking the time to identify and develop strong stringers and invest at least once a year in sending a reporter from the South to the North. That reporter could follow news from the North throughout the year and also travel with the Prime Minister

on his annual tours for as long as they continue. For a reporter in the core, following Nunavut news could be as simple as reading the *Nunatsiaq News* online every day and subscribing to the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami's free daily media monitoring service.

### **Suggestions for further research**

This thesis asks the questions: "How does the core cover the periphery and what are the implications of this kind of coverage?" The scope of this paper allowed for the use of one case study, specifically, how three of Canada's biggest newspapers covered Nunavut in 2011. The thesis goes some way to answer the above questions but also leaves a lot of room for further study.

It would be interesting to do a content analysis of the local newspapers in Nunavut in 2011. The results could be compared and contrasted with the results from the content analysis done of *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* during the same year. This might assist in understanding the degree to which issues that are judged to be important in the North are neglected by the three newspapers in the South.

Doing a content analysis of how northern media cover the North could also provide insight between the differences of how Nunavut is portrayed in the North compared to how it is portrayed in the South. Does the image of the periphery change depending on if you are reading local newspapers or papers in the core? Do the papers in each region focus their coverage on different issues? Do the stories take a different tone? These are just a few of the questions that could be at least partially answered by doing a content analysis of newspapers in the North in 2011.

Further insight into how the core covers the periphery could be gained by looking at how radio and TV stations covered Nunavut in 2011. This would reveal any differences in patterns between the different media.

Research could also be done into how news from Nunavut was covered online that year. Researchers could analyze things such as the online coverage from the three newspapers chosen for this paper, how blogs and Twitter were used to inform people of news in the territory.

Further research could be done to compare how other peripheries within Canada were covered by *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and *National Post* in 2011. This would give more insight into how much coverage is 'normal' for a province or territory in the periphery.

It would be interesting to do a deeper examination of the work Paul Watson did on his Arctic-Aboriginal beat. There are, no doubt, lessons that could be learned about how best to cover the periphery. This thesis has not devoted more time to Watson's work because in age of newspaper cuts where staff are consistently being asked to do more with less, spending \$150,000 a year plus salary to cover one part of the periphery is, unfortunately, not a model many Canadian newspapers will be able to afford.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis set out to answer two related questions: "How is the periphery covered and what are the implications of this kind of coverage?" Based on the coverage by *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* of Nunavut in 2011, the short answer to the first question appears to be that the periphery is covered from afar

by reporters who have rarely, if ever, been to the territory. The shortcomings include superficial coverage of some events and issues, while other issues in the territory that are important to locals and southerners receive little attention.

The answer to the second part of this question is that by covering the periphery this way people in the core are to a large degree ignorant about the periphery and the people who live there. In the case of Nunavut, the vast majority of Canadians do not know much about the territory and Nunavummiut, despite the fact that the periphery is important to the future of the entire country. (ITK 2009) The way *The Globe and Mail*, *Toronto Star* and the *National Post* cover Nunavut for their readers in the South fails to create a sense of community between the Canadian periphery and the core. One implication of this is that there is little chance that the political will can be generated to tackle the severe socio-economic problems people face in Nunavut.

## EPILOGUE

On April 2, 2011, *The Globe and Mail* published Patrick White's story about Nunavut. It ran in the Saturday Focus section but the top half of the paper's front page was devoted to promoting the story. The promo included a large picture of Leo Nangmalik, the man introduced at the start of this thesis. After sharing his story with White in his ramshackle excuse for a house near Repulse Bay, Nangmalik stepped outside with the reporter. White wrote:

“Outside his shack, darkness had won the battle of contrasts. A blue halo encircled the moon, just as it did on that hopeful night a dozen years ago (when Nunavut was created). A clear night sky promised a bright day tomorrow. “What I have told you,” Mr. Nangmalik said, looking across the bay, “I have never been able to tell. I feel a peace right now. Maybe this is what we need, this talking.”” (White1 2011)

White's article ends with those hopeful words, but the story does not. On the day the story ran White received an update about the person he had used to represent the face of hope for Nunavut. White learned that two days earlier Nangmalik shot himself in the head. The fact that Nangmalik committed suicide just as the story his story was about to be shared across Canada appears to have been an unfortunate coincidence. An old arrest warrant had caught up with him and rather than face the prospect of going back to jail for something he did many years earlier, Nangmalik took his own life. (White2 2011)

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## APPENDIX A

### **Newspaper stories about Nunavut in 2011**

#### The Globe and Mail

January 3. *Rising market values to fuel mergers and acquisitions.* Tim Kiladze. Toronto. B1. 712 words.

January 4. *Baffinland rejects Nunavut's offer.* Anonymous. Toronto. B7. 222 words.

January 6. *High stakes in the Far North.* Brenda Bouw. Toronto. B1. 1,003 words.

January 15. *Arcelor, Nunavut Iron make joint bid for Baffinland.* Tim Kiladze. Toronto. B11. 634 words.

January 24. *Striking while the iron's hot.* Tim Kiladze. Toronto. B1. 326 words.

January 24. *Politically astute Inuit leader fought for the creation of Nunavut.* Whit Fraser. Toronto. S10. 1,365 words.

February 14. *North of \$60.* Josh Wingrove. A5. Toronto. 611 words.

March 10. *In face of outcry, Ottawa relents on new food-subsidy program for the Far North.* Josh Wingrove. Toronto. A7. 658.

April 1. *April 1, 1999: Nunavut splits off from Northwest Territories.* Patrick White. Toronto. A2. 236 words.

April 2. *Death at the 64<sup>th</sup> parallel.* Patrick White. Iqaluit. F1. 7,524 words.

April 2. *The big 50.* John Ibbitson. Ottawa. A4. 380 words.

April 4. *Territory's youthfulness brings hope, despair.* Joe Friesen. Toronto. A3. 1,111 words.

April 5. *In the North, all politics is geographical.* Steve Ladurantaye. Toronto. A4. 681 words.

April 5. *Have road, will travel.* Patrick White. Rankin Inlet. A3. 825 words.

April 9. *Beyond tradition – and the tourist shops.* James Adams. Toronto. R7. 974 words.

April 9. *A brush with his past proved too much.* Patrick White. Toronto. A10. 1,152 words.

May 14. *Three reasons to trek to Quttinirpaaq.* Nathan Vanderklippe. Toronto. T4. 790 words.

May 14. *A mine, a line and an island transformed.* Paul Waldie. Toronto. B6. 2,567 words.

May 18. *Fukushima chills uranium development.* Nathan Vanderklippe. Calgary. E2. 867 words.

June 9. *Four dead, a community in mourning.* Allick Chantaie, Kim Mackrael and Patrick White. Toronto. A3. 941 words.

July 4. *Military plans for summer show of force in the High Arctic.* Jeremy Torobin. A5. 516 words.

July 9. *Fast Runner filmmakers pull the plug; vast archive in jeopardy.* Paul Waldie. R1. 1,143 words.

July 19. *The Norwegians are missing the boat.* Gloria Galloway. Ottawa. A4. 942 words.

August 13. *Is it possible to visit Canada's northern territories in one trip?* Karan Smith. Toronto. T2. 332 words.

August 13. *Inspired by Auyuittuq.* Margo Pfeiff. Pangnirtung, Nunavut. T3. 1,004 words.

August 15. *The tug of war over the Maud.* Gloria Galloway. Ottawa. A3. 758 words.

August 18. *Public feast to cap 'historic' Inuit whale hunt.* Dawn Walton. Toronto. A19. 447 words.

August 22. *Sisters in plane crash were 'the absolute jewel of this entire town.'* Patrick White and Ingrid Peritz. Toronto. A1. 982 words.

August 22. *Crash alters tone of Harper's visit.* Bill Curry. Toronto. A4. 755 words.

August 23. *A miracle story emerges from Nunavut crash.* Canadian Press. Resolute Bay, Nunavut. A10. 789 words.

August 24. *'No Duff' meant it was not an exercise.* Gloria Galloway. Resolute Bay, Nunavut. A6. 855 words.

August 25. *Hunter facing jail for polar bear he shot a decade ago.* Ha Tu Thanh. Toronto. A5. 723 words.

August 25. *Harper pushes mining expansion.* Gloria Galloway. Baker Lake, Nunavut. A4. 663 words.

October 12. *Malfunction stalls mission.* Gloria Galloway. Ottawa. A5. 321 words.

November 12. *Beauty in cold and troubled land.* Sandra Martin. Toronto. F6. 1,620 words.

December 17. *Norwegians denied passage for the Maud.* Gloria Galloway. Ottawa. A15. 361 words.

December 22. *Safety of military equipment questioned.* Kim Mackrael. Ottawa. A5. 579 words.

December 26. *An ancient ritual: A missing mayor and a hamlet's unlikely hope.* Toronto. Ingrid Peritz. A1. 658 words.

December 31. *Out in the cold: The struggle of Inuit film.* Guy Dixon. Toronto. R6. 973 words.

#### The Toronto Star

February 10. *The Great White North goes east: Latest National Parks project entry screens at Berlin Film Festival.* Linda Barnard. Toronto. E1. 631 words.

April 21. *Night brings reality of far north to vivid life.* Robert Crew. Toronto. E4. 461 words.

April 23. *Northern Diamonds in the pouch.* Lisa Wright. Toronto. B1. 2,090 words.

April 30. *Shifting Ground: Contact's anchor exhibition at MOCCA.* Murray Whyte. E13. 912 words.

July 9. *160-year-old secret to be revealed: Canadian team to probe HMS Investigator, sent to find Franklin ships.* Allan Woods. Ottawa. A16. 1,109 words.

July 14. *Military eyes permanent presence in the Arctic.* Allan Woods. Ottawa. A1. 802 words.

July 28. *Cross rises again in Iqaluit.* Allison Cross. Toronto. A6. 836 words.

August 20. *Staking claim to an 'Arctic Renaissance.'* Allan Woods. Ottawa. A16. 947 words.

August 21. *Nunavut mourns as jet crash kills 12.* Allan Woods. Ottawa. A1. 1,018 words.

August 22. *Son's birthday kept man off doomed Nunavut flight.* Allan Woods. Ottawa. A1. 733 words.

August 24. *Harper pays tribute to crash victims.* Allan Woods. Resolute Bay. A8. 460 words.

August 25. *PM sees golden future for North.* Allan Woods. Baker Lake. A4. 891 words.

September 7. *Northern hamlet enjoys Christmas in September.* Denis Calnan. Grise Fiord. A10. 611 words.

October 7. *North sails south to recycle: 3-million cans, bottles pile up in Rankin Inlet.* Liam Casey. Toronto. A2. 417 words.

October 7. *Satellite shutdown causes havoc in the North.* Fong Pettie. Vancouver. A4. 460 words.

November 11. *Ottawa places polar bears on 'concern' list.* Emily Jackson. Toronto. A6. 569 words.

November 17. *Santa's spirit spreads north.* Alexandra Posadzki. Toronto. X8. 602 words.

December 22. *Canada adrift in Arctic waters.* Paul Watson. Murmansk, Russia. A1. 2,463 words.

December 22. *Faulty equipment led to death.* Bruce Campton-Smith. Ottawa. A7. 514 words.

#### The National Post

January 3. *Nunavut raises bid in battle for Baffinland.* Jameson Berkow. Toronto. FP2. 312 words.

January 7. *Youths in North outnumber older citizens.* Shannon Proudfoot. Toronto. A8. 613 words.

January 11. *Nunavut adds warrant to offer for Baffinland iron mines.* Peter Koven. Toronto. FP4. 226 words.

January 13. *Canada strikes seal meat deal with China.* Carmen Chai. Ottawa. A2. 656 words.

January 13. *Baffinland shares jump on possible higher bid.* Pav Jordan. Toronto. FP6. 319 words.

January 15. *Baffinland takeover breaks uneasy ground.* Tim Shufelt. Toronto. FP4. 749 words.

January 18. *Baffinland endorses takeover offer.* Peter Koven. Toronto. FP6. 385 words.

January 19. *Mary River mine to push boundaries.* Julie Gordon. Toronto. FP4. 459 words.

January 21. *Priest sent back to face sex charges.* Chris Windeyer. Iqaluit. A5. 219 words.

January 21. *Northern Canada faces huge doctor shortage.* Shannon Proudfoot. Toronto. A7. 380 words.

January 21. *Former CEO wants probe on Baffinland.* Peter Koven. Toronto. FP6. 527 words.

February 2. *Ex-vice roy still has a zeal for seal meat.* Kathryn Blaze Carlson. Toronto. A6. 253 words.

February 16. *Where alcohol and crime go hand in hand.* Tamsin McMahon. Toronto. A1. 904 words.

February 16. *Language standardization an age-long Inuit difficulty.* Jim Bell. Iqaluit. A6. 531 words.

March 10. *Ottawa's northern food subsidy plan backfires.* Chris Windeyer. A5. 371 words.

April 29. *It's a challenge just to meet the voter.* Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A6. 1,140 words.

May 2. *New Tootoo is better.* Jim Jamieson. Vancouver. B3. 298 words.

May 11. *North's new gold rush.* Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A1. 799 words.

June 9. *Children among four dead in Iqaluit*. Douglas Quan. Toronto. A6. 520 words.

July 19. *Tech and tradition open up remote Arctic*. Christine Dobby. Toronto. FP9. 878 words.

July 21. *When lost isn't enough: Nunavut won't pay for novice hunter's rescue*. Sarah Boesveld. Toronto. A1. 747 words.

July 27. *Digging in. Problematic but promising*. Anonymous. Toronto. FP7. 591 words.

August 9. *Polar tug-of-war; a Nunavut community is battling Norwegian investor's attempt to raise the wreckage of Arctic explorers ship*. Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A5. 909 words.

August 23. *Forensic teams at First Air crash*. Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A6. 808 words.

August 24. *Engine failed in second 737 plane*. Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A8. 519 words.

August 25. *Harper defends Arctic mining*. Mike De Souza. Baker Lake, Nunavut. A4. 376 words.

August 27. *Survival left to luck*. Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A7. 1,084 words.

September 1. *The Arctic challenge: Nunavut holds great riches but holds them tightly*. David Ljungren and Ellan Rocha. Baker Lake, Nunavut. FP3. 1,899 words.

September 20. *'There was no one around me:' Nunavut crash survivor recalls little warning before plane slammed into the ground*. Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A3. 1,025 words.

September 24. *The end of the old North: Father Guy Mary-Rousseliere was an artist, anthropologist, preacher*. Joe O'Connor. Toronto. A6. 1,069 words.

September 26. *'Tipping point' for crime in the North*. Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A1. 909 words.

October 11. *Loose propeller nut strands ice breaker*. Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A1. 444 words.

November 30. *North's diamond bonanza fizzles*. Peter Koven. Toronto. FP1. 581 words.

December 16. *Ottawa sinks Norwegian plan to raise the Maud.* Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A3. 510 words.

December 22. *Equipment failure may have killed rescuer.* Sheila Dabu. Toronto. A6. 490 words.

December 23. *Into the wild: No sign of Nunavut mayor missing since November.* Tristin Hopper. Toronto. A3. 790 words.

December 27. *RCAF has Arctic base expansion on the radar.* David Pugliese. Ottawa. A1. 696 words.

## APPENDIX B

### **List of Interviews**

Tristin Hopper, National Post. Reporter. April 9, 2012. Conducted on telephone by Jeremy Copeland.

Rob Roberts, National Post. National Editor. April 23, 2012. Conducted on telephone by Jeremy Copeland.

Allan Woods, Toronto Star. Reporter. April 25, 2012. Conducted on telephone by Jeremy Copeland.

Tim Harper, Toronto Star. Former National Editor. May 2, 2012. Conducted on telephone by Jeremy Copeland.

Patrick White, The Globe and Mail. Reporter. May 3, 2012. Conducted on telephone by Jeremy Copeland.

Stephen Hendrie, Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami. Director of Communications. May 30, 2012. Conducted on telephone by Jeremy Copeland.