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MASTER'S THESIS

Aalborg University

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
DENMARK

CLIMATE CHANGE IN CANADA'S NORTH

An analysis of narratives and the representation of Inuit within the Canadian climate change discourse

By Leonie Rickmann
May 30th, 2017

AALBORG UNIVERSITY
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Climate change in Canada's North:

An analysis of narratives and the representation of Inuit within the Canadian climate change discourse

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of:

Master of Arts in Culture, Communication and Globalization

Leonie Rickmann

Aalborg, May 30th, 2017

Supervisor: Lill Rastad Bjørst

Abstract

While the issue of climate change is known to be a global environmental problem, the impacts of climate change are disproportionately burdening a small group of people, especially indigenous people living in vulnerable regions such as the Arctic. Nevertheless, in the prevalent climate change communication indigenous people and their precarious situations are barely included. This study investigates how the NGO Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) represents the topic and Inuit through narratives in their communication while comparing it to the representation of Canadian news media. Here, a strategic content analysis of speeches and press releases from the NGO compares articles covering the COP1 summit from CBC. The hereby used methodology is based on Fløttum's approach to narrative theory and Hall's representation theory.

The study shows that the ICC is presenting climate change through different narratives, therefore uses two different communicational strategies and either presents Inuit as victims or as holders of valuable knowledge, depending on the aim and the context of its communication. The CBC focuses mainly on climate change issues in the context of Canada, but fails here to include and present the case of its indigenous Arctic people meaningfully, instead simply depicts them in the one-sided way of climate change victims.

Although both parties contribute to the Canadian climate change discourse by presenting their narratives, the analysis shows that only few parallels occur between the two. While the ICC's objective is to get governments and policy-makers to listen and therefore changes its mode of speaking according to its objectives, the CBC communicates to the public and is obliged to provide a wide range of information to reflect Canada holistically.

Keywords: Climate change, Inuit, Canada, Arctic, Indigenous people, Inuit Circumpolar Council, Canadian Broadcasting Company, COP21

“The world can tell us everything we want to know. The only problem for the world is that it doesn’t have a voice. But the world’s indicators are there. They are always talking to us.”

(Quitsak Tarkiasuk, quoted in McGregor, 2008)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS & DEFINITIONS

CBC	*Canadian Broadcasting Company* A Canadian federal crown corporation that serves as the national public radio and television broadcaster.
COP	*Conference of the Parties* Also known as the *United Nations Climate Change Conferences.* A yearly conference held in the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to assess progress in dealing with climate change, and to establish legally binding obligations for developed countries to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. As of 2015, the UNFCCC has 197 parties including all United Nations member states, United Nations General Assembly observer State of Palestine, UN non-member states Niue and the Cook Islands and the supranational union European Union
COP15	*The 2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference* The 15th Conference of the Parties (COP 15) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) which was held in Copenhagen, Denmark between 7 and 18 December 2009.
COP21	*2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference* The 21st Conference of the Parties (COP 15) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) which was held in Paris, France between 30 November and 12 December 2015. The negotiations resulted in the Paris agreement, a global agreement on the reduction of climate change. The agreement represents a consensus of the 196 countries attending it. On April 22nd, 2016 174 countries signed the agreement and began adopting it within their legal systems.

EPA	*Environmental Protection Agency (USA)* An agency of the Federal government of the United States which was created for the purpose of protecting human health and the environment.
ICC	*Inuit Circumpolar Council* A multinational non-governmental organization (NGO) and Indigenous Peoples' Organization (IPO) representing the 160,000 Inuit people living in Alaska (United States), Canada, Greenland (Denmark), and Chukotka (Russia).
IIPFCCC	*The International Indigenous Forum on Climate Change* The ICPFCCC was established in 2008, as the caucus for indigenous peoples participating in the UNFCCC processes. The IIPFCC represents the caucus members who attend the official UNFCCC COPs and intersessions of the subsidiary bodies in between COPs. Its mandate is to come into agreement specifically on what IPs will be negotiating for in specific UNFCCC processes.
NASA	*National Aeronautics and Space Administration* An independent agency of the executive branch of the United States federal government responsible for the civilian space program, as well as aeronautics and aerospace research.
NGO	*Non-governmental organization* Any non-profit, voluntary group which is organized on a local, national or international level. Commonly set up by citizens and funded through governments, foundations, schools, businesses or private people.
UN/UNO	*United Nations Organization* An intergovernmental organization which promotes international cooperation. It was established in 1945 and has to date 193 members.

UNPFII	*United Nations Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues* The UN's central coordinating body for matters relating to the concerns and rights of the world's indigenous peoples.

1. INTRODUCTION

The world of the 21st century is witnessing crises, global and local, in many areas of the planet: The generations growing up are facing turns in society, politics, economy and the environment. Among one of the current challenges are the topics of climate change and global warming. Climate change has been defined by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change as "a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods" (UNO, 1992).

Many scientists agree that since the Industrial Revolution a human-induced greenhouse effect has accelerated the process of global warming (Yenneti, 2012). Greenhouse gases mostly arise due to burning fossil fuels for energy production and use, deforestation, agricultural activities and the producing industry. Among the most known and most profound greenhouse gases are carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide. They cause a warming of the Earth's surface by retaining infrared radiation in the atmosphere (Yenneti, 2012). According to the NASA's Earth Science Division, carbon dioxide levels in the air are at the highest in 650,000 years, Arctic sea ice is shrinking 13,3 percent per decade and shrank to the lowest extent on record in 2012. Besides, sea levels have risen nearly 178 millimeters over the past 100 years (NASA, 2017). Consequences of climate change can already be noticed in many parts of the Earth and will increase in the following decades: Rising sea levels, rising global temperatures, warming oceans, shrinking ice sheets, declining Arctic sea ice, glacial retreat, extreme weather events, ocean acidification and a decreased snow cover on the North and South Pole (NASA, 2017).

While climate change is known to be a global environmental problem, mainly caused by the world's biggest carbon dioxide emitters China (28 %), the United States (16 %), the European Union (10 %), India (6 %) and the Russian Federation (6 %) (EPA, 2017), the impacts of climate change are disproportionately burdening a small group of people. It can be argued that indigenous people across the world are particularly vulnerable to climate change, both physically and legally (Abate & Kronk Warner, 2013). From the indigenous peoples in the Arctic, to Pacific island nations, tribes in Africa and aboriginal inhabitants of Australia and New Zealand – climate change is affecting indigenous peoples' cultural and traditional ways of living and threatens not only the lands they live on and to which they have been connected to for centuries, but also their natural resources, thereby their economic and nutritive foundation (Abate & Kronk Warner, 2013).

Due to the diversity of indigenous people, an official definition of the term 'indigenous' has not been adopted by the UN. However, it has established a modern understanding of the term based on the following indicators (UNPFII, 2002):

- *Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by their communities as their member*
- *Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies*
- *Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources*
- *Distinct social, economic or political systems*
- *Distinct culture, language and beliefs*
- *From non-dominant groups of societies*
- *Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities*

Moreover, one of the commonalities between indigenous peoples across the world is that they existed for thousands of years as autonomous communities and nations on their lands before being in contact with settlers and colonialists (Abate & Kronk Warner, 2013).

The group of indigenous people which this study focuses on, is one of the indigenous people of the Arctic, the Inuit.

In the Arctic, warming temperatures due to climate change are causing the indigenous people to lose land and natural resources which are crucial to their way of living: "Increasing temperatures cause a melting of the Arctic sea ice and permafrost which has severe impacts to their daily activities such as whaling, fishing and reindeer herding. It makes hunting, fishing and travelling more difficult and forces some to relocate." (Abate & Kronk Warner, 2013) The severe consequences climate change is causing for Inuit people is especially harmful because they share a unique connection to their land. This connection resides in their spiritual and their cultural context as hunters and fishers. For many, spirituality is intimately connected to the Earth and their environment which is why for Inuit climate change not only causes the physical loss of their land, but also of their identity, culture and traditions (Abate & Kronk Warner, 2013).

Interestingly, within the public and media discourse of climate change, one image has made it to people's minds as *the* symbol for the melting Arctic: the polar bear (Swyngedouw, 2010). Here, it is not the concern about native people of the region, but the harm climate change causes to polar bears which gets the most sustained attention. The "charismatic megafauna" (Martello, 2008) of the Arctic was the main reason people were shocked in 2005 when it was reported that due to the melting sea ice, polar bears are drowning and that their population decreased (Tsosie, 2007). The threat climate change is posing to populations inhabiting vulnerable regions such as the Arctic or Pacific islands is often left out of sight (Martello, 2008). Nevertheless, among scientists researching the impact of global warming in the region, the involvement of indigenous peoples and their traditional environmental knowledge has become an increasingly important factor of their research. By now, scientists are

recognizing indigenous people as experts on human-environment relationships and crucial contributors to global change – knowledge-makers who risk the loss of century-old cultures, relationships and ways of life (Martello, 2008). According to Martello (2008), when portraying climate change, it has become more important to portray the human face of it.

Although this shift to the human aspects is happening in the public discourse of climate change, this research seeks to explore how indigenous people portray their situation themselves and represent the topic of climate change and its impacts and consequences in their communication and thereby contribute to the discourse. Here, the research project analyzes the communication of the organization Inuit Circumpolar Council, which will be introduced in the second chapter, and compares its representation of climate change and narratives around it to the Canadian news media Canadian Broadcasting Company. The aim here is to explore how these two participants within the Canadian climate change discourse represent the topic and through which narratives they frame it for their respective audiences. A further look will be taken into the representation of Inuit and their roles within the discourse. The guiding research question of the topic is how does the Inuit Circumpolar Council represent the indigenous peoples' perspective on climate change in their communication, compared to climate change narratives in Canadian news media in the context of COP21? The topic will be approached by the following sub-questions:

- RQ1: Which are the narratives both sides give and what do they imply?
- RQ2: Through which themes is the topic of climate change represented by both sides?
- RQ2: How are Inuit represented as social actors by the NGO and the news media?

This paper seeks to explore how a group of people which is affected by climate change represents the topic through their communication, compared to how the topic is represented by the media, hence communicated to the broader public and how the two characterize the Canadian climate change discourse. Here, the aim is to analyze where and how the NGO and the news media localize and illustrate the topic of climate change and on which topics within the discourse emphasis is put. This will be done with a strategic content analysis of speeches, statements and press releases from the ICC and articles covering the COP1 summit from CBC. The hereby used methodology is based on theories regarding narratives and representation.

2. INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE ARCTIC

The Arctic region, located at the northernmost part of the Earth, consists of the Arctic Ocean and the adjacent seas, parts of Alaska (USA), Canada, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Iceland and Russia (Arctic Council, 2017).

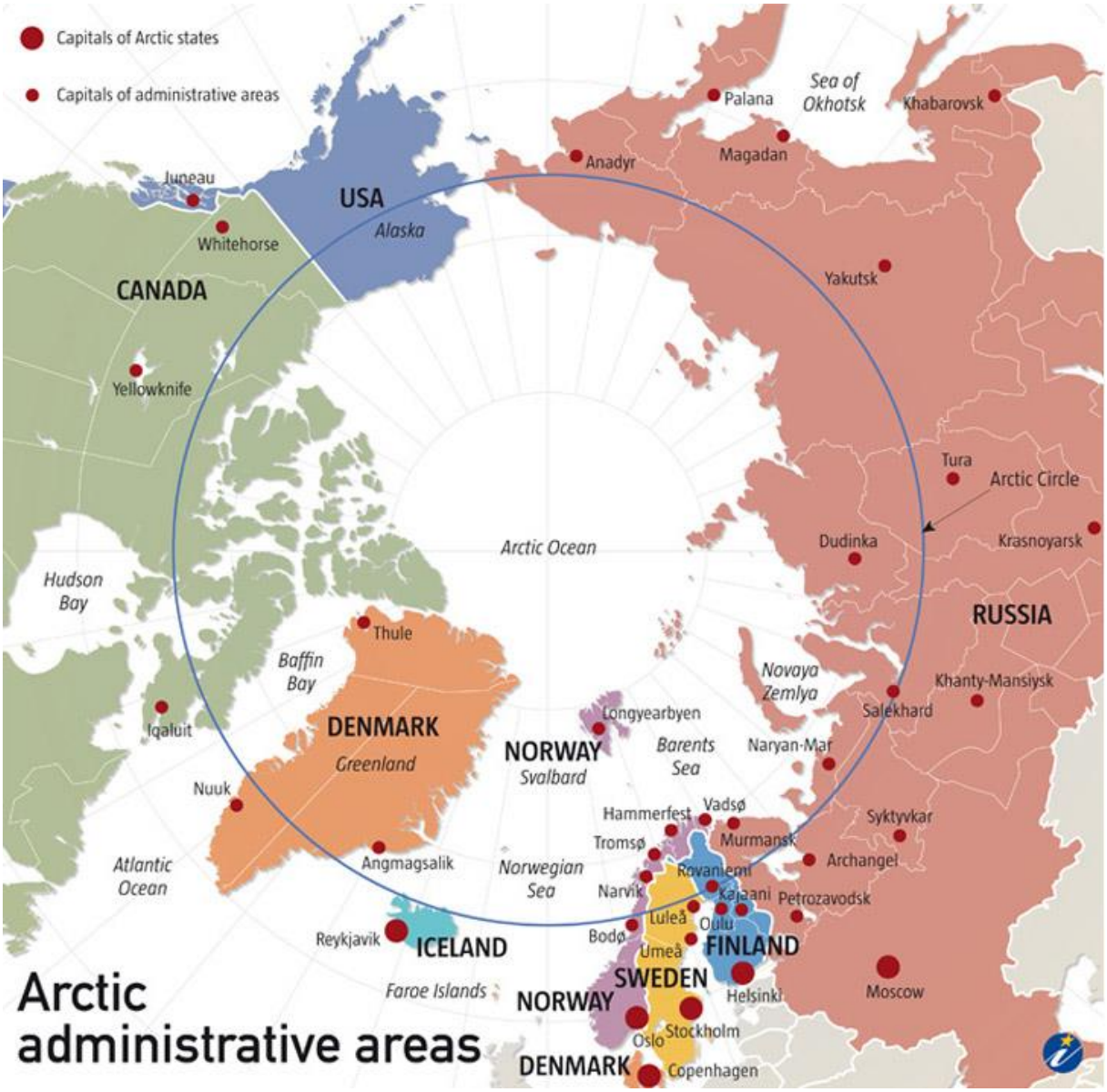

Image 1: Arctic administrative areas

In 2013, the Arctic was inhabited by approximately four million people, the majority living in Canada, Iceland and Alaska (Larsen & Fondahl, 2014). Indigenous people make about 10% of the total population in the Arctic, whereby in Canada they represent about half the nation's Arctic population and in Greenland they represent the majority (Arctic Council, 2017). The North American indigenous people originate from Asia; crossing the Bering Land Bridge that joined Siberia and Alaska about

15,000 years ago, they settled in the regions of today's Alaska and Canada (Goebel, Waters, & O'Rourke, 2008).

Among the diverse groups of indigenous people inhabiting the Arctic are the Inuit ("the people"), which this paper will focus on. The Inuit live in regions of Canada (Quebec, Newfoundland, Labrador, the Northwest Territories and Nunavut), Greenland, Alaska and the Russian Chukchi Peninsula (Huteson, 2008). Inuit are one of the many indigenous peoples inhabiting the Arctic regions. There are approximately 114,000 Inuit living in Canada, the US (Alaska), Greenland and Russia, which split up in several subgroups. Apart from Inuit, other Arctic indigenous people are for example Saami in the circumpolar areas of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Northwest Russia, Nenets, Khanty, Evenk and Chukchi in Russia, and Aleut and Yupik in Alaska. Among all Arctic states, Iceland is the only one which is not inhabited by indigenous people (Arctic Centre, 2017).

Many indigenous people share a history of oppression and abuse by the dominant societies that came into their lands in the era of colonialism from the 16th to 20th century. Colonialism and settlement of Europeans brought the Inuit peoples trade opportunities, but above all, caused tremendous damage to their way of life and the lands they lived on (Pauktuuiit, 2006).
The eastern tribes of North America were the first to encounter the Europeans, whereby according to Chartrand (2002), the patterns of contact can be divided into two major phases: A long period of slow acculturation when contact was essentially limited to explorers, whalers, traders and missionaries, followed by a short period (from 1945 on) of extremely rapid acculturation resulting from the introduction of large-scale Federal government assimilation programs (Chartrand, 2002).

The first contact with Europeans can be dated around 1000 CE[1] and became prolonged after Europeans established permanent settlements in the 17th and 18th century (Woodcock, 1990). Generally, these first contacts are reported to be friendly and peaceful but as part of the European's art of war, they brought increased warfare and tragedy among the indigenous people: Diseases imported by the newcomers and violent confrontations decimated the numbers of tribes throughout Canada (Huteson, 2008). The activities of the Europeans in the regions of Newfoundland and Labrador focused on whaling and fishing which led to a mutual interest in trade between the Inuit and the Europeans. Whereas in pre-contact days the Inuit mode of production was subsistence-based, by the late 1920s their mode of production had become capitalized through trade and resulted on a growing dependency on European traders which modified the way in which hunting ways were traditionally carried out (Chartrand, 2002). Moreover, the attempts of the missionaries of the Moravian Church,

[1] CE: Common Era, Current Era

who had arrived in the 18th century, to convert Inuit caused another threat to their culture and traditions (Chartrand, 2002).

After the 1940s, the Inuit's position deteriorated more: The collapse of the fur trade as an economic support structure, widespread famines and health problems and the international awareness of the existence of valuable resources in the north (Chartrand, 2002). In Canada, federal assimilation policies responded to these factors: "The two major components of this assimilation policy were a massive population relocation program in which Inuit were encouraged to live in government built-and-controlled permanent settlements, and the development of a formal southern Canadian education system that involved residential as well as day schools and that would infuse Inuit children with white values and norms" (Chartrand, 2002). Part of the agenda was to erase Inuit cultures and to accustom them to European standards and ways of life which was unnatural to the indigenous people. Traditional family lifestyles were disrupted and many were separated from the support system of elders and extended families due to the relocation and the boarding schools (Huteson, 2008).

From the 1960s onward, Inuit in Canada took a stronger political stance and demanded to be recognized and assert their rights (Huteson, 2008). While in their home countries they had tried all legal and political means to ensure they were treated as equal citizens and to get their civil, political, economic and cultural rights recognized, a main breakthrough, not only for Inuit but all indigenous peoples across the world, was the establishment of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Affairs in 2002. Here, indigenous people were officially recognized as equal participants by an international institution, and their collective human rights were officially recognized in 2007 when the United Nations' Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted by the UN General Assembly (Dahl, 2012). Despite of their official recognition, indigenous people of the Arctic still fight against racism and unfair treatments. Moreover, the threat to their subsistence due to impacts of climate change and alarming suicide rates among their youths cause new and alarming challenges for the indigenous peoples in the Arctic (Watt-Cloutier, 2016).

Another important progress for the rights of the Canadian Inuit was the Nunavut Land Claims agreement from 1993. The agreement gave Inuit the territorial rights of the Canadian region Nunavut and is the largest Canadian land claim settlement in the history of Canada. Further, Inuit were given rights in various aspects such as wildlife management and harvesting rights, land, water and environmental management, the right to negotiate with industry economic and social benefits for the residents (Campbell, Fenge, & Hanson, 2011).

To gain an understanding why climate change and the impacts it has on the Arctic is so vital to indigenous people of the region, a brief look should be taken into what comprises Inuit culture and identity:

> *''Those [technical] skills are really important but equally so is the character skills that you learn from traditional teaching out in the land. As you are waiting for the ice to form and the snow to fall and the weather to improve and the animals to surface, you are being taught patience immediately. When you are out there taking survival-based risks you are learning how to be courageous. You are learning how to deal with stressful situations, how to be bold under pressure […].'' (Watt-Cloutier, 2016)*

Due to the extreme climatic and environmental conditions Inuit have adapted to, their survival skills are based on hunting and trapping. Therefore, these activities have become the core of the culture and cultural history of the Inuit (Pauktuuiit, 2006).

Prior to the rapid modern changes the Inuit communities have gone through, they lived in small, family-based groupings that travelled seasonally in pursuit for food: Caribou, fish, sea mammals and occasionally bird eggs and berries (Pauktuuiit, 2006). Due to this way of life, the Inuit have developed remarkable hunting techniques and unique skills. Technologies include the traditional housing in an igloo, the kayak, fur clothing and harpoons. The hunted animals not only provide the main source of nutrition, but parts of the animals are also used for their traditional clothing to protect the Inuit from the harsh environmental conditions. Sealskin was used to make the boats waterproof, bones and skin from whales for construction and whale oil for heating (Pauktuuiit, 2006).

The adaption of the Inuit to their surrounding is the foundation for their culture, tradition and identity. The ice and snow is not only mobility and transportation but a big part of the Inuit identity and life force (Watt-Cloutier, 2016). The survival-based risks they have to take to provide for their families teach them the necessary skills they need in the Arctic to survive and also create ‘‘wise young people who not only can survive, but can tackle everything in life with their coping skills they learned out on the ice'' (Watt-Cloutier, 2016). Deriving of the culture of hunting, the Inuit have developed character traits which are most important and respected among their society: Self-reliance, independence and innovation are character traits that traditionally increased the chances for survival of the individual or the group as well as patience and the ability to accept those realities that are beyond one's control, two other highly valued attitudes. They were essential to maintain subsistence in the Arctic, be it waiting patiently for hours at a time by a seal's breathing hole or being unable to travel or hunt for days and weeks due to violent and lengthy storms. (Pauktuuiit, 2006)

These character and personality traits, which are rooted in the Arctic culture, are not only what forms Inuit's identity, but also what sets them apart from *Qallunaat* (Inuktitut for "white people") (Searles, 2008). According to Dahl (2012), this is a crucial factor, because the notion of *being different* has been adopted by indigenous people to set themselves apart from their opponents, "a process in which they have constructed a united indigenous culture and space different from and outside the control of governments." (Dahl, 2012)

Kuper (2005) offers five indicators to identify who is or is not Inuit which also reflect the cultural values outlined above: (1) Inuit possess a unique way of living and learning about the world that must be incorporated into daily life if Inuit culture and identity are to survive; (2) Inuit inherit some of their identity through soul substance attached to Inuit names and through biological substance generated through human procreation; (3) Inuit identity requires particular places that nourish one's Inuit identity (e.g. outpost camps) while other places drain it away (e.g. southern cities); (4) Inuit are ethnically (and racially) distinct from Qallunaat; and (5) the articulation of Inuit identity entails a positive affirmation of Inuit culture and a simultaneous repudiation of Qallunaat culture (Kuper, 2005). Not only Kuper (2005), but different ethnographers point out a dominant trend in the ways in which cultural beliefs and practices inform a collective sense of Inuit identity which includes subsistence hunting and food sharing, naming and the experience of kin ties, language use and storytelling, the transmission of traditional values, and the experience of specific cognitive states (Searles, 2008). According to Kuper (2005), Inuit identity automatically involves drawing a line between the life of modern society, of Qallunaat, and the traditional life of Inuit. A brief explanation for this is given by Inuit activist Sheila Watt-Cloutier who refers to two traumas the Inuit have been and are going through, that can be connected to the contact of Inuit with (former) Europeans. The historical trauma includes forced relocations, the collapse of the fur trade and seal skin market which stripped away the dignity of the hunters and their ability to support their families financially, and children being sent to boarding schools away from their families where they lost the connection to their Inuit culture and language (Watt-Cloutier, 2016). According to Watt-Cloutier (2016), all these wounds lead to the problems Inuit societies face nowadays: Violence, addictions and suicides. Further, she connects these problems to the great meaning the Arctic (landscape) has for Inuit:

> *''So now here we are, in the second wave of change. Just as we were thinking that our culture and our ice and our snow is where solutions lie because we can go back to those teachings and prepare our children because those skills are very transferable to the modern world and they can be the guide for our young people because it is about learning how you work and how to survive and cope and be resilient – that is what our culture is all about. And now [...] the very thing we are reaching out to for the solutions is starting to melt away.'' (Watt-Cloutier, 2016)*

For Inuit, and other indigenous people inhabiting the Arctic, the region carries an immense importance and the consequences of climate change pose a threat to their culture and identity (Wright, 2014).

In their fight against ecological problems, Inuit of Canada, Alaska, Greenland and Russia have come together and formed the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) in 1977, a non-governmental organization which Consultative Status II at the United Nations[2] (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2017). The ICC aims to popularize issues of Inuit's common concern and combine the members' energies and talents towards protecting and promoting their way of life (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2017). The principal goals of the ICC's work are to strengthen unity among Inuit of the circumpolar region; to promote Inuit rights and interests on an international level; to develop and encourage long-term policies that safeguard the Arctic environment; and to seek full and active partnership in the political, economic, and social development of circumpolar regions (Inuit Circumpolar Council, 2017).

Regarding the UNFCCC, the ICC and other indigenous people have limited possibilities to participate at the UN climate conferences. Unless they are part of the official delegation of their respective country, they cannot participate in the negotiations. Furthermore, the IIPFCCC, as the representative body for indigenous interests at UNPFCCC, cannot formally take part in the actual negotiations as well. However, at COP21 in Paris 2015, indigenous peoples' organizations including the ICC nevertheless worked to

> *''influence the process, crafting and delivering position papers and making sure that governments gathered in Paris were clear on their demands. They continually lobbied those governments opposing their positions and encouraged those supporting them.'' (Larsson, 2016)*

[2] Consultative status provides NGOs with access to not only ECOSOC (The United Nations Economic and Social Council), but also to its many subsidiary bodies, to the various human rights mechanisms of the United Nations, ad-hoc processes on small arms, as well as special events organized by the President of the General Assembly (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2017).

Moreover, at COP21 the IIPFCCC organized the indigenous peoples' pavilion which served as a platform for hundreds of indigenous peoples from around the world to communicate key messages, facilitate knowledge exchange, and share innovative solutions to climate change (IIPFCCC, 2017).

3. NARRATIVES IN CLIMATE CHANGE DISCOURSE

This chapter's purpose is to give an impression about narratives in the media and public discourse about climate change and indigenous peoples within this complex process. Here, the different points of departure on framing the topic provided by recent research will be introduced.

The discourse of climate change in politics, science, public and the media is not a new one but can be backdated to the 19th century. A discourse can be defined as

> *''a series of utterances and statements which are connected through their institutional context, the form of language used, and its meaning or significance. It may refer to a single text, such as a formal discussion in writing, or it may refer to a group of related texts by various authors. It may also refer to spoken discussion or debate.'' (Dant, 2011)*

Therefore, in climate change discourse, all forms of communication (texts, reports, articles, speeches, statements etc.) regarding the topic form the discourse about climate change.

Despite of recent events which can be assigned to the complex processes of climate change (e.g. hurricane Katrina), for most of the Earth's population the idea is still hard to grasp because it is not directly experienced. Like other environmental problems, global warming remains mostly abstract and is not directly and immediately relevant in terms of everyday life and sensory experience (Antilla, 2010). Therefore, news media's framing of issues such as climate change, global warming, its impacts and international negotiations related with these phenomena have been particularly important in shaping attitudes towards such questions in the public domain (Christensen, 2013). Not only is the media coverage on climate change important to shape attitudes and opinions, but simply to provide a source of information about a topic that (for most people) is not happening in direct proximity and therefore hard to comprehend. The researches described below not only focus on narratives in the media coverage of the topic but also review different events, conferences and reports.

3.1 Narratives of climate change

As mentioned above, climate change is a complex process which is not only hard to grasp when one is not directly exposed to its consequences and impacts, but also one which is difficult to portray and to communicate because "climate is a constructed idea that takes […] sensual encounters and builds them into something more abstract." (Hulme, 2009) Therefore, the portrayal of scientific research on the topic is dominated by graphs, figures and data which, according to Segal, leads to a separation of the cultural and physical meaning of climate. He argues that this separation has contributed to a "narrative vacuum" where the media is "stepping around a narrative fray" and only focusing on the easy facts which leads to an uncomplete understanding among the population (Segal, 2017).

For Segal (2017), the simple portrayal of graphs and figures, thus the "missing narrative" in the climate change communication, is the reason for why people do not comprehend the complex framework of climate change and therefore do not act upon it. Referring to Hulme, he shows the importance of stories within the process of sense and meaning making and therefore supports his argument and critique that the lack of a clear narrative in the climate change discourse leads do misunderstanding about the topic among the public (Segal, 2017): "The ideological freightage we load onto interpretations of climate and our interactions with it are an essential part of making sense of what is happening around us today in our climate change discourses." (Hulme, 2009) Segal suggests, there should be a story and a narrative where instead, he now only sees "naked, uninterpreted data" (Segal, 2017).

The argument which follows Segal, that climate change is "probably the largest science communication failure in history" (Stoknes, 2015) is supported by different scholars. Stoknes (2015) argues that in the past, scientists have tried to convince the public with actual science: The evidence of melting glaciers, rising sea levels and endangered polar bear populations. Experts believed that painting a grim picture of the future will change people's behavior but Stoknes (2015) claims that it does the opposite: "The underlying story of climate communication has been the story of catastrophe and apocalypse" but "the trouble with mainstream conventional climate communication is that it rubs up against the psychology of our brain" (Stoknes, 2015). His argument is that the apocalypse scenario of the doomsday is just too big for people to handle and typically creates the feeling of distance: "So unless we see it as an attractive story giving meaning, we oppose the rational solution. So, that's where the psychology comes in" (Stoknes, 2015).

This argument is supported by Jasanoff who reasons that scientific assessments of climate change detach knowledge from meaning because "climate facts arise from impersonal observations whereas meanings emerge from embedded experience" (Jasanoff, 2010). Undoubtedly, science is of significant importance for the human process of knowledge-making but Jasanoff (2010) argues that the method by which modern science achieves its necessary universality and heft is abstraction. Hereby, it represents rather than mirrors reality, therefore much work must be done "to make the representations look as if they are the right ways of characterizing the world" (Jasanoff, 2010). In the process of making things universal, hence impersonal, science not only eliminates subjectivity but also meaning which is an important source of the conflicts that have arisen around climate change (Jasanoff, 2010). Science of climate change is therefore problematic because it separates the epistemic from the normative; thus, scientific practices do not consider cultural practices and also detach global facts of science from local values of societies: It projects a new, totalizing image to the world as it is,

without regard for the layered investments that societies have made in worlds as they wish them to be (Jasanoff, 2010).

According to Hulme (2009), another problem science has in the communication of (anthropogenic) climate change is that it is often accompanied by uncertainties. He argues, that reports on climate change and its severity of impacts or the precision about facts vary among reports. Here, science does not seem to be able to adequately distinguish 'truth' from 'error' and is not able to offer reliable estimates of the likelihood of future climate phenomena occurring (Hulme, 2009). According to Hulme (2009), this accompanies the expectations people have towards science. He offers three limits to science's abilities which should be recognized. Firstly, scientific knowledge about climate change will always be incomplete, uncertain and will always speak with a conditional voice:

> *''Belief in the power of science requires a simultaneous doubt about the final and ultimate adequacy of any scientific knowledge claim. […] Certainty is the anomalous condition for humanity, not uncertainty.'' (Hulme, 2009)*

Further, he points out that knowledge as a public commodity will always be shaped by the processes through which it emerges into the social world and through which it circulates. Knowledge, which public decision making is based on, is not always congruent with "the same knowledge that first emerged in the laboratory" (Hulme, 2009). Despite of this co-production of climate change knowledge in the public, it is nevertheless necessary that people have trust in the process of science so it can prove robust enough to be put to good use (Hulme, 2009). Lastly Hulme notes that, "we must be honest and transparent about what science can tell us and what it can't" (Hulme, 2009). He argues that decision making in climate change will always be difficult but that in the process, we should avoid hiding behind 'the voices of scientists' because these decisions will always "entail judgments beyond the reach of science" (Hulme, 2009).

Despite of Segal's argumentation of a missing narrative in the climate change discourse, other scholars indeed have detected stories through which climate change is communicated.

Hamblyn (2009) argues, "climate change is the first environmental crisis in which experts appear more alarmed than the public" for which, like Segal, he sees the reason in the lack of visibility. He emphasizes this statement with a quote of a BBC environment correspondent: "[…] we're about pictures…we're about words as well but words are captions to pictures, essentially…global warming is very difficult because you can't actually see global warming" (Silverstone, 1985). Hamblyn (2009) suggests, that this lack of visibility should be overcome by metaphors and narratives which integrate humanity into the natural environment instead of the graphic representations of data which have taken up a key role in

the climate change debate but only present unmediated information and are not seen as the carefully constructed visual statements they are (Hamblyn, 2009). Here he makes a similar point as Segal but goes beyond this and introduces two narratives: the whistleblower and the canary. Here, the whistleblower refers to climate scientists and activists which he characterizes as the "concerned individual who takes on the vested interests of an established consensus" (Hamblyn, 2009). Quoting the ecologist Bill McKibben, he further compares the whistleblower's work to

> *"one of those strange dreams where the dreamer desperately needs to warn someone about something bad and imminent; but somehow no matter how hard he shouts, the other person in the dream – standing smiling, perhaps, with his back to an oncoming train – can't hear him" (McKibben, 2008).*

Here, Hamblyn gives a metaphorical example for the overriding public response of quiet unease which is in contrast to the escalating warning of many scientists, which he concludes is due to the lack of visibility and only forms one more issue in the long list of human problems (Hamblyn, 2009).

The second metaphor is the one of the canary, an analogous to the caged birds that were taken to British coal pits[3]. Usual figures for canaries have been melting icecaps or retreating glaciers and starving or drowning polar bears (Hamblyn, 2009). These metaphors serve as the needed visual statements in the climate change discourse and can be enhanced into first-person testimonies, such as indigenous peoples of the Arctic, to integrate humanity in the abstract climate change discourse.

Despite of the persuasive narratives of climate change as a risk and danger which both of Hamblyn's metaphors mirror, he also criticizes this as too narrow because it excludes the possibility of any meaningful action on the part of the reader or viewer: "The more we are bombarded with images of the devastating effects of global warming, the more likely we are to switch off altogether, retreating into helplessness, outright skepticism or […] the sunny refusal to engage in the debate" (Hamblyn, 2009).

Liverman not only connects to Hamblyn's narrative of risk and danger but also introduces the responsibility narrative. She challenges the use of the terms "serious" and "dangerous" by pointing out their undefined and subjective use in official documents basing on information of the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) which has been criticized "from both an empirical and constructivist perspective for, among other things, overstating certainty, having a northern bias, and forcing consensus" (Liverman, 2009). Furthermore, she points out the problematic portrayal of the 2-degree

[3] The canary was used as a warning signal for miners: If toxic gases collected in the mine, the canary would die before the workers.

level, "which became an enduring benchmark of danger", but does not consider the distribution and dynamics of danger because some "vulnerable places and people could be at risk from even smaller changes whereas other could cope, or might benefit, from larger changes" (Liverman, 2009). Liverman points out that the climate change narrative of risk and danger "is a subjective hat and has become the focus of climate science with inadequate attention to the human geographical dimensions of climate risks" (Liverman, 2009).

The second narrative Liverman suggests is the one of responsibility which "has been submerged into the raw politics of negotiations about emission reductions with only modest gestures to north-south relations or to the real magnitude of mitigation needed to avoid serious impacts" (Liverman, 2009). This was mostly visible and relevant in the context of the Kyoto Protocol.[4] This narrative is shaped by "questions of climate justice, particularly the balance between low emissions and high vulnerability in the developing world compared to high emissions in the developed world, especially by the United States and by major multinational corporations" (Adger, Huq, Mace, & Paavola, 2005).

A connection between climate change narratives and the meaning for indigenous peoples in the Arctic is given by Bjørst (2010), when she displays how ice is used as the main metaphor for climate change (by the Western world). According to her, the metaphor for making it possible to grasp climate change is ice in different portrayals: In connection to graphs and figures about the retreat of Arctic sea ice or glaciers, but more importantly the development from ice as a non-human actor to a humanized and personified object. She gives two examples for this from the COP15 where global warming and melting ice was portrayed as "waking giants" or referred to it as "the beating heart of the Arctic" (Bjørst, 2010). Bjørst suggests that this is a Western point of view, which fits into our idea of vulnerability (a point further explained in the following) and that in the case of Greenlanders, the ice is not so much of an icon or metaphor: "Ice is something you have to pass by or move on to get to wildlife. Here, ice is not an icon or metaphor; it is part of everyday life." (Bjørst, 2010) Furthermore, Bjørst explains that the Greenlandic Inuit perspective is not holistically portrayed in the metaphor of ice for the "Earth's instability" (Bjørst, 2010). Instead, Greenlanders want to be seen differently and participate in a modern world (Bjørst, 2010). Greenland's top priorities nowadays are development and economic independence to which the melting ice and the exposure of the Arctic's richness of resources contribute. Bjørst concludes that the narratives, scientists, NGOs and politicians create about ice, in

[4] The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement linked to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which commits its Parties by setting internationally binding emission reduction targets. Recognizing that developed countries are principally responsible for the current high levels of GHG emissions in the atmosphere as a result of more than 150 years of industrial activity, the Protocol places a heavier burden on developed nations under the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities." (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2017)

the context of Arctic climate change, are not necessarily congruent with the Arctic's local population's narratives and therefore construct a world without people or social facts when ice is presented as the Arctic's primary informant (Bjørst, 2010).

3.2 Narratives of Arctic indigenous people

The narratives in the climate change discourse about Inuit and other indigenous peoples in the Arctic region found in the articles of Bjørst (2012), Bravo (2009) and Martello (2008) offer different perspectives and cover more than one side of the story. Martello, who looks into the topic of Inuit as representatives for climate change, analyzed the Arctic Climate Impact Assessment (ACIA) in regard to Inuit's portrayal in the report (Martello, 2008). The ACIA is a comprehensively researched evaluation of Arctic climate change and its impacts for the region and for the world (Hassol, 2004). Martello analyzed in which way Inuit of the Arctic region are presented in it and concludes that the ACIA portrays them as "expert, exotic, in danger and at-risk communities" (Martello, 2008). While the iconic image of climate change in the Arctic is the polar bear, the indigenous people of the region are underrepresented in the mass media discourse of global warming. According to Martello, the communication about climate change is dominated by graphs and figures, thus faceless and dehumanized but the ACIA offers new forms of representation and puts a face on the topic (Martello, 2008). Because the consequences of global warming rob the Arctic indigenous of their livelihood, culture and traditions, it is easy to put them in the perspective of victims. However, Martello (2008) acknowledges their portrayal as holders of valuable knowledge[5] who can contribute to science and represent climate change by being authentic testimonials for its impacts (Martello, 2008). The main narrative of the ACIA is that despite the indigenous peoples of the Arctic are at-risk communities, they are not only victims of global warming but experts with valuable knowledge about their territory which should be included in science, mitigation and adaption processes. The here appointed status of experts, enhances Inuit's credibility and helps to humanize the abstract idea of climate change.

This perspective is supported by Bravo who criticizes the common hegemonic climate impact or climate crisis narrative in which indigenous peoples are mainly depicted as "intrinsically being at risk" (Bravo, 2009). According to Bravo, the climate crisis narrative supports the portrayal of Arctic citizens as victims who lack the ability to fight back the consequences of climate change and who are threatened by the power of global climate systems (Bravo, 2009). Bravo criticizes this narrative because it is often used as a license and justification for the intervention of experts in the region. Further, as a top-down and expert-based perspective, it is not sufficiently sensitive to portray the situation in all its complexities. (Bravo, 2009) According to him, the climate crisis narrative is one

[5] In terms of indigenous ecological/traditional knowledge.

produced by knowledge elites and can be compared to narratives about development aid in Africa and fits into the colonial environmental narrative. Therefore, Bravo expresses the need for new narratives that put indigenous people back into the calculus of risk and decision making and suggests a shift from the framing of vulnerability to resilience. Thus, a more positive perspective on indigenous people who are able to withstand changes and disturbances in their environment (Bravo, 2009): ‘‘Resilience as the property of the system in which persistence of probability of extinction is the result’’ (Holling, 1973).

Bjørst (2012) offers a different perspective on Bravo’s idea of the hegemonic crisis narrative which derived from the encounter with several Greenlanders at the COP15 in Copenhagen. Here, they were invited to serve as witnesses of the impacts of global warming in Greenland and present the human face of climate change of their region. According to her, ‘‘there is a tendency in the climate change debate to focus on things that suit our Western imagination of vulnerability’’ (Bjørst, 2012). She argues, that the well-known story of ‘‘melting and thin ice, dangers and risks and seasonal changes’’ fits perfectly into our global climate-crisis narrative. The Greenlandic case is more complex than that though, and offers a paradox global-vs.-local perspective (Bjørst, 2012). Not only did the guests at COP15 suggest new economic opportunities for Greenland once the ice melts, the former Greenlandic Prime Minister Kuupik Kleist actively promoted these new opportunities for economic independency on various occasions (Rosen, 2016). Bjørst suggests that in the case of Greenland speaking on behalf of the climate works, as long as it does not interfere with local interests. She hints that these climate change witnesses might knowingly act to the (Western) crisis narrative, because they have ‘‘learned the game’’ and ‘‘internalized the language’’ (Bjørst, 2012). Here, the climate-crisis narrative seems to be a strategic choice of climate communication (Bjørst, 2012) of the local point of view and it opens the idea of looking at indigenous people from a different perspective than categorizing them simply as victims. But Bjørst concludes the dilemma in which the indigenous people of Greenland find themselves in the global climate change discourse: ‘‘Nearly the only way the Inuit can participate in climate-crisis narratives is by acting as victims or being delegated to speak on behalf of the climate on a global scale, as both an early warning system and witnesses of climate changes in the Arctic’’ (Bjørst, 2012).

The different texts presented here can, of course, only be an excerpt of analyses of climate change narratives. Nevertheless, the introduced scholars offer a good overview on different approaches to the topic and serve as a point of departure for the following analysis.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Theory of Representation

This research projects analyses the ICC's representation of climate change and compares the accompanied narratives to the ones in Canadian newspapers. Media representation affects the way news articles are understood, therefore the way climate change and its impact on Inuit is perceived by the public also depends on the representation media gives.

Hall's concept of *giving meaning*

One of the main researchers who shaped the theory of representation is Stuart Hall. According to him, representation connects meaning and language to culture and is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged (Hall, 1997b). He defines representation as the production of meaning through language (Hall, 1997b).

In the process of representation, Hall depicts two consecutive systems which produce meaning. The first system is the one "by which all sorts of objects, people and events are correlated with a set of concepts or mental representation which we carry in our head" (Hall, 1997b). This means, that every individual processes objects, experiences, thoughts, encounters etc. and stores them in their mind in connection with certain attributes which form what Hall calls *concepts* or *conceptual maps*. These things do not always have to be concrete but can also be abstract or imaginary ideas such as love or death or in this research project, global warming and climate change. These concepts or maps help individuals to make sense of the world meaningfully (Hall, 1997b).

He calls this first part of the representation process a system, "because it consists not of individual concepts, but of different ways of organizing, clustering, arranging and classifying concepts and establishing complex relationships between them" (Hall, 1997b). Relationships between the concepts make it possible to form complex ideas and thoughts, because our concepts are arranged into different classifying systems. Then, the meaning individuals give to objects depends on their conceptual systems which are representations of those objects (Hall, 1997b).

However, it is possible that not all individuals have the same conceptual systems and therefore interpret the world differently. However, they presumably share broadly the same conceptual maps, and are therefore able to communicate with each other. According to Hall, individuals who share similar maps, can also be allocated to the same culture. Because these similar maps are not sufficient to exchange meanings and concepts, the second system in the process of representation is language (Hall, 1997b).

The shared concepts individuals carry in their minds, can only be expressed or exchanged through a shared language. Language is the second consecutive system of Hall's meaning making process. His idea of language are all words, sounds or images which carry meaning – they are signs: "These signs stand for or represent the concepts and the conceptual relations between them which we carry around in our heads and together they make up the meaning-system of our culture" (Hall, 1997b). These signs are organized into different languages and the existence of such enables individuals to translate thoughts (concepts) into words and express and exchange meanings among each other while communicating. Here, any sign which is organized with other signs into a system and is capable of carrying and expressing meaning is considered a language (Hall, 1997b).

Essential for understanding Hall's idea of representation or the process of making meaning in culture, are the two systems of representation introduced above: Concepts and language. Concepts enable us to give meaning to the world by constructing a set of correspondences or a chain of equivalences between things (e.g. tree: tall, green etc.). Language depends on constructing a set of correspondences between our concepts and a set of signs which is organized into languages (Hall, 1997b). The relation between things, concepts and signs is at center in the production of meaning; the process which links them together is representation (Hall, 1997b).

Hall suggests there are three different approaches to the theory of representation: The reflective, the intentional and the constructionist approach. The reflective approach considers meaning as already given in objects, persons or ideas, and language functions like a mirror to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world: "The theory […] says that language works by simply reflecting or imitating the truth that is already there and fixed in the world […]" (Hall, 1997b). The intentional approach in representation theory suggests the opposite: Here, it is the author or speaker who imposes his or her unique meaning on the word through language, thus "words mean what the author intends they would mean" (Hall, 1997b). Hall criticizes this approach because according to him individuals cannot be the sole or unique source of meanings in a language because it would resolve in entirely private languages, and language can never be a private matter but is a social system which depends on interactions with other individuals (Hall, 1997b). However, the private intended meanings individuals do hold, "have to enter into the rules, codes and conventions of language to be shared and understood" (Hall, 1997b). As explained above, meaning can only be produced with the two systems, and the system of language requires interaction with other individuals and can therefore not be generated by one single individual.

In his theory of representation, Hall focusses mainly on the constructionist approach which acknowledges this public and social character of language: "It acknowledges that neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language" (Hall, 1997b). According

to this, instead of things just carrying a meaning, it is individuals which construct the meaning of things while using the representational systems of concepts and signs (Hall, 1997b). The constructionist approach however does not deny the material world in which things exist but argues that "it is not the material world which conveys meaning; it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts" (Hall, 1997b).

A researcher who supports the importance of language in the process of meaning production is the "father of modern linguistics", Ferdinand de Saussure. Saussure shaped what Hall calls the semiotic approach to representation which is alike in many ways to his constructionist approach (Hall, 1997b). For Saussure, the production of meaning depends on language, because "language is a system of signs" (Hall, 1997b). In his theory, Saussure argues that a 'sign' can be everything out of the material and the immaterial world and that signs carry meaning. He splits the concept of signs into to further elements: "There was […] the form (the actual word, image, photo, etc.), and there was the idea or concept in your head with which the form was associated" (Hall, 1997b). Saussure calls these two elements the *signifier* (actual word or image of an object) and the *signified* (the concept of the object).

According to him, signs do not have a fixed meaning but can be defined again; a process which happens in social interaction and in encounters to things that are strange to us (Orgad, 2012). He further suggests that signs are arbitrary in nature which means that a sign's meaning is derived from its context (syntagmatic dimension) and the group (paradigm) to which it belongs. Thwaites suggests that signs work through a system of differences; thus, its meaning derives from what it is not and its differences to other signs (Lacey, 2000).

Media representation

Compared to Hall's approach to representation – as a process of meaning making – the term has different connotation in the context of media. Here, it means "to image", "to present", or "to depict" something that has been already there and has been *re*presented through the media (Hall, 1997a). Because, as explained above, the concept of representation is giving meaning, the media gives meaning to topics (e.g. climate change), events, people or situations which it represents for the audience. Here, it is not the two systems that are giving meaning but the representation of the media that creates or gives the meaning to what it portrays or depicts; thus *re*presents. This can also create a gap between what a person might think the true meaning of something is and how it is portrayed in the media (Hall, 1997a).

According to Hall, an object, person or situation never has a fixed meaning until it is represented. In the case of climate change, it may be that it has no meaning for people who are not affected by its impacts or do not know about climate change whatsoever, until they learn about it from scientists or

the media. In the case of an individual living in the Arctic, changing conditions due to warmer temperatures presumably had a meaning before it was a matter of public interest because one could witness it. Thus, for some, a meaning would exist even without the media, for others only after the media created it.

However, in the case of media, Hall argues that the process of representation does not occur after the event; representation is constitutive for the event. In other words, an event does not have a meaning until it is represented (by the media) (Hall, 1997a).

Furthermore, a meaning is interpretation and always connected to a context (Orgad, 2012). Thus, meanings can change based on the context a person is processing the meaning in and how something is interpreted, or depending on the cultural maps someone carries in his or her mind. This parallels with the above introduced case of Greenland. Here, the meaning of climate change seems to be different to the one which is portrayed in common media: Greenlanders see climate change (not only) as a threat to their livelihoods but as a chance for development and economic independence, whereas (most of) the Western world perceives it as a global crisis.

The media contributes to this, because "when we are immersed in something, surrounded by it the way we are by images from the media, we may come to accept them as just part of the real and natural world" (Hall, 1997a). Thus, we will accept the one representation of something; the one meaning which is given by the media.

Another aspect that comes into place in communication, thus the media, is power: "Communication is always linked with power and those groups who wield power in a society influence what gets represented through the media" (Hall, 1997a). This will partly be examined in the following analysis to see which narratives depict whom as in the position of power (governments, Inuit, corporations etc.). Here the concept of power is understood as a political or social authority delegated to a person or an institution.

The representation of social actors

Because this research project aims to analyze how indigenous people of the Arctic represent climate change, representation theory in context of social actors will be introduced in the following.

Theo van Leeuwen developed a sociosemantic framework to analyze the representation of social actors in English discourse. His analytical framework addresses the question of how social actors are represented in a particular kind of racist discourse and which choices the English language gives to refer to people (van Leeuwen, 2003). Despite of his analysis of a racist discourse, the methodological framework of his categories is rather neutral and can be applied to various discourses. His framework

consists out of 21 categories from which the ones which are relevant for this project's purpose will be introduced here. These categories which will be of importance when analyzing how the NGO and the Canadian news media represent Inuit as actors in the Arctic climate change discourse. The selected categories of van Leeuwen's are:

- *Inclusion* or *exclusion*

"Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended" (van Leeuwen, 2003). For this research project, it is especially interesting to see if in the media discourse of Canadian newspapers Inuit are included or excluded and thereby taken in regard of climate change in the Arctic. Another category of van Leeuwen's repertoire is the role allocation. Here, he differentiates between

- *Activation* and *passivation*

depending on if the social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity or as undergoing an activity or as being at the "receiving end of it" (van Leeuwen, 2003). Another way in which social actors can be presented is either

- *assimilation* or *individualization*

which also distinguishes between the representation of social actors as individuals or groups and is indicated by expressions such as "the community", "the nation", "Australians" etc. Here, individualization is realized by singularity, assimilation by plurality (van Leeuwen, 2003). Another relevant category of van Leeuwen's framework is

- *functionalization* and *identification*

which occur when "social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance an occupation or role" or "when social actors are defined not in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are" (van Leeuwen, 2003). Lastly, social actors can be represented in the categories of *personalization* and *impersonalization* which van Leeuwen further distinguishes into

- *abstraction* and *objectivation*.

Here, "abstraction occurs when social actors are represented by means of a quality assigned to them by the representation" (van Leeuwen, 2003). Objectivation on the other hand "occurs when social actors are represented by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated either with their person or with the activity they are represented as being engaged with" (van Leeuwen, 2003).

These categories will be adapted to the topic of this research project and will form the basis for parts of the analysis. The operationalization will be further explained in the methodology chapter.

4.2 Narrative Theory

The origins of narrative theory

According to Phelan (2005), a narrative is the act of "somebody telling somebody else on some occasion and for some purpose(s) that something happened". The word itself derives from Latin and means 'to make known', thus narratives convey information. But what distinguishes narratives from other forms that carry information is that they present information as a connected logical sequence of events (Lacey, 2000). As a concept, narrative theory deals with the question of how a story is told and the certain patterns and structures within it.

The origins of narrative theory can be backdated to the Russian scholar Vladimir Propp, who in the 1960s analyzed the basic plot components of Russian folk tales to identify their simplest irreducible narrative elements. Propp's narrative theory also relies on Saussure's linguistic theories (Ahmadi, Rezabeigi, Piri, & Bajelani, 2013). His idea was "that it was a mistake to try and categorize all folktales, or indeed narratives, by their content because the task is far too large" (Lacey, 2000) but instead, he sought to show how folktales are linked by a common structure and that this structure can be applied to any folktale, if not all narrative texts (Lacey, 2000). He claimed, that despite differences, all stories follow similar actions and share similar structures. Important to him was not what the motivation of an individual character is, but what his function in the narrative is. He classified his findings in 31 functions and in the seven spheres of action[6] (Lacey, 2000).

[6] The seven spheres of action are the seven main characters, or *actants,* in a narrative which each have a specific role in the development of the narrative: the villain, the donor, the helper, the princess or prize, the dispatcher, the hero and the false hero (Ahmadi, Rezabeigi, Piri, & Bajelani, 2013)

Symbol	Function Name	Function Description	Group
α	Initial Situation	Not a function. Enumeration of family members, future hero introduced by mention of name or status, etc.	
β	Absentation	One of the members of a family absents himself from home	Preparation
γ	Interdiction	An interdiction is addressed to the hero	
δ	Violation	The interdiction is violated	
ε	Reconnaissance	The villain makes an attempt at reconnaissance	
ζ	Delivery	The villain receives information about his victim	
η	Trickery	The villain attempts to deceive his victim in order to take possession of him or of his belongings	
θ	Complicity	The victim submits to deception and thereby unwittingly helps his enemy	
A	Villainy	The villain causes harm or injury to a member of a family	Complication
a	Lack	One member of a family either lacks something or desires to have something	
B	Mediation; The Connective Incident	Misfortune or lack is made known; the hero is approached with a request or command; he is allowed to go or he is dispatched	
C	Beginning Counteraction	The seeker agrees to or decides upon counteraction	
↑	Departure	The hero leaves home	Transference
D	The First Function of the Donor	The hero is tested, interrogated, attacked, etc., which prepares the way for his receiving either a magical agent or helper	
E	The Hero's Reaction	The hero reacts to the actions of the future donor	
F	Provision or Receipt of a Magical Agent	The hero acquires the use of a magical agent	
G	Spatial Transference Between Two Kingdoms, Guidance	The hero is transferred, delivered, or led to the whereabouts of an object of search	
H	Struggle	The hero and the villain join in direct combat	Conflict
J	Branding, Marking	The hero is branded	
I	Victory	The villain is defeated	
K	Misfortune Liquidated	The initial misfortune or lack is liquidated	
↓	Return	The hero returns	Return
Pr	Pursuit, Chase	The hero is pursued	
Rs	Rescue	Rescue of the hero from pursuit	
o	Unrecognized Arrival	The hero, unrecognized, arrives home or in another country	
L	Unfounded Claims	A false hero presents unfounded claims	
M	Difficult Task	A difficult task is proposed to the hero	
N	Solution	The task is resolved	
Q	Recognition	The hero is recognized	Recognition
Ex	Exposure	The false hero or villain is exposed	
T	Transfiguration	The hero is given a new appearance	
U	Punishment	The villain is punished	
W	Wedding	The hero is married and ascends the throne	

Image 2: Propp's 31 functions of a folktale

He concluded his theory with his four principal formulas for every narrative (Ahmadi, Rezabeigi, Piri, & Bajelani, 2013):

1. The function of characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale.
2. The number of functions to the fairy tale is limited.
3. The sequence of functions is always identical.
4. All fairy tales are only one type regarding their structure.

Propp's approach that narratives follow a certain pattern and that (modifiable) schemata can be found in all fictional or non-fictional stories, is supported by several scholars.

The Bulgarian literary theorist Tzvetan Todorov suggests that most stories start with an initial situation or a state of equilibrium in which the protagonist's life is normal and happy. This state of normality is then interrupted by an external force or a problem which he has to withstand or fight against (a *resolution* of the problem) to get back to the former state or a new state of equilibrium (Todorov, 1971). According to Lacey (2000), Todorov's structure can be compared to Propp's 31 functions: 1. a state of equilibrium at the outset (function 0-8); 2. a disruption of the equilibrium by some action (function 8); 3. a recognition that there has been a disruption (function 9); 4. an attempt to repair the disruption (function 10-17); 5. a reinstatement of the equilibrium (function 18-31) (Lacey, 2000).

The third scholar who dealt with narratives is the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss who was one of the primary representatives of structuralism. Strauss introduced the theory of binary oppositions to the field of narrative theory. As explained above, Ferdinand de Saussure suggests that the meaning of a sign derives from its arbitrary character and its characteristics which distinguish it from other signs (what it is not). As a consequence of this, Lacey suggests that "we only understand language by using a system of oppositions, the most extreme of which is a 'binary opposition' (Lacey, 2000)." Strauss claims that binary oppositions form the basis of humanity's attempts to understand reality. It is therefore logic that binary oppositions are also found in narratives since stories are structured by the attempt to solve a conflict (to restore the state of *equilibrium*), which is characterized by the opposition between the hero and the villain (binary opposition of good and bad) which were introduced by Propp as two of the main characters in a narrative (Lacey, 2000).

Climate change narratives

The above introduced approaches to narrative and narrative analyses mostly refer to narratives in fictional or literary texts. Because for this research project this is a rather abstract way of analyzing narrative structures, the approach of analyzing climate change narratives of Fløttum (2013) should be introduced here. She argues that narratives can occur in all kinds of forms such as novels, films, and

storytelling but also in reports and papers. In the context of her analysis of reports of the International Panel of Climate Change, United Nations Organization and the World Bank, the term narrative is defined as "text and talk that present climate change as a certain type of problem, with implicit or explicit suggestions for actions" (Fløttum, 2013). Despite of the broader notion of the term, her theoretical framework is based on the above introduced scholars' approaches to narratives. Because all scholars tend to agree there are central components in a narrative, Fløttum (2013) suggests the following structure based on Jean-Michel Adam's development of Propp's and Todorov's work:

1. Initial situation (or orientation)
2. Complication (creating difficulties)
3. (Re-)action(s)
4. Resolution (act of resolving)
5. Final situation

She further suggests the possibility of a moral or an evaluation in a narrative which can be ethical aspects (Fløttum, 2013). These five components are not obligatory but the core of a narrative is built by component 2, 3 and 4. Mandatory is the component of the complication, which, according to Fløttum (2013), in the climate change narrative is often climate change itself. Furthermore, components 1, 3 and 4 can be realized to different degrees according to situations, institutions, actors or voices involved. Component 5 in the climate change narrative may be examples for descriptions of future scenarios (Fløttum, 2013).

Although climate change narratives in reports, articles or speeches are not identical with such of fictional stories and fairy tales, there still are crucial points in which they are similar to each other. The most important aspect Fløttum points out is "the overarching characteristic of narratives as having a plot, i.e. they recount some kind of problem or complication, followed by a sequence of events or actions which take place to achieve some particular events" (Fløttum, 2013). Further, as mentioned above, a significant characteristic of narratives is the temporal sequence of events and lastly, the third important feature is the presence of actors such as hero(es), villain(s) and victim(s) (Fløttum, 2013). Here, the connection to the primary approaches (Propp, Strauss) to narrative as described above is evident.

Summing up her approach to narrative analysis in reports of climate change, which can be connected very well to the research question(s) of this project, she gives an outlook on what to expect when analyzing climate change narratives:

''The narrative has a plot to the extent that it recounts some kind of problem or complication (related to climate change) with different kinds of actors (humans, nature, society, countries); it may be followed by a sequence of events or re-actions, or more often (explicit or implicit) recommendations or imperatives of actions, which take place or should take place to achieve some particular effect(s) or final situation, and according to different interpretations of the complication factor, ethical perspectives may be advanced'' (Fløttum, 2013).

5. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This research project seeks to explore the two approaches to the representation of the topic of climate change from the two perspectives of Inuit and Canadian news media and the narratives within the communication. In the context of the UN climate change summit COP21 in Paris in 2015, the media coverage of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) will be compared to how the topic is represented by the organization ICC that represents a group of people directly affected by global warming. Here, special emphasis is put on the narratives both sides give, by which themes the topic of climate change is represented and the representation of Inuit as social actors within the discourse.

The analysis in this thesis is conducted through an exploratory case study analysis. Case study design was chosen for the thesis because it allows researchers to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events and hence to study complex social phenomena (Rose, Spinks, & Canhoto, 2015). According to Dahl (2012), indigenous peoples have limited possibilities to make an impact on the holders of power (national or international governments) and therefore, as their own lobby, Inuit have to have a certain strategy to make their voices heard in the complex system of policy-making. The focus of this research is therefore *how* this is done by the organization. Another reason for choosing the case study design is because it allows analysing several cases at the same time and using multiple sources of data (Rose, Spinks, & Canhoto, 2015). The main case in this research is the ICC, as the research focuses particularly on its representation of climate change and Inuit. This main case is complemented by the CBC's representation of the aforementioned topics to see if the ICC's communication has an effect on the broader climate change discourse in the Canadian news media.

All research has a philosophical foundation: ontology refers to what we study, and epistemology to how we know things. The ontological consideration taken in this study is social constructionism. Social constructionism asserts that all kinds of knowledge and meanings are reproduced through social interaction and is in a constant state of revision by social actors. It assumes that researchers always present a specific version of social reality, rather than one that can be regarded as definitive (Bryman, 2012a). As explained above, communication and meaning are always socially constructed and knowledge about climate change (although derived from scientific facts) is socially constructed for the public as well. Therefore, it can be assumed that the political position of the ICC in the discourse of climate change is a strategic one and that their communication is also constructed according to their strategy. This thesis is based on constructionism because, as the above introduced narratives demonstrate, climate change and global warming are scientifically evidenced phenomena but the meanings surrounding it are socially constructed. They have a certain reality that persists and defines people's perspectives but that is still not an inanimate reality (Becker, 1982).

Epistemology refers to what is regarded as acceptable knowledge, and the consideration applied in this thesis is post-modernism. Post-modernists see that there is no objective reality, and that it is hardly possible to arrive at a definitive version of any reality. Instead, knowledge of any reality is actively created by people (Bryman, 2012b). Post-modernism connects to the research objective of the thesis as the climate change discourse and narratives and meanings within it are constructed by the different actors (here, the ICC and CBC).

5.1 Qualitative content analysis

In order to analyze the narratives and the representation of the topic and the social actors, a qualitative content analysis is carried out. Content analysis is an approach to the analysis of documents and texts in a systematic and replicable manner using predetermined categories (Bryman, 2012a). It is a technique for making interferences by objectively and systematically specified characteristics of messages (Holsti, 1969). Here, *objectivity* refers to the fact that there is transparency in the procedures for assigning the material of the sample to categories, so that the analysts biases intrude as little as possible (Bryman, 2012a). The analysis is done *systematically* in terms of using the categories which will be introduced in the following chapter. ‘‘As a result of these two qualities, anyone could employ the rules and (hopefully) come up with the same results’’ (Bryman, 2012a). This ensures the criteria of evaluation in social research: reliability and validity. ‘‘Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable’’ (Bryman, 2012a). Because of the deductive process in which the categories were chosen and the systematic coding of the texts according to these categories, a replication of the results is possible. ‘‘Validity is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research’’ (Bryman, 2012a). The thesis can be argued to be externally valid as the results can be generalised in the sense that they demonstrate what the agenda of the ICC comprises and how Canadian news media frame the topic for its audience.

The approach of qualitative research design was chosen because the problem formulation focuses on narratives and representation by the NGO and the news media and therefore on deeper inventories of meaning. Qualitative research makes it possible to analyze more subtle patterns of the representation of climate change.

Even though critics of qualitative research argue that the approaches have disadvantages like the lack of inter-subjectivity and objectivity, a qualitative content analysis does have the advantage to go in depth of the material. The qualitative content analysis can bring to light what often gets lost in quantitative approaches. Specific meanings of metaphors or rhetorical device, hidden intertextualities, frames or opinions that disappear in quantitative analysis can be combined with quantitative results and therefore help to explain media representation and framing in depth (Bryman, 2012a).

5.2 Sample

The sample was collected from the website of ICC Canada. Because it can be assumed that the position of the ICC is very stable and does not change temporarily, material was collected which is not only in the context of COP21 but covers their general perspective and communicational approach on climate change. Included in the sample taken from the ICC Canada's website is the front page which gives a general overview of the organization, the aims and objectives, the ICC charter, the ICC's history and statements on the topic of climate change. Further, documents of speeches and messages of the ICC's chair to the organization and press releases regarding COP21 were included in the sample. Due to time limitation of this project and irrelevance to either the topic of climate change or the theoretical framework of representation and narratives, some material was also excluded from the sample. This includes organizational charts, by-laws, declarations and documentations of the general assemblies, statements to pollutants, contaminants and health and wellness. Despite of the relevance of various published reports, due to time limitations they could not be included in the sample for this research. The sample of the ICC consists of 27 text pieces.

The news outlet Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was chosen because as the public broadcasting company of Canada, it can be assumed that the content is fairly neutral and does not favor a certain political position. Moreover, according to the CBC's mandate it obligates itself to "providing a wide range of programming that reflects Canadian attitudes, opinions, ideas, values […] and by offering information and analysis concerning Canada and other countries from a Canadian point view" (CBC, 1994), which makes it suitable for the purpose of this analysis.

It is crucial for this research project to consider a nationwide media outlet instead of a local one to make a more relevant comparison for the Canadian case. CBC is the national public broadcaster and offers television and radio programs as well as an extensive webpage with news articles. Although the page also offers videos and audio sources, they were left out of this research sample because they do not match with the required type of data to carry out a text analysis. The sample of CBC was collected by using the search function of the web page by using the keyword 'COP21' and sorting the results by date. The climate change summit COP21 took place from November 30th until December 12th, 2015. To cover a reasonable period of time, the week before and after the summit (November 23rd until December 20th, 2015) were respected in the sample as well, in order to include the debate that took place before the summit and also the media coverage on the resulted agreement. Additionally, CBC established a news special coverage website that includes all news articles published in the context of the COP21. Here, the articles that were not included in the search results before, but fit into the chosen time frame, were included in the sample as well.

The context of COP21 was chosen because it is considered a breakthrough in the global climate change negotiation process. The sample of CBC consists of 52 news articles which makes the sample a total of 79 pieces. The sample collection was not continued from the end of April further due to time constrains as the thesis is handed in at the end of May 2017.

5.3 Narratives

For the analysis of the narratives in the news articles of CBC and the sample of the ICC, the above presented theoretical framework suggested by Fløttum is applied. For this research project, it is considered applicable because Fløttum used it not only to analyze climate change narratives, but also within documents which are not fictional but reports. Because it can be assumed that not all texts of the sample show a classical narrative structure (as e.g. in novels and fictional texts), the operationalization of the term 'narrative' in this research project should be clarified. Again, Fløttum's approach is useful for this research. She defines it as "text and talk that present climate change as a certain type of problem, with implicit or explicit suggestions for action" (Fløttum, 2013).

Hence, for the analysis of narratives in the news articles and the sample of the ICC, a coding of the texts in the sample is executed with the categories created by Fløttum (2013) and is therefore of deductive nature:

1. Initial situation (or orientation)
2. Complication (creating difficulties)
3. (Re-)action(s)
4. Resolution (act of resolving)
5. Final situation
6. Moral or ethical evaluation

According to the operationalization of the term narrative, special attention is payed to the component 2, 3 and 4 which she depicted as the mandatory components of a narrative. As an added category, which does not mandatorily have to be in the narrative sequence but, as explained above, can occur is the category of a moral or ethical evaluation which is therefore also considered in this analysis.

This methodological approach will help to partly answer the main problem formulation and the sub-question RQ1.

5.4 Representation

The representation of climate change by the ICC and CBC will mainly be analyzed by attributes or themes assigned to the term. As we learned above (see Liverman, 2009), the topic climate change is often accompanied by adjectives such as dangerous or risky. Here, in the analysis describing and depicting terms that occur significantly often along 'climate' and 'climate change' are coded in the texts. Hereby it is possible to interpret which aspects of the topic are made most salient and therefore in which contexts the topic is represented. This thematic analysis will help to answer sub-question RQ2.

To analyze how Inuit as social actors are represented in the news articles and the ICC's communication, the above introduced framework of van Leeuwen will be applied.

- *Inclusion or exclusion*. This category focusses on the appearance of Inuit as social actors in the media coverage of CBC and examines if and to which extent they are involved.
- *Role allocation* concerns the level of agency that is given to the Inuit in the sample. This category portrays to which extent Inuit are assigned to or deprived of power in the representation (e.g. by portraying them as brave actors or as victims).
- *Activation or passivation*. Here, it is examined if Inuit are depicted as active and dynamic forces of processes or as passive and inactive.
- *Assimilation or individualization* shows if they are represented as a group of people or if different individuals are portrayed.
- *Functionalization* and *identification* shows how Inuit are referred to in terms of activities (e.g. hunters, fishers etc.) as an occupation or in terms of what comprises their identity.
- *Abstraction or objectivation* shows if Inuit are referred to by means of a quality assigned to them (e.g. smart hunters, patient fishers etc.) or a place (e.g. the Arctic, Nunavut) or a thing which is associated with their activity they are engaged with.

All categories are applied in both text samples, although it is obvious that some categories will be more salient in the sample of the ICC than in the sample of CBC. What is of interest here, is how they are represented by the organization and the news media which will help to answer the question RQ3.

For the content analysis, all text pieces and articles will be strategically coded by applying the categories outlined above. The three analytical steps will be applied after another to all texts of the sample. First, the texts will be scanned for the six categories of narratives. In the second step, all pieces will be analyzed for the describing and depicting terms for climate change and lastly, they will be scanned applying the six categories of the representation of social actors.
All observations made in the texts are recorded in a table containing a section for each category and will be compared to come to a conclusion.

5. ANALYSIS

The purpose of this research paper was to analyze how the organization ICC and the Canadian news media CBC represent the topic of climate change. Here, the focus was on the narratives both create around the issue and how they represent Inuit as social actors within the discourse of climate change in the Arctic. In this chapter, the main findings will be presented. Here, the analysis of narratives reflects the macro-level, the analysis of how the topic climate change and Inuit as social actors are represented the micro-level of this project's analysis.

5.1. ICC's climate change narratives

The first and most salient narrative, which could be mainly detected in the organization's press releases for the COP21 summit, is the narrative of human rights. Here, the ICC presents climate change and its consequences as a threat to Inuit livelihood, therefore a threat to their human rights. As mentioned above, according to Fløttum (2013) the narrative structure includes five components: The (1) initial situation, (2) a complication, (3) (Re-)action(s), (4) a resolution, (5) a final situation and potentially a (6) moral evaluation. Transferring this to the human rights narrative, the structure can therefore be separated into the sections (1) ICC at COP21, (2) the impacts of climate change on Inuit human rights, (3) ICC's activities at COP21, (4) their continuation of work (after disappointment over agreement) and (5) the future outlooks and long-term perspectives. Here, the component of the complication can be interpreted as dominating for the human rights narrative. Here are three examples taken from the ICC's press releases for the climate summit:

- *''Inuit are dependent on the land and sea. As climate change impacts the Arctic, Inuit rights to hunt and pursue our culture are impacted.'' (ICC, 2015b)*
- *''Inuit and Saami are deeply concerned about the actual and potential impacts of climate change on their cultural, social and economic health and corresponding human rights.'' (ICC, 2015d)*
- *''Climate change is not just an environmental issue it is a human rights issue and the melting of the Arctic is impacting all aspects of Inuit life therefore the final text must make the rights of Indigenous peoples operative and keep it in Article 2.2. We have the right to be cold.'' (ICC, quoting Okalik Eegeesiak, 2015f)*

Hereby, the ICC emphasizes the meaning the Arctic has for Inuit culture and life by portraying the aspects which are at stake and how climate change poses a direct threat to the foundation of their livelihood. By presenting the stability of the Arctic as the main condition for securing Inuit's well-being regarding all aspects of life (health, economy, culture etc.), the organization builds the main argument

for why climate change poses a threat to their human rights and why they should be secured and protected by an international and legally-binding treaty.
In the narrative of human rights, the ICC further expresses disappointment (3) over the actual outcome of the agreement but emphasizes its motivation to continue its fight (4) and asserts confidence for the future (5). This is expressed in a press release published after the summit:

- "*We will work with Canada, Greenland, Alaska and Chukotka to meet and exceed the commitments, support indigenous communities and make certain the Arctic remains cold.'' (ICC, 2015g)*

Here, the ICC puts emphasis on its partnering countries and their combined will to support Inuit in their attempts to protect their human rights, in which they emphasize their enduring activities and their continuous fight to achieve their goals. Hereby, the ICC highlights the unity and solidarity among the Arctic states which Inuit live in.

The 'story' which is told in the human rights narrative is one of danger and therefore, it emphasizes the ICC's argument that Inuit are an at-risk-community which needs protection by an international treaty like the COP21 agreement. This narrative is congruent with Bravo's detected hegemonic climate impact or crisis narrative, which puts indigenous people in the situation of being "intrinsically at risk" (Bravo, 2009). Although Bravo criticizes this presentation, here, the ICC is using this narrative by arguing and presenting Inuit in this exact manner in order to pursue their objectives at COP21.

A further narrative found in the analyzed sample of ICC is the narrative of vulnerability. This is made salient especially in the press releases for COP21, in which Inuit and other indigenous people are depicted as groups which are disproportionately impacted by climate change, while the causes originate from other parts of the world. This narrative and argumentation is also found in texts with other contexts (e.g. conferences such as *The Arctic in 2045: A Long-Term Vision*, *Canada on the Global Stage* or the 2015 Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting). This narrative's structure can be separated into the following sections: (1) Vulnerable location of their homeland, (2) Changing conditions of the landscape, (3) the need for indigenous people to work together, (4) the organization's activities and (5) future prospects. As in the human rights narrative, the component of the complication dominates the narrative. Here are two examples taken from COP21 press releases:

- "*Our statement addresses the urgency of the many health challenges facing Arctic Peoples from environmental contaminants and climate change due to industrial activities. These influences are altering the landscape, the weather patterns, and changing the migration of animals and hunting grounds, waters and ice, that have been used for generations." (ICC, 2015e)*

- *"Indigenous peoples are bringing their messages of migration and relocation, crop loss, deforestation, ocean acidification and warming, sea level rise, extreme weather events, sea ice loss and changes in the biosphere - as a result of climate change." (ICC, 2015d)*

Here, the ICC expresses very detailed and in a dramatic manner the impacts climate change has not only on Inuit, but global indigenous peoples' livelihoods. Further, the ICC here depicts Inuit and indigenous people as the victims of the industrialized world (here the villain), which is made responsible for climate change and the problems they are forced to deal with now. In this narrative, this part also comprises the moral evaluation (6): The ICC depicts the ones responsible for climate change as well as its victims and emphasizes their misery due to activities from the industrialized world. Again, this argumentation fits into Bravo's hegemonic impact and crisis narrative by the ICC's portrayal of Inuit as victims and at risk (Bravo, 2009).

In the two above portrayed narratives the ICC does not only focus on Inuit, but includes global indigenous people in its argumentation and thereby expresses their consensus among them. This creates the notion of unity and solidarity. According to Dahl (2012), this is a well-known and often used strategy of indigenous people which is necessary to make their voices heard and to get governments to listen.

Taken all documents of the sample together, it needs to be mentioned that climate change is not the most salient topic in the ICC's communication, which is why further narratives within the ICC's communication were detected.

A narrative which is especially salient in speeches which were hold at other occasions aside from the climate summit in Paris (e.g. Arctic Council conferences and assemblies or the *CAFF Biodiversity Congress*), is the narrative of sovereignty and respect. Here, the focus is on the sovereign rights Inuit (and other Arctic indigenous people) have within the Arctic territories and the lack of respect they are facing here when external parties do not include them in decision-making processes which concern their territories. The structure of this narrative consists of (1) their traditional and historic life in the Arctic territory, (2) the interference from outside parties, (3) felt disrespect, (4) offer for cooperation and the (5) outlook for better conditions for Inuit.

Again, this narrative is dominated by the component of the complication, here taken from a speech in front of the *2014 Arctic Circle Assembly* and the conference *Passing the Arctic Council Torch*:

- *"For whatever reason, many newcomers in the Arctic see it as a governance vacuum or a region that should be considered the common heritage of mankind. These perceptions often overlook the people who live in the Arctic and minimize the importance of existing governance systems." (ICC, 2014a)*
- *"[…] many interested parties are trying to design new ways to govern the Arctic." (ICC, 2014b)*

Here, the ICC chair, Okalik Eegeesiak, expresses her resentment over the outside parties who recently have a lot of interest in the area but show disrespect not only their territories, but also for the Arctic citizens and the structures they built. Here, climate change itself does not play a significant role, but the focus is on political issues in the Arctic which have occurred due to the increased interest (e.g. by scientists, NGOs) because of climate change's impacts in the region. In this narrative, the reaction (3) to the complication is Eegeesiak's expressed feeling of being overrun and overruled by external decision makers and being excluded from processes which impact Inuit life and their homelands. Further, the narrative of sovereignty and respects carries a great moral evaluation within which can be seen in the quote taken from Eegeesiak's speech held at the *CAFF Biodiversity Congress 2016*:

- *"We simply ask that you respect our culture and long history as residents and we ask you to consult with us before you try to re-invent the Arctic according to your own interests." (ICC, 2016c)*

Here, she expresses the explicit demand for respect and inclusion in the processes concerning the Arctic region. Although this narrative is not directly connected to climate change, it shows further problems for indigenous people arising from the issue of the melting Arctic and shows the bigger picture of the set of problems indigenous people are dealing with. Further, it gives an insight in the ICC's agenda of topics, where the emphasis seems to differ according to the communicational context. A further aspect which can be detected in in this narrative is the us-vs.-them argumentation by the ICC in which the notion of victim (Inuit as residents) and villain (interest groups as disrespectful intruders) is recognizable again. As argued by Dahl (2012), this demarcation is another common strategy used by indigenous people to emphasize their 'otherness' to the opponent which parallels with Tennant's argument that "the category of 'indigenous people' is itself partly constituted through the dynamics of opposition and resistance." (Tennant, 1994)

Lastly, another narrative found in the analyzed sample of the ICC, is the equitable cooperation and inclusion narrative, which is mostly salient in speeches held by the ICC chair Okalik Eegeesiak (e.g. 2014 Arctic Circle Assembly, 2015 Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting, *Passing the Arctic Council Torch*).

Within this narrative, the ICC stresses the willingness for cooperation and partnerships in all aspects (e.g. climate change mitigation and adaption, economy, science) in the condition of shown respect for their culture and their status as equitable partners. This narrative is indicated by the following structure: (1) Motivation, (2) challenges Inuit are facing, (3) tasks of ICC, (4) collaboration and (5) prospects.

In the initial situation, the Inuit's ability of adapting and their resilience is expressed.

In these examples (taken from speeches at *The Arctic 2045: A Long-Term Vision* and the *CAFF Biodiversity Congress 2016*), it is pointed out that in the long history the Inuit inhabited the Arctic, they had to overcome many obstacles and were always able to adapt to new conditions:

- *"Inuit have occupied the circumpolar Arctic for millennia – carving a resilient and pragmatic culture from the land and sea – we have lived through famines, the little ice age, Vikings, whalers, missionaries, residential schools, successive governments and we intend to thrive with climate change." (ICC, 2016d)*
- *"Inuit have always adapted to change and we are determined to provide for the material and cultural well-being of Inuit into the future." (ICC, 2016c)*

Here, the ICC not only expresses the connection of Inuit to the land and sea as the foundation of their culture, but also points out their persisting ability to adapt to changes and overcome obstacles with which they had to deal with in the past. This can be interpreted as what Dahl (2012) calls the strategy of shaming and embarrassment because many of these mentioned obstacles were burdened on Inuit by Western societies or by societies outside of the Arctic, just as climate change is now. By expressing the obstacles, they have been able overcome successfully in the past, they emphasize their capability of resilience. This parallels with Bravo's (2009) suggestion of a shift in the narration of Inuit as victims towards a more positive perspective which focuses on resilience as a power of their system.

Nevertheless, climate change is not the only obstacle the Inuit face nowadays which is why the complication (2) in this narrative is a broad description of many challenges they face such as education, health care, resource development and employment. To these complications, the ICC reacts (3) with several initiatives and its participation in meetings and conferences (e.g. Artic Council, White House Arctic Science Ministers Meeting) with the aim of collaboration and partnership to overcome obstacles together. Their engagement and motivation in their activities is expressed in the speech at the conference *The Arctic 2045: A Long-Term Vision*:

- *"I [Okalik Eegeesiak, ICC chair] have just been in Brussels working towards building a shared understanding of Inuit and our role in the management of Arctic resources, our community's health, the cultural diversity and knowledge." (ICC, 2016d)*

- *"[…] we [the ICC] engage in a variety of national fora within our individual states and multilateral fora including the Arctic Council and the United Nations at the international stage." (ICC, 2016d)*

Here, she emphasizes the active and determined involvement in institutional means and highlights the use of all possibilities indigenous people have, to make their voices heard. Hereby, she portrays a shift from Inuit as victims to active and powerful people who have become their own agents. According to Dahl (2012), they hereby take responsibility for the process of creating their own agenda and bringing it to the world's fora.

Since the core of this narrative is the concept of equitable partnership and inclusion of Inuit, in the narrative part of the resolution (4), special attention is paid to existing collaborations and prospects to enhance them. An example for this can be seen in the speech at the *2015 Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting* and the conference *The Arctic 2045: A Long-Term Vision* held by Okalik Eegeesiak:

- *"[…] we can do more to enhance our future work and to base our respective policies and opportunities upon traditional knowledge as well as experience with sound research, appropriate messaging, and sustainable and equitable programs and services." (ICC, 2015h)*
- *"In many situations, we are working in multilateral processes with governments, non-governmental organizations, and businesses where many other non-Arctic interests are represented. Many have agendas that they want to have validated by having Inuit involved in their work." (ICC, 2016d)*

Again, this is an indicator for the shift that occurred from the narratives which were salient in the COP21 press releases, in which Inuit were mostly portrayed as victims. Here, Eegeesiak presents them as determined agents who are engaged in various processes. The mention of their traditional knowledge is in accordance with Martello's (2008) detected narrative of indigenous people as holders of valuable knowledge. Eegeesiak here puts the emphasis on cooperation with external interest groups and portrays Inuit skills and knowledge as contributing and beneficial to various global processes.

Unlike the previous narratives, the narrative of equitable partnership and inclusion is dominated by the final situation (5). Here, the prospect for collaborations and partnerships with interested parties, the inclusion of traditional knowledge in processes, and first and foremost respect for Inuit culture and identity are emphasized. Eegeesiak expresses this in her speeches at the *2015 Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting* and at the conference *The Arctic in 2045: A Long-Term Vision:*

- *"The utilization and value of our knowledge systems must be further and better employed." (ICC, 2016d)*

- *"We welcome appropriate economic activity that respects the natural environment and includes Inuit in ways that promote, benefit, and respect our culture, our communities and our human rights." (ICC, 2015h)*
- *"Inuit believe that global problems need global solutions. I would suggest that boundaries between countries and people are largely artificial and by communicating and listening and learning from each other – by combining our collective knowledge – we can find solutions to anything." (ICC, 2016d)*

This focus on partnerships and the emphasized willingness for cooperation, confirms the shift from the opposition and resistance strategy. This supports Dahl's observation that "strategies other than that of creating a distance from their opponents have taken over parallel to the increasing acceptance of the concept of indigenousness, of the rights of indigenous peoples" (Dahl, 2012). In this narrative, Inuit are portrayed not only as capable and competent, but also willing to share their competences with who was previously portrayed as the villain or the intruder of the Arctic, to achieve collective goals. Still, to maintain their traditions and authenticity (their 'indigenousness'), emphasis is put on the inclusion of their traditional knowledge. Nevertheless, in this narrative it is used not to set themselves apart, but as an 'admission ticket' for outsiders to offer a valuable source of knowledge for potential partnerships.

Still, within the narrative a moral evaluation (6) is made salient which occurs in the speech held at the *CAFF Biodiversity Congress*:

- *"I [Okalik Eegeesiak] urge you to consider that the actions taken outside the Arctic may have real and dire consequences in the Arctic if indeed these are developed in the absence of true partnerships with and respect for the peoples who live there." (ICC, 2016c)*

Here, Eegeesiak returns to the use of the 'us-versus-them' concept by portraying the moral aspect of this section by addressing the ones responsible for and the ones affected by climate change impacts and pollution in the Arctic. Here, her mode of expression reminds of the shame and embarrassment strategy again (Dahl, 2012) which she uses to support her argumentation for the necessity of more equitable inclusion and partnership of Inuit.

Unlike in the narratives presented above, in this narrative the ICC introduces a new and reconciliatory tone which follows what Morgan (2013) calls the peace and security strategy in order to prevent conflicts in the region and between parties. Here, the focus is mainly on two aspects: the willingness of Inuit to cooperate with external interest groups (governments, NGOs, companies etc.) and the premise of respect for Inuit and equity within the partnership.

In this narrative, the ICC thereby discards the usual strategy of indigenous people of being antithetical to its adversaries (Dahl, 2012) but offers collaboration, also to secure the Inuit's economic progress and well-being in the future.

According to Morgan (2004), three indigenous strategies to mobilize supporters and influence government policies have been applied by indigenous peoples: (1) The discrimination strategy (all peoples have the right to self-determination), (2) the peace and security strategy (conflict prevention) and (3) the environmental strategy (indigenous people are natural ecologists) (Dahl, 2012). These strategies can be detected in the four narratives which were identified in this analysis: The human rights, the vulnerability, the sovereignty and the equitable partnership, and inclusion narrative. While the narratives of human rights, vulnerability and sovereignty follow the discrimination strategy, the equitable partnership narrative follows the strategy of peace and security. With the strategy of discrimination, the ICC uses the three narratives as an instrument to gain back the right to self-determination and control of their own destiny. Here, not only climate change is used as an argument, but several problems Inuit are facing, for which they hold others (the Western, industrialized world) accountable and thereby create the argumentation for the right of self-determination according to their traditional way of life and sovereignty in their territory.
Interestingly, regarding climate change, not the environmental strategy is used, instead at the climate summit COP21 the ICC frames it as a human rights issue which parallels with Sambo's argument, that indigenous peoples have translated their worldviews into a human rights discourse, through the borrowing of terminology as well as the expansion of human rights ideals (Sambo, 2009). Although, at the UN summit COP21, climate change is treated as an environmental issue, the ICC frames it as one that concerns their human rights which simultaneously gives them the opportunity to lobby at the conference with the strategy of discrimination by portraying themselves as victims of climate change impacts.

The ICC offers a different representation of Inuit in the equitable partnership and inclusion narrative by which they follow Morgan's suggested peace and security strategy. Here, the purpose is to achieve equation by presenting Inuit as holders of valuable knowledge which they offer to share. Hereby, the portrayal of Inuit as victims shifts to one of powerful indigenous people who are open for collaborations with external parties. On the contrary to the other three narratives which follow the resistance and opponent positioning of indigenous people, the equitable partnership and inclusion narrative overcomes this argumentation and instead emphasizes openness for collaborations and hereby aims to change the image of Inuit from a subordinated position as on a par with 'new-comers' and interested parties.

5.2 ICC's representation of the topic climate change

The thematic analysis of the ICC's use of the term climate change gave information about how and in which context the organization represents the issue. The tag cloud visualizes the terms that were used most frequently in connection to 'climate' and 'climate change' in the here analyzed sample:

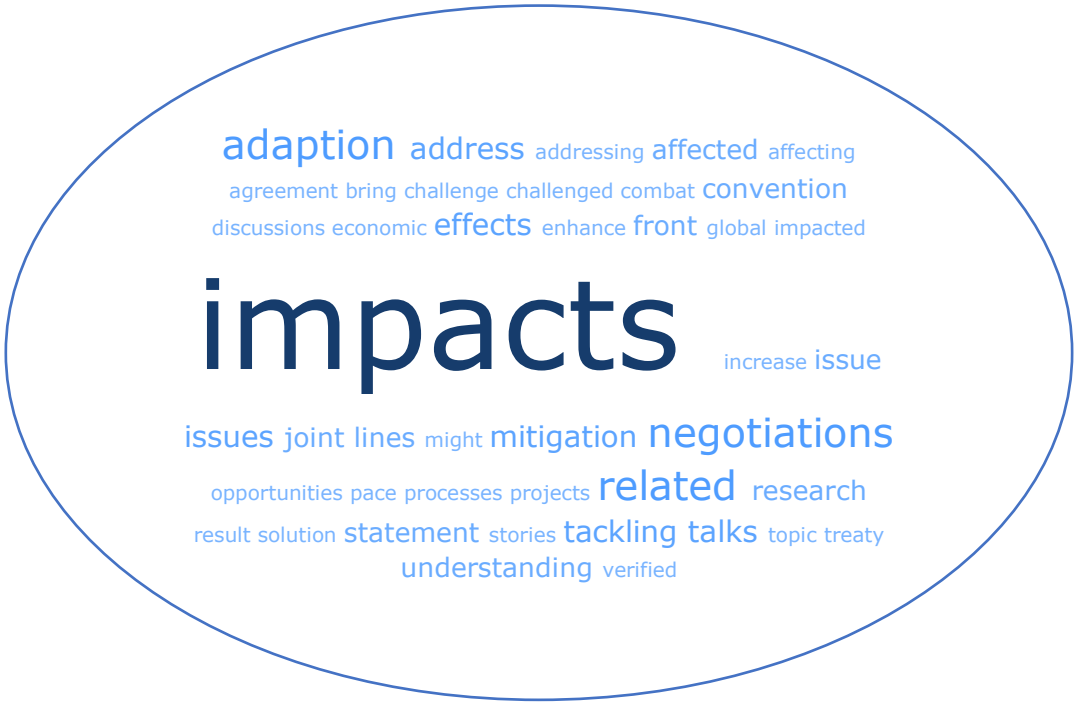

Image 3: Tag cloud ICC

As made visible in image 3, the ICC presents the climate change issue especially in connection to the impacts emerging for Inuit and other indigenous people. This parallels the above introduced narrative of vulnerability which was detected in the sample. The ICC frames climate change mostly as an issue which poses a threat to their livelihoods, thus to their human rights. This is done by portraying examples of how and which aspects of Inuit life, culture and traditions are impacted by the changing conditions in the Arctic which occur due to climate change and how this hazards their existence. Here are examples taken from press releases and joint statements of the governments of the ICC, and the governments of Greenland and Nunavut published for COP21:

- *"We [Inuit] are deeply concerned about the impacts of climate change on sea ice and our way of life." (ICC, 2015c)*
- *"Recognizing that the people of the Arctic, and especially Indigenous Peoples, are experiencing acute impacts related to climate change including permafrost thaw, extreme increases in temperatures, loss of glacier and sea ice, extreme weather events and disruptions to Arctic wildlife." (ICC, 2015c)*

- *"Inuit and Saami are deeply concerned about the actual and potential impacts of climate change on their cultural, social and economic health and corresponding human rights." (ICC, 2015d)*

By expressing how climate change is impacting the life of indigenous people in the Arctic and by mentioning the aspects it affects, the ICC creates here the argument for why climate change impacts affect indigenous peoples' subsistence and therefore their human rights. Through this representation of the issue and the framing of climate change impacts as a threat to their livelihoods and the deprivation of their right to self-determination, the above presented strategy of discrimination is supported.

However, the topic of climate change is only represented as an urgent and immediate threat to Inuit life in the context of COP21. In all other texts, especially in messages from and speeches held by the ICC chair, Okalik Eegeesiak, climate change is not made specifically salient but is represented as one topic among others on the agenda of the ICC. Here, climate change is not specifically depicted but circumscribed as ''changes in the Arctic'' or ''changes in the environmental conditions''. This can be illustrated by examples from the chair's messages and the speech at *The Arctic in 2045: A Long-Term Vision*:

- *"[…] address and adapt to changing conditions in the Arctic." (ICC, 2016a)*
- *"Our [the ICC's] issues have remained the same - concern for the environment, wildlife, education, and healthier communities." (ICC, 2016d)*
- *"Inuit want the very best future for our children, we want a strong Arctic economy that provides opportunities for our youth, we want a healthy environment and wildlife that we can continue to nourish our minds, souls and bodies." (ICC, 2015e)*

Here, the ICC presents the climate change issue in a less dramatic language and is not specifically naming it. Hereby, the issue is not presented with a specific emphasis or payed special attention to, and thereby leaves room for interpretation for which changes are meant. Thus, it creates the impression that for the ICC, the issue is of no significant importance. This impression is intensified when climate change is mentioned as one problem among many of Inuit's concern. Not only is climate change here not presented as an issue of major concern but its imminence is also decreased when Eegeesiak frames it as a potential chance for Inuit in her speech at the conference *The Arctic in 2045: A Long-Term Vision*:

- *"It is hard to speak about the Arctic without addressing climate change. Inuit welcome the interest, the potential for jobs and training, and the economic opportunities climate change may eventually bring. But sadly, I do not see the communities I give voice to benefitting yet." (ICC, 2016d)*

Here, climate change is not represented as a threat to the livelihood of Inuit, but rather as a chance. Further, the expressed concern is not so much about negative climate change impacts but the lack of inclusion of Inuit communities. The crucial point expressed here, is the involvement of Inuit and their benefit from positive impacts climate change may be accompanied by, rather than the threat it poses. Further, the negative aspects of climate change are completely left out here, and the topic is more presented as an opportunity.

This is especially interesting regarding the clear differences in the representation of climate change among the different texts in the here analyzed sample. As presented above, the climate change issue is not especially emphasized in speeches and messages. This representation differs in context to the summit COP21 as can be seen in the following examples taken from the ICC's press releases:

- *"The Arctic is experiencing acute impacts related to climate change, including permafrost thaw, extreme increases in temperatures, loss of glacier and sea ice, extreme weather events and disruptions to Arctic wildlife." (ICC, 2015c)*
- *"Indigenous peoples are bringing their messages of migration and relocation, crop loss, deforestation, ocean acidification and warming, sea level rise, extreme weather events, sea ice loss and changes in the biosphere - as a result of climate change." (ICC, 2015d)*
- *"As the Arctic melts and the sea level rises one billion people living in low lying areas are at risk of becoming the new environmental migrant." (ICC, 2015i)*

Here, it states the consequences not only for Inuit but global indigenous people and presents climate change and its threats and impacts as a serious and severe harm to their livelihoods, thus their survival. Evidently, the ICC's representation of the climate change issue differs in regard to the context of the text. While in texts such as speeches at conferences and messages to the organization the language is very modest and focuses on topics aside from climate change, in all press releases and statements which were published for the climate summit COP21, the ICC presents climate change in a very serious and drastic tone.

Here, a shift can be seen in the strategy of the ICC which supports the findings made in the narrative analysis. While regarding the COP21 summit the strategy of discrimination is followed, here climate change is also depicted as an urgent threat to Inuit life and their human rights. This connects to Dahl's concept of the strong essentialist language of indigenous people, by which they express "a desperate

urge to rally against social and cultural assimilation" (Dahl, 2012). By stressing how climate change impacts their lands, they also stress the important cultural and traditional connection they have to it and thereby create the "image of being the custodians of nature" (Dahl, 2012). The use of the concept of discrimination and the inclusion of this essentialist language can be interpreted as the organization's strategy for pursuing their aims in the political interaction at COP21.

At conferences (e.g. Arctic Council, McGill Institute for the Study of Canada) or in the chair's message, a more moderate representation of the topic indicates the strategy of peace and security. Here, not only the language differs, climate change is also not as present and does not have the same priority as in the context of COP21. This indicates that according to the circumstances of their public appearance, the ICC's importance of topics differs.

5.3 ICC's representation of Inuit as social actors

As described above, the analysis of the representation of Inuit as social actors was done with six categories. Here, attention was paid to the inclusion of Inuit in the texts, their role allocation, their representation as active or passive actors, their depiction as a group of people or certain individuals, if they are represented due to their activities or what compromises their identity, and if they are referred to by qualities assigned to them or by locations or things associated with them.

It is unsurprising that in all analyzed texts of the sample of ICC, Inuit are always included and always the main actors in the text. According to van Leeuwen (2003), the category of role allocation is supposed to show if the social actor(s) are represented as being given or being deprived power and their level of agency within the text. In the text of ICC, both is done: The ICC continually represents Inuit as determined in their activities of fighting against climate change and for their human rights, promoting and lobbying for their way of life, negotiating with world leaders, Inuit leading and being leaders. Nevertheless, despite of this determination and their ongoing efforts, the ICC also presents them as victims and voiceless people in regard to global negotiations and decision-making processes. This can be interpreted as the principle of cause and effect; the ongoing disregard (of their respective state) results in their determination to fight for their recognition.

This is especially salient in the press releases published for COP21: Before the negotiations of the summit, they are presented as determined and confident to make their voices heard and to achieve their goals of having their human rights included in the ultimate agreement. This representation shifts, when during the negotiations, they learn that the inclusion of their rights it at risk. Here, they are depicted as weak and a group of people whose fate and future is being negotiated by the world's leaders. Ultimately, in the press releases published after the summit, Inuit are presented as the victims of the decisions which were made, and as a group of people whose voices were overheard and whose urgent demands were overruled. This representation of Inuit as powerless and voiceless victims of the global world order is moreover salient in the three narratives that follow the discrimination strategy. Here, the victimized representation of Inuit, once more supports Dahl's (2012) suggested concept of shaming and embarrassing. By doing so, according to Dahl (2012), "it is easier to protest against violations and to suggest that government experts do something […] than it is to have one's own representatives in these positions and to formulate suggestions and prepare analysis" (Dahl, 2012). Hereby, the familiar concept of indigenous peoples as victims is used to put pressure on the respective government and thereby simultaneously puts the 'villain' in the position of the duty to improve the 'victim's' conditions. Here, the aspect of morality versus power (Dahl, 2012) is salient, by arguing that the actions and decisions of the one's in power endanger the weak and vulnerable.

In the narrative that follows the peace and security frame, Inuit are mostly presented as active, energetic and as the driving forces of processes they are engaged in. They are depicted by active and enthusiastic verbs describing their activities within the organization by expressions such as ‘‘active participation’’, ‘‘playing an active role’’, ‘‘actively supporting’’, ‘‘urging’’, ‘‘dedicated to protect’’, ‘‘fighting’’, ‘‘we will continue to fight’’. This mostly focusses on how they carry out their tasks to achieve the goals of the organization of promoting and lobbying for Inuit life.

Nevertheless, in this narrative their representation tends to shift from passive to active: In connection to development in the Arctic region, they are trying to fight for more inclusion in processes and decisions. Here, they are presented as overruled and unheard voices in international decision-making processes. This presentation creates the ICC’s argument for the need of a better inclusion. Further, by presenting Inuit as holders of valuable knowledge they manage to move from being victims to agents; they move from the image of being a backward society to being a potential partner with useful qualities.

A commonality among all texts of the sample is the assimilation in which Inuit are represented by the ICC. Unless a specific person is mentioned (e.g. the ICC’s founder, the ICC chair, other ICC executives etc.), the organization depicts Inuit always as such, or as ‘‘indigenous people’’, ‘‘Canadian Inuit’’, ‘‘our people and communities’’, ‘‘Arctic peoples’’, ‘‘Arctic and island peoples’’, ‘‘people who call the Arctic home’’, ‘‘distinct indigenous population’’. This representation of not only Inuit but (Arctic) indigenous people expresses unity, collectivity, solidarity and togetherness among them. Simultaneously, it includes the ‘us-versus-them’ aspect by which Inuit are represented as an exclusive group with a clear distinction to others, which according to Dahl (2012) is one of the main strategies of indigenous people in political interaction.

Moreover, Inuit are represented mostly through their functionalization; by the activities of the ICC as an organization (lobbying, promoting, raising attention for Inuit) and especially by their activities during the climate conference in Paris. Further emphasis is also put on what comprises Inuit identity in regard to the Arctic as their homeland, their ancestors, their cultures and traditions and their identifying occupations. This is emphasized not only in COP21 press releases but also in Eegesiak’s speech at the conference *Canada on the Global Stage* at the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada

- *“We are hunters, fishers, agrarians […]” (ICC, 2015d)*
- *“[…] activities such as reindeer herding, fishing, hunting, gathering remain important livelihoods” (ICC, 2015d)*
- *“We identify ourselves as hunters. Subsistence hunting and our right to cultural practices define us.” (ICC, 2016e)*

- *"[…] living their lives and carrying on their traditional livelihoods which are grounded in the connection to the land." (ICC, 2016c)*

Here, Inuit are also represented by the occupations that make up their identity, thus their values, traditions, knowledge and culture. Thereby, emphasis is put on how Inuit provide and on what sources they base their survival. Simultaneously, it is illustrated what is at stake and that climate changes poses a threat not only to Inuit identity and culture, but to their survival.

According to this representation, Inuit are not only a very traditional people whose identities are deeply connected to their land but one that bases their provision on the stability of the Arctic region.

Lastly, the ICC represents Inuit (and other indigenous peoples) as social actors mostly in connection to their homeland region and places: ''the Arctic coast'', ''Nordic countries'', ''Arctic'', ''homeland'', ''Inuit Nunaat'', ''land and sea'', ''from the Arctic to the Amazon'', ''places where indigenous people's lives are at stake'', ''the world's coldest and hottest regions'', ''circumpolar North'', ''Arctic states''. This not only puts emphasis on the importance of the region, but also creates an identifying unity among people from the Arctic regions as well as a connection to other indigenous people living in vulnerable locations. Further, they are represented by qualities assigned to them, especially their traditional knowledge, their culture and traditions. This emphasizes the aspects which construct the Inuit identity, and how this is connected and dependent on the Arctic landscape. Hereby, it also emphasizes the deeper meaning of climate change in regard to the threat to the potential loss of their culture and roots.

Having considered all these categories, the ICC represents Inuit as powerful and clever people whose identities are defined and comprised of their Arctic homeland and their cultures and tradition deriving of their life on the land. Further, Inuit are portrayed as unseen and ignored by the rest of the world and therefore must actively lobby and promote their presence in global fora. Here, emphasis is put on the qualities Inuit have, to contribute on a global level (e.g. traditional knowledge, ideas for climate change adaption and mitigation) but having to overcome the position of a minority in which they lack the opportunities for participation and inclusion in global processes.

5.4 CBC's climate change narratives

In the analysis of the articles published by the Canadian Broadcasting Company about COP21 within the considered period of time, three main narratives were detected: The economic disadvantage, the federal system, and the climate change impacts and mitigation narrative.

The narrative of economic disadvantage is mostly expressed through the voices of Ministers of Canadian provinces which base their economy on fossil fuels (mostly Saskatchewan and Alberta). Here, concern is expressed about the arrangement of several suggested measures to reduce emissions while assuring economic stability and growth in the region. The macro-structure of the narrative consists of the sections (1) COP21 summit in Paris, (2) consequences for the economy, (3) compromises, (4) flexible plans for lowering emissions and (5) future prospect.

This narrative can be interpreted as being dominated by the complication which is the potential job loss in the Canadian states which economy depends on fossil fuels, imminent disadvantages on the world markets in case of nationwide measures and the potential loss of Canada's competitive ability in the sector. This can be seen in articles which were published before and in the beginning of the summit in Paris:

- *"While Trudeau's enthusiasm was echoed by most of the premiers during the day, Saskatchewan Premier Brad Wall was the go-to for a dissenting voice, noting that some 30,000 jobs have already been lost in Canada's energy sector." (CBC, 2015a)*
- *"So, as we [delegation of Canada] prepare for Paris and to present a constructive and national front to the world, we need to be mindful of that fact, we need to work hard to ensure that we're doing no further harm to an industry that's facing great difficulty." (CBC quoting Brad Wall, 2015a)*
- *"Taking no action would give Russia a trade advantage over places like Alberta, which has committed to a carbon tax." (CBC, 2015b)*
- *"'We've been highly exposed to job loss because of Alberta, and the fact that our economy in Canada relies quite heavily on oil and gas revenues,' Nancy Wright said in referring the recent drop in oil prices." (CBC, 2015c)*

Here, the compromise which accompanies measures to cut greenhouse gas emissions is presented. The complication in the narrative of economic disadvantage expresses the balance-act which countries of the industrialized world have to manage to comply with their duty to take action against climate change, while securing the stability of the national economy and the prosperity of the population. Here, the complication of states which depend on fossil fuels is mirrored by the two Canadian provinces which are mostly affected by prospective emission-reducing measures of the government.

By portraying this ambivalence of the ministers of the respective states, it presents the different interests among provinces and territories of Canada's federal nation and portrays the difficulties of climate change mitigation measures at a national level.

With the narrative of economic disadvantage, the dilemma most industrialized nations are facing, especially the ones who base large parts of their economy on fossil fuels[7], is addressed. This fits into Liverman's (2009) suggested narrative of responsibility which reflects the north-south relations of the world, whereby the north reflects the industrial world and thereby has the obligation to prevent severe damage of climate change impacts to the 'vulnerable' south. This is especially visible in politics and climate negotiations regarding topics such as 'climate justice'. Although this narrative can be integrated in Liverman's umbrella-narrative of responsibility, interestingly, no moral evaluation can be detected here.

The second narrative detected in the CBC sample is the one of the Canadian federal system and the different interests of the provinces and territories within the federation. The narrative's structure is as following: (1) COP21 summit in Paris, (2) differences within provinces and territories (needs, projects etc.), (3) expectations for national strategy, (4) need for a Canadian climate change plan, (5) future outlooks. Here the dominating section is the complication; the differences among the territories and provinces in Canada which impact the process of agreeing on national emission targets for the whole country. This is salient in articles which were published during the negotiations in Paris:

- *"Innovation from the provinces and territories is something else McKenna [Canada's Minister of Environment and Climate Change] anticipates, conceding that the provinces are 'already out ahead of us.'" (CBC, 2015d)*
- *"But with the provinces all taking different, tailored approaches to combating climate change, what shape a national plan may take remains to be seen." (CBC, 2015d)*

The two quotes express the differences among the provinces of the federal system in regard to their efforts and needs which hinders the government to reach a national agreement on emission targets. As portrayed in the narrative of economic disadvantages, within the federal system there is a great discrepancy of requirements in climate change mitigation measures; but both cases are made visible: Again, emphasis is put on the fossil fuel industry in Alberta and Saskatchewan, but also cases in which provinces are determined in acting on climate change and already outperform the government's efforts. Hereby, not only the country's willingness to mitigate climate change is emphasized, but it also demonstrates a dilemma on the national ground in coming to a conclusion for national emission

[7] Canada has a 13% share of the world's oil reserves.

targets that considers the different positions of the territories. Here, also the expectations towards the new government for a national strategy are expressed. Interestingly, although the narrative focuses on different states within Canada's federal system, both, the climate 'villains' and 'heroes', it excludes the vulnerable Inuit territory of Nunavut completely from the coverage.

This narrative recalls Hulme's argument that the communication of climate change is always accompanied by uncertainties (Hulme, 2009). Here, this is especially salient on the national level for Canada and the uncertainties about how a national plan can be reached and what it will include, since within the federal system different requirements should be considered. By portraying the difficulties of the territories and provinces, it discloses the complexity of the topic and portrays the difficulties in the decision-making process regarding climate change.

The third, the impact and mitigation narrative is the most salient one. Its narrative structure is indicated by the sections (1) COP21 summit, (2) climate change, (3) mitigation projects and efforts, (4) a Canadian climate change plan and (5) the COP21 agreement.

Although this narrative is dominated by the component of the reaction (3), the portrayal of the complication by CBC, here, climate change itself, is interesting. Here, CBC follows the well-known presentation of climate change concepts. This can be seen in articles published during the conference in Paris:

- *"Because of California's record drought, lakes and rivers across the state are shrinking. And what residents are witnessing at Folsom Lake, experts say, could be a glimpse into the future for many cities across a warming planet." (CBC, 2015e)*
- *"'In the last two or three decades, we've seen a 20 per cent decline in this population [of polar bears], directly related to those changes' in climate, York says." (CBC, 2015f)*

Here, the first quote follows the concept of risk and danger which Liverman (2009) detected is common in climate change narratives. By portraying the Californian case as a foretaste for other areas, it evokes the feeling of a threat, and predicts climate change impacts and consequences even for those who have been untroubled by it so far. Here, the CBC delivers an example of what Stoknes suggests is the painting of a grim picture in climate change communication; the "apocalypse scenario of the doomsday" (Stoknes, 2015). Further, CBC portrays the issue of climate change through what Swyngedouw (2010) calls the symbol for climate change and the melting Arctic, and what Hamblyn (2009) calls the 'canary' in his metaphor: the endangered polar bear. Both examples show, how CBC uses the familiar concepts in portraying climate change in the complication part of this narrative. Further, the network portrays climate change impacts by reporting on special cases in vulnerable regions such as Florida, China and pacific islands. Here, it is interesting to observe that again, Inuit and

other Artic populations are excluded from the coverage despite of portraying vulnerable places and presenting the case of the Arctic.

However, the narrative section of the reaction can be interpreted as dominating for this narrative. It is characterized by different mitigation and adaption projects with special focus on inventions of the Silicon Valley, the COP21 climate deal itself and financial support for vulnerable regions. The following examples are taken from articles published during and after the climate conference:

- *"'Relax. This is California,' says Bill Patzert with NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory. 'This is the tech center of the universe. We're about ready to become one of the water efficiency centers in the Northern Hemisphere. Californians are coming up with more and more innovative high-tech ways to practice water efficiency up and down the state." (CBC, 2015e)*
- *"MacLauchlan [Premier of Prince Edward Island] says he will introduce the Coastal Impact Visualization Environment (CLIVE), developed by the University of Prince Edward Island's Climate Change Lab, a tool that models what will happen with sea-level rise." (CBC, 2015g)*
- *"In a statement, the Prime Minister's Office said Canada has a plan to invest an additional $100 million each year in clean technology producers. It said the government will also invest an additional $200 million each year to support innovation and the use of clean technologies in the natural resources sector." (CBC, 2015h)*

Here, despite of the above portrayed network's presentation of the topic as a risk and danger, in this section the 'story' shifts and indicates a more positive and promising outlook by presenting several measures of mitigation. Here, it contradicts Hamblyn's (2009) suggestion that within the climate change discourse the possibility of meaningful action is usually excluded and that it is dominated by crisis narratives. CBC presents mitigation projects and efforts and thereby gives a more promising perspective. Within this narrative, the network includes two aspects, the presentation of climate change impacts as risk and danger but also offers a positive aspect of the issue by introducing innovations, projects and investments for mitigation. This parallels Stoknes' (2015) suggestion of presenting climate change through more positive and attractive stories whereby it is made easier for people to handle.

The above portrayed narratives in which CBC represents the climate change issue put emphasis on the position of Canada's role in the discourse and at COP21. Here, the focus is not only on the country's obligations as an industrialized country, but also on its efforts and project which are already in place before the Paris agreement. Furthermore, the emphasis here lies in the different approaches and

problems the provinces and territories of the Canadian federal system are having. Generally, the focus of CBC's reporting is on the Canadian case but also considers the impacts other parts of the world are experiencing. Hereby, it follows many well-known climate change narratives in the media and presents it through familiar concepts.

The situation of Canadian Inuit, or Arctic indigenous people plays no significant role in the narratives, due to the fact that they are barely mentioned in the here analyzed sample. This will be further evaluated in the following chapters.

5.5 CBC's representation of the topic climate change

As done with the sample of the ICC, the thematic analysis of the CBC's use of the term climate change gave information about how and in which context the news media represents the issue. The tag cloud visualizes the terms that were used most frequently in connection to 'climate change' in the here analyzed sample:

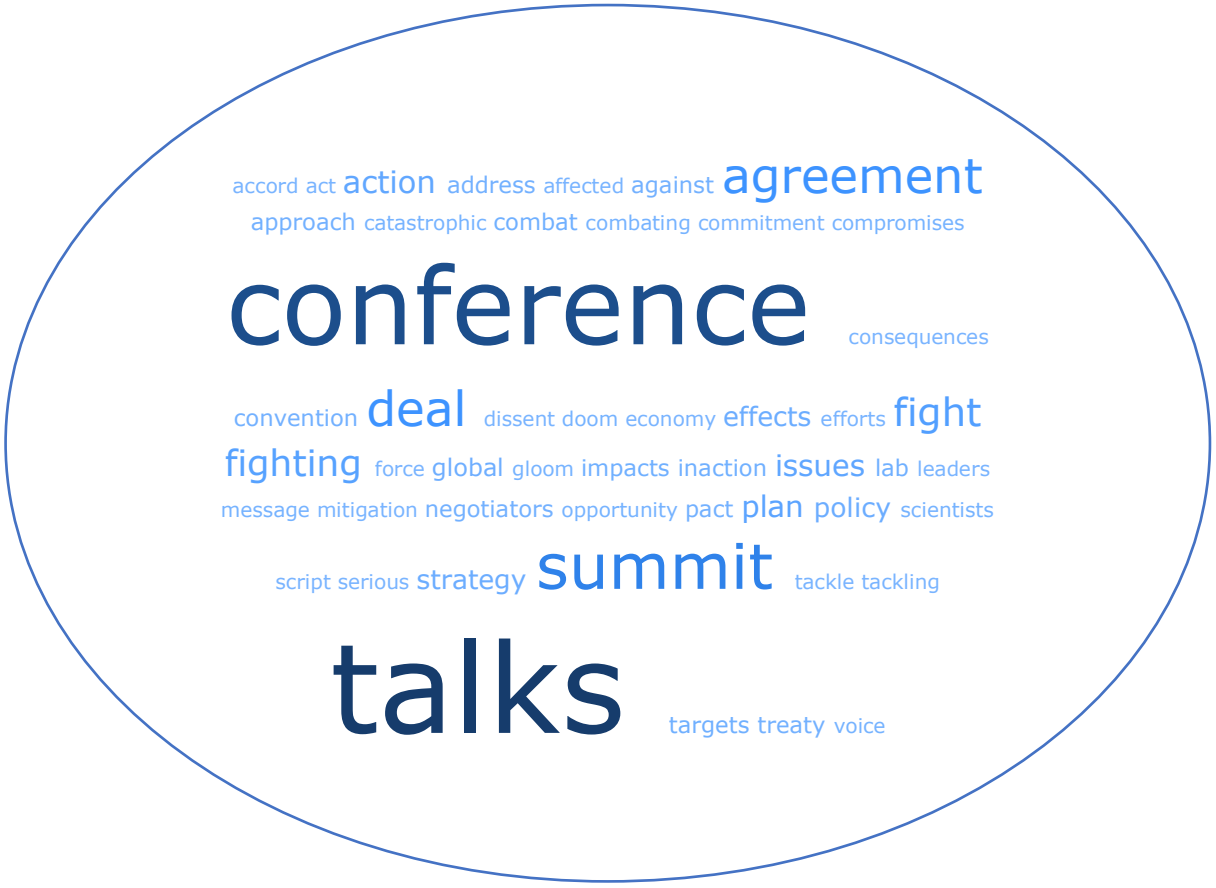

Image 4: Tag cloud CBC

As made visible in the tag cloud, at the center of the CBC's presentation is the climate change summit in Paris which is unsurprising since all articles in the sample cover the event. A more interesting finding is the CBC's focus on the collective and national commitments for action against climate change. This is indicated by the significant cumulation of terms such as agreement, plan, strategy, approach, pact, treaty, commitment. Hereby, the CBC emphasizes the focus on future actions that will be taken on a national and international level, which expresses the pledges of the new Canadian government to approach the issue. This thematic representation supports the above introduced narratives of the federal system and the impact and mitigation narrative. This can be seen in two examples taken from an article published before the conference:

- *"Trudeau has promised to hold another first ministers conference 90 days after the summit to work out a national climate strategy." (CBC, 2015a)*

- *“Justin Trudeau says he's heading into the much-anticipated climate change talks in Paris next week with a "Canadian approach" to climate change, one that recognizes the work the provinces have already done.” (CBC, 2015a)*

Both quotes give an impression of the commitment of the new government under Prime Minister Trudeau but also express the expectations that accompany the new Canadian stance on climate change for coming up with a concrete strategy for measures against climate change in the country.

Furthermore, salient words in context of climate change such as fight/fighting, combat/combating, act, efforts, tackle/tackling express the need for strong and immediate action. Hereby, climate change is represented as a serious and complicated issue which demands a great deal of power and strength to overcome. This can be seen in the following examples:

- *“Premier Kathleen Wynne said Ontario's long-term plans to combat climate change are "optimistic and entirely realistic" on Tuesday.” (CBC, 2015i)*
- *“[…] where he's (Prime Minister Justin Trudeau) vowed to find a "Canadian approach" to battling climate change.” (CBC, 2015i)*
- *“’We [Canada’s government] will help the developing world tackle the challenges of climate change,’ Trudeau said.” (CBC, 2015h)*

Here, the CBC presents climate change as an important issue on the government’s agenda and emphasizes its commitment and ambition to approach the topic. This also gives the impression of confidence and hints at a positive prospect for the management of climate change adaption and mitigation.

Lastly, the CBC expresses the urgency and severity of the topic by the use of words such as serious, catastrophic, trouble and threat in connection to the term ‘climate change’. This can be seen in the following examples echoing voices from the summit:

- *“He [Trudeau] also said he and Modi [Prime Minister of India] agreed that climate change is an ‘urgent threat,’” (CBC, 2015h)*
- *“[…] countries have committed to keep the earth's temperature from rising more than two degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels - which scientists say is necessary to avoid catastrophic climate change.” (CBC, 2015j)*
- *“’The growing threat of climate change could define the contours of this century more dramatically than any other’ he [Obama] said.” (CBC, 2015h)*

By using the statements of the three world leaders, the network emphasizes the danger and threat posed by climate change but also gives the impression of unity and consensus among the states. It further gives the impression of their commitment and determination to (finally) act on climate change.

Taken all into account, CBC, as other news media, represents the topic as an urgent threat which demands strong action to act on and to prevent severe consequences. By this representation of the topic, the network indicates once more that it fits into the familiar crisis narrative (Liverman, 2009) and tells the story of apocalypse and catastrophe (Stoknes, 2015).

5.6 CBC's representation of Inuit as social actors

In the analyzed articles of CBC, Inuit as social actors are barely visible. Out of the 52 articles analyzed for this research project, Inuit are included only in seven. If they are included, they are presented as parts of the Canadian delegation going to the summit in Paris and participating in the talks or serving as witnesses for climate change impacts. Here, the role allocated to them is ambiguous: They are presented as both, powerful and actively participating in the talks as leaders of indigenous people, as well as passive victims of climate change whose future is the subject of negotiations by the world's leaders. Furthermore, the sample includes articles in which they are also mentioned without a connection to climate change, but in regard to a treaty (by the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission*) about compensation for residential school abuses in the 60s and 70s. Although this representation is not related to climate change, here, the CBC represents Inuit as victims who have a past of mistreatment by the Canadian authorities.

Regarding climate change, Inuit are represented as a group of concern whose future is the subject of negotiations which the following example from an article published during the summit shows:

- *"In a statement Wednesday night, McKenna also said Canada was "deeply concerned" that the reference to human rights and the rights of indigenous people was still "under brackets" — meaning they're still being negotiated." (CBC, 2015k)*

Here, the CBC portrays the importance of Inuit to the Canadian government and the attention the Minister of the Environment and Climate Change pays to the negotiations about the inclusion of indigenous peoples' rights. Nevertheless, it also points out their (forced) passiveness and the lack of power and incapability indigenous people have at the summit. Hereby, Inuit are once again presented as a vulnerable community whose fate is the matter of negotiations.

Further, the CBC presents Inuit primarily as a group of people, although one article's main topic is the participation of the leader of the NGO *Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami*[8] at the summit, who represents Inuit at the conference as a part of the Canadian delegation. Here, he is characterized as active and determined:

- *"Inuit Leader Natan Obed fights for a voice on climate change." (CBC, 2015l)*
- *"And so, it seems fitting that part of Canada's delegation to Paris includes a leader who can represent both the Inuit people's past traditions... and its future." (CBC, 2015l)*

[8] A National Representational Organization Protecting and Advancing the Rights and Interests of Inuit in Canada.

Here, Natan Obed is presented as an individual character, the president of the NGO but he still represents the group of the Inuit ("Canada's First Nations communities", "indigenous communities", "indigenous people", "indigenous environmental activists", "survivors" (of residential school abuse), "First Nations", "aboriginals", "indigenous Canadians" as they are depicted by the CBC). Although the focus of the article is on one individual, in the broader context, he serves as the representative for the group of Arctic indigenous people.

Further, the network represents them according to their functionality at the conference: Actively lobbying and being part of the solution to climate change adaption and mitigation. In addition, they are mostly represented through their homeland: the Arctic ("Canada's North", "in the North"). Hereby, the network represents them as originating from a remote location which gives the impression of an exotic and estranged community. Moreover, in the articles in which they are represented as victims (of the residential school abuse), they are not defined by their homeland but by their identity and culture (here, e.g. their spiritual connection to their lands and their traditional ways of living and providing). Thereby, the network represents them as subjects of suppression due to these attributes, which reinforces the representation of the 'exotic other'.

In the CBC's representation of Inuit, the aspect of vulnerability and victimization is dominant. Despite of Natan Obed being part of the delegation, thus having a certain status of importance to the government, he accompanies the delegation as a representative for witnesses of climate change impacts, therefore as a victim of it. In this representation, Inuit lack the level of agency which the ICC attributed to them in their representation. According to van Leeuwen, they are deprived of a level of agency by the CBC's representation by being 'undergoing' and 'at the receiving end' (van Leeuwen, 2003). Here, they are represented as e.g. 'undergoing' the negotiations of the summit and are 'at the receiving end' of climate change impacts. The contexts in which CBC portrays Inuit in its articles portray foremost how they are adversely affected by either climate change impacts or their past mistreatment and are therefore continually portrayed as victims.

7. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This study centers around the 'stories' which the organization ICC, as one of the representative organizations for Inuit interests, and the public Canadian news media CBC create around the issue climate change, through which language they present it and how Inuit as social actors are portrayed. Here, differences were detected in how the two parties approach and represent the issue.

Compared to governments, who are in the position of power, indigenous people have limited possibilities to make an impact for their people, which is why they need strategies to make their voices heard in their political interaction (Dahl, 2012). Fora which offer such an opportunity for Inuit to speak on their behalf are e.g. the UN or conferences of the Arctic Council. The texts and speeches which were analyzed for this project are taken from these occasions in which Inuit were given the opportunity to express their concerns on a (inter)national stage.

Here, the study detected two different strategies in the ICC's communication of climate change. The narratives which were portrayed above, are dominated either by the strategy of discrimination (Morgan, 2004) or the peace and security frame (Dahl, 2012). Using the discrimination strategy, the ICC translates climate change into a human rights issue and creates thereby the argument at the COP21 summit for why it poses a threat to Inuit livelihoods and why it should be stipulated in the agreement. By the borrowing of terminology as well as the expansion of human rights ideals (Sambo, 2009) in the presented narratives, the ICC manages to shift the perception of climate change as an environmental issue to a human rights issue and thereby legitimizes their demands at the COP21 summit. In the argumentation of the discrimination strategy, consequences of climate change and other environmental problems (e.g. pollutants) deprive Arctic indigenous people from their right to self-determination. This is reinforced by the drastic language by which the ICC presents climate change impacts and by which it emphasizes the issue as an urgent threat to Inuit livelihood, culture and tradition. Hereby, the concept of shame and embarrassment (Dahl, 2012) towards governments is utilized, to present those accountable for environmental changes and problems in the Arctic, and those adversely affected by it. Hereby, the ICC represents its position as a combat between victims versus villains and emphasizes its stance of opposition and resistance, which is familiar in the communication strategies of indigenous people (Dahl, 2012) and also supports Strauss' concept of the binary opposition of good and bad in a narrative (Lacey, 2000). This mirrors the ICC's presentation of Inuit as social actors, whereby they are presented as unseen, overheard and ignored by the world's leaders and therefore must fight for their rights and actively lobby for and promote the Inuit way of life. By this representation of Inuit as victims, they simultaneously justify their demands for better inclusion and respect at the fora they are present. Dahl (2012) explains: "Indigenous people came to the United

Nations as victims. To give evidence, indigenous people will necessarily need to document violations of their human rights and, in this respect, they are always victims.'' Thereby, the appointed status of victims simultaneously constitutes their legitimacy to be present at conferences such as COP21 and claiming their agenda. A further reason for why the ICC frames climate change as a human rights issue at the COP21 summit potentially lies in the greater meaning of having their rights manifested here: This would not only give them the right to hold those who violate their rights accountable on a legal basis, but would reflect an international recognition and acknowledgement of their rights and their status as indigenous people. This is supported by Dahl (2012): "In a way it is logical that, when rights are recognized, it is no longer a matter of documenting that these rights are violated, but also that these rights should be fought for and implemented."

In contrast to this, is the peace and security strategy (Morgan, 2004) by which the ICC aims for a better inclusion of Inuit in decision-making processes in the Arctic. Although the narrative here expresses a lack of inclusion of Inuit, it thereby expresses the demand for equitable partnerships with interested parties and emphasizes openness and alacrity to embrace (climate change) challenges and different opportunities together with combined energies. Following the peace and security strategy, also the language in which climate change is addressed is less drastic and more moderate. Here, a different importance is appointed to the climate change issue compared to the narratives which follow the discrimination strategy. Inuit as social actors are here presented by the ICC as holders of valuable knowledge which is depicted as an asset in potential partnerships and cooperation with external parties. Here, the aspect of indigenous people opposing governments, NGOs, corporations etc. is overcome by emphasizing openness and willingness to cooperate on an eye-to-eye-level.

The findings of the here conducted analysis show that the ICC adjusts its communication and language depending on the context in which it presents its agenda. Not only does the importance which it appoints to different topics (e.g. climate change) shift, it also switches between the representation of Inuit as either powerful and wise or as vulnerable victims, depending on the argument and the purpose of their communication and the message they want to send. In regard to Fløttums (2013) approach to climate change narrative, in the ICC's narratives Inuit embody the role of either the victim(s) or the hero(es).

The findings of the analysis are also supportive for observations made by Bjørst (2012). As explained above, she argues that Inuit "have learned the game" and "internalized the language" and know which role to play and how to act according to the public's expectations of Inuit as the climate change witnesses and victims. It also supports her argument of this being the only way for them to participate in these negotiations by acting upon their role in the existing script of the Arctic. Also, Dahl argues that

“to be heard indigenous people often present themselves in accordance with the expectations of the holders of power rather than as a reflection of their own vision of themselves.” (Dahl, 2012) Here it seems as if within the climate change discourse the ICC fills in the niche which has been accounted to them.

Compared to the ICC, the Canadian Broadcasting Company puts different focuses on the narratives through which it represents the issue of climate change. The network frames it mostly from a national perspective and presents which impacts (may) occur and the role of its provinces and territories in mitigation efforts, as well as Canada's role at the conference in Paris. Hereby, it presents climate change through familiar concepts in its narratives. The coverage of CBC is in accordance with the often-occurring narrative of responsibility (Liverman, 2009), in which the awareness and commitment of the new government to fight climate change is depicted but also the balance-act of industrialized nations of cutting greenhouse gas emissions without harming the local economy. Further, the CBC emphasizes the severity and urgency of climate change by presenting it with the familiar concept of global warming: the endangered polar bear. Also, the thematic analysis of the CBC's usage of the term climate change shows the well-known representation of climate change as an apocalypse-scenario (Stoknes, 2015). Here, the topic is mostly represented as a threat and danger that demands urgent action. This parallels Liverman's (2009) suggested crisis narrative which occurs frequently. Nevertheless, by presenting different climate change mitigation projects, the network also offers a more positive prospect for future scenarios.

Despite of the network's focus on the Canadian case, Inuit as social actors are underrepresented in the CBC's coverage. This finding made in this analysis supports Martello's argument of indigenous people being underrepresented in mass media's narratives, which she suggested instead, mainly focuses on the “charismatic mega-fauna” (2008). Both is done by the CBC: Inuit are barely present in the CBC's narrative, but climate change is presented as a threat to polar bear populations. According to the CBC's mandate, the network pledges to

> *“serve the needs and interests and reflect the circumstances and aspirations, of Canadian men, women and children, including equal rights, the linguistic duality and multicultural and multiracial nature of Canadian society and the special place of aboriginal peoples within that society'' (CBC, 1994).*

Due to the results of this analysis, it can be concluded that regarding the inclusion of Canada's Arctic indigenous people in the coverage of COP21, this is done insufficiently. Despite of Stoknes' (2015) characterization of the crisis narrative as inadequate for changing people's mind about the issue, the CBC nevertheless provides information to its audiences by presenting climate change through familiar

narratives. Following Hall's idea of representation in the media, CBC depicts and presents the summit COP21 and the topic of climate change, thus *re*presents it for its audience by the means of the chosen narratives and frames and thereby charges it with a certain meaning for them. This also connects to Hall's social constructionism approach: The media, here CBC, creates the meaning of climate change for its audience by using the representational system of language to represent climate change through concepts (e.g. polar bear).

Although both parties contribute to the Canadian climate change discourse by presenting their 'stories', the analysis shows that only few parallels and no exchange of narratives occur between the two. Both sides represent climate change from different angles, therefore frame it differently for their respective target group or audience. The ICC's objective is to get governments and policy-and decision-makers to listen, which is why according to the different target groups of their communication (e.g. the international/national government(s), the public at home, the own people), the organization has to follow a different communication strategy and therefore changes its language. The CBC on the other hand is obliged to provide a wide choice of information to reflect Canada holistically. Although this is achieved by portraying different aspects of the climate change issue, in the portrayal of Inuit the coverage is not far-reaching and only depicts them in the familiar and one-sided way of climate change victims.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

SAMPLE

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