Indigenous Representation in Canadian Media

A Critical Analysis of the Wet'suwet'en and Coastal GasLink Pipeline Conflict

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Madhurie Dhanrajh, Annie Ding, Alexander Lawson, Lily Yu April 2022

Land Acknowledgement

We wish to acknowledge the land on which the University of Toronto operates. For thousands of years it has been the traditional land of the Huron-Wendat, the Seneca, and the Mississaugas of the Credit. Today, this meeting place is still the home to many Indigenous people from across Turtle Island and we are grateful to have the opportunity to work on this land.

Introduction

Purpose

The goal of our research is to analyze the representation of Indigenous people and Indigenous issues in Canadian news media. Our research takes inspiration from WACC's work on the portrayal and representation of gender in the news, in particular, its Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP). We have borrowed the general structure of the GMMP and adapted it to suit our goal.

The topic of the portrayal of Indigenous people in Canadian media is expansive and complex. Thus, for the purposes of this report, we have elected to focus on the newspaper coverage of a single event — the Wet'suwet'en resistance against construction of the Coastal GasLink pipeline — to anchor our exploration of the representation of Indigenous people in Canadian news media.

Our team is aware of our limited positionality as non-Indigenous, privileged individuals who have little authority to make any judgment on the internal conflicts between the Wet'suwet'en people nor the conflict with the Coastal GasLink pipeline. Thus, we aim not to make any value judgments on the conflict but rather to contribute to the awareness of Canadians on Indigenous history, culture, oppression, and empowerment in whatever way we can. As such, we have chosen to analyze the representation of the Coastal GasLink pipeline conflict in Canadian media to understand how Indigenous people are portrayed, what themes might be problematic or beneficial, and how news agencies can improve their reporting on Indigenous issues to ensure it is unbiased, fair, and just.

While there are many existing research projects that deal with Indigenous media representation, most are outdated and thus do not discuss recent and major events that have greatly contributed to the evolution of Indigenous representation in Canadian media. Thus, our selection of the Wet'suwet'en resistance against the Coastal GasLink pipeline case study is not only timely but also much needed. Though we recognize the limited scope of our report, we hope that our findings will provide a fruitful starting point from which further research can be conducted on this important subject.

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¹ For further reading, see Garcia-Del Moral, P. (2011). Representation as a technology of violence: On the representation of the murders and disappearances of Aboriginal women in Canada and women in Ciudad Juarez; Pierro, R. et al. (2013). Buried Voices: Media Coverage of Aboriginal Issues in Ontario; Roosvall, A. & Tegelberg, M. (2013). Framing climate change and indigenous peoples: Intermediaries of urgency, spirituality and de-nationalization.

Background

For ages, the Wet'suwet'en people have lived on the land that is part of what Canadians call British Columbia. They have never officially ceded this land to Canada and thus retain sovereignty over it.

In 2020, the Coastal GasLink pipeline was passed by the provincial government of British Columbia with consent from the elected band councils of the Wet'suwet'en people, with the intention to run through Wet'suwet'en territory. The elected chief system is grounded in Section 74 of the 1985 amendment of the Indian Act, which established an electoral system to make Indigneous governance more similar to Western culture. Many have argued that the system was a tool of forceful assimilation.

However, the hereditary chiefs of the Wet'suwet'en people, who are considered authorities stemming from the traditional system of governance, denied Coastal GasLink access to their land. In solidarity, thousands of people including Indigenous peoples, environmentalists, and other activists, launched protests across Canada, shutting down construction of the pipeline as well as railways, public transportation, and government buildings. The situation escalated further when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was brought in and arrested many Indigenous protesters. British Columbian government officials then met with the hereditary chiefs instead of the elected chiefs and postponed pipeline construction, until it was eventually resumed later in 2020.³

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² Mary C. Hurley, *The Indian Act*. Ottawa: Parliamentary Information and Research Service, 2009.

³ Michael Luoma, "Collective Self-Determination, Territory and the Wet'suwet'En: What Justifies the Political Authority of Historic Indigenous Governments over Land and People?," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 1 (2022): pp. 19-39, https://doi.org/10.1017/s0008423921000913.

Executive Summary

For this report, we surveyed online news items from nine different Canadian news media sites. These included two Indigenous news sites (APTN and Windspeaker), two newspapers based in British Columbia (The Province and Vancouver Sun), two newspapers based in Alberta (Calgary Herald and Edmonton Sun), and three national news sites (CBC, The Globe and Mail, and National Post).

Between January 1, 2020, and December 31, 2021, we found a total of 1683 articles across these nine news sites in which both the keywords "Wet'suwet'en" and "pipeline" appeared at least once. The articles were distributed by news site as such: APTN (83), Windspeaker (14), The Province (57), Vancouver Sun (140), Calgary Herald (41), Edmonton Sun (59), CBC (482), The Globe and Mail (377), and National Post (430). When grouped by the level of the news sites, there were 97 articles from the Indigenous sites, 297 articles from the regional sites (197 from British Columbia-based sites and 100 from Alberta-based sites), and 1289 from the national sites. From this pool, we randomly selected a sample of 90 news items — ten items from each news site. In total, there were 49 individual authors named of which 33 were male (68.75%) and 15 were female (31.25%). No individual author was specified for 15 articles, though these articles were attributed to APTN National News, National Post Staff, Nation to Nation, The Canadian Press, or Windspeaker. Finally, for 5 articles, no author information at all was provided.

Our findings included the general biases and stances of each newspaper with regard to the protests and Indigenous people in general. Additional information was gathered on the number of direct quotations ascribed to Indigenous and non-Indigenous people, and the terminology dichotomy of "protester" and "land defender." By comparing the way newspapers of various leanings used these latter techniques, we were able to correlate their usage with the resulting media coverage.

Our data provided us with many meaningful graphs that illustrated how newspapers reported the conflict differently, slanting the direction of their coverage accordingly. One of our most important findings stemmed from our analysis of the use of "hereditary chiefs" and "elected chiefs" which increased substantially as our time frame progressed. This demonstrated the gradual realization of news companies of the internal conflicts within the Wet'suwet'en communities about the Coastal GasLink pipeline and their shift from generalizing the Wet'suwet'en community as a whole to recognizing distinct entities within the community.

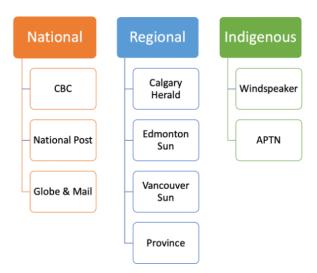
Additionally, our quantitative and discursive data demonstrated that though regional newspapers were generally pro-pipeline and opposed to conflicts from the beginning of our time frame, their justification for this stance was initially economic. However, after the distinction between elected and hereditary chiefs became publicized, these newspapers switched to a political justification for their anti-protest stances, often over-mobilizing the role of elected chiefs — who shared their pro-pipeline stance — in order to discredit the hereditary chiefs.

These findings demonstrate the power of the media to shape public opinion, the role that sources and terminology choices play in this representation, and the tendency of the media to employ such techniques to consistently present the news according to a certain narrative. We conclude our report by providing tri-fold recommendations to those who produce the news, those who are represented by the news, and those who consume the news.

Methodology

Selecting the Newspapers

Figure 1 — Selected newspapers by division



To ensure that our selection sample would be relevant to and representative of the news articles that are widely distributed across Canada, we opted to select newspapers from three geographic contexts — a national level, a regional level, and an Indigenous level. Indigenous newspapers were selected for the analysis not to critique but rather to compare to the other newspapers to inform our analysis. After conducting some research, we chose the most widely read newspapers from each level. At the national level, we selected three newspapers due to their mass popularity across Canada, which were the National Post, Globe and Mail, and CBC. At the regional level, we chose two newspapers from British Columbia, the geographical centre of the conflict, which were the Vancouver Sun and the Province. We also chose two newspapers from Alberta, the economic heart of the conflict, namely the Edmonton Sun and the Calgary Herald. Finally, we selected two Indigenous newspapers: APTN and Windspeaker.

Selecting the Articles

The next step in our research was searching for articles. The ProQuest Canadian Newstream website accessible to us through the University of Toronto provided access to all published newspaper articles across various newspapers in Canada. To keep our research consistent, we used ProQuest's advanced search to find articles related to our selected conflict case. Then, we matched these articles to their publication on the original newspaper websites where possible. Some of the news

sites (APTN, CBC and Windspeaker) were not covered by ProQuest databases, so we searched on their individual news websites directly.

We set various parameters when searching for articles. First, we chose the keywords "Wet'suwet'en" and "Pipeline" to receive access to a broad range of articles regarding the conflict. We also set a time frame of January 1, 2020, to December 31, 2021, since most of the major events regarding the conflict took place during this time.

This search provided us with a total of 1683 news items across the nine newspapers. We counted over 100 articles for the national newspapers and Vancouver Sun, while there were considerably fewer articles for the Indigenous newspapers and the other regional newspapers.

Table 1 — Number of articles per newspaper

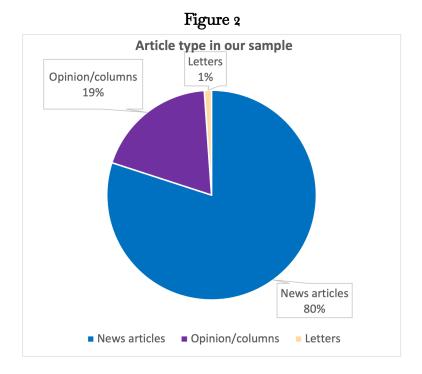
Newspaper	Number of Articles
APTN	83
Windspeaker	14
The Province	57
Vancouver Sun	140
Calgary Herald	41
Edmonton Sun	59
CBC	482
The Globe and Mail	377
National Post	430

Table 2 — Number of articles by division

Focus	Number of Articles
Indigenous	97
Regional (Alberta)	100
Regional (British Columbia)	197
National	1289

When grouped by the level of the news sites, there were 97 articles from the Indigenous sites, 297 articles from the regional sites (197 from British Columbia-based sites and 100 from Alberta-based sites), and 1289 from the national sites.

To make our research manageable while still meaningful, our analysts selected a random sample of 10 articles per newspaper to analyze. The process of random selection varied between analysts, depending on what was most suitable for the array of articles received for each newspaper — some used a random number generator to select articles, while others chose articles from regular intervals when the search results were ordered by publication date. In this way, articles were chosen without bias. In total, this provided us with 90 articles from 9 newspapers. Opinion pieces and columns were included for half of the newspapers reviewed, evenly balanced across the aforementioned geographic categories. They did not yield any substantial differences in results within each of these categories.



Coding the Articles

The coding process was based on the technique used by WACC in the GMMP, as found in their methodology guide.⁴ The templates which GMMP uses for coding the representation of women in media were adapted to our research with a few key changes that made them more appropriate for the context of Wet'suwet'en representation in Canadian media:

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 $^{^4}$ "Monitoring Methodology Guides and Coding Tools," Who Makes the News (World Association of Christian Communication), accessed 2022,

https://whomakesthenews.org/monitoring-methodology-guides-and-coding-tools/.

- > The coding of details about the news piece remained consistent, with additional consideration for the scale of the publication organization (national, regional, Indigenous). This was because when considering solely newspaper sources, the geographic location of the audience became both definable and useful information.
- > Writer identity was expanded to include indigeneity as well as gender.
- ➤ Coding of the descriptors used for subjects of each story was used, though to a lesser extent and focusing on word choices more pertinent to the Wet'suwet'en context (i.e. hereditary/elected chiefs, protesters or land defenders). The coding of quotations was expanded to include Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals separately, as well as to differentiate between direct quotation and paraphrasing.
- Additional qualitative analysis of discursive framing and written descriptions of author's language choices were included. Certain numerical values were also assigned to qualitative categories such as most discussed type of impact (political, economic, legal, environmental, geographical or cultural), as well as overall balance of the article. This was done because the media coverage of the Wet'suwet'en conflict with Coastal Gaslink had not previously been coded; more space was allocated for word choices discovered by coders (qualitative notes), and less to anticipated categories (numerical coding).

Standardizing the Coding Process

Once our coding sheet was finalized, we began the process of coding all 90 articles. To standardize our process and ensure that there were no discrepancies between the coding of each analyst, we held a team meeting to confirm the rules of coding, the meaning of the legends, and the potential categories of classification for each article. For example, in Column 22 of our coding sheet that decides the balance of each article, it uses a scale from 1 to 3: 1 being balanced, 2 being slightly unbalanced, and 3 being extremely unbalanced. We devised a rubric of what each scale would look like — balanced would have an equal representation from all sides that the article was exploring, slightly unbalanced would be less so, while extremely unbalanced would severely favor one perspective over others without substantial evidence.

Once rubrics were finalized for each column, the team coded a test article together, engaging in discussion to ensure that each analyst coded the article and filled in the columns in a uniform manner. After this, each of our team members individually coded 20 to 25 articles. When coding was finished, the team regrouped and examined the final coding sheet together. To ensure our process was indeed

standardized, we decided to cross-code 4 articles of our fellow analysts to see if we would reach the same results. We found minimal discrepancies amongst the team's coding and were able to synchronize the few differences we encountered, which was then retroactively factored into the rest of the data.

Analyzing the Articles

In order to analyze the articles and synthesize the data we had collected into graphs that we could interpret, we first determined which dimensions and relationships of our research would be meaningful to explore and depict in the context of our project's objective at a team meeting. At this meeting, we examined all of our variables and together, devised a list of 23 potential relationships that we thought would be fruitful to analyze. We then duplicated our original coding sheet to facilitate the creation of several tables and charts, which refined and distilled our data into their separate dimensions. These tables were used to generate graphs that best represented our data and most clearly demonstrated any potential relationships.

Creating Graphs

As we began graphing, we realized that many of our proposed graphs had no relationship. These included variables of Balance graphed against Indigenous Stance and Balance graphed against Protest Stance. However, we realized that finding no relationship was still meaningful as it allowed us to draw conclusions — for example that the balance of an article was not necessarily tied to the stance that it leaned towards.

Yet, there were also many graphs that had no relationship and did not provide meaningful data, partially because of our limited sample size as well the dissonance between the variables selected. These included graphs of Article Interactions against its Stance and Article Interactions against its Balance. Ultimately, these graphs were excluded from this report so as not to detract from the important relationships that we did find.

Considerations

Researcher Bias

Due to our positionality as non-Indigenous researchers, we are cognizant of our potential explicit and internalized biases that may shape the research process, thereby impacting our findings. With a view of minimizing the effect of these biases, we sought to increase our awareness of these biases by seeking consultations with Indigenous scholars and journalists and more experienced academic researchers.

Prior to the selection of our articles, we established a meeting with an Indigenous scholar, Dr. John Borrows, to discuss our plan and methodology. During the meeting, we received feedback on our project, which included several dimensions of the issue warranting further consideration that we had initially overlooked. We also received references to additional resources and texts to assist us in identifying our preconceived notions and biases, which we consulted both prior to and throughout the data collection and data analysis processes.⁵

Upon completing the coding stage, we coordinated another meeting with a quantitative researcher and professor at the University of Toronto, Dr. Paola Salardi. We sought further advice on interpreting our data while remaining aware of its potential limitations due to any individual and collective biases.

Even in taking these measures, we understand it is not possible to eliminate all bias from our research nor accurately measure the degree to which our research is biased. However, we hope that by pursuing these measures and abiding by best practices for research integrity, we have reduced the scope of impact of any potential biases and other human errors.

News Ownership

Our decision to select the most popular news companies at the Indigenous, provincial, and national levels precluded us from adequately controlling for news ownership. As several of the companies we chose share ownership, we recognize the potential confounding effect news ownership has on our findings. Where possible, we attempted to be cognizant of this issue and the realities of the news media landscape in Canada — in particular, the consolidation of media under a few major corporations.

Limitations

The Sparsity Issue

One important limitation with our data is that all together, it is not a representative sample of the news media consumption of the Canadian public. An equivalent number of articles was extracted from each subject newspaper. As a result, aggregate data of all these sources cannot be considered an accurate distillation of all newspaper coverage in Canada.

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⁵ Resources included *Thinking*, *Fast and Slow* by Daniel Kahneman; *Noise: A Flaw in Human Judgment* by Cass Sunstein, Daniel Kahneman, and Olivier Sibony; and the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples' *Ethical Guidelines for Research*.

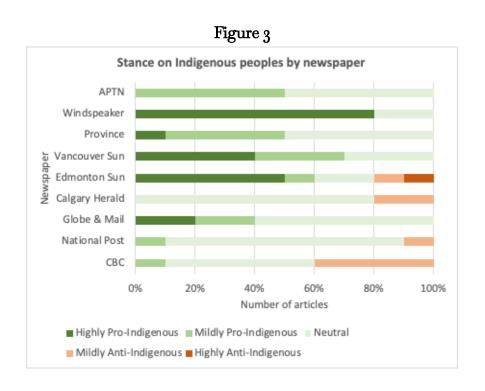
⁶ National Post, Calgary Herald, Vancouver Sun, The Province, and Edmonton Sun are all owned by Postmedia Network.

What the data collected is able to accurately display is the extent to which coverage varies between each of the selected newspapers and the contexts in which they operate: national, regional, and indigenous. As each newspaper was chosen for being the most read in each of these contexts, they are adequately representative of such areas. Our data is therefore used not for summary purposes but rather for comparative analysis.

Quantitative Analysis

We were able to create many graphs using the data from our coding sheets. What follows is a breakdown and description of the meaningful relationships that were present and those which were lacking. It must be noted that many variables were coded for based on the discretion of each analyst, however, this was done using a shared rubric devised by the team in order to ensure consistency across the sample. The following conclusions are drawn from our graphs and the data we collected. However, we caution extrapolating these observations to entire newspapers as our selected sample size is too small to make definitive conclusions.

Indigenous Stance by Newspaper



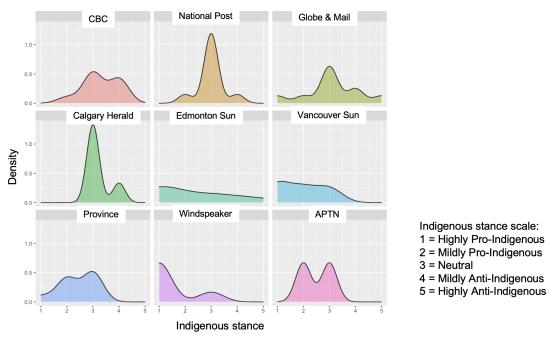
This graph illustrates the relationship between the newspaper and the stance of the article on Indigenous peoples. Indigenous Stance, as we call this variable, was coded for based on the scale visible at the bottom of the graph: 1 for Highly Pro-Indigenous, 2 for Mildly Pro-Indigeous, 3 for Neutral, 4 for Mildly Anti-Indigenous, and 5 for Highly Anti-Indigenous. This graph demonstrates that the bottom 5 newspapers had the highest percentage of anti-Indigenous stances except for the Globe and Mail. These newspapers are all of the national and Alberta-based newspapers that we selected — namely Edmonton Sun, Calgary

Herald, National Post, and CBC. The newspaper with the highest number of articles with a negative stance towards Indigenous peoples was CBC, with 40% of its articles coded at 4.

Another interesting observation from this graph is that the newspapers from British Columbia, namely the Province and the Vancouver Sun, did not have any negative stance towards Indigenous people, while the Albertan newspapers did. This is of note, considering that British Columbia was the physical location of the conflict, including many of the protests, and the starting point for the Coastal GasLink pipeline. Meanwhile, Alberta can be considered the economic centre of the conflict and the province that suffered the most from the delays against the pipeline. Although British Columbia was also severely affected by the conflict, perhaps the greater economic impact experienced by Alberta, as well as the latter province's lack of direct interaction with Indigenous peoples, contributed to the negative stance towards them.

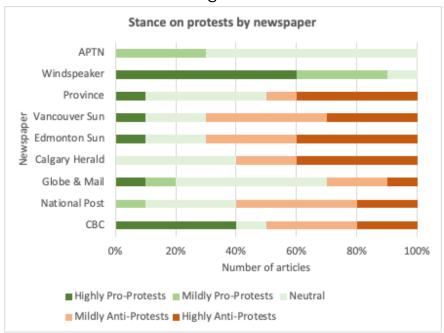
Notably, the top two newspapers, the Indigenous newspapers Windspeaker and APTN, consistently displayed a Pro to Neutral Indigenous Stance. 80% of Windspeaker articles had a Highly Pro-Indigenous Stance, indicating a bias in favour of Indigenous people, while APTN remained slightly more neutral.

 $Figure \ 4$ Density of articles across different stances on Indigenous Peoples (by newspaper)



Protest Stance by Newspaper



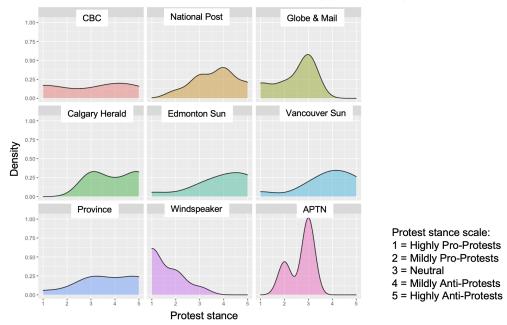


This graph illustrates the relationship between the newspaper and the stance of the article on protests. Protest Stance, as we call this variable, was coded for based on the scale visible at the bottom of the graph: 1 for Highly Pro-Protest, 2 for Mildly Pro-Protest, 3 for Neutral, 4 for Mildly Anti-Protest, and 5 for Highly Anti-Protest. The graph demonstrates that all of the newspapers except the Indigenous newspapers exhibited significant anti-protest stances. This matches our analysis that found that these newspapers were generally antagonistic towards protests as they impeded pipeline construction, of which these newspapers were generally in support.

The four regional newspapers of the Province, the Vancouver Sun, the Edmonton Sun, and the Calgary Herald, all demonstrated negative stances towards the protests, likely because of the damaging impact that the protests had on the economy, which was often the focus of many of these articles, as demonstrated by the Date by Impact graph below. In contrast, the Indigenous newspapers of Windspeaker and APTN consistently demonstrated a Pro to Neutral Protest Stance, as they tended to view protests as an expression of Indigenous peoples' freedom of speech, as well as a form of resistance against Coastal GasLink's violation of their sovereignty.

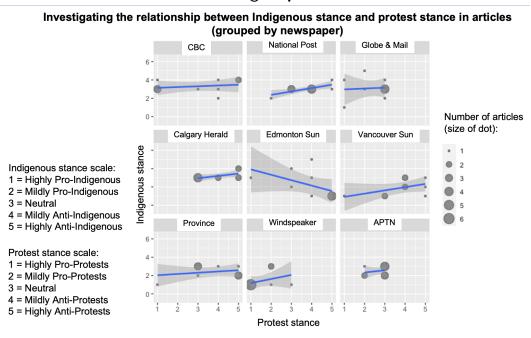
Figure 6

Density of articles across different stances on protests (by newspaper)



Indigenous Stance and Protest Stance

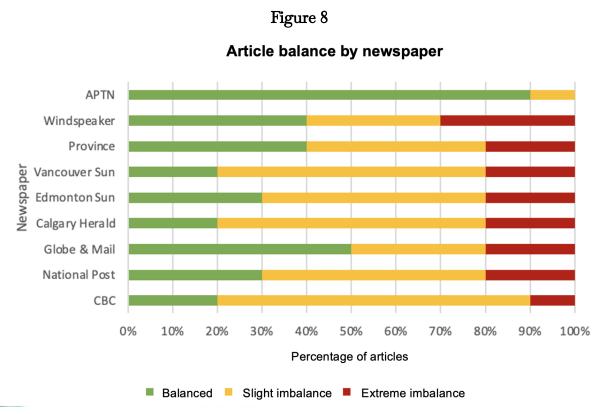
Figure 7



This rendering contains 9 graphs, one for each newspaper. Each graph demonstrates the relationship between Indigenous Stance and Protest Stance. We chose to graph this relationship to see if there was a correlation between these

variables, and whether the more negative stance towards protests in national and regional newspapers meant that the stance towards Indigenous people was more negative as well. However, after graphing, we found that there was no meaningful relationship. This demonstrates that even when the Protest Stance was positive, negative, or neutral, there was no adverse effect on Indigenous stance. Therefore, in these articles, the negative economic impact of the protests, which likely contributed to the negative Protest Stance, was not conflated with sentiment towards Indigenous peoples.

Balance by Newspaper



This graph illustrates the relationship between newspapers and the balance of its articles. Balance was coded for based on a scale from 1 to 3: 1 being balanced, 2 being slightly unbalanced, and 3 being extremely unbalanced. The Indigenous newspaper of APTN had the highest percentage of balanced articles and the lowest percentage of unbalanced articles. The national newspaper, Globe and Mail, had the second highest percentage of balanced articles. Notably, these two newspapers also had the highest percentages of neutral Protest Stance and Indigenous Stance. This demonstrates that of the 9 newspapers, APTN and Globe and Mail tend to be more neutral and objective in their overall coverage.

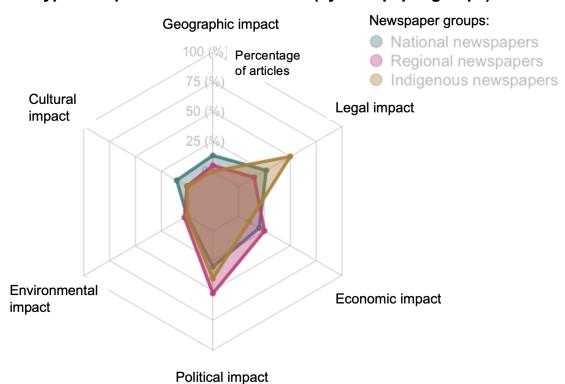
The other 7 newspapers had relatively similar rates of extremely unbalanced articles but possessed varying amounts of slightly unbalanced articles. This was because many of their articles only covered one side of the story in depth and the other side with little information.

Notably, Windspeaker, the other Indigenous newspaper, also possessed few balanced articles, which may be related to the fact that the majority of their articles were written by one reporter, due to their relatively small organization.

Impact by Level of Newspaper

Type of impact described in articles (by newspaper groups)

Figure 9



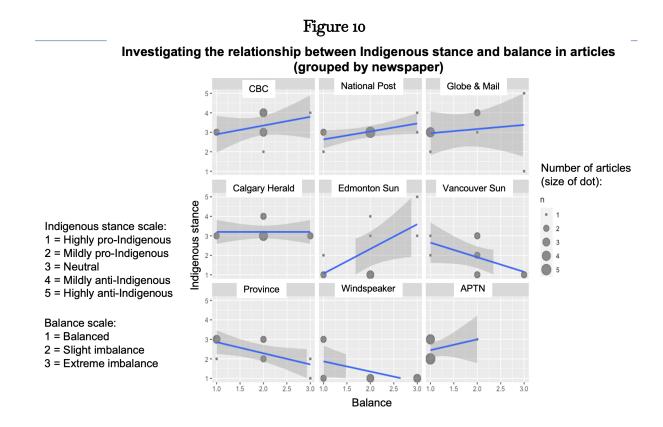
This graph illustrates which type of impact was highlighted the most across the 3 levels of newspapers, whether that be national, regional, or Indigenous. Impact was divided into 6 categories: environmental, political, economic, legal, geographic, and cultural. Oftentimes, articles focused on multiple impacts, but we coded for this variable based on which impact was the primary focus on the article.

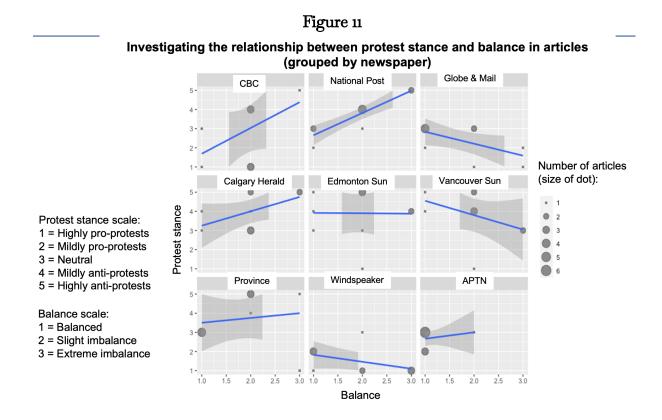
This graph demonstrates that overall, environmental impact was rarely the focus of any of the articles. This was slightly surprising, given that many protesters were environmental activists who opposed the pipeline on environmental grounds. However, neither national, regional, nor Indigenous newspapers made this their

primary focus. In fact, Indigenous newspapers focused primarily on legal impact, highlighting the distinction between hereditary and elected chiefs and what that meant for the legality of the pipeline. Meanwhile, regional newspapers, which focused largely on political impact, tended to discuss which parties were siding with which group of chiefs, what this meant for upcoming elections, and the overall handling of the conflict.

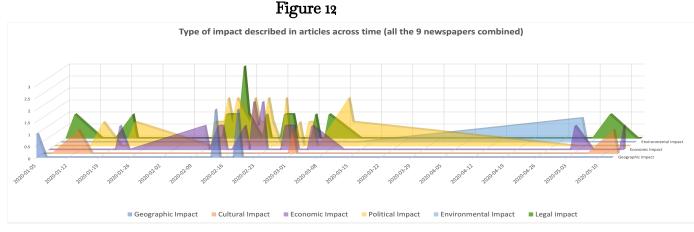
Regional newspapers also focused on economic impact, which was understandable given that British Columbia and Alberta were directly impacted economically by the delay in the pipeline as well as the protests. However, Indigenous newspapers did not focus much on the economic impact, despite the fact that many Indigenous people supported the pipeline for its economic benefit. It is telling that these newspapers chose to highlight legal tensions instead, exhibiting precedence over matters like territorial sovereignty and who gets to speak on Wet'suwet'en behalf, rather than immediate economic benefit.

Indigenous Stance and Balance





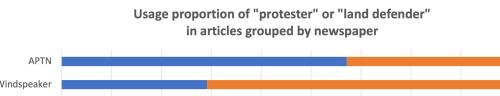
Impact by Date



This graph illustrates the variances in primary impact across the timeline of all of our sample articles. The majority of our articles were written in the month of February 2020, likely because this period held the most protests and demonstrations against the pipeline compared to the other months, thus resulting in more coverage. As such, on the graph, this time period contains the most spikes and changes in primary impact.

However, this graph also demonstrates some interesting trends before and after this particular time period. Specifically, across all newspapers, economic impact was the primary focus leading up to the tensest period of the conflict after which the primary focus changed to political and some environmental impact. This indicates that in the aftermath of the peak of the conflict, articles tended to focus on analyzing the provincial and federal governments' responses, as well as the tensions between hereditary and elected chiefs, rather than the direct economic benefits from the pipeline and damage from the protests. This trend is explained by our qualitative analysis section entitled "Changing Reasoning."

Terminology Distribution



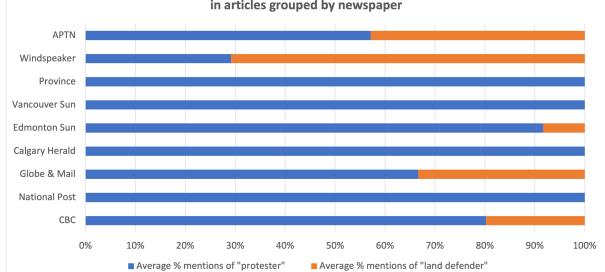


Figure 13

There is a vast disparity in the usage of terms such as "protester" and "land defender" between the various newspapers. While the Indigenous newspapers make significant usage of the term "land defender" throughout their coverage, two of the national newspapers make moderate usage, and all but one of the provincial newspapers do not.⁷ When considering that this parallels the data on balanced storytelling, it is clear that the usage of these terms has an impact on the overall balance of the stories. However, it is noteworthy that the two Indigenous newspapers do not exclusively use "land defender," even though several newspapers exclusively use "protester." This is because in Indigenous newspapers, "land defender" is not used as a catch-all replacement for "protester" as a way to frame it in a positive light.

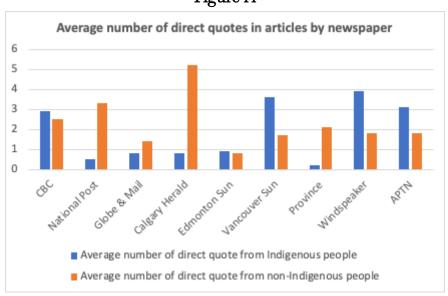
⁷ It is noteworthy that the only national media outlet not to use the term "land defender" is the National Post, which is owned by Postmedia along with several of the provincial news outlets.

Rather, it is a term which refers to a specific type of land rights advocacy employed by Indigenous people.

The terminology used to portray Indigenous people resisting government and corporate incursion has been contested for many years in Canada.⁸ Overall, the provincial newspapers, by almost exclusively using the term protesters, employ this tactic of dissident framing. In contrast, the Indigenous newspapers, by utilizing both terms, engage with aspects of social dissidents and the unique Indigenous context.

Quotation Distribution





The usage of direct quotations by each newspaper is illustrative of the perspectives that they are including. The two Indigenous newspapers, the Vancouver Sun, and CBC and Edmonton Sun to a lesser extent all draw their quotes primarily from Indigenous sources. All other newspapers prioritize non-Indigenous sources. There is not a "regional" pattern in this data. However, given the extensive use of quotations by the Indigenous newspapers, it can be considered an important component of Indigenous accounting of the story. Furthermore, given that it is a story which involves a significant number of Indigenous actors, the extreme ratios of non-Indigenous sources to Indigenous ones as found in the Calgary Herald (0.8:5.2) and the Province (0.2:2.1) are concerning. It is additionally noteworthy that these

context. Alexa Conradi. 2009. "Uprising at Oka: A Place of Non-Identification." Canadian Journal of Communication 34 (4): 547—. https://doi.org/10.22230/cjc.2009v34n4a2133.

The "Oka Crisis" was particularly illustrative of this struggle, with various media outlets framing the Mohawk warriors in increasingly dissident terms or misrepresenting the term "Mohawk" in a western

ratios are not found in the inverse direction by newspapers which prioritize Indigenous voices to some degree.

Qualitative Analysis

Switching Support

Understanding the way that Indigenous people were identified was a crucial part of our qualitative analysis of articles. We found that at the beginning of our time frame from January to February 2020, many articles from provincial and national newspapers labeled protest groups as "Indigenous" and "Wet'suwet'en," while pro-pipeline groups were described as government-related or non-Indigenous. By the end of February 2020, the label for protest groups had expanded to include environmental activists and "allies," while the pro-pipeline groups remained relatively the same. From March 2020 onwards, however, the labels for both groups changed to include both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, with Wet'suwet'en who sided with the hereditary chiefs on the side of the protests, and Wet'suwet'en who sided with the elected band councils on the pro-pipeline side.

In reality, these groups were always made up of both non-Indigenous and Indigenous people. The pro-pipeline group always had Indigenous support, as did the protest groups. Yet, in the early stages of the conflict, the majority of the media made the assumption that all Indigenous people were against the pipeline and described the groups as such. When the conflict became more public and widespread, prompting the media to interview both sides, it appears that they realized this was not the case and that the Wet'suwet'en community was, in fact, deeply divided on the issue.

From there, media opinion switched substantially from supporting the hereditary chiefs, whose lands and ancient authority superseded the pipeline, to supporting the elected chiefs who represented the voice of Indigenous people — and coincidentally, supported the pipeline. Now, they were still supporting Indigenous peoples, but the ones whose stance they preferred. Of course, many other factors would have contributed to this change of opinion from anti- to pro-pipeline, not least of which was the economic devastation caused by the protests, which shut down transport, railways, and much more. However, the way that the change occurred after Indigenous support of the pipeline was publicized is something to take note of.

The initial assumption by the media of the uniformity of the Indigenous stance should also be problematized. There is a tendency by non-Indigenous people to assume that the Indigenous community is one and the same, that all peoples share the same way of life, beliefs, and stances. The same is often done to other non-Western groups, such as Africans, who are grouped together even though the continent contains hundreds of different cultures. These communities are unfairly homogenized and stereotyped when in reality, they are groups and sub-groups who

often disagree, fight, and conflict just as much as they live in tandem and harmony. Recognizing Indigenous groups like the Wet'suwet'en as distinct, and acknowledging that even within these groups there are disagreements just as there are in every other society in the world, is key to respecting Indigenous sovereignty. The initial and almost impulsive tendency of the media to generalize groups in this way must be changed in order to justly represent them in media coverage.

Changing Reasoning

Another trend we noticed was that some newspapers were always pro-pipeline and opposed to protests from the beginning of our time frame, though their reasoning stemmed from an economic point of view, since the pipeline would bring prosperity to their communities, while protests were disrupting many livelihoods. However, once these newspapers became aware of the distinction between elected and hereditary chiefs, some of them over-mobilized the role of elected chiefs — who shared their pro-pipeline stance — in order to discredit the hereditary chiefs. This coincides with our Impact by Date graph that indicates the change in primary focus of impact from economic to political. It also presents a worrying observation. It appears that the media somewhat manipulated the division between elected and hereditary chiefs in order to sway public opinion in favour of the pipeline, by over-emphasizing Indigenous support of the pipeline by elected chiefs.

Case Studies

The following section will explore several individual articles in more depth to provide specific examples of the trends that have been highlighted in previous sections.

Effective Representation #1: Direct Quotation and Indigenous Centered

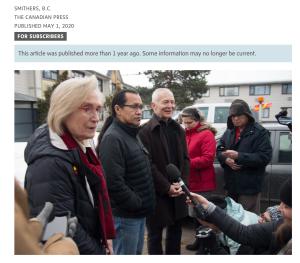
Headline: "Wet'suwet'en agreement with Ottawa and B.C. disputed by elected chiefs"

Newspaper: Globe and Mail

Summary: The story covers the reaction of the Wet'suwet'en elected chiefs and subchiefs to the signing of a memorandum of understanding on rights and title between the federal government and the hereditary chiefs. It outlines their opposition to it in a political and cultural context.

Analysis: This article is effective in centering Indigenous voices in order to report on the story. A subchief of the Wet'suwet'en is directly quoted several

Wet'suwet'en agreement with Ottawa and B.C. disputed by elected chiefs



times, as are the statements released by the elected chiefs. Although the hereditary chiefs are not quoted, the authors mention that they reached out to them but they declined to answer. Further to this, the federal government's actions are only referenced for the purpose of providing context. The result is that the article is primarily composed of Indigenous voices. The story gives an explanation of the political relations between Indigenous people as expressed through their own statements without forcing it into a broader context such as federal political or economic issues.

Missed Opportunity #1: Background and Rationale Not Covered

Headline: Ibid Newspaper: Ibid Summary: Ibid

Analysis: While this article is successful in describing the immediate story and rationale as provided by its speakers, additional coverage of each party's rationale,

especially the hereditary chiefs, would be useful. Only brief mention is made in regards to the hereditary chiefs' desire to protect "rights and titles," yet the environmental and land relation factors, which were important to their decision, were omitted. This is unfortunate as alongside the lack of quotation, it does not adequately share the hereditary chiefs' reason for making their decision, despite the story being about a dispute between two parties. The story brings light to the perspectives of the elected chiefs which is important. It would benefit from providing further background and voice to the hereditary chiefs so as to present a more complete and balanced account.

Effective Representation #2: Highlighting Gender and Critiquing Homogeneous Representation

Headline: "Pipeline project was 'hijacked' by 'group of five guys,' former Wet'suwet'en hereditary chief tells MPs"

Newspaper: National Post

Summary: Theresa Tait-Day was a hereditary chief former Wet'suwet'en until she was stripped of her title because of her opposition to the dominant anti-pipeline stance and her desire to reform the Wet'suwet'en governance system. This article includes her critiques of the hereditary chiefs who support the pipeline, as well as the government's consultation with the hereditary chiefs without

the elected band council. She says that "the government has legitimized the

Pipeline project was 'hijacked' by 'group of five guys,' former Wet'suwet'en hereditary chief tells MPs

The hereditary chiefs were being supported by environmentalists who were disrespecting the rest of the Wet'suwet'en community, Tait Day said

Ryan Tumilty
Mar 10, 2020 • March 11, 2020 • 4 minute read • 🗀 426 Comments



Wet'suwet'en subchief Theresa Tait-Day testifies before the Standing Committee on Indigenous and Northern Affairs, March 10, 2020, in Ottawa. PHOTO BY PARLVU.PARL.GC.CA

meeting with the five hereditary chiefs and left out their entire community." She claims that they do not represent the perspectives of the community and says that "[w]e cannot be dictated to by a group of five guys." She also comments on the dispute between whether the hereditary chiefs or the elected chiefs have authority, saying that "the Indian act system must be reformed, but that does not invalidate the role of the elected councils."

Analysis: This article serves as an effective counter-point to the homogenization of Indigenous people in Canadian media. As Tait-Day illustrates, there are many

disputes within the Wet'suwet'en community itself in which gender plays a central role. The hereditary chiefs are predominantly male, and as a woman who spoke up in disagreement, Tait-Day was removed from her position. By reporting on this dissenting perspective, the article fractures narratives of Indigenous homogeneity and highlights the impact of gender in this context.

Misrepresentation #1: Decentering Indigenous Impacts

Headline: Ibid Newspaper: Ibid Summary: Ibid

Analysis: Although the article does a good job of elevating an Indigenous voice, it over-mobilizes this account for purposes beyond the scope of the story. Of all the quotes from Subchief Tait-Day, it is the most explicitly anti-pipeline one that is chosen as a headline. However, while the pipeline served as a catalyzing issue, much of her advocacy is centered around the reformation of the Wet'suwet'en government system in relation to the federal government, with several quotes available to this effect. Thus, while it might make the issue seem of greater relevance to a wider audience, it would be better to center the story on the Indigenous governance issues which Subchief Tait-Day highlights, with the impact of the pipeline being acknowledged as an important component yet not the ultimate impact.

Misrepresentation #2: Excluding Indigenous Voices and Perspectives

Headline: "CN rail closures from Wet'suwet'en protests affecting industry, farmers say"

Newspaper: Calgary Herald

Summary: The article details the economic impact of the railway blockades erected in support of the Wet'suwet'en First Nation hereditary chiefs' opposition to the Coastal GasLink pipeline project. It primarily focuses on Alberta's agricultural industry; however, the article also discusses the blockades' negative effects on manufacturers in Alberta and rail company workers. The article concludes with updates on



meetings between the Canadian government and Indigenous leaders, as well as polling data capturing Canadians' opinions on the Coastal GasLink pipeline project and protests.

Analysis: Although the aim of the article is evidently to highlight the industries and workers in Alberta who are economically impacted by the railway blockades in solidarity with the Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs, it provides the reader with insufficient context regarding the intentions behind the blockades and the nature of opposition to the Coastal GasLink pipeline. Despite the crucial position demonstrators and the Wet'suwet'en First Nation occupy in relation to the blockades, the article makes little attempt to detail or include their experiences and voices, effectively sidelining them from its narrative about the blockades. Given the imbalanced nature of the article, the reader is likely to leave with an impression that the protests are not only economically harmful but unwarranted, since only one side of the story is showcased.

Recommendations

Based on our findings, we devised a principal set of recommendations concerning the representation of Indigenous people in Canadian media for those who work in media. We also devised additional sets of recommendations for those who are represented in media (in this case, groups and communities resisting or supporting the Coastal GasLink pipeline) and those who consume media.

For Journalists and News Companies

- ➤ Integrate the perspectives and experiences of Indigenous people and protesters for more comprehensive coverage and representation of events.
- ➤ Incorporate Indigenous-centric narratives and present them as complete on their own.
- ➤ Avoid essentializing Indigenous people. Indigenous communities are not a monolith; care should be taken in reporting to understand and reflect their diversity.
- ➤ Adopt language and terms specific to the groups and communities being reported on when appropriate. In the coverage of the Coastal GasLink pipeline protests, this means using "land defender" instead of more general terms such as "protester" or "demonstrator."
- Assess which individuals, groups, and communities are directly quoted and named, and strive for balance. Although the Wet'suwet'en First Nation are central to an account of the Coastal GasLink pipeline protests, our research indicated that they were often only indirectly quoted or mentioned in news articles.
- ➤ Ensure journalists and editors possess detailed information and background knowledge of the history of Indigenous peoples in Canada, as well as contemporary issues.

For Activists and Land Defenders

➤ Consider the different frameworks news companies use to represent an event's impact. This can aid in communication of the cause to the media. For instance, awareness that many non-Indigenous newspapers in Canada tended to focus most on the economic impact of the pipeline protests can help interviewees and advocates in support of the protests identify what points are likely to gain media traction, what actions might negatively impact their

movement, as well as what objectives news organizations may choose to mobilize their statements for.

For Consumers

- ➤ Consult a variety of news sources, as well as news sources with different ownership, to gain a more complete and thorough understanding of an event. Many papers in Canada, including several selected for our research, have shared ownership. For instance, National Post, Calgary Herald, Vancouver Sun, The Province, and Edmonton Sun are all owned by Postmedia; this was sometimes reflected in their coverage of the pipeline protests.
- > Seek accounts of events that are directly from the groups and communities that are involved or impacted.

Recommendations for WACC

As far as we are aware, this is the first attempt to apply the methodology of the WACC's Global Media Monitoring Project to the representation of Indigenous people in Canada, albeit with some modifications. Based on the successes and shortcomings of our research, we recommend the following for future research efforts:

- ➤ Continue to include a temporal aspect. While gender representation may maintain some degree of consistency between each of WACCs monitoring efforts, Indigenous representation in the Canadian news cycle was found to change dramatically as protest movements developed.
- ➤ Include social media and reaction monitoring. Although we were able to observe the "output" of each newspaper, we were unable to account for the impact it had on the Canadian population's understanding of the events. Observing social media "reactions" would help account for this.
- ➤ Conduct preliminary analysis of the Canadian media scape in order to produce representative coverage. Our coverage, because it was divided by region and not total consumption, was only comparative and not representative.
- > Expand coverage on the representation of Indigenous people to include other key issues and events, as well as the representation of Indigenous people in Canadian media more broadly outside the context of conflict.

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Annex 1: List of Coded Articles

#	News Company	Article Title	Link	Type of Article
1	Vancouver Sun	Pipeline protests and rule of law; Indigenous legal systems must be paid same respect, writes Kent McNeil	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 60530352/61C46DCD3AE7 4BB8PQ/22?accountid=147 71	Opinion
2	Vancouver Sun	Elected chiefs scream foul over agreement; Wet'suwet'en leaders accuse governments of negotiating in bad faith over pipeline	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/24 02255417/13D16E6E35BF473 BPQ/2?accountid=14771	News
3	Vancouver Sun	Elected chiefs want in; Wet'suwet'en leaders upset at being excluded from negotiations over gas-pipeline project	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/24 26044494/13D16E6E35BF47 3BPQ/3?accountid=14771	Opinion
4	Vancouver Sun	Stand down and let wet'suwet'en do the job; Outsiders have hijacked the pipeline issue, write Theresa Tait-Day and Ken Coates	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/24 10541075/13D16E6E35BF473 BPQ/6?accountid=14771	Opinion
5	Vancouver Sun	'This project has been hijacked by the five chiefs'; former Wet'suWet'en leader tells mps group Is 'dictating the future of pipeline	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 76105185/13D16E6E35BF473 BPQ/7?accountid=14771	News
6	Vancouver Sun	Wet'suwet'en members get back to work on controversial pipeline; Opponents launch two legal challenges as clans divided over LNG project	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 54592146/13D16E6E35BF47 3BPQ/8?accountid=14771	News
7	Vancouver Sun	Wet'suwet'en members speak in favour of pipeline project; Protesters urged to 'come and listen to us and get the other side of the story'	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 59202355/13D16E6E35BF47 3BPQ/10?accountid=14771	News
8	Vancouver Sun	Elected chiefs 'ignored,'won't support new deal; Understanding with Wet'suwet'en clan over rights	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 g7273522/13D16E6E35BF47	News

		and title rejected by councils	3BPQ/14?accountid=14771	
9	Vancouver Sun	Wet'suwet'en operators gain valuable experience; Skills learned through GasLink project boost job opportunities, instructor says	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 551g06g4/13D16E6E35BF47 3BPQ/16?accountid=14771	News
10	Vancouver Sun	Veil of secrecy exists over wet'suwet'en deal; Few know what's been discussed - and elected chiefs feel very much on the outside	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2376104997/13D16E6E35BF473BPQ/21?accountid=14771	News
11	The Province	Pipeline fight widens as protesters block B.C. ferry terminal	https://theprovince.com/n ews/bc-politics/mike-smyt h-pipeline-fight-widens-as -protesters-block-b-c-ferr y-terminal	News
12	The Province	Sailings Resume After Swartz Bay Blockade; Protesters Block Ferry Terminal In Support Of Wet'Suwet'En Opposition To Gaslink Pipeline	https://www.proquest.com /docview/2343758081/fullte xt/1FEF2360911B446BPQ/5	News
13	The Province	Wet'suwet'en elected officials reject deal; Leaders say they were left out of talks between governments, hereditary chiefs	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2402214048/fulltext/1FEF2360g11B446BPQ/10	News
14	The Province	Trudeau's 'just watch me'moment more cautious than his father's; Reluctance to call in law enforcement or military has led to a blockade stalemate	https://www.proquest.com /docview/2361552683/fullte xt/1FEF2360g11B446BPQ/2 5	Opinion
15	The Province	Blockade of legislature 'unacceptable'; Irate Horgan denounces tactics of anti-pipeline protesters as 'just plain wrong'	https://www.proquest.com /docview/2354590870/fullte xt/1FEF2360911B446BPQ/3	News
16	The Province	Who is standing up for First Nations supporting pipeline?	https://www.proquest.com/docview/2355190748/fulltext/1FEF2360911B446BPQ/35	Letter
17	The Province	Pipeline standoff tricky for Horgan; Watch for premier to say messy battle is between company,	https://www.proquest.com /docview/2334097660/fullte xt/1FEF2360911B446BPQ/4	Column / Opinion

		hereditary chiefs and police		
18	The Province	Blockades hurt Horgan's approval ratings	https://www.proquest.com/docview/23708447g5/fulltext/1FEF2360g11B446BPQ/45	News
19	The Province	CN Rail wins right to prosecute three rail blockade participants	https://www.proquest.com /docview/2615574888/1FEF2 360g11B446BPQ/5	News
20	The Province	B.C.'s climate plan not enough to deal with crisis	https://www.proquest.com /docview/2605437320/fullte xt/1FEF2360g11B446BPQ/5 5	Opinion
21	Edmonton Sun	Sovereignty Misconceptions; Platform the Wet'suwet'en people are using to oppose pipeline is based on myths and fallacies	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 55768512/13D16E6E35BF47 3BPQ/4?accountid=14771	Opinion
22	Edmonton Sun	New voices needed; Wet'suwet'en locals drowned out by angry mob	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2359950283/13D16E6E35BF473BPQ/11?accountid=14771	Opinion
23	Edmonton Sun	Who is behind solidarity action for Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs?	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2355771858/13D16E6E35BF473BPQ/19?accountid=14771	News
24	Edmonton Sun	A PM who won't lead; Wet'suwet'en clash revealed Trudeau's weakness	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2370255098/13D16E6E35BF473BPQ/12?accountid=14771	Column / Opinion
25	Edmonton Sun	No substance; Trudeau government allowed symbolism to trump Wet'suwte'en peoples' wishes	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2376475891/D1C2F9A8090742C8PQ/9?accountid=14771	Opinion
26	Edmonton Sun	False outrage; Blockades ring hollow amid Indigenous support for pipeline	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2353340670/DiC2FgA80g0742C8PQ/17?accountid=14771	Column / Opinion
27	Edmonton Sun	Pipeline protesters flirt with chaos	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/23	Column / Opinion

			60608047/D1C2FgA80g074 2C8PQ/5?accountid=14771	
28	Edmonton Sun	ECO-crusaders need a reality check; Environmentalists are just using Canada's Indigenous people	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2603833485/D1C2F9A8090742C8PQ/16?accountid=14771	Column / Opinion
29	Edmonton Sun	Rail blockades hamper travellers' holiday weekend	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 5547661g/D1C2FgA80g0742 C8PQ/43?accountid=14771	News
30	Edmonton Sun	Cost of poor leadership; It's time Canada's First Nations got their act together	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2368330709/D1C2F9A8090742C8PQ/23?accountid=14771	Column / Opinion
31	Calgary Herald	Alberta manufacturers, retailers struggle with fallout from blockades on CN Rail lines	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/23 554648g1/BE4DAB8CBgg E47B4PQ/16?accountid=14 771 * https://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/alberta-manufacturers-retailers-struggle-with-fallout-from-	News
32	Calgary Herald	Arrests escalate protest over Trans Mountain pipeline	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2452112778/BE4DAB8CB99E47B4PQ/4?accountid=14771 * https://calgaryherald.com/business/arrests-escalate-protest-over-trans-mountain-pipeline	News
33	Calgary Herald	Calgarians protest Bill 1, calling legislation undemocratic	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/24 22908118/D8A17FADAC794 282PQ/37?accountid=14771	News

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			*	
			https://calgaryherald.com/ news/politics/calgarians-p rotest-bill-1-calling-legisla tion-undemocratic	
34	Calgary Herald	Charges dropped against LNG pipeline opponents in B.C	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/24 og88g466/BE4DAB8CBgg E47B4PQ/7?accountid=147 71 * https://calgaryherald.com/news/charges-dropped-against-lng-pipeline-opponents-in-b-c	News
35	Calgary Herald	CN rail closures from Wet'suwet'en protests affecting industry, farmers say	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/23 55057709/BE4DAB8CB99 E47B4PQ/18?accountid=14 771 * https://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/farmer-worry-about-rail-access-aswetsuweten-protests-continue	News
36	Calgary Herald	Coastal GasLink pipeline segment faces delay amid Indigenous protests	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2362509791/D8A17FADAC794282PO/4?accountid=14771 * https://calgaryherald.com/news/politics/coastal-gaslink-pipeline-segment-faces-delay-amid-indigenous-protests	News
37	Calgary Herald	Court dismisses union's attempt to block security bill it says targets picketing	https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/26 10979765/D8A17FADAC79 4282PQ/36?accountid=1477	News

38	Calgary Herald	Kenney denounces 'anarchy' as protesters block rail line in Edmonton	* https://calgaryherald.com/ news/politics/court-dismis ses-unions-attempt-to-blo ck-security-bill-it-says-tar gets-picketing https://www.proquest.com /canadiannews/docview/23 58838829/D8A17FADAC79 4282PQ/8?accountid=14771 Unable to find Calgary	News
39	Calgary Herald	Police ready if blockades come to Calgary, chief says	Herald link https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2364643788/D8A17FADAC794282PQ/17?accountid=14771 * https://calgaryherald.com/news/local-news/police-ready-if-blockades-come-to-	News
40	Calgary Herald	Protesters block rail line in Edmonton; justice minister says it 'won't be tolerated'	calgary-chief-says https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/2358740290/BE4DAB8CB99E47B4PQ/i5?accountid=14771 * Unable to find Calgary Herald link	News
41	APTN	Hereditary chiefs issue eviction notice to pipeline company in Wet'suwet'en territory	https://www.aptnnews.ca/ national-news/hereditary- chiefs-issue-eviction-notic e-to-pipeline-company-in- wetsuweten-territory/	News
42	APTN	Wet'suwet'en cabin burned in suspected arson, but chief says land protection will continue	https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/wetsuweten-cabin-burned-in-suspected-arson-but-chief-says-land-protection-will-continue/	News

43	APTN	Wet'suwet'en chiefs, ministers reach proposed agreement in land dispute	https://www.aptnnews.ca/ national-news/wetsuweten -chiefs-ministers-reach-pr oposed-agreement-in-land -dispute/	News
44	APTN	'Significant' rail shut down looms as Wet'suwet'en solidarity actions continue	https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/significant-rail-shut-down-looms-as-solidarity-actions-continue	News
45	APTN	Gidimt'en Access Point vows to continue resistance after latest RCMP raid	https://www.aptnnews.ca/ national-news/gidimten-a ccess-point-vows-to-conti nue-resistance-after-latest -rcmp-raid/	News
46	APTN	'I stand with the Wet'suwet'en': Kanehsatake activist Ellen Gabriel has a message for land and water protectors	https://www.aptnnews.ca/ national-news/ellen-gabri el-wetsuweten-territory-re sistance-coastal-gaslink/	News
47	APTN	'They're proceeding without us': Elected chiefs in B.C. push back on Wet'suwet'en rights and title agreement	https://www.aptnnews.ca/ national-news/theyre-proc eeding-without-us-elected -chiefs-in-b-c-push-back- on-wetsuweten-rights-and -title-agreement/	News
48	APTN	Justin Trudeau has to meet with Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs: MP Leah Gazan	https://www.aptnnews.ca/ nation-to-nation/justin-tr udeau-has-to-meet-with- wetsuweten-hereditary-ch iefs-mp-leah-gazan/	News
49	APTN	New blockades appear in support of Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs	https://www.aptnnews.ca/ national-news/new-blocka des-appear-in-support-of- wetsuweten-hereditary-ch iefs/	News
50	APTN	RCMP establish exclusion zone on Wet'suwet'en territory: Chief Na'moks	https://www.aptnnews.ca/ national-news/pipeline-6/	News
51	Windspeak er	Mi'kmaq wait as RCMP sits on complaints report from 2013 anti-fracking protest; Wet'suwet'en suffer under similar RCMP tactics	https://windspeaker.com/news/windspeaker-news/mikmaq-wait-rcmp-sits-complaints-report-2013-anti-fracking-protest-wetsuweten	News

52	Windspeak er	Emergency motion to de-escalate RCMP tactics against land defenders gives way to Wet'suwet'en 'internal dispute'	https://windspeaker.com/n ews/windspeaker-news/em ergency-motion-de-escala te-rcmp-tactics-against-la nd-defenders-gives-way	News
53	Windspeak er	Title and rights arrangement reached with Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs	https://windspeaker.com/n ews/windspeaker-news/titl e-and-rights-arrangement -reached-wetsuweten-here ditary-chiefs	News
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66	National Post	Premier John Horgan says court rulings on pipelines should be respected [B.C. Premier John Horgan concedes defeat in legal battle against Trans Mountain pipeline]	https://www.proquest.com/canadiannews/docview/23 48332030/86AA077A65A04 F35PQ/157?accountid=1477 * https://nationalpost.com/news/premier-john-horgan-says-court-rulings-on-pipelines-should-be-respected	News
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80	CBC	First Nations voices in support of Coastal GasLink project silenced by fear, says LNG Canada official	https://www.cbc.ca/news/indigenous/coastal-gaslink-pipeline-lng-canada-1.5436837	News
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