

# ***Fuelling the Subsidized Public: Mapping the Flow of Extractivist Content on Facebook***

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## **ABSTRACT**

**Background:** This article explores the Facebook communications of Canadian oil and gas advocacy organizations, including industry-funded and nominally independent groups.

**Analysis:** These groups are analyzed as producers of “subsidized publics,” with elites providing supporters with resources that enable them to take political action on industry’s behalf. A social network analysis maps how they link supporters with information from diverse sources, constructing networked publics whose members can recirculate pro-industry talking points.

**Conclusions and implications:** These communications enact powerful forms of network-making power, programming an interconnected echo chamber that interfaces supporters with material from neoliberal extractivist discourse coalitions—networks of industry advocates that industry has itself helped cultivate over decades.

**Keywords:** New media; Public relations; Social network analysis; Political communications

## **RÉSUMÉ**

**Contexte :** Cet article explore les communications sur Facebook faites par des organismes soutenant l’industrie pétrolière au Canada, y compris des groupes financés par l’industrie elle-même et des groupes prétendument indépendants.

**Analyse :** L’article analyse ces groupes en tant qu’engendeurs de « publics subventionnés », où une élite accorde des ressources à des partisans de l’industrie afin qu’ils s’engagent politiquement pour le compte de celle-ci. Une analyse des réseaux sociaux montre comment ces partisans fournissent de l’information provenant de sources différentes à un public favorable à l’industrie pétrolière, créant ainsi des réseaux dont les membres peuvent à leur tour rediffuser des éléments de langage appuyant l’industrie.

**Conclusions and implications:** Les communications de ces partisans sont puissantes dans leur capacité à former des réseaux, encourageant des échanges en vase clos qui ex-

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posent les participants à des informations provenant de coalitions d'extractivistes néolibéraux. Quant à ces derniers, c'est l'industrie elle-même qui a cultivé leurs opinions pendant des décennies.

**Mots clés :** Nouveaux médias; Relations publiques; Analyse des réseaux sociaux; Communications politiques

## Introduction

In April 2015, the Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers (CAPP), Canada's largest oil and gas association, explained its new Canada's Energy Citizens (CEC) program. In an issue of its trade publication dubbed the "Engagement Issue," CAPP explained how the program would combat what it called the "spreading [of] misinformation" by environmentalist "extremists" (Stanfield, 2015, p. 9) determined to destroy the sector. "The challenge for industry ... [was] not only [to] counter this [misinformation] with facts—but ... to get the facts to and inspire action among the people the public trusts" (Stanfield, 2015, p. 9).

Connecting the *right people* with the *right facts*. This was the task of Canada's Energy Citizens, described as "a growing online community where members can share content, participate in social media conversations and disseminate information" (Stanfield, 2015, pp. 10–11), empowering supporters to "stand up and be heard" (Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, 2015, p. 1). According to a CAPP campaign advisor, "Supporters [would] be given the tools and resources to spread the word, including information pieces" (Stanfield, 2015, p. 10). After all, noted CAPP's vice president of communications, "the most trusted sources of information for most people" were "friends, family, [and] neighbours" (Stanfield, 2015, p. 10).

The Canada's Energy Citizens program was an early adopter of a broader industry shift from traditional public relations toward a "subsidised public" (Walker, 2014, p. 10) model of advocacy. Whereas the former often involved "subsidizing" news production by providing journalists with cheap content (Gandy, 1982), in the latter, elites provide supporters with resources to act within a targeted campaign. Since CAPP founded CEC in 2014, several similar groups have been formed, such as Oil Respect, Resource Works, and Canada Action. Most replicate the subsidized public strategy, using social media platforms to engage and politically mobilize supporters.

We argue the social media communications of these groups constitute a form of network-making power (Castells, 2011), connecting supporters with curated information and commentary they are encouraged to share. We contextualize this subsidized public strategy within long-developing "neoliberal extractivist discourse coalitions" (Neubauer, 2018, pp. 250–251): networks of industry-linked actors from different social fields—think tanks, industry associations, newspaper columnists, and so on—that promote industry expansion in the public sphere.

Members often link to industry and each other through myriad connections, including funding arrangements, interlocking directorate boards, and organization memberships. What successes they have had often result from their ability to communicate as a *network*, recirculating material to leverage each member's unique institutional specialization.

Using social network analysis, we explore the extent to which industry-backed *public subsidizers* interface supporters with other members of an extractivist coalition that the industry has itself helped cultivate. We ask, how does this communications strategy connect social media users to information sources from different social fields of media, civil society, industry, and government? Is there a cohesive community of practice, with public subsidizers sharing the same sources? In short, where do the “right facts” (from industry's perspective) come from? In answering these questions, we elucidate how groups such as Canada's Energy Citizens integrate supporters into social media echo chambers that equip them with informational toolkits and talking points they are encouraged to recirculate through the public sphere so they can “stand up and be heard” (Canadian Association of Petroleum Producers, 2015, p. 1).

### **From public relations to subsidized publics**

Canada's fossil fuel industry is in crisis. For nearly a decade, calls to address climate change, the saturation of the U.S. market, and persistent low prices have threatened profitable expansion (Neubauer, 2018), exposing firms to the risk of “stranded assets” (Pineault, 2018, p. 132). In response, industry has attempted to reach new export markets by constructing pipeline and tanker projects—such as Enbridge's now defunct Northern Gateway Pipeline and the Canadian government-owned Trans Mountain Expansion Project—designed to link upstream producers to coastal export terminals to reach Asian markets (Hoberg, 2013; Neubauer, 2018).

Yet since 2012, these projects have been resisted by an alliance of First Nations, environmental organizations, local communities, and regional governments that rails against climate impacts, local environmental and health harms, the violation of Indigenous sovereignty, and an unequal distribution of risk and benefit (Neubauer & Gunster, 2019). The result is stalemate, as protests, electoral campaigns, and Indigenous legal challenges lead to the abandonment or perpetual delay of megaprojects such as the Northern Gateway and Trans Mountain Expansion, as well as the election of governments whose pursuit of new environmental legislation has angered industry (Maher, 2019). All while alternative energy is falling in price (Cunningham, 2019).

This inability to secure public support has driven a strategic shift in industry communications away from traditional public relations toward a “movement-based model of advocacy” (Gunster, Neubauer, Birmingham, & Massie, 2021). Previous industry campaigns have relied on advertising buys and the production

of materials for journalists to influence *undecided* members of the public (Neubauer, 2011; Wood, 2018). Since 2014, however, the failure to overcome opposition has inspired the roll-out of pro-fossil fuel advocacy groups that engage industry *supporters*. These have included both official outreach programs of industry associations such as CAPP's Canada's Energy Citizens as well as independent supporter-run organizations such as Canada Action (Gunster et al., 2021).

This advocacy model is designed to produce what Edward Walker (2014) calls a "subsidised public" (p. 10), in which elite actors provide targeted groups with resources, mobilization opportunities, and organizational infrastructure that "lower the costs of political participation" (p. 10) while directing that participation toward campaign goals. This may involve directing supporters to public meetings and information kits with campaign talking points—everything necessary to transform disparate and often "passive stakeholders into engaged issue publics" (Carroll, 2020, p. 12).

While this involves facilitating offline mobilization, Walker (2014) notes that public subsidizers "[o]ften us[e] ... new information and communications technologies" such as social networking sites to "incentivise citizen participation" (p. 38). In the case of Canadian fossil fuel advocates, this strategy stemmed from industry polling demonstrating that while many Canadians supported extractivist expansion, few had the resources, knowledge, or confidence to say so publicly (Wood, 2018). Industry, therefore, looked to how their environmentalist opponents used social media to mobilize supporters and encourage them to share campaign talking points. In 2014, CAPP's former president lamented that while "high-priced advertising could nudge the needle of public opinion in the industry's favor, ... a well-timed counterpunch from opponents on social media would almost always push it right back. In the new age of handheld-to-handheld combat, oil and gas was getting badly outflanked" (Coyne quoted in Gunster et al., 2021). In response, CAPP's Canada's Energy Citizens and supporter-run groups such as Canada Action have cultivated an expansive community of social media followers (Gunster et al., 2021), especially on their official Facebook pages. While this online presence provides supporters with mobilization opportunities (calling elected representatives, signing petitions, etc.), it is also used to communicate "extractivist populist" narratives that "combine a relentless advocacy of extractivism as a Canadian public good with caustic attacks on environmentalists" (Gunster et al., 2021, p. 30). These narratives suture multiple claims: Canada's industry is sustainable, ethical, and fuels national prosperity; industry expansion is widely popular; fossil fuel consumption sustains modern life; and environmentalists are hypocritical elites with large carbon footprints or radicals paid by foreign foundations to sabotage Canada's economy.

But above all, these groups encourage supporters to *speak up* on industry's behalf (Wood, 2018), providing supporters with a flow of "pre-packaged media content" (p. 83) that can be reshared. While this often involves posting materials produced

by third parties (Gunster et al., 2021), much of their content is self-produced. These include prominently branded memes and graphics with quotes and factoids communicating “industry-friendly arguments and claims in a simplistic, highly accessible and often memorable style” (p. 207), often footnoted with the original source of information. As Gunster et al. (2021) argue, “one of the core functions of these groups” is a kind of “meme labour”: “the ideological ... work of mining news media, trade publications, industry public relations and thinktank research for ideas, images and soundbites that can ... [be] easily circulated ... [inviting] audiences to actively confirm a pro-industry worldview by liking and sharing [content]” (p. 207).

### **Network-making power, networked publics, and extractivist discourse coalitions**

The subsidized public strategy—which connects disparate supporters to the resources necessary to transform them into a cohesive issue public mobilized on industry’s behalf (Walker, 2014)—can be understood as a strategy of cultivating, linking, and activating networks. Manuel Castells (2011) argues that power in the “network society ... is primarily exercised by and through networks” (p. 774), defined as “set[s] of interconnected nodes” (Castells, 1996, p. 501)—institutions and actors—through which resources flow. By connecting supporters to a web of information sources they may never otherwise engage with, fossil fuel advocates exert “network-making power” (Castells, 2011, p. 776), in which power is exercised through the construction of networks and influence over what moves through them. This involves both programming, or “the ability to constitute network(s) and to program/reprogram” (Castells, 2011, p. 776) them according to the programmers’ goals, and switching, or “the ability to connect and ensure the cooperation of different networks by sharing common goals and combining resources” (Castells, 2011, p. 776). Network-making power thereby often involves constructing networks which themselves integrate other networks (Castells, 2011).

Social media platforms are ideal network-making tools. As “digital infrastructures that enable two or more groups to interact” (Srnicek, 2017, p. 11), they facilitate the emergence of networked publics—online political communities united over common concerns and connected via common platforms, websites, and hyperlink patterns (Langlois, Elmer, McKelvey, & Devereaux, 2011). We argue that for oil advocates, programming a networked public produces the digital infrastructure of a broader subsidized public. Social media helps connect supporters with talking points, campaign goals, and online/offline mobilization opportunities that help disparate supporters coalesce into an engaged issue public whose members can act strategically in a collective movement. The resulting networks are what Merlyna Lim (2014) calls “intermodal” (p. 51)—they link between online and offline spaces, media, institutions, and communities. These intermodal networks, Lim argues, feature prominently in internet-enabled social movements.

By providing curated content from different sources, the public subsidizers also act as network switchers, linking rank and file industry supporters with diverse institutions and actors from other networks. This process is facilitated by “read/write” (Lessig, 2002, pp. 29–33) digital media logics, in which digital texts are easily reworked into new texts and forms. By transforming texts into new content, organizations such as Canada’s Energy Citizens can strategically repurpose favourable material from diverse sources into easily digestible memes and talking points. Platform communications, therefore, afford the public subsidizers robust forms of network-making power, as their Facebook pages integrate users into a sprawling network of pro-extractivist content to recirculate through their own communities.

To date, however, little research has investigated how these networked publics are articulated with pre-existing discourse coalitions, decentralized networks of allied actors jointly committed to a common policy discourse (Hajer, 2002; Neubauer & Gunster, 2019). For decades, fossil capital firms have funded and supported a neoliberal extractivist coalition that has promoted extractivist expansion throughout the public sphere (Neubauer, 2018). Such public legitimation is necessary to downplay not only the environmental impacts of development but also the profoundly inequitable distributions of risk and benefit that the neoliberal extractivist governance of Canadian fossil fuels is oriented toward (Fast, 2014; Neubauer, 2019).

Key coalition members include oil and gas firms and the financial firms that bankroll them (Fast, 2014; Pineault, 2018). At times, individual capitalists speak to media on industry’s behalf (Carroll, 2020); other times, industry’s positions are expressed through sector-specific associations or multi-sector business councils. These organizations give industry a unified voice, casting pro-corporate perspectives into the public sphere through media appearances and advertising campaigns (Carroll, Graham, Lang, Yunker, & McCartney, 2018; Gunster & Saurette, 2014). Other coalition members include pro-industry politicians, especially those from fossil fuel-producing regions that are dependent on ever-rising production levels to maintain employment and tax revenue (Neubauer, 2018). Laurie Adkin and Brittany Stares (2016), for example, document extensive governmental efforts in Alberta to depict oil sands as “clean energy,” based on limited investments in efficiency enhancing technology.

Many of fossil capital’s most prominent legitimators, however, hail from civil society groups embedded within more broadly focused discourse coalitions that have promoted Canada’s neoliberal policy shift since the 1970s (Carroll et al., 2018; Neubauer, 2011, 2018). These include industry-funded conservative think tanks such as Vancouver’s Fraser Institute and Calgary’s Canada West Foundation, which receive financial support from corporate sources, including fossil capital firms (Gutstein, 2009). Through frequent media appearances and policy reports, these

organizations worked to counter environmental critiques of industry throughout the 1980s and 1990s, while some (infamously the Fraser Institute) became leading climate science deniers (Gutstein, 2018; Hoggan, 2009; Neubauer, 2011; Oreskes & Conway, 2010). More recently, these groups have advocated for new pipeline projects, and some have opposed robust new environmental regulation (Gutstein, 2014; Neubauer, 2019). They have been joined by various conservative advocacy groups, including both multi-issue market fundamentalist groups such as the Canadian Taxpayers Federation (CTF, 2019), which advocates for new pipelines and opposes carbon pricing, and pro-oil groups such as Ethical Oil, which has attacked environmentalists as anti-Canadian extremists (Neubauer, 2019).

These groups are highly “interlocked”; their governance boards are often populated by corporate executives and directors, including from fossil capital firms (Carroll et al., 2018), while staff and researchers frequently move between allied organizations throughout their careers (Gutstein, 2009, 2014, 2018; Neubauer, 2011, 2018). Many are associated with coalition hubs such as the Atlas Network, a U.S.-based transnational network that has supported hundreds of neoliberal think tanks across seventy countries since 1981 (Mato, 2008), including notorious climate deniers (Neubauer, 2018). In 2019, the Atlas Network (n.d.) included 12 groups in Canada, including the climate-denying Fraser Institute; the Macdonald-Laurier Institute (Neubauer, 2019), which promotes the resource industry; and anti-carbon tax groups such as Second Street and the CTF.

Finally, extractivist coalitions draw together certain members of the corporate media, especially the right-leaning Postmedia newspaper chain (Neubauer, 2011). Multiple studies have identified Postmedia and other corporate outlets as producers of disproportionately pro-industry coverage (Gunster & Neubauer, 2018; Hackett & Adams, 2018; Raso & Neubauer, 2016). Postmedia columnists are particularly well known for their strident pro-industry (at times climate change-denying) stance and vitriolic attacks on environmentalists (Gutstein, 2009; Hoggan, 2009). In their study of the *Calgary Herald* newspaper, Shane Gunster and Paul Saurette (2014) even argued the “editorial board and many ... columnists” of the Postmedia flagship “function[ed] as an ideological vanguard for the industry as a whole” (p. 337).

#### *Inter-field network power and information subsidies*

Industry’s efforts to cultivate discourse coalitions are a form of network-making power. Funding and other supports are used to program network goals, while interconnections between coalition members enable powerful modes of network switching, mobilizing material and discursive resources across social fields to further those goals (Neubauer, 2019). Following Pierre Bourdieu (2005), field theory understands social institutions as assemblages of overlapping yet “semi-autonomous and ... specialized” fields of practice (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 2).

Each field—journalism, business, government, civil society—has unique forms of cultural capital, or “educational credentials, technical expertise, general knowledge, [and] verbal abilities” (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 4), that mark authoritative members of that field. Notably, Castells (2011) describes these fields (journalism, government) as distinct networks with their own programming logic. Building on this, we consider how the networked structure of coalitions enables robust network switching, in which members within one field (or network) can recirculate claims of allied members from another field (or network) (Neubauer, 2018). In doing so, we explore how they strategically deploy each member’s specialized cultural capital—such as the policy expertise of a think tank or the popular legitimacy of an advocacy group—to legitimize their own messaging.

Key to this inter-field switching is the “information subsidy” (Gandy, 1982, p. 103), in which coalition think tanks, industry associations, advocacy groups, etcetera produce content that subsidizes (and influences) journalistic production (Raso & Neubauer, 2016). These subsidies help switch networks by enabling discursive resources and cultural capital to flow from one field (civil society coalitions, industry) to another (journalistic media), helping program a broader network of meaning-making in the interests of actors best positioned to generate and deploy subsidies. For instance, studies indicate that Canadian corporate media are disproportionately reliant on industry-sponsored think tanks compared with left-leaning groups (Enoch, 2007). In one recent report, Robert Hackett and Pippa Adams (2018) document how corporate media covering pipeline controversies gave “more attention to fossil fuel industry organizations” relative to “Indigenous people ... environmental groups and protesters” (p. 5). Gunster and Saurette’s (2014) study of Postmedia’s *Calgary Herald* found the paper’s pro-industry coverage to be “heavily ‘subsidized’ ... [by] trade groups ... [and] pro-industry thinktanks,” whose “reports about investment, employment, and taxation revenue ... [were] widely (and uncritically) reported” (p. 344).

These subsidies—research reports, guest opinion pieces, and so on—are attractive to news outlets hungry for cheap content (Gunster & Saurette, 2014; Raso & Neubauer, 2016), especially when the outlet’s “ideological culture” (Carvalho, 2007, p. 239) aligns with the political leanings of a journalistic source. For example, Postmedia has become so dependent on ad revenue from fossil capital firms and so ideologically aligned with the industry that in 2014 its marketing department pitched a native advertising deal to CAPP (Uechi & Millar, 2014). Since Postmedia’s papers already recognized that oil and gas fuelled “Canada’s economic engine,” the pitch argued, it was well positioned to help Canadians “grasp the fundamental role the ... sector plays in building ... prosperity.” Translated from marketing fluff: Our newspapers already *act* as industry propagandists. Why not make it official?

At times, non-media coalition members also act as network switchers. Common group memberships, institutional hubs, financial supports, and shared

communications materials enable members to link different networks to coordinate messaging and resources across fields (Gutstein, 2009, 2014, 2018). For instance, Robert Neubauer's (2018) study of pipeline advocates found advocacy groups and politicians possessed common ties to a broader network of climate-denying think tanks, conservative policy conferences, fossil fuel corporations, and pro-industry politicians, and they tended to cite industry-funded think tank reports that framed oil expansion as serving the national interest to justify mobilizing state resources in industry's defense. In this way, networked coalitions helped constitute an *interfield* echo chamber: allied actors with dense interlinkages circulated each other's claims across different fields, taking advantage of each actor's specialized cultural capital to buttress their own claims (Neubauer, 2018).

In the following section, we explore fossil capital's subsidized public strategy in the context of industry's long-term support for extractivist discourse coalitions, examining how the public subsidizers' social media communications enact a similar network-making logic of programming and switching. We ask, how do the public subsidizers use digital platforms to program networked publics whose members are then connected with curated information from different fields, including other coalition allies? As Walker (2014) notes, the subsidized public strategy provides "would be activists a set of detailed talking points to repeat," allowing "elites [to] ... fram[e] political issues ... in a quite populist fashion" (p. 7). By connecting supporters with easy-to-share content, the fossil fuel advocates similarly reposition elite-generated talking points as populist common sense, building "a more robust and differentiated promotional field around the fossil fuel sector ... that is especially well-suited to the compartmentalized echo-chambers of social media" (Gunster et al., 2021, p. 203). As Gunster notes, "An ad from CAPP is likely to have much less resonance with people than material passed on by those they ... trust" (Gunster quoted in Syed & McIntosh, 2019, para. 72). We therefore ask: Where does this material come from?

## Methods

Researchers have long used social network analysis to examine relationships between individuals and/or organizations, including ties based on collaboration, group membership, or information flows (Kadushin, 2012). Social network analysis maps these relations as networks of nodes (actors and institutions) and edges (the relations between them) to identify which actors are most central, how they cluster together, and how resources flow between them (Stoddard, Smith, & Tindall, 2016). While previous research has explored how the social media accounts of oil advocates bridge supporters with offline mobilization opportunities (Gunster et al., 2021), less attention has been paid to how the online communications of different groups produce common information-sharing networks that link supporters to similar sources of content, including actors from pre-existing coalitions.

We build on this previous literature by focusing on how the information sharing practices of pro-oil Facebook pages allows them to strategically switch between different networks to support broader coalition narratives, using SNA to map the circulation of materials by several prominent pro-oil advocates. While each of the sample groups are active on multiple platforms, including Instagram and Twitter, they typically have far fewer followers compared to Facebook.<sup>1</sup> This is unsurprising, as Facebook is the most widely used platform in Canada (Gruzd & Mai, 2020). While the analysis of Twitter and other platforms would be valuable, to manage scope we limit our study to the platform where these groups have the most followers.

We selected six prominent pro-oil advocacy groups active on Facebook in 2019. These include the two most popular industry association programs on Facebook: CAPP's Canada's Energy Citizens (272,000 Facebook group likes in September 2019) and Oil Respect (60,000 likes), a project of the Canadian Association of Oilwell Drilling Contractors (CAODC), an Alberta-based group representing small and medium enterprises. Oil Respect was launched in 2016 with a mandate to "educate with facts, harness respect for O&G workers, and rally everyday Canadians to stand up for the Canadian oil and gas industry" (Oil Respect, n.d.). We also included BC-based Resource Works, an oil and gas industry-funded (Maher, 2019) organization promoting resource development. Resource Works was launched by the Business Council of British Columbia (BCBC, 2014), a prominent advocate for new fossil fuel projects. Resource Work's Facebook group only had 6,000 followers; however, its prolific production of content (which may be shared by other groups), undisclosed industry funding, and business association origins make it appropriate for our main goal of mapping information-sharing networks of extractivist coalition members attempting (successfully or unsuccessfully) to link supporters with material from other organizations. Further, its operation in a province with contentious energy politics provides a view of the extent that regional industry advocacy links up with a broader extractivist coalition that is national in scope.

We also included the supporter-led group Canada Action (232,000 Facebook likes), an organization launched by Calgary realtor Cody Battershill in 2010 (Markusoff, 2019). Battershill claims the organization was launched to combat anti-oil sands messaging (Gunster et al., 2021). While Canada Action is nominally independent, financial reports indicate it receives significant funding from oil industry sources (Linnitt, 2020). The second supporter-led group is Oil Sands Strong (67,000 likes), founded by ex-oil sands worker Robbie Picard (Turner, 2019). Notably, the group has been embraced as an official partner of the Alberta government in its communications campaigns to support the oil patch (Turner, 2019). Finally, we included Canada Proud (n.d.) (228,000 likes), an advocacy group that opposes carbon pricing policies and gained a large social media following running

up to the 2019 federal election (Maher, 2019). The group has solicited hundreds of thousands of dollars from Canadian corporations (PressProgress, 2018). Its founder, Jeff Ballingal, is a Conservative staffer and Bay Street lobbyist whose previous group, Ontario Proud, was a prominent supporter of conservative candidate Doug Ford in the 2018 provincial election. He is also the marketing director of Post Millennial, a rapidly growing online conservative news site.

We collected all posts referencing oil and gas, environmental sustainability, Indigenous title, and/or resource development in Indigenous communities posted by these groups' Facebook pages between April 2019 and October 2019. This produced 2,158 posts (see Appendix 1). Posts were coded as one of 19 types according to the linked material shared, including self-produced materials (memes, blog posts, etc.) and externally produced content (mainstream media pieces, government reports, etc.). Posts that *directly* shared materials from third-party actors (1,503 posts in total) were coded according to those actors' field (mainstream media, alternative media, think tank, etc.)<sup>2</sup> (see Appendix 2). Finally, a further 422 posts were identified that *indirectly* shared one of two types of information subsidies from third-party actors (see Appendix 3). These included guest-authored media pieces (a traditional form of information subsidy) and memes/graphics citing third-party actors (a form of subsidy tailored to the online-facing activities of the subsidized public strategy). This "information subsidy" subsample was coded for the source of the subsidy and its organizational field.<sup>3</sup>

We imported frequency counts into UCINET and Netdraw (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002) (software for social network analysis). We then mapped the *direct* sharing of third-party materials, such as when a pro-oil group shared an article by a media outlet. We also mapped the *indirect* sharing of information subsidies, such as when a group shared a meme that cited an industry association report or a media piece guest-authored by a think tank representative (in the former, the subsidy is from the industry association, in the latter, from the think tank). Mapping out this information sharing may appear to overstate the public visibility of groups such as Resource Works, which shares prolific content but has fewer followers than groups such as Canada Action. Readers should understand this limitation, knowing that this analysis is focused on understanding industry *strategy* vis-a-vis patterns of information sharing across and between organizations and does not extend to their *efficacy* in driving social media engagement metrics, which would require a reworked methodological approach.

## Results

At first glance, Facebook pages of the sample groups mostly share self-produced memes and public relations materials (such as blog posts) as well as content from mainstream and business media (see Figure 1). There is relatively little direct sharing of corporate, government, industry association, or think tank material.

Figure 1: Post types by group

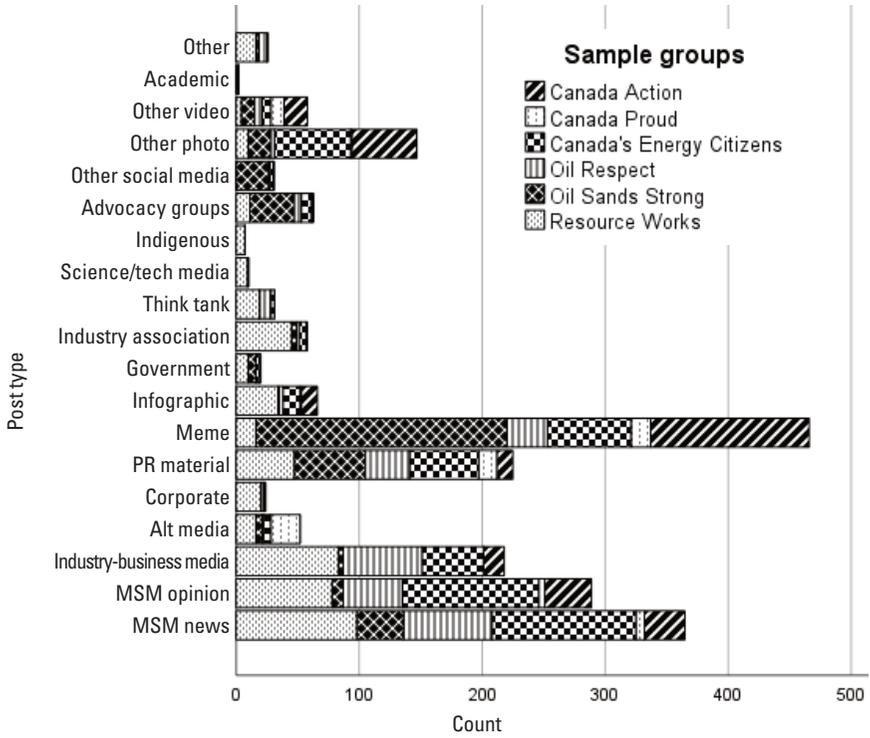
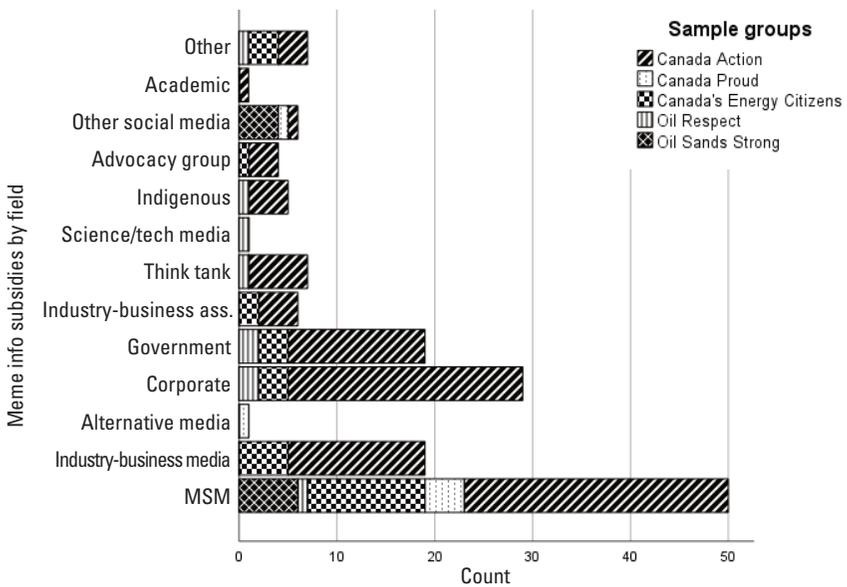


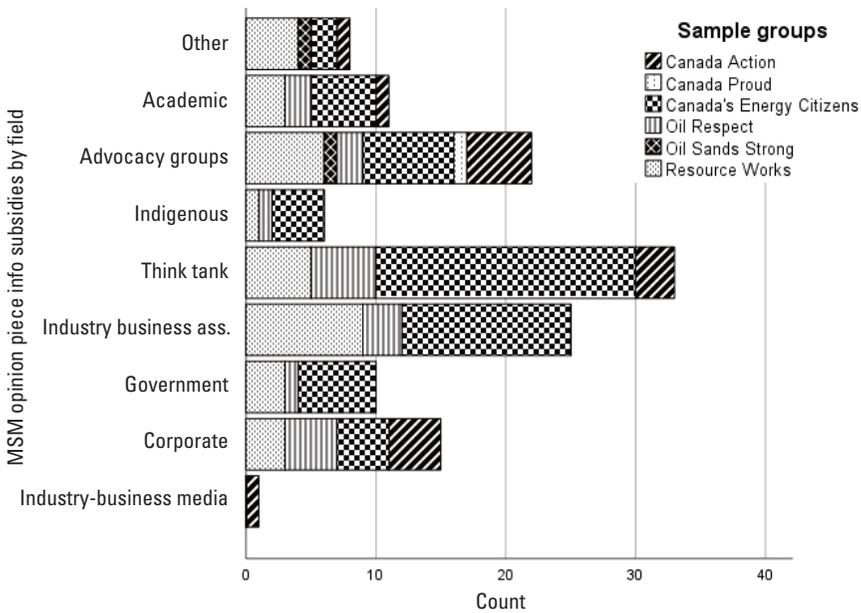
Figure 2: Meme/graphic info subsidies by field



However, a closer look at the authorship of guest-authored media pieces and citations within memes shows how the Facebook feeds of these groups connect supporters with a wider range of material. Memes often contain quotations and citations pulled from mainstream media, specialized business press, advocacy groups, corporations, and governments (see Figure 2). While mainstream news media continued to be shared extensively via memes, the sharing of corporate and government sources increased precipitously, particularly through the practices of Canada Action. Meme labour—the act of sifting through content from diverse fields and repurposing it into more digestible graphics—helps connect Facebook users with specialized sources the average industry supporter may be unlikely to seek out on their own, such as dry corporate reports or government statistics.

As seen in Figure 3, information subsidies to news media function similarly, with shared opinion pieces often guest-authored by representatives of think tanks, industry associations, advocacy groups and firms. Interestingly, the three industry association programs (Canada’s Energy Citizens, Oil Respect, and Resource Works), along with oil industry-funded Canada Action, most extensively share opinion pieces penned by think tank authors. On the other hand, Canada Proud and Oil Sands Strong rarely share mainstream opinion pieces written by these actors.

**Figure 3: Info subsidies for guest-authored mainstream media opinion pieces by field**



Whether through memes or media commentary, the public subsidizers’ communication strategy depends on the networking functions of digital platforms that are designed to connect multiple groups of users (Smicek, 2019), such as industry supporters, pro-oil advocates, and specialized sources. Moving from these totals

into network analysis helps clarify the relationships between organizations and how these specialized sources often stem from a densely interconnected network of neoliberal extractivist coalition members committed to industry expansion.

#### *Network structure*

Figure 4 visualizes *direct sharing* of externally produced materials as a *direct sharing network*. Each node represents an organization, while colour represents field. Node size indicates degree centrality—the number of times an actor shares or has material shared by any other actor. Their location indicates importance in terms of content sharing between organizations: key organizations that “bridge” otherwise disconnected actors are near the centre of the graph. Arrows represent information flow, pointing from the group whose material is shared to the group that shares it. Line thickness represents number of shares. Finally, visual clutter is reduced by removing actors whose materials were shared fewer than two times by any organization.

The resulting *direct sharing network* reveals a relatively coherent community of practice, as the sample groups collectively program a network linking most sample groups through a common cluster of mainstream and business media outlets, many of which are known for pro-industry commentary. Resource Works, Canada’s Energy Citizens, Oil Respect, and Canada Action frequently share content from the same mainstream media sources (mostly Postmedia outlets, but also the CBC, CTV and Global News, which are less known for pro-industry coverage), as well as specialized business media outlets dedicated to fossil fuel coverage (JWN Energy, BOE Report, and Energy Now) (see Figure 5). Finally, every sample group except Canada Proud shares material from one or more of the other sample groups. Indeed, as seen in Figure 4, Canada Proud mostly shares different sources from the other sample groups, especially Post Millennial, the conservative outlet where Proud’s founder Jeff Ballingall serves as marketing director.

Mapping out the *subsidy sharing network*—or information subsidies (see Figure 5) shared via guest-authored articles and memes—illuminates how meme labour and information subsidies help switch between networks to connect supporters with information from diverse fields. Resource Works, Canada’s Energy Citizens, Oil Respect, and Canada Action all share subsidies from at least one of the other three, while the memes of all sample groups cite Postmedia’s *Calgary Herald*, except Oil Sands Strong and Canada Proud. The CBC and CTV continue to be relatively central in the network, with the former cited in the memes of Canada Action and Oil Sands Strong and the latter in those of Oil Respect and Oil Sands Strong.

Moreover, advocacy groups, think tanks, industry associations, corporate and government sources—coalition members whose materials are rarely shared *directly*—move centre stage in the *subsidy sharing network*. Multiple oil advocates share subsidies from industry-linked think tanks such as the Canada West





Foundation, Arc Energy Research Institute, and various Atlas group members (the Fraser Institute, Second Street, and Canadian Taxpayers Federation). The Fraser Institute and Second Street are particularly central, with their material shared by Canada's Energy Citizens, Oil Respect, and Canada Action. Subsidies from industry associations such as CAPP, the Business Council of BC, and the Canadian Association of Oil Drillers are also shared, but usually by only one or two organizations. The same goes for fossil fuel majors such as Arc Financial and Canada Natural Resources—their pundits and perspectives are extensively shared by Canada Action and Resource Works, but they do not bridge multiple organizations. Canada Action interfaces its followers with ARC Financial, whose child company ARC Resources recently funded Canada Action to the tune of \$100,000 (Linnitt, 2020). On the other hand, Oil Sands Strong and Canada Proud, which do not receive direct funding from fossil fuel firms or associations, do not share subsidies from these actors.

#### *Network core*

Analyzing the core of the network further demonstrates how subsidizers strategically switch networks, connecting a common group of sources from different fields to their supporters' feeds. A network's *core* is a group of relatively central nodes that are more interconnected with each other than with nodes in the periphery (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). Figures 6 and 7 map the cores of the sample's *direct* and *subsidy* sharing networks using Netdraw's *k*-core algorithm, which isolates the largest cluster of connected actors that connect to a minimum number of other actors (*k*) within the same cluster (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). Focusing on these actors reveals a common group of sources the sample organizations collectively draw on for content.

Figure 6 identifies within the *direct sharing network* a densely connected 6-core containing 11 nodes (pink), meaning that each of these nodes connects to at least six other nodes in the 6-core. Adjacent to the 6-core is a more loosely connected 5-core whose four nodes connect to at least six nodes within the 5- and 6-cores. The 6-core contains every group in the sample, and every sample group except Canada Proud shares or is shared by at least three of the others. These groups fall within the 6-core because they all share material from each other, as well as one or more of nine mainstream media outlets. The latter are mostly Postmedia outlets, but also include the CBC, CTV, and Global News.

Meanwhile, the subsidy sharing network contains a densely interconnected 4-core of 10 nodes (pink), and a more loosely interconnected 3-core of 14 nodes (green) (see Figure 7). The 4-core contains all three industry association programs (Canada's Energy Citizens, Oil Respect, and Resource Works) and the nominally independent (but oil industry-funded) Canada Action. These groups are clustered in the centre of the network, as their content draws on a common set of sources—including material produced by each other. On the other hand, Canada Proud—

Figure 6: 6- and 5-core of direct sharing network

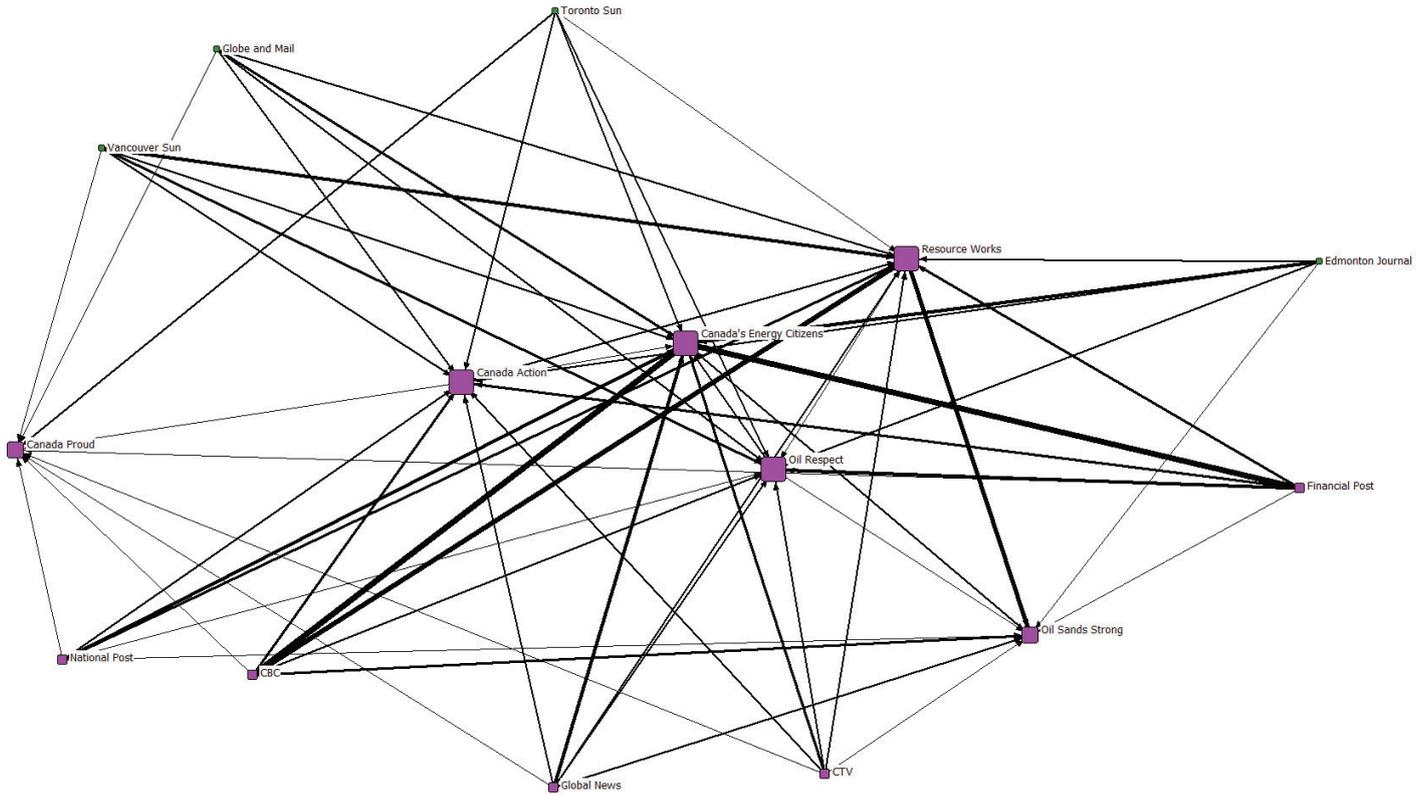
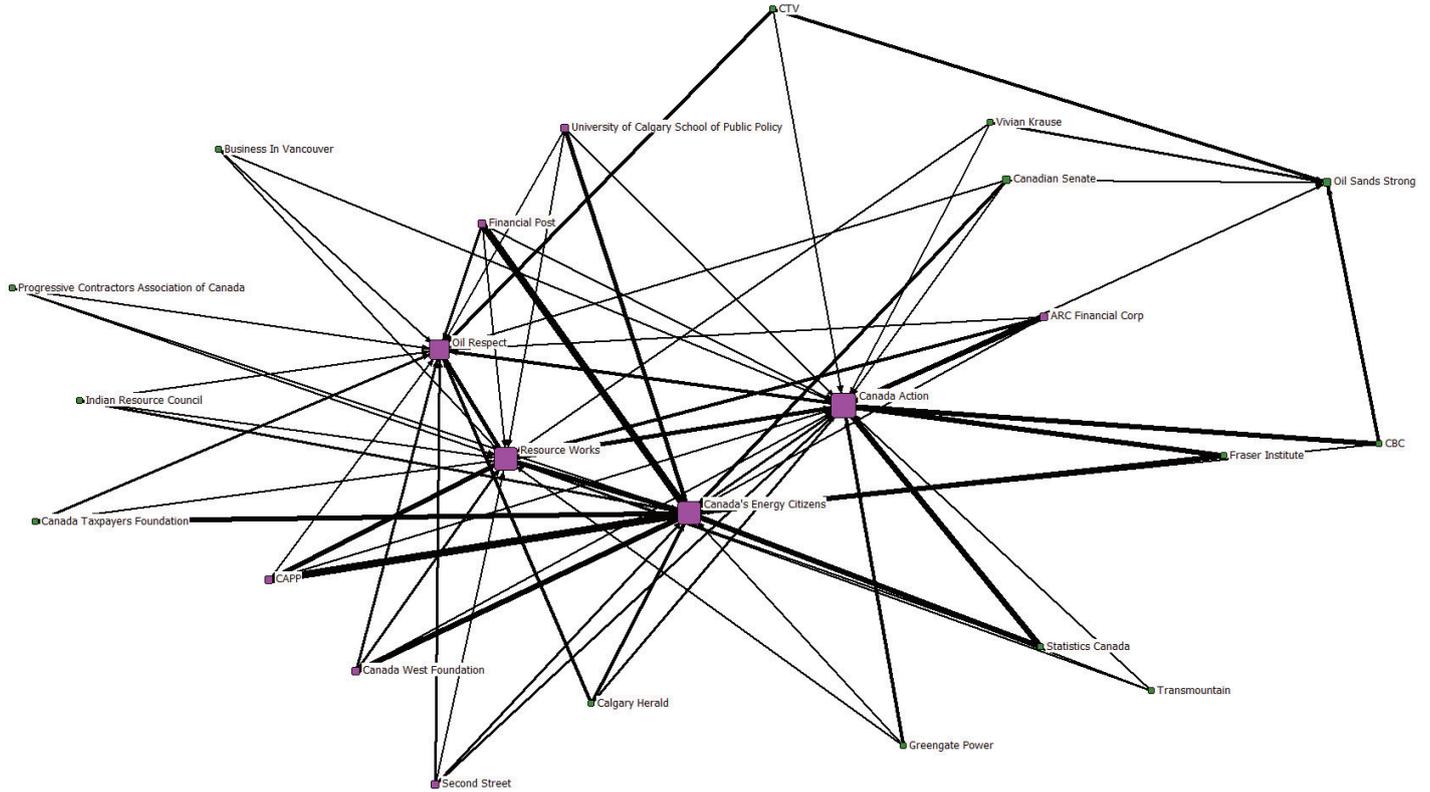


Figure 7: 4- and 3-core of subsidy sharing network



the sample's only "multi-issue" advocacy group—is isolated from both cores, while Oil Sands Strong is located only within the more loosely integrated 3-core.

Again, information subsidies and meme labour are used to switch between different fields, programming a networked public to function as a pro-oil echo chamber. The CBC, CTV, Statistics Canada, and the Canadian Senate remain in the core of the subsidy sharing network. The presence of the latter likely follows from a senatorial review of environmental Bills C-69 and C-48, as Canada Action and Oil Respect shared opinion pieces or repurposed quotes from senators who also opposed those bills. The CBC, CTV, and Statistics Canada appear to be used as producers of useful information that can be repurposed into other content, indicating the strategic importance of information sources beyond the extractivist discourse coalition.

At the same time, information subsidies within memes and guest-authored media pieces shift extractivist coalition members from the periphery of the direct sharing network into the 4- and 3-cores of the subsidy sharing network. These members include industry-linked conservative think tanks and advocacy groups, including Second Street, the Canada West Foundation, the C.D. Howe Institute, the Arc Energy Research Institute, the Fraser Institute, and the Canadian Taxpayers Federation. The subsidy network cores also include industry associations (including CAPP), prominent oil-patch players such as Arc Financial, and pro-oil advocates such as Vivian Krause, the blogger who popularized the theory that environmentalists are members of a U.S.-funded plot to sabotage Canada's economy (The Narwhal, n.d.). Finally, the cores include several business media outlets. The k-core analysis (for both the direct and subsidy sharing networks) points to a cohesive community of practice among the industry-backed groups (including Canada Action), with key subsidizers sharing the same information sources, often from other coalition members. At the same time, our findings indicate somewhat distinct communities. Oil Sands Strong and Canada Proud share different material and seem to be much less integrated into the more well-known components of the neoliberal extractivist coalition.

#### *Discourse coalitions and network-making power*

While a systematic analysis of these groups' messaging is beyond this article's scope, even a cursory reading of sample posts reveals how information subsidies and meme labour link Facebook followers with information from different fields, repurposing their cultural capital to buttress a group's own claims. On June 22, 2019, Oil Sands Action posted a story from the *Calgary Herald* relaying the conspiracy theories of blogger Vivian Krause in which new federal environmental legislation was "in line with the foreign funded campaign to keep Canadian oil landlocked" (Oil Sands Action, June 22, 2019). Similarly, on October 20, Resource Works shared a *Calgary Herald* editorial written by the Canadian Energy Pipeline Association's president, who argued Canada must "take ownership of its vast nat-

ural resources and the opportunities they provide” (Bloomer, cited in Resource Works, October 20, 2019). On August 20, Canada’s Energy Citizens shared a JWN Energy article written by Resource Works director Stuart Muir, who headline claimed that “All of Canada suffers when we don’t defend our best paying jobs in pipelines” (Muir, August 20, 2019). An Oil Respect meme shared on May 2 cited a Fraser Institute study to claim that the “insufficient pipeline capacity cost the Canadian economy \$20.6 billion in 2018” (Oil Respect, May 2 2019).

These examples demonstrate how the sample groups strategically switch between networks, programming a networked public of supporters linked to information sources from distinct fields. However, a closer look reveals these sources often include other coalition members that themselves have close funding, personnel, and institutional ties to both industry and each other. The result is a classic echo chamber effect: coalitions that industry has helped program now provide a constant flow of pro-extractivist material for online echo chambers, giving the appearance of diverse support for industry while amplifying voices from a densely interconnected web of allied institutions and individuals.

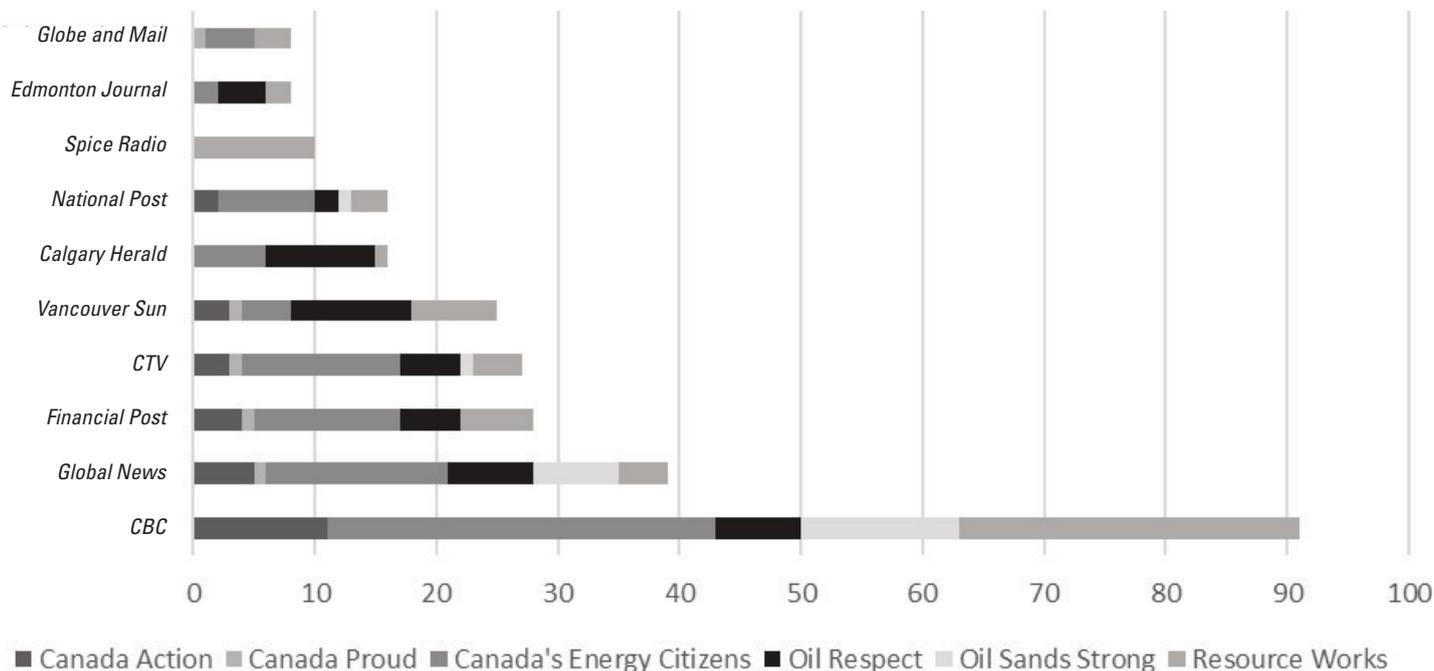
Separating hard news from opinion writing illustrates the outsized role of favourable commentary published in media chains with neoliberal extractivist ideological cultures (see Figures 8 and 9). While only five of the 10 most common hard news sources were Postmedia outlets, nine out of the top 10 sources of opinion pieces were members of that chain. Given the overwhelming tendency to share Postmedia opinion writing and the frequency of guest-authored pieces by industry and think tank representatives, it is worth considering whether Gunster and Saurette’s (2014) claim that the *Calgary Herald’s* opinion section functions as an “ideological vanguard of the industry” (p. 336) could be applied to the entire chain.

The sample groups also frequently share business publications, including multi-sector outlets such as *Business in Vancouver* and specialized fossil fuel outlets such as JWN Media, BOE Report, Energy Now, and Pipeline News. Several are owned by Glacier Media (2019), a Western Canadian news monopoly whose corporate strategy centres on cornering the market on commodities information systems and energy industry trade press. While the target audience for these outlets is industry insiders, they provide oil advocates with a useful source of industry-related hard news (e.g., market trends) and a vibrant selection of pro-industry commentary. Much of the shared commentary from business media was guest-authored by advocacy group members, including representatives of the sample groups that shared them (see Figure 10).

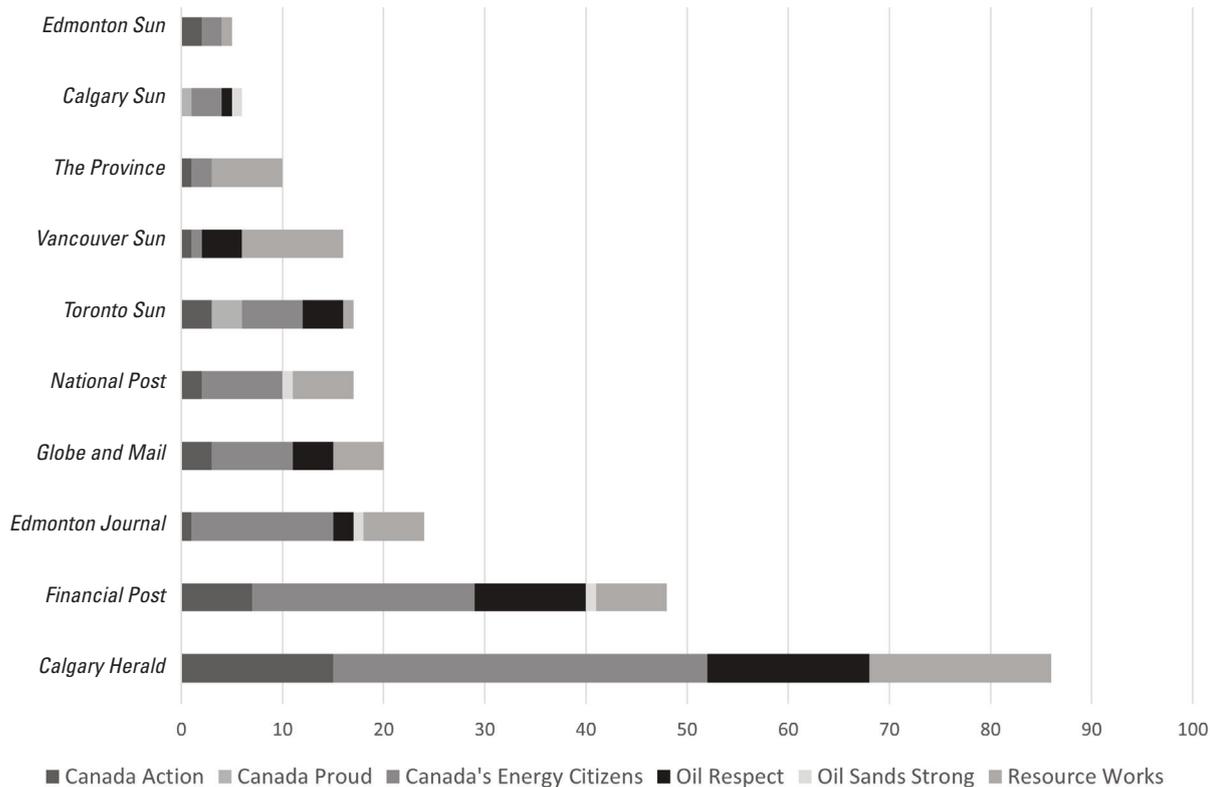
Clearly, it is content creation and sharing via information subsidies, which most neatly intersect the Facebook feeds of subsidizers with the inter-field networks of neoliberal extractivist coalitions. Many of the subsidies shared by the sample groups come from advocacy groups and think tanks belonging to the dense network of industry-linked groups that have promoted Canada’s neoliberal

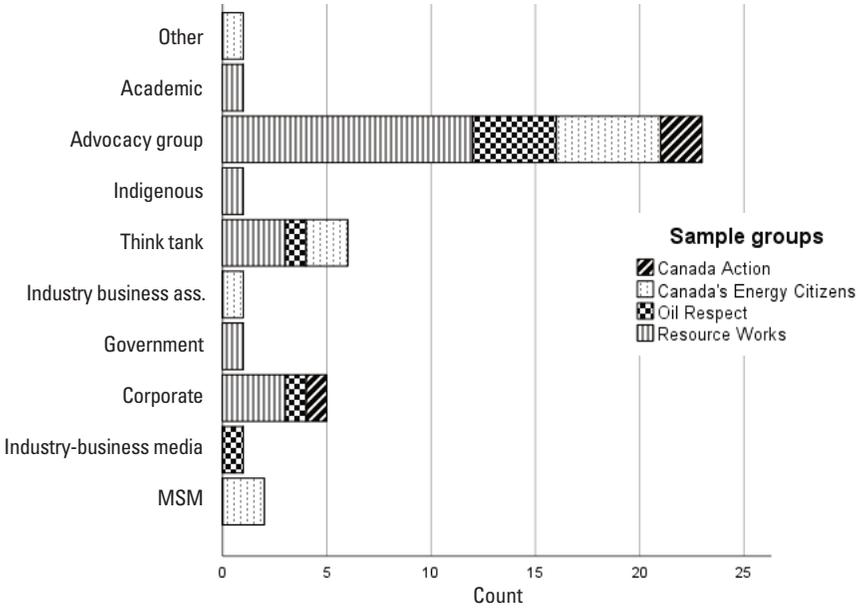
policy shift since the 1970s, such as the Canada West Foundation and the Fraser Institute. One common source of subsidies, Arc Energy Research Institute, is in fact a program of Arc Financial Corp, a major oil and gas financier (itself a frequent source of subsidies in the sample).

**Figure 8: Common sources of mainstream media news reporting**



**Figure 9: Common sources of mainstream media opinion pieces**



**Figure 10: Author affiliations for guest-authored industry-business media stories**

Sometimes these think tanks have close personal and institutional connections with the public subsidizers who circulate their materials. For example, Resource Works, which shares material from the conservative MacDonald-Laurier Institute (MLI) and the Fraser Institute, hosted MLI founder Brian Crowley for an “all-day session in Vancouver ... on social license for natural resource projects” (Resource Works, n.d.-a). Philip Cross, a conservative economist and commentator, is listed as a senior fellow at Resource Works (n.d.-b), the MLI (n.d.), and the Fraser Institute (n.d.). Meanwhile, the Fraser Institute, the MLI, Second Street, the Canadian Taxpayers Federation, the Montreal Economics Institute, the Manhattan Institute, and the Cato Institute—whose materials are all repurposed as information subsidies or shared directly—are all members of the Atlas Network, the oil-industry-funded transnational network that supports market fundamentalist think tanks and whose members include a rogue’s gallery of climate denying organizations (including America’s Heartland Institute alongside the Fraser Institute).

Atlas Network groups often interlock, with members moving from group to group throughout their careers (Neubauer, 2018). Notably, the only think tank whose material was frequently shared in the *direct sharing network* was Second Street. This carbon-tax opposing, pipeline-boosting group is Canada’s newest Atlas Network member, marketing itself to funders as a producer of viral social media content (Second Street, 2020). The group was founded by Troy Lanegan, ex-president of the CTF—another carbon-tax opposing Atlas Network member, and itself

a frequent source of subsidies. In 2019, four of Second Street's (n.d.-a, n.d.-b) six directors and four of its five listed staff members were ex- or current CTF employees, executives, or directors.

Industry associations were also a frequent source of information subsidies, with industry association outreach programs tending to share material produced by their institutional hosts. Canada's Energy Citizens often shares material from CAPP. Oil Respect shares content from CAODC. Resource Works relays BCBC material. This latter example is interesting not only because BCBC president Greg D'Avignon is a Resource Works board member or even because BCBC helped found Resource Works in 2014 but also because Resource Works does not acknowledge these institutional origins on its website or its reports. This is yet another example of how the subsidizers' Facebook pages switch between the feeds of their supporters and a densely integrated inter-field network of coalition members.

### Discussion

Industry's long-term support for *neoliberal extractivist coalitions* can be seen as a strategic deployment of network-making power. Funding arrangements and institutional connections are used to program a network that promotes industry objectives, switching between different social fields of media, government, business, and civil society to coordinate messaging and resources across those fields. By strategically repurposing each other's arguments and materials in the form of information subsidies, coalition members can coordinate the deployment of each actor's specific cultural capital, as when industry-backed think tanks enabled conservative media commentators to pawn off climate-denying pseudoscience.

While Walker's (2014) original analysis of subsidized publics usually positions them as emerging from relatively discrete public relations campaigns on behalf of a given firm or sector, our analysis indicates that the subsidized public strategy of Canadian oil advocates cannot be so easily compartmentalized. Rather, it must be understood as a recent innovation in longer-standing extractivist coalitions, with public subsidizers enacting a similar network-making logic. Digital platforms are used to program a networked public that constitutes the digital infrastructure of a broader, intermodal subsidized public traversing offline and online spaces. This networked public is programmed with concrete campaign goals, mobilization opportunities, and talking points, while strategic network switching connects supporters with a curated flow of information from different fields, which they are encouraged to recirculate.

The network analysis reveals oil industry-funded groups in particular program a densely interconnected information sharing network. The sample's "core four"—Canada's Energy Citizens, Oil Respect, Resource Works, and Canada Action—share not only the same *types* of sources but the *exact same sources*. They thereby program a robust inter-field echo chamber through which networked publics can

form. It is noteworthy that the nominally independent Canada Action—whose sharing practices are nearly identical to the three industry association programs—has been revealed as a recipient of significant, undisclosed industry funding (Linnitt, 2020). Oil Sands Strong and Canada Proud, which are neither industry association programs nor known to receive significant fossil fuel funding, are far less integrated in this “subsidized” networked public, even if their overall messaging aligns with that of a broader extractivist coalition.

If extractivist coalition members traditionally have provided information subsidies to journalists to indirectly influence news audiences, the subsidized public strategy instead provides disparate industry supporters with resources to coalesce as members of a cohesive campaign. Programming networked publics is a vital part of this strategy, connecting supporters with not only mobilization opportunities but campaign talking points. Subsidizers strategically switch networks, leveraging each field’s cultural capital to support a broader campaign narrative. This often simply involves the curation and reframing of any convenient information source—a helpful news piece from the CBC or a convenient government statistic.

Yet this “core four” also collectively draw on the same densely interconnected extractivist coalition whose members have long promoted extractivism in the public sphere: commentary from the notoriously pro-industry Postmedia chain; industry-funded think tanks whose boards are saturated with fossil capital executives; members of the climate-denying, market fundamentalist Atlas Network, which also receives oil money; specialized trade media whose primary audience (and, therefore, source of revenue) comes from industry. Walker (2014) notes that public subsidizers often “work heavily with existing civic and political organizations” (p. 38). Whether mobilizing unions whose members are employed by an embattled firm or providing talking points to sympathetic student organizations, industries often borrow the “structures of civil society” to “win a campaign” (p. 197). The network switching of the oil advocates in this study similarly “borrows” pre-existing civil society infrastructure to produce compelling content.

By sharing materials and information subsidies from these organizations, the groups in the sample subsidize the informational toolkit of industry supporters with specialized sources they might not otherwise examine; few lay people read think tank press releases or industry association reports. However, public subsidizers can draw on the cultural capital of these actors—the perceived policy expertise of a think tank, the assumed business acumen of an industry association, and so on. This indicates that organizations whose curatorial and meme labour transforms these materials into more digestible (and shareable) forms are key to the subsidized public strategy, as they program an alternative information ecosystem designed to circulate a curated selection of information supporters can share.

The strategy is attractive precisely because it bypasses the push and pull of competing claims from rival coalitions within news media and broader public spheres. On pro-oil Facebook pages, an industry-backed think tank does not have to counter rebuttals from an environmental group or pipeline opponent. The relation is symbiotic: when producing social media content, the groups in our sample have access to a sprawling discourse coalition whose members specialize in producing pro-extractivist material. As CAPP made clear, industry wants supporters to stand up and speak out with the “right facts” about oil and gas. Indeed, industry has spent decades helping program a network that could produce and deploy those facts. And today, platform communications make it easier than ever to get the right facts into the right hands.

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### Notes

1. At time of writing, engagement figures for Twitter and Instagram were: Canada Action (Twitter: 25,590 followers; Instagram: 2,445 followers); Canada’s Energy Citizens (Twitter: 8,599 followers; Instagram: 5,574 followers); Resource Works (Twitter: 8,577 followers; Instagram: 251 followers); Oil Sands Strong (Twitter: 1,378 followers; Instagram: 27,810 followers); Oil Respect (Twitter: 4,560 followers; Instagram: 1,739 followers); Canada Proud (Twitter: 19,385 followers; Instagram: 36,405 followers).
2. For the purposes of this article, mainstream media are defined as private sector or public-funded legacy news media outlets that position themselves as producing multi-issue news coverage for a broad readership. Alternative media are defined as specialized outlets that overtly position themselves to their readership as advocacy media, such as the alt-right rebel.ca or the left-environmental National Observer.
3. A test sample of 100 posts was coded by both authors. Main variables were tested for reliability using Krippendorff’s alpha, producing a reliability measure ranging from .8 (link type) to .89 (information subsidy field) across all variables.

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Arc Energy Research Institute, <https://www.arcenergyinstitute.com/>  
Arc Financial Corp., <http://arcfinancial.com/>  
BOE Report, <https://boereport.com/>  
Business in Vancouver, <https://biv.com/>  
Canada Action, <https://www.canadaaction.ca/>  
Canada Natural Resources, <https://www.cnrl.com/>  
Canada Proud, <https://canadaproud.org/>  
Canada West Foundation, <https://cwf.ca/>  
Cato Institute, <https://www.cato.org/>  
CBC, <https://www.cbc.ca/>  
C.D. Howe Institute, <https://www.cdhowe.org/>  
CTV, <https://www.ctv.ca/>

Energy Now, <https://energynow.ca/>  
 Ethical Oil, <https://www.ethicaloil.org> [This website is now defunct]  
 Global News, <https://globalnews.ca/>  
 Heartland Institute, <https://www.heartland.org>  
 JWN Energy, <https://www.jwnenergy.com/>  
 Manhattan Institute, <https://www.manhattan-institute.org/>  
 Montréal Economics Institute, <https://www.iedm.org/>  
 National Observer, <https://www.nationalobserver.com/>  
 Oil Respect, <https://oilrespect.ca/>  
 Oil Sands Strong, <https://oilandgasstrong.com/>  
 Post Millennial, <https://thepostmillennial.com/>  
 Rebel, <https://www.rebel.ca>  
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### Appendix 1: Post types by sample groups

	Canada Action	Canada Proud	Canada's Energy Citizens	Oil Respect	Oil Sands Strong	Resource Works	Total
Mainstream media news	33	7	117	72	38	98	365
Mainstream media opinion	38	5	111	48	9	78	289
Industry-business media	17	0	50	64	4	83	218
Alt media	0	24	6	1	5	16	52
Corporate	1	0	1	2	0	20	24
PR material	13	15	56	36	58	47	225
Meme	129	16	68	33	204	16	466
Infographic	13	1	14	3	1	34	66
Government	1	0	3	0	6	10	20
Industry association	1	0	6	2	4	45	58
Think tank	0	0	3	9	0	19	31
Science-tech media	0	0	0	1	0	9	10
Indigenous	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
Advocacy groups	1	1	8	6	36	11	63
Other social media	1	0	3	1	26	0	31
Other photo	53	1	62	3	18	10	147
Other video	19	11	7	6	11	4	58
Academic	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Other	1	0	0	7	2	16	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>321</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>515</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>423</b>	<b>524</b>	<b>2,158</b>

**Appendix 2: Shared external sources by field**

	Canada Action	Canada Proud	Canada's Energy Citizens	Oil Respect	Oil Sands Strong	Resource Works	Total
Mainstream media	73	13	230	120	48	176	660
Industry-business media	17	0	50	64	4	90	225
Alternative media	0	24	6	1	5	16	52
Corporate	1	0	2	2	0	24	29
Government	1	0	4	0	15	14	34
Industry association	1	0	7	3	4	52	67
Think tank	0	0	3	9	0	20	32
Science-tech media	0	0	0	1	0	9	10
Indigenous	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
Advocacy groups	1	2	8	7	50	14	82
Other social media	1	0	0	0	18	0	19
Other video	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
Academic	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Other	3	0	0	2	2	2	9
Unattributed	74	25	75	15	37	45	271
<b>Total</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>385</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>1,503</b>

**Appendix 3: Externally shared info subsidies by field**

	Canada Action	Canada Proud	Canada's Energy Citizens	Oil Respect	Oil Sands Strong	Resource Works	Total
Mainstream media	28	4	19	8	12	1	72
Industry-business media	17	0	6	5	0	2	30
Alternative media	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
Corporate	30	0	8	7	0	18	63
Government	20	1	13	3	1	8	46
Industry-business Association	4	0	20	7	1	13	45
Think tank	11	0	22	7	0	9	49
Science-tech media	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Indigenous	4	0	5	2	0	2	13
Advocacy group	11	1	15	6	2	34	69
Other social media	1	1	0	0	7	0	9
Academic	3	1	5	2	0	6	17
Other	5	0	9	1	2	7	24
Unattributed	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>442</b>