University of Zurich[UZH]

The Canadian Arctic Resource Frontier: Renegotiations of Space in a Changing Environment

GEO 511 Master's Thesis

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08.12.2021
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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with analysing different imaginations of space within the Canadian Arctic mining sector. As the Arctic is perceived to be changing, this thesis is specifically interested in how this very change is influencing the geographical imaginations of the region. Aiming to describe the structure of understandings of space in the context of the Canadian Arctic mining sector, this thesis examines these geographical imaginations in a critical discourse analysis. Doing so, this thesis understands the analysed interactions and renegotiations of different geographical imaginations as frontier dynamics. After having analysed the general discursive structure of these understandings of space, the thesis then specifically focuses on contested parts of the discursive structure and highlights how these contested parts are negotiated in between different levels of government, but also in between different federal administrations.

The main findings of the thesis are fourfold: Firstly, the identified nature of the dominant discourse within mining in the Canadian Arctic is centred around an imagination of the future being based on „apolitical“, socio-economic growth. Secondly, the main rift in the discourse can be found between the perception of the distribution of power being just or unjust, where Indigenous groups specifically criticize the distribution of power as a main feature hindering the prosperity of Northern communities. Thirdly, even though stark rhetorical differences exist between the Harper and the Trudeau administration in regard to mining and development in the North, the discursive continuities between the two administrations are more pronounced than the rhetorical differences and it is assessed that there is no substantial change in the understanding of Northern space between the Harper and the Trudeau administration. Lastly, it is also assessed that the interplay of different discursive elements reinforces dominant discourse about the Canadian North, thereby making an engagement with the criticized distribution of power and a change in the continued extractive relationship between Canadian North and Canadian South rather unlikely.

1. Introduction: A Changing Arctic?

The Arctic is changing. Or at least that is how the region is perceived in many contexts (Dodds, 2010; Dittmer *et al.*, 2011; Stoddart and Smith, 2016; Heininen and Finger, 2018; Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. xi; Nord, 2020; Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021). Climate change and its profound impact on Arctic ecosystems "entails diverse political, economic, and social changes in addition to its geophysical impact on the cryosphere." (Stephenson, 2018, p. 183). As ice is increasingly melting and resources and waterways become increasingly accessible, international actors, such as coastal states (Dodds, 2010, p. 303) but also other entities such as the European Union or China (Kuus, 2020) or corporations engaged with resource extraction or transportation are arguably becoming increasingly interested in the region. As will be shown in this thesis, the Arctic is very much imagined as a fast-changing environment, an environmental change that is also imagined as bringing tremendous political and economic change to the region. Thus, in accordance with environmental change occurring in the region, the imagination of the Arctic, how its political economy functions, what its future looks like, and how this future should be approached is also changing. These imaginations of the Arctic, its changes and continuities, shall be the primary concern of this thesis.

Imaginations of the Arctic are thereby specifically understood as *Geographical Imaginations* (Gregory, 1995), an understanding that differentiates between imagined space and physical place. Each individual possesses a different Geographical Imagination of the term Arctic, and these imaginations are creating a metaphorical, fetishized understanding of Arctic space (Harvey, 1990, 2006) that might be completely different from the physical Arctic, the place. It is assumed that the imaginations of the Arctic of different actors are widely differing, even contradictory and without the imagined properties of said space having a counterpart in physical place. In order to understand how perceived change in the region is navigated, how negotiations between the different understandings of space are happening and how power is conveyed through that, these imaginations then, shall be investigated as discursive structures. *Discourses* are here understood as the basic structure of societal meaning (Strüver, 2009, p. 63), a constantly changing "rule-based" set of statements that limits how thinking about an object is possible (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 13). Different discourse theoretical approaches (Foucault, 1972; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Fairclough, 2003) shall be presented that will help to develop a specific tool for the conceptualization of specific social and spatial realities (Glasze and Mattissek, 2009b, p. 11). Understanding Geographical Imaginations as forms of discourse is specifically fruitful for analysis, as discourses are not only understood as the basic structure of the construction of societal meaning, of which imaginations of space are certainly part of, but also because discursive structures are understood as constantly changing features, which delineate how thinking about a space is even possible. When understanding geographical imaginations as discursive structures then, one might understand how societal imaginations of changing Arctic space are reinforced, limited, and shaped by the historically developed understandings of space operating in the present and influencing geographical imaginations of the future.

As Heininen (Heininen, 2018, p. 181) proposes, a perception of change in the Arctic is bound to create new discourses of how the region is being gazed upon by different actors, but also creates possible conflicts and differing imaginations of Arctic space. New actors become interested in the region, meaning that different imaginations of Arctic space might interact and clash with each other, creating new dominant understandings of Arctic space through the negotiation of such different imaginations. This dynamic is hereby understood as a frontier process. A *Frontier*, as will be explained in more detail below, is exactly understood as a space, where social configurations are especially unclear and contested (Korf and Raeymaekers, 2013; Korf, Hagmann and Doevenspeck, 2013; Rasmussen and Lund, 2018), where different jurisdictions or understandings of space meet and interact, thereby eventually creating more stable social configurations. The political negotiation of space does not only take place on the international level however, but the impacts of international dynamics are intertwined with and renegotiated in national and local contexts to form new, local understandings of space. This is

particularly true in the Arctic environment, where states such as Canada have been using Indigenous sovereignty claims as a means to extend international claims to Arctic maritime space (Nicol, 2010, p. 79). Besides a very difficult history of abuse and colonialism between the Canadian state and its Indigenous population, the changing political dynamic in the region and an increased interest from the state and other "Southern" actors means that territorial realities on the ground are bound to become more contested and to be renegotiated in the future.

The Arctic can be imagined in very different ways, understandings might differ on an international scale in terms of where a border between two countries is drawn but might more profoundly differ in ways of how the Arctic as a space is even imagined. An actor's imagination might be based on the understanding of space as the orderly arrangement of Westphalian nation states that can be properly distinguished on a map, whereas another actors imagination might be based on completely different assumptions, a worldview where national borders play a secondary role (Robertson, Okpakok and Ljubicic, 2020, p. 8). Additionally, imaginations of space are not mutually exclusive, meaning that "Arctic spaces are constituted by multiple historical landscapes of exploration, settlement and development" (Stephenson, 2018, p. 184) which are constantly being renegotiated and reconfigured, especially with new interest in the region. Therefore, this thesis proposes that, in order to understand how spatial configurations and spatial understandings in the Arctic are changing, a specific local context needs to be considered, a context that might help to more profoundly understand how negotiations of understandings of space take place, a context that considers individuals and organizations beyond the state (Agnew, 1994; Brenner, 1999), allowing an understanding of renegotiations of space happening behind that gaze (Baltutis and Moore, 2020, p. 585). This should not mean that the role of the state is rendered obsolete but that one should try to understand how specific understandings of space between different actors meet in a changing Arctic and how then, new configurations of the understanding of space emerge in said context to form a local understanding of Arctic space, a local vernacular (Sheppard and White, 2017, p. x). By trying to localize geopolitical research as well as understanding geopolitics as a discursive act of creating specific understandings of the world, this thesis aims to add to the literature of *Critical Geopolitics*. The thesis thereby aims at contributing to the growing critical geopolitical literature that recognizes the problematic of geopolitical research being focused on the state, elite-thinking, and great power discourse (Megoran, 2006; Hyndman, 2007; Tuathail, 2010; Sharp, 2013; Laketa, 2021) and instead tries to highlight, how individual actors or actor groups engage in the negotiation of space and politics, but equally how positions of individual actors or actor groups are being marginalized in the process. Within this thesis, I aim at "provincializing" (Chakrabarty, 2000) discursive negotiations of space in the Arctic as much as possible, but equally realize that the thesis crucially falls short in that regard. For a real provincialization of geopolitical research, extended, inductive, ethnographic fieldwork of a specific site of negotiation of space would be necessary.

1.1 Specific Context and Research Questions

For the purpose of localizing research, this thesis aims at investigating different geographical imaginations of space in the Canadian Arctic on a national Canadian scale. As "Southern" Canadian interest in the region is very much connected to the imagination of future economic activities in the context of resource extraction, this thesis aims at focusing on different sets of geographical imaginations and how they might interact specifically in the context of mining in the Canadian Arctic. As will be explained in the theoretical part, renegotiations of space in the form of geographical imaginations are understood as being a frontier dynamic, meaning that the specific area of interest is understood as a frontier, a space where more dynamic renegotiations of space occur due to resources: a resource frontier space. Specifically, this means that the thesis analyses the imaginations of space of the different actors present within the Canadian Arctic mining landscape. These actors mainly are the state on the territorial, provincial, and federal level, proponents of industry, and the local population, especially Indigenous people. A limitation to these specific actor groups is proposed by the increasing importance of Impact

Benefit Agreements (IBAs), agreements between Indigenous groups and industry actors to secure benefits for the population affected by mining projects. As these agreements are directly negotiated between proponents of industry and Indigenous groups, they shift responsibilities in policymaking in the mining sector between the three actor groups state, industry, and population, making the analysis of their understandings of space especially important when aiming at better understanding negotiations of space in the Canadian Arctic mining sector.

The analysis thereby takes place on the basis of a number of documents published by the different actor groups. The documents are mainly strategy papers concerned with the economic and social development of the Canadian Arctic, the Northern part of a province, a territory, or a specific mining site, presenting a vision of the future of the region, therefore making them predestined for the analysis of entailed geographical imaginations. A vantage point for the document analysis is thereby provided by the New Northern and Arctic Policy Framework, the new strategy for the Canadian North published by the Trudeau administration. The strategy paper and the connected consultation process, during which different actor groups published their own position towards a new strategy, thereby function as the core of the document analysis. This core is complimented by further available documents of the different actor groups. Based on these documents, a first analytical step is conveyed, that specifically maps the discursive landscape of geographical imaginations in the context of mining in the Canadian North. The first part of the analysis aims at describing the different discursive elements present within geographical imaginations of the Arctic, show what dominant and uncontested elements of these imaginations are, but also highlight, what imaginations are not shared between the different actor groups, and where contradictions can be located that might potentially create conflict. These considerations propose the following research question to be answered in a first part of empirical analysis.

> **Research Question 1***: What are the specific discursive elements shaping geographical imaginations of the Canadian Arctic mining frontier and what are the continuities and contradictions between the identified discursive elements?*

After having better understood the discursive structure of the geographical imaginations of the Canadian Arctic, the second part of the empirical analysis is specifically concerned with the role of the state in the dynamics of imagining the Arctic and resulting negotiations of space and policymaking. For this purpose, similar strategic documents of different state actors are compiled, with the goal of highlighting changes and continuities between different levels of the state, as well as between different federal administrations. The newly approached actor groups in this second part of the analysis are provincial governments, thereby complimenting the analysed positions of territorial and federal governments of the first part of the empirical analysis, as well as previous federal administrations, allowing for an analysis of discursive changes and continuities over time. Specifically, a comparison between the discursive understandings of space of the previous Harper administration and the current Trudeau administration is conducted. A complete list of the documents used is provided at the end of the thesis. This second analytical part thereby specifically aims at highlighting the role of the government in regard to the above-identified contradictions in the discourse of Arctic space, but also how positions towards contradictory elements do (not) change between different administrations and levels of government.

Indeed, in the logic of discursive thinking and geographical imaginations, the state might just be the layers such as “institutions, individuals and ideologies”(Medby, 2017, p. 28) that it consists of and as discourse produces reality, the state is produced through its actors and institutions on different levels. Understanding different discourses being applied at different levels of the state is asking questions of how the state is performed and why and highlights the ways in which the Arctic/the North is produced, as well as it highlights the state’s territoriality applied in discourses (Medby, 2017, p. 30), as a means of controlling the Arctic and getting interpretative sovereignty. Understanding how such a form of territoriality produces statehood in the Arctic (Medby, 2017, p. 31) is then a means of understanding broader geopolitical dynamics occurring and how they might be explained without falling into the

territorial trap of assuming states to be a monolithic bloc without political differences(Agnew, 1994) and indeed better understand the formation of the imagined community of the state (Anderson, 1983).

> **Research Question 2***: What are the (dis)continuities between discursive positions of different levels of the Canadian state, as well as between different federal administrations in regard to the Canadian Arctic and mining?*

1.2 Contents

For the purpose of answering the above-presented research questions, the thesis is structured as follows, engaging with the foundations of the topic in theory and literature first, before presenting and engaging in the empirical work.

Theoretical Part

The first part of the thesis will present the theoretical foundations mentioned above in more depth. First, the concept of Critical Geopolitics is presented, as well as how critical discussions within the domain underscore the need for an engagement with local negotiations of power and imaginaries. As scholars of Critical Geopolitics understand geopolitics as a discursive practice, the paragraph functions as an introduction into the theoretical engagement with discourse theory. Before that, however, the idea behind Geographical Imaginations is presented in more detail, as to make clear why they might be understood as a form of discourse and can thus be investigated using discourse theory.

In a next step, discourse theory is thoroughly discussed, first by engaging with Foucauldian understandings of discourse (Foucault, 1972; Glasze and Mattissek, 2009c) and its premise on the interactions between power, knowledge and the subject (Strüver, 2009). After discussing how a discursive understanding of the world might be applied for spatial analysis, as well as discussing the (post)structuralist foundations of discourse theory (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002), different theoretical approaches are being discussed. An emphasis is hereby specifically laid upon the differences between Foucauldian understandings of discourse, the discourse theory of Laclau and Mouffe (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), and *Critical Discourse Theory* as propagated by Fairclough (Fairclough, 2003). From these theoretical considerations, then, a specific strategy for the analysis of the discursive structures of geographical imaginations is deducted: How a deconstruction of discursive structures might be approached empirically, mainly by relying on Toulmin's *Argument Analysis* (Toulmin, 1996; Felgenhauer, 2009). For that purpose, specific tools mentioned in the different theoretical approaches are discussed and combined in order to create a strategy for the following empirical analysis.

Imaginations of the North and Tools for Understanding Them

Before engaging with empirical analysis, however, the next chapter presents a more thorough discussion of the processes that might shape current imaginations of the Canadian Arctic. First of all, the dualist concept of the frontier is presented thoroughly. As described above, the frontier is a tool of analysis, which describes a space where different geographies, different jurisdictions or different imaginations of space meet, interact, and clash with specific intensity (Geiger, 2009; Korf and Raeymaekers, 2013; Korf, Hagmann and Doevenspeck, 2013; Rasmussen and Lund, 2018). Besides that, the frontier is also a geographical imagination going back to Turner's description of the American frontier, depicting a space as empty, but full of (economic) potential. After discussing how the concept of the frontier is used and understood in this thesis specifically, the role of the frontier imagination in Canadian history is engaged with briefly, followed by descriptions of different other processes that might shape current imaginations of the Canadian North. This part not only highlights the problematic history of frontier imaginations in Canada, but also the abusive history between settlers and Indigenous people, and more specifically the

role of mining and high-modernist planning in the Canadian Arctic. This is followed by paragraphs highlighting the political economy and its complex dynamics and understandings in the Arctic, as well as how these dynamics might be understood with the concept Planetary Urbanization (Brenner and Schmid, 2014, 2015), before turning to the general role that the North plays in the National imagination of Canada.

This part, which aims at highlighting processes that might shape current imaginations of the Arctic is followed by a more theoretical part again, that offers a few concepts that might help to understand the imaginations of the Canadian Arctic. As the space is specifically imagined in terms of its future economic potential, the Emotional Turn, Future Geographies, and Anticipatory Action are being discussed (Ahmed, 2004; Anderson, 2010a, 2011, 2013). As development and a closure of the gap between the Canadian North and the Canadian South are also central imaginations, concepts from development studies, such as the Will to Improve (Li, 2007) and the Anti-Politics Machine (Ferguson, 1994a) are also briefly discussed, as to reach a better understanding of how discursive formation in regard to development in the Arctic is taking place.

The chapter is completed by proposing a specific framing for the following empirical analysis. For that purpose, the political economy of mining in the Canadian North, especially in the context of Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs) is discussed, which then provides an adequate framing for empirical analysis.

Empirical Analysis

The empirical analysis is presented by first describing in detail, how the corpus of analysed documents is compiled, and afterwards, how the specific process of analysis takes place. This is done by describing how coding takes place, how categories for coding are compiled and what the reasoning behind that is. Afterwards, the specific tool for analysis and the analytical steps are described, followed by the results of the first part of the empirical analysis: Each of the before described codes is presented, before the interpretation of the analysis process for each individual code is described. As the main approach for the analysis is an Argument Analysis, and the display of said analysis is very space-consuming and would confuse the reader in its entirety, the specific analysis of individual arguments is not included in the main part of the thesis, but all individually analysed arguments can be found in the annex of the thesis. The discussion of individual codes is then followed by a discussion of the general findings for the first part of the analysis.

Thereby it is specifically highlighted how the discourse in the context of Canadian mining is dominated by socio-economic arguments and a specific imagination of the future based on the need for economic development on the basis of mining and increased infrastructure. A discursive rift is located more at the margins of the discourse, where questions of political participation and questions outside of socio-economic ways of arguing are arising. Whereas some Indigenous voices see the current system of power as fatally flawed and in need for a complete overhaul, proponents of industry see the current system as functioning well. The federal government holds a more complex role in the system, where some arguments clearly favor the positions brought forth by industry proponents, whereas other positions more clearly state the need for a new relationship between North and South, however by placing unjust relationships between the government and Indigenous people clearly in the past. The position of the territorial governments are often clearly aligned with the position of industry proponents. When it comes to the distribution of power, the territorial governments equally see the need for more power devolution to the territories, this does not mean, however, that more power for Indigenous groups is also propagated for. It is thereby concluded that the above-described rift between discursive positions in regard to questions of political power exists specifically between the positions of Indigenous groups and the rest of the actors. Even though governmental positions partially engage with the questions of power raised by Indigenous groups, they do so very selectively. For most positions within the discourse, political

questions do not exist, as the means for ensuring a prosperous future for the region are imagined as functioning in an apolitical sense.

In a second analytical step, the differing positions of governmental actors are further scrutinized. As has been shown in the first part of the analysis, governmental positions are sometimes not very clearly expressed and contradictory, but also do not profoundly engage with the identified discursive rift around political questions of power distribution, the discourse being limited to apolitical questions of economic development. Additional governmental positions are being analysed in this second step, namely positions of provincial governments, as well as positions of previous federal administrations, the Harper, Martin and Chrétien administrations, in contrast to the documents of the Trudeau administration analysed in the first part. The second part thereby specifically engages with the discursive rift around political questions of power distribution identified in the first part. The conclusion of this part of the analysis is that provincial positions largely depict the same main discursive features as identified in the first analytical part, their position being similar to the positions expressed by the federal government, however, with more differences between the individual provinces visible. The analysis of older federal government positions yields the insight that even though geographical imaginations, and with that discursive positions, differ between the Trudeau and the Harper administration at first glance, these differences are only concerned with marginal elements of the discourse, leaving the main discursive elements, the imagination of a prosperous Arctic future based on extractive industries, uncontested. Importantly, the identified discursive rift equally largely remains uncontested between the two administrations, with the Trudeau administration going a little step further in recognizing political imbalances of power in regard to Indigenous people, but not to a large extent.

Conclusion

In the concluding part of this thesis, the insights gained from empirical analysis are brought together with the previously discussed theoretical concepts and the described processes shaping Canadian imaginations. In order to show how the identified processes work, how dominant discourse is composed, and what potential consequences of these dynamics for a specific physical place are, the example of the Mary River Mine in Nunavut is being employed. Even though evidence for the generally identified processes playing a role in shaping political processes at the Mary River Mine are only anecdotal and largely based on newspaper articles, the exemplary use of the case serves as showing how specific imaginations of space might shape place, and how frontier processes, in this case the intensive interaction of differing geographical imaginations, might lead to conflict. The findings of the thesis can thereby be summarized in four main points: Firstly, the discourse analysis shows how much dominant discourse about the Canadian Arctic is being shaped by economic imaginations of the future of Arctic space based on resource extraction, originating from the economic centre, thereby creating the need for Anticipatory Action (Anderson, 2011) that conforms to that specific imagination of the future of the Arctic, excluding all alternative imaginations leading to prosperity besides through the current economic system premised on mining. Secondly, the thesis shows that the main rift in discursive understandings of Arctic space is to be found in regard to the distribution of political power. Whereas it is assessed by many Indigenous people that the system of governance in the Arctic is structurally unjust, this position is not shared by the other actors analysed here, the political nature of the current system of governance being ignored or denied by most actors. Thirdly, all governmental levels and administrations employ a relatively similar discourse without fundamentally engaging with the political questions of Northern governance. Even though the rhetoric of the Trudeau administration might look fundamentally different from the Harper administration at first glance, the actual differences in geographical imaginations are not, meaning that political discourse between the two administrations is much more a continuation of neoliberal policies in regard to mining in the North than it is a new type of relationship. Lastly, it is also argued that the identified discursive dynamics make it very difficult to create meaningful change in the modus operandi of policymaking in the North, as different discursive elements are viciously reinforcing

each other. As the Arctic is being imagined as having to profit from a positive centre-periphery relationship with the South based on resource extraction, this reinforces the continuing imagination of the North as a frontier. A discontinuation of the frontier imagination, however, would be a precondition for a real engagement with the Canadian North and its inhabitants. Only such a face-to-face engagement, could initiate a meaningful discussion about political questions and the distribution of power in Canada and make room for different imaginations of the Canadian North. But as long as imaginations continue to depict the Arctic as an empty frontier space full of economic potential, no face-to-face dialog will be possible, making a change to the continuously unjust and exploitative relationship highly unlikely.

Terminology

In the following, the terms *Arctic* and *North* shall be used interchangeably as a clear definition of the Arctic (in Canada) is neither possible (Sheppard and White, 2017, p. 2,3) nor desirable and because, as shall be explained in the methodological section, the thesis aims at equally focusing on imaginations of space of Northern parts of Canadian provinces. These might not lie in the Arctic but are arguably subject to similar imaginations as more Arctic territories and should thus be included in the investigation. Additionally, the terms North and South are also used for the description and distinction of Canadian regions. The South in Canada thereby refers to highly populated and developed part of the country, which is in Southern Canada. The North, in contrast, is understood as the sparsely populated, less developed, and less connected part of the country, of which the Canadian Arctic is a part of, but which is not limited to the Arctic alone.

2. Theoretical Part

In the following part, the most important theoretical concepts and their backgrounds are presented. Critical Geopolitics as a means of analysing political structures is presented, before more thoroughly discussing Geographical Imaginations. After that, discourse theory is engaged with very thoroughly. After having gained a basic understanding of what a discourse is and how discourse theory might be used for the analysis of spatial understandings, differing theoretical understandings are discussed. Working out theoretical differences between different understandings of discourse will allow the thesis to position itself in that regard, but also to develop a specific methodology based on different theoretical understandings. This specific methodology and the tools used for analysis will then be presented at the end of the theoretical chapter.

2.1 Critical Geopolitics

The most widely used lens to understand dynamics of geopolitical imaginations in political geography is the set of ideas known under the name of *Critical Geopolitics*. The basic assumption of Critical Geopolitics is, that geography is a form of power/knowledge and that geopolitics is a "discursive practice by which intellectuals of statecraft spatialize international politics in such a way as to represent the world characterized by particular places, peoples and dramas." (Tuathail, 1996, p. 59). Scholars of Critical Geopolitics thus claim that geopolitics is a discursive act in which geopolitical reality is defined and limited, making it necessary to analyse the applied discourses in order to understand how the world is being shaped by them. In that, Critical Geopolitics aims to focus on "the conditions of possibility of geographical truth, knowledge and power" (Tuathail and Dalby, 1998, p. 7) instead of on "objective" descriptions of geopolitical dynamics. Based on poststructuralist approaches, scholars of Critical Geopolitics claim that studying geopolitics can never be neutral (Tuathail and Dalby, 1998, p. 5) and instead of claiming objectivity and seeing themselves as being outside of systems of power, they try to understand the construction of insides and outsides and who possesses the power of doing that. Summarized in the words of Müller, Critical Geopolitics "seeks to understand geography as imbued with power and deconstruct the hegemonic fixations of spatial imaginations associated with it" (Müller, 2008, p. 323).

Critical Geopolitics, however, has also been heavily criticized as being too focused on elite discourses and already dominant actors such as states (Megoran, 2006; Hyndman, 2007; Tuathail, 2010; Sharp, 2013; Pain and Staeheli, 2014; Laketa, 2021), thus lacking the necessary depth to more thoroughly understand political processes and what the real dynamics are, on the ground. Sharp thus introduced the term *Subaltern Geopolitics* which aims at "writing against a logic that is always and everywhere tending to write a universal"(Sharp, 2013, p. 21), focusing more on subaltern political arenas, while at the same time not forgetting to consider the formal politics of the state. Thus, Sharp aims at understanding Critical Geopolitics as a flexible approach that does not reject state power, but one that sees political power not as inside or outside of the state and one that does not rely on the construction of otherness as a form of political subjectivity. Similarly, Megoran sees in what Sharp understands as Subaltern Geopolitics the need to engage with local experiences by ethnographic fieldwork rather than analysing textual discourses, since this remains a tool limited to the analysis of more elitist thinking. Going even further, Megoran criticizes the whole of Political Geography and geopolitics of being overly-reliant on expert interviews and a macro-level, which by definition cannot fully grasp the whole of political processes and understandings as it is limited to a certain group of people (Megoran, 2006, p. 627). This is, in turn, contradictory to the declared goals of Critical Geopolitics, as the concept aims at overcoming linear geopolitical thinking. Also, Hyndman has argued for a *Feminist Geopolitics*, which also argues for a downscaling of lenses of observation, focusing on the individual body in an inductive manner (Hyndman, 2007). Nevertheless, this thesis employs a discourse analysis on a higher level than the individual, not only for practical and logistical reasons during a global pandemic, but also because the

goal of the thesis is to realize more general findings. When employing ethnographic methods on an individual level, an up-scaling from said individual to a more general level would be necessary, a task that is highly time consuming if to be done correctly, and a task that clearly is outside the scope of a master's thesis.

Coming back to the question of discourse analysis, Martin Müller makes it exceptionally clear, why discourse is of utmost importance for understanding social practice, how discourse is conceptualized within Critical Geopolitics and why analysing discourse is very important for more thorough understandings of geopolitical dynamics. Müller argues that Critical Geopolitics aims at deconstructing discourse but understands discourse based on social constructionism, as an actor-oriented process, "discourses as rules and resources that condition human action and weave together action and its constraints" (Müller, 2008, p. 325). This actor-centred approach, Müller argues, is not in line with original poststructuralist understandings of discourse, as "although poststructuralism strives to map out an epistemological position which avoids the determinism of structuralism, in so doing it is quite clear about denying the possibility of an autonomous subject. It is not the individual that structures and manipulates discourse but vice versa – discourses speak through the individual" (Müller, 2008, p. 326). Instead, "the structural constraints inherent in discourses may offer subjects several subject positions, but subjects are not free to occupy any position that can be imagined. If these subject positions are not articulated in a particular historical context, it is because a hegemonic discourse has positioned the subject in a way that excludes other subject positions" (Müller, 2008, p. 328). The paper highlights the inherent point which makes Critical Geopolitics and the analysis of discourse, not only on elite levels, so incredibly important and which is being negotiated in the above-mentioned criticisms of Critical Geopolitics. The question raised is how power is distributed between individual subjects and overarching discourses, a question that is a deciding factor in understanding any political problem and one that is especially pressing in such a dynamic context as the Arctic mining sector. What are the most prevailing discourses that define the discussion about the Arctic/the North and what are their origins? Are there different imaginations of Arctic space and which imaginations might end up dominating discourse in the future? Are certain discourses being strategically employed or are they acting subconsciously? All these questions around discourse eventually focus on the question of how power is distributed and who is in control. By better understanding geographical imaginations of the Arctic and how they are being expressed and negotiated through discourses, one naturally also better understands the nature of the epistemological debate of the distribution of power and thus also understands better how geopolitics works in a particular setting.

In that sense, this thesis aims at being part of the Critical Geopolitics literature, as it aims at better understanding the discourses which shape the Canadian Arctic. In that regard, the concept of Critical Geopolitics can be employed to better understand different actors' conceptualization and writing of Northern Arctic space.

2.2 Geographical Imaginations

The aim of this paper is to better understand the political dynamics that are occurring in a changing Arctic. For that purpose, the above presented concept of Critical Geopolitics shall be approached by analysing specific discourses: *Geographical Imaginations*. In order to compare different occurring discourses with each other, these discourses shall be analysed as different geographical imaginations. For that purpose, the task shall be one of what Harvey calls geographical deconstruction (Harvey, 2006, p. 249). The assumption is, that discourses signify geographical imaginations of space and new formations of geographical imaginations of space occurring at the frontier shape how place, the physical world, is produced, or how, with other words "The geographical knowledges produced within specific institutional settings overflow, intermingle and react with one another" (Harvey, 2006, p. 238). "Institutions can be highly porous with respect to the kind of geographical knowledges they import from

elsewhere. They can internalize different and even contradictory and conflictual geographical discourses in their own practices" (Harvey, 2006, p. 238). Basing the proposed research on these assumptions, one must get a better understanding of what is meant by geographical imaginations, as well as how an above-mentioned differentiation between space and place might be understood.

Taylor (Taylor, 1999) distinguishes between space and place based on Yi Fu Tuan's (Tuan, 1979) treatise of space and place. He tries to establish an understanding for the distinction between space and place by stating certain tendencies between the two terms. "The same location can be both place and space depending on whose perspective is involved" (Taylor, 1999, p. 12). Place is what one person might think and space is what many people think. Taylor's paper discusses this issue in very well-arranged terms but for the scope of this thesis the following notion should suffice: Whereas space is constructed, imagined, and assigned, place is particular, physical and rather small. This definition as space being something imagined and place being something physical will help to explain in what ways the concept of geographical imaginations can help us to understand the implications of discourses on the formation of space and how that might influence physical places.

Geographical imaginations are understood by Harvey as a spatial consciousness which "enables the individual to recognize the role of space and place in his own biography, to relate to the spaces he sees around him, and to recognize how transactions between individuals and between organizations are affected by the space that separates them. It allows him to recognize the relationship which exists between him and his neighborhood, his territory, […] his turf." (Harvey, 2006, p. 212). This means, that space is socially constructed through human practice, as space is imagined as a fetishized abstract, whose imagination is completely different from its physical properties (Harvey, 1990, p. 423). A most famous example for constructed imaginations of space is what Said called *Orientalism*, where dominating the imagination of space gives the power of the construction of space to a dominant actor projecting specific (negative) properties onto a group of people (Said, 1979). Said claimed that struggle over territory is always expressed through geographical imaginations and the construction of discourses (Gregory, 1995, p. 452), because it is there, where it is defined, whose vision persists, a dynamic that perfectly sums up, what happens at the frontier. Gregory claims that in this aspect, Said's readings of spatialities were derived from Foucault's spatial analytics (Foucault, 1979; Gregory, 1995, p. 455) as there is a distinct parallel between Foucault's carceral system and what Said describes in Orientalism and that the distinction between "our" place and "their" place is based on the construction of identity of "us" and "them", which is in turn based on the "poetics of space"(Gregory, 1995, p. 456), imagining and *Othering* space.

To sum up, one could call geographical imaginations "articulations between space and place"(Gregory, 1995, p. 464) and a tool for understanding how space (imaginative) is forming place (physical). Geographical imaginations are imaginations that are projected onto a metaphorical space, a space that is an estranged form of a physical place. Through the projection of certain features onto said metaphorical space (like the Arctic being empty and rich in resources and economic potential, the Orient being exotic or culturally backwards) other people's perception of said metaphorical space is being influenced and the metaphorical space is being constructed. This, in turn, has consequences for the estranged but connected physical place, like non-Western peoples being stigmatized or the Arctic being increasingly used for resource exploitation. Thus, the key conflict to potentially arise at the Arctic resource frontier is one of the differentiation between space and place. At the Arctic resource frontier, local physical configurations of place by local inhabitants, particular and overlapping, might meet imaginations of the Arctic as something bigger, as a space constituent to Southern Canadian identity, imagined as holding the future, pristine nature and enormous economic potential. Such imaginations are less particular than local imaginations of a specific place might be. These are imaginations that are being propagated by governments local as well as far away from the Arctic. The language and conceptualization of said space might not be compatible to the language of creating a place locally and thus there is a danger that through an increased engagement with the North and thus an increased effort to re-imagine Northern space, the particular understandings of place are being lost as they are not part

of the vocabulary of spatial imaginations used by governments or what Taylor calls the place-space tension between whole-earth place and one-world space (Taylor, 1999, pp. 23–24).

In that sense, geographical imaginations can be understood as a specific type of discourse. By better understanding different geographical imaginations present in different documents in the following analysis, one can better understand the prevalence and formation of discourse. As will explained below, the frontier shall be investigated as a sphere where different geographies meet. These geographies are understood as different geographical imaginations and these imaginations are understood as parts of different discourses. Thus, by exploring different geographical imaginations of the Arctic as discursive structures, one can describe the Arctic in terms of the frontier, as well as in terms of a discursive understanding of Critical Geopolitics, thereby obtaining a more thorough understanding of occurring political dynamics.

2.3 Discourse

As described above, this thesis is interested in uncovering the societal production of space in the Canadian Arctic. In this chapter, the aim is to approach discourse analysis as a tool with which the societal production of specific social and spatial realities can be conceptualized (Glasze and Mattissek, 2009b, p. 11). The general idea behind using discourse analysis is "that language is structured according to different patterns that people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life […] and discourse analysis is the analysis of these patterns" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 1). A discourse thereof is a particular way of talking about and understanding (an aspect of) the world. With other words (Jäger, 2001, p. 83), discourse analysis assesses the thinkable: What can be thought about a specific subject, such as Arctic space, in a specific societal context during a specific time?

Discourse analysis is rooted in (post)sturucturalist thinking and many theorists base their understanding of discourses on Foucault's understanding thereof. For Foucault discourses are defined by the following properties:

> *"We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation.* […Discourse] *is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form […] it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history […] posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific role of its temporality"* (Foucault, 1972, p. 117; Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 12) and is *"characterised in a specific way in which to make connections between institutions, economic and societal processes, behaviour, norms, techniques, systems of classification, and ways of characterising"* (Foucault, 1972, p. 68; Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 12).

What is a Discourse?

From these statements, a few of Foucault's ground-laying assumptions can be extracted: the understanding of discourses as a "rule-based sets of statements" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 13), discourses as constantly changing, discourses as the feature of what imposes "limits on what gives meaning" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 13), and discourses as features connecting forms of understanding the world with each other. Foucault's understanding of discourse analysis is about the societal construction and regulation of meaning and what power dynamics these are based on. His understanding of the world and discourses is thereby deducted from his understanding of the nexus of knowledge, power and the subject (Strüver, 2009, p. 63). These terms shall be introduced briefly in the following, while discussing dissenting opinions within discourse theory only after delineating the basic assumptions of Foucauldian understandings of discourse.

In conceptualizing *Knowledge* (Strüver, 2009, p. 64ff), Foucault claims that power is the foundation of knowledge. Instead of focusing on the "objective truth", the assumption is that dominant images of the world are shaping how knowledge is produced and can even be understood. Discourses fill the role of producing and mediating between *Cultural Codes*, understood as how things are being understood and constructed in everyday life, and *Scientific Codes*, dominant modes of thinking/producing knowledge which arguably constitute the framework, in which cultural codes can even express themselves. Discourses are, in a Foucauldian understanding, how scientific codes are being constructed by society. An example for such a discursive framework, a scientific code, is in my eyes, how the economy is organised in Western societies. How the economy is organised is predominantly based on the assumption of a market economy being the best option for economic organisation. That markets are the foundation of how the economy is organised is in this case a scientific code, one that can barely be questioned. The understanding of the economy is then being negotiated inside society, but always based on the scientific code of the market economy. Scientific codes could thus also be called *Dominant Discourses*, which shape how a discussion can take place, before it takes place.

Power (Strüver, 2009, p. 66ff), in the Foucauldian understanding then means the ability of defining knowledge, as that means setting the terms in which knowledge can even be produced. As power means shaping how knowledge is defined and because it is something inherent in discourse, power cannot be possessed but is something that is the product of the complex relationships inside a society and how these relationships are being negotiated through discourses. Power is thus multidirectional, part of all societal relations and cannot be understood in terms of a simple dualism between culprit and victim. This understanding of power as multidirectional implies not the arbitrariness of Dominant Discourses but the room for resistance and non-dominant forms of discourse.

By understanding discourses as a way how meaning in society is conveyed, this also offers a understanding of the *Subject* (Strüver, 2009, p. 69ff); the individuals' position and its agency. Discourses are constituted of different individuals' positions, but individuals are also reciprocally constituted of different discourses. Foucault understands subjects as historically and continuously constructed, through an everlasting process, in which identity is reproduced through discursive practices. Thus, as Müller argues in regard to Critical Geopolitics (Müller, 2008), this particular understanding of the subject stands in stark contrast to humanistic/cartesian understandings of the subject: Foucauldian and poststructuralist thinking negates the existence of an "autonomous subject with pre-discursive consciousness and agency" (Strüver, 2009, p. 71)[1]. Power and agency do not necessarily lie in the hands of individuals and institutions, as will be further discussed below. Subjects are the result of historic processes and negotiations of discourses, where power is inherent in anyone and no one. Decisions do not exist autonomously but are preconditioned through subjectivity itself being preconditioned. In this understanding, the subject is produced through its performance: "Language is the instrument of the reproduction of societal structures, as the addressee is constituted in the moment of a statement" (Butler, 1997, p. 33; Strüver and Wucherpfennig, 2009, p. 117)[2]. The important point about the relations between power/knowledge and the subject is the above-mentioned multidirectionality: "Subjects are to be understood as products of power relations but power is also preconditioned by different subjects with different ways of acting" (Strüver, 2009, p. 68)[3]. In the matrix of power/knowledge and subject, there is no element preconditioning the other, but all elements are preconditioned by each other, and interchange happens through discourses.

Coming back to the role of discourses based on the preliminary understanding of power, knowledge, and subject, discourses are understood as institutionalized ways of thinking and talking, reality only being produced in the terms of societally defined knowledge through discursive practices such as

[1] „autonom handelnde[s] Subjekt mit vordiskursivem Bewusstsein und Handeln"

[2] „Sprache ist das Instrument der (Re-)Produktion der gesellschaftlichen Strukturen, indem sie die_den Angesprochene_n im Moment der Äußerung konstituiert"

[3] „Subjekte sind als Produkte der Machtverhältnisse zu begreifen […]. Andererseits setzt Machtausübung das Vorhanden- sein unterschiedlicher Subjekte und unterschiedlicher Handlungsformen voraus"

reading, talking, writing and representing and in that way producing "objective truths", which only stand true under the specific local and temporal discursive practices and understandings (Strüver, 2009, p. 65). Some discourses become hegemonial and some become marginal, defining how "reality" is produced. It is in this way, that Foucault's understanding of power to be produced through discourses becomes clear: Power is not a resource working "top-down" or in possession of an individual, but power is something that is constructed through discursive interactions and inherent in every relation. In that sense, "reality" does not exist but there are dominant understandings of reality, that differ depending on the context. Thus, discourses are always in motion, fighting for predominance with meaning being reassigned and constructed all the time. Similarly, Discursive practices cannot be traced back to subjectivity or intentional subjective decisions but they constitute an emerging practice with its own rules, creating its own form and its own reality (Bublitz, 2003, p. 6). In this context, discourse theory follows Durkheim, who understood the substrate of sociological acting to be outside of the individual and as defined by supra-individual processes of society (Durkheim, 1965, p. 109; Bublitz, 2003, p. 6), thus making discourses objects which are available to subjects and which predefine their actions. In that sense, "a discourse does not simply describe existing practices and relationships, but is part of their way of representation and is in that sense productive" (Butler, 1993, p. 129; Bublitz, 2003, p. 55)[4]. This means that social categories are continuously constructed in a discursive fashion without intrinsic meaning outside of their social construction: Discourses are objects that constantly create the objects they talk about (Foucault, 1973, p. 74; Bublitz, 2003, p. 56).

Discourse analysis, in turn, is then the search for the rules and regularities which define how social categories are being created. Discourse theorists think that the structure of discourses can be understood by studying these immanent rules and regularities. Discourse analysis focuses on "the relationship between […] systems of signifiers, meaning and power" (Glasze and Mattissek, 2009b, p. 26). Rules and regularities can arguably be found in connected linguistic statements, whose similarities, differences, shifts and repetitions might be described (Bublitz, 2003, p. 7). Discourse analysis could thus be understood as the search for performativity, whereas the term describes the way in which discourses and a certain meaning or understanding of things are spreading (Bublitz, 2003, p. 15); in which way referencing past meanings creates reality in the present. Performativity represents the way in which discourses gain their power and reach, as through the repetition and use of their meaning, discourses are institutionalized (Bublitz, 2003, p. 62). As societal norms are subject to historic developments, discourse analysis does not ask about a hidden objective reality but aims at understanding the historic genesis of the current order of things and its power relations (Bublitz, 2003, p. 15).

Discourse Analysis and Space

Projecting the above described understandings of discourse onto geographical research contexts, Glasze and Mattissek (2009b, p. 13) argue that discourse analysis can help to understand the dynamic between space and power. As space is constantly subject to above-described discursive change, then the understanding of space is defined by discursively constructed dominant social realities. Thus, by acknowledging the discursive nature of the construction of space, one might ask, on the basis of what assumptions space is constructed. This means that, as the production of space is an integral part of the production of society (Massey, 1999, p. 10; Glasze and Mattissek, 2009b, p. 42), spatial discourse analysis is interested in how systems of understanding space are constructed and what their basic assumptions are. The focus of analysis might thus not lie on the question of who creates discourse but how structures, such as states, ideologies or imagined spaces are discursively constructed (Glasze and Mattissek, 2009b, p. 33). Understanding how space is being constructed also offers a better understanding of power relations by not only understanding which discourses are dominant within a

[4] „Ein Diskurs stellt nicht einfach vorhandene Praktika und Beziehungen dar, sondern tritt in ihre Ausdrucksformen ein und ist in diesem Sinne produktiv"

society but also by understanding in what discursive terms space can be imagined and what assumptions of knowledge about space its imagination is premised upon. In terms of performativity in the Canadian Arctic, discourse analysis might aim at finding out what discourses and understandings of space are dominant and how they might have become an evident "truth" through their constant iteration and thus institutionalization.

The Basis of Discursive Understandings

As the approaches used for discourse analysis in this thesis are not all based on Foucauldian understandings of discourses and there are several distinct theoretical differences between the approaches drawn upon, some more theoretical background shall be presented in the following. The basic premise for discourse theory is found in *Structuralism* (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 8). Similar to the Foucauldian understanding above, Structuralism understands the access to perceived reality to always function through language. After de Saussure (de Saussure, 1960; Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 10), the meaning attached to a word is not inherent but the result of social conventions, changing conventions meaning the constant changing of the meaning of an exact word (such as the Arctic) as it is subject to different understandings of the term. Saussure made a distinction between a fixed and a variable part of language. He understood *Langue* as the fixed element of language, a network of signs that give meaning to each other. *Parole*, the variable part of language draws on Langue but it is "situated language use, the signs actually used by people in specific situations." (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 10). *Poststructuralism*, however, claims that words do not have a fixed position and meaning but that their position and meaning changes all the time. Poststructuralists argue that Structuralism cannot account for changes with a static understanding of language and change is exactly produced through the constant interactions in the system. In Foucault's (poststructuralist) discursive understanding, meaning is constructed through the rules of the use of language, meaning that reality is not ontological as in structuralist understanding, but constructed (Bublitz, 2003, p. 23). In that sense, poststructuralist thinking denies any teleological understanding of human history towards progress or increasing reason and instead postulates history and the flow of time as a series of happenstances and discursive constructions of power/knowledge of what is true/right (Bublitz, 2003, p. 24).

In essence, Structuralism assumes that meaning is created through interaction, as a word only assumes its meaning through the assignment of meaning through it being spoken and understood (Glasze and Mattissek, 2009b, p. 20ff). Poststructuralism goes a step further, by claiming that said meaning is different in every interaction, depending on the perspective of the interacting subjects. Words have no absolute meaning but are newly constructed and their meaning is changed or slightly adjusted through each interaction. From this follows that, as language is the basic means of the construction of meaning, not only is meaning constantly changing but the subject is also not the main actor in the creation of meaning. A specific understanding of reality is thus only based on dominant understandings of meaning (conveyed through discourses) and no objective reality can exist (Glasze and Mattissek, 2009b, p. 26). Similarly, in a poststructuralist understanding, objects exist, but "our access to them is always mediated by systems of meaning in the form of discourses" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 35). These understandings of discourses, language, ontological access to reality, and the position of the subject are the main points of disagreement between different discourse theorists. As this thesis is referencing the understandings of these discourse theorists, their positions shall be described in more detail, as to maximize the possibilities for a well-rounded empirical approach.

The reasoning behind using different approaches to discourse theory is that they offer different conceptual tools, which might be helpful for analysis. The different discourse theory approaches referenced in this thesis are based on understandings of Foucault (Foucault, 1972, 1979; Strüver, 2009), Laclau and Mouffe (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Müller, 2008; Glasze and Mattissek, 2009a) as well as *Critical Discourse Theory*, here mainly represented by Fairclough (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002; Fairclough, 2003). In the case of Critical Discourse Analysis, discourse analysis is used for the

understanding of intertextuality, as a very specific approach for understanding how one text might draw on discourses from other texts thus advancing the discursive struggle and shaping social practices by giving more or less weight to particular understandings of an aspect of the world (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 7). This approach thus offers very specific tools for textual analysis. On the other hand, more theoretical approaches such as Laclau and Mouffe's understanding of discourses are less specific but offer more profound explanations on group formation and collective identity (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 146) and are in my eyes more convincing theoretical approaches.

Differing Understandings of Discourses

One of the main axes of difference between theorists of discourse is the nature of what role discourses take in the formation of social reality. Whereas there are understandings that see discourses as the all-encompassing elements of social formation (Laclau and Mouffe), other understandings see discourses merely as elements constituting the social world (Foucault, Critical Discourse Theory).

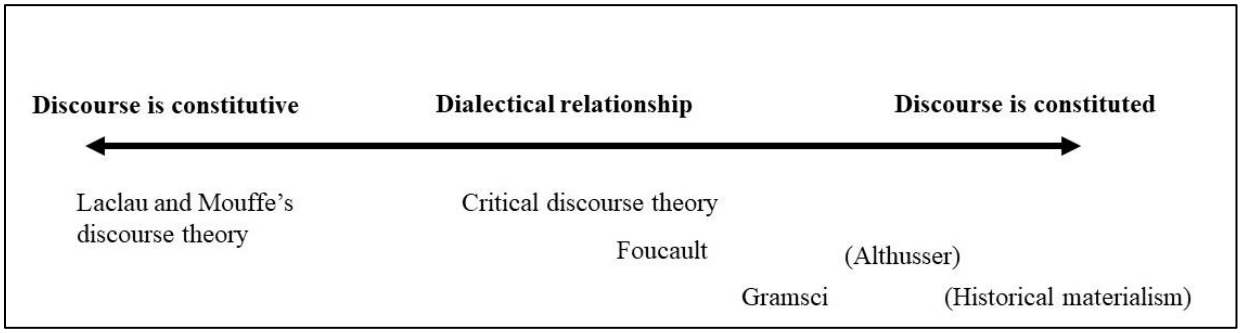

Figure 1: Different Theoretical Understandings of the Constitution of Discourse, own figure after (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 20).

The Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe

Based on Foucault's understanding of discourses, Laclau and Mouffe's theory also asks how identities constitute themselves and how power relations are the result of political discursive negotiation. As identity and societal relations are historically constructed, they are the product of discursive processes (Glasze and Mattissek, 2009a, p. 153). As reality is socially constructed, situations, in which constructions of reality are contradictory, due to different constructions, occur all the time. Thus, social reality is overdetermined (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 97ff; Glasze and Mattissek, 2009a, p. 157), which causes instability and disruptions. As reality can never be determined completely, it is constantly evolving through new partial constructions of reality and society is constantly being constructed and renegotiated. This understanding does not differ to a great extent from Foucault's understanding, however, Laclau and Mouffe offer a very distinct conception of discourses. For them "discourse constructs the world in meaning and […] meaning can never be fundamentally fixed" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 6), a conception that sees discourse as **an all-encompassing aspect of social life**: All elements of meaning are defined by discourses, a position that is not shared by Foucault. This is resulting in a constant discursive struggle over meaning of all elements of social life, over parts of which the result can be the hegemony of a particular worldview.

What Foucault might call scientific discourses or dominant discourses, Laclau and Mouffe might call *Nodal Points*: A privileged point in the discursive net, around which other meaning is grouped (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 26). In contrast to the nodal points stands the *Field of Discursivity* (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 111). The Field of Discursivity signifies all the possibilities that the

dominant discourse excludes. It is understood as "everything outside the [dominant] discourse. […] But exactly because a discourse is always constituted in relation to an outside […] its unity of meaning is in danger of being disrupted by other ways of fixating the meaning of the signs" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 27). For discourse analysis in this case of particular interest and an extension of Foucault's theorization are, what Laclau and Mouffe call *Floating Signifiers* (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 30). Floating signifiers are understood as the contested parts of the discourse: An example might be the Arctic being conceived as empty land. This might be called a contested part of Canadian Arctic discourse, as not everybody shares this position and perceives the Arctic as empty land. Laclau and Mouffe argue that, by asking how Nodal Points might be defined in alternative ways and how different ascriptions of meaning interact, struggles for meaning might be identifiable.

Critical Discourse Theory

In contrast to Laclau and Mouffe's position exist other positions, that see discourse not as all-encompassing but as constitutive, as one of many aspects shaping social practice. This position is held by Fairclough (Fairclough, 2003) and other proponents of Critical Discourse Theory (see Figure 1, p. 15). Fairclough's position is underscored by his description of the term discourse. For him, discourses are only "ways of representing aspects of the world" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 124) and not the world itself. This point of view is illustrated by Jørgensen and Philips by pointing out an example used by Fairclough:

> *"Fairclough points to the family as an example of how the social structure influences discursive practices. The relationship between parents and children is partly discursively constituted, he says, but, at the same time, the family is an institution with concrete practices, pre-existing relationships and identities. These practices, relationships and identities were originally discursively constituted, but have become sedimented in institutions and non-discursive practices. The constitutive effects of discourse work together with other practices such as the distribution of household tasks. Furthermore, social structures play an independent role in forming and circumscribing discursive practices."* (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 62)

This position would be disputed by Laclau and Mouffe, as they would see these *Sedimented Practices* as discursive Nodal Points, not disputing their dominance but pointing to the possibility of change. Also, Foucault might see sedimented elements rather as a form of dominant discourse instead of as an element that has become free of discursive dynamics of change. In that sense, the concepts do not differ tremendously in their practical operation of identifying dominant or sedimented elements but rather on their interpretation. Without dismissing Critical Discourse Theory, one might thus consider differences in interpretation but make the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis work for the identification of discursive elements.

On the point of the constituent nature of discourses, Foucault, also sees non-discursive elements as having an impact on societal practice (Jäger, 2001, p. 88ff). As Foucault came to the conclusion that discourse is not the only factor defining reality, he introduced the term *Dispositive*, signifying the net of elements (not necessarily discursive) between which discursive reality is constructed. As the exact relationship between discursive elements and non-discursive elements cannot be defined, but Foucault believed in non-discursive elements, the dispositive is a term introduced to fill this gap (Jäger, 2001, p. 106). In essence, one might claim that Foucault understood elements outside the discourse as the Dispositive because these elements do not play a role for the discourse. As soon as an element plays a role for a discourse, it becomes a discursive element and is thus no longer part of the Dispositive: Elements are only part of the Dispositive, as long as they are irrelevant to a particular discourse (Jäger, 2001, p. 107). This uncertainty of the Dispositive would be rejected by Laclau and Mouffe as their approach does not see elements outside of discourse. Additionally, one might criticise that in practice, it would be almost impossible to define which elements are outside of a specific discourse and which

elements are not, thus making Foucault's philosophical understanding difficult to implement in practice. In practice too, however, it probably does not make a huge difference, based on which philosophical understanding of discourse empirical analysis is conveyed. Whereas, for me personally, it might make more sense to rely on Laclau and Mouffe's understanding of discourse, the differences for analysis seem to be largely theoretical. As will be sketched out more profoundly, the strategy to be used in this thesis should help with the identification of different discursive elements concerning the Canadian Arctic mining sector. Based on that, the focus shall lie on Dominant/Scientific Discourses (Foucault), Nodal Points (Laclau and Mouffe) or Sedimented Practices (Fairclough), as well as Floating Signifiers (Laclau and Mouffe) or Contested Discourses (Foucault, Fairclough). All the elements of interest are either at the centre of the discourse, making theoretical differences at the margins less relevant, or are contested elements that might be at the margins of discourse. But as soon as they are of relevance for the discourse, they are equally part of it in the different theoretical understandings, meaning that if an assessment might be that a certain discursive element is being marginalized it is, in my eyes, a futile discussion if such an element should be called pushed to the margins of the discourse or pushed into the Dispositive, because as long as one is talking about the element, it is inside the discourse in any case.

Engaging with research concerning discourses spanning around half a century, a position in the year 2021 might enjoy the privilege of doubt when mapping out a position: It seems that in postcolonial research, the positionality of the researcher within the discursive frame has been one of great discussion. Drawing on the discussion in Critical Geopolitics of elite-focus and the position of the researcher in providing policy advice (Smith, 2000; Megoran, 2006; Müller, 2008; Tuathail, 2010; Sharp, 2013; Pain and Staeheli, 2014; Laketa, 2021) it seems to be evident that there is growing agreement that the researcher should not aim at providing policy advice and should aim for a position outside the system. At the same time, there is also growing agreement that no such position is possible. In my eyes, it would thus be futile to engage with the analysis of discourses on the basis of an understanding that these can be gazed upon from the outside, an understanding that Foucault might have still shared in his understanding of the researcher having access to forms of knowledge that other people do not have. The assumption of so called Scientific Discourses dominating any societal imagination is problematic, as agency is in huge part attributed to dominant actors and Foucault saw the scientist as potentially outside of discourse (Strüver, 2009, p. 64ff) and able to objectively analyse such discursive structures. This understanding of the researchers' position seems old-fashioned and at odds with the preliminary assumptions of discourse being at the root of the creation of meaning. Additionally, this seems to be an attitude in which the root of many problems postcolonial scholars engage with today lies, as specific normative understandings of the world are naturalized as objective knowledge.

As the approach described in this thesis combines elements of Foucault's, Laclau and Mouffe's, as well as Fairclough's partially contradictory positions on discourses, some words of clarification might be necessary. The advantage of discourse theory is, that different tools of analysis are not to be treated as mutually exclusive only because they are not based on the same theoretical understanding of subjectivity or the existence of non-discursive elements. There exists a great deal of common understanding within discourse analysis theory and such distinctions do not devaluate a specific tool but are concerned with marginal theoretical problems. Personally, I find it quite difficult to imagine social elements of non-discursive function. Laclau and Mouffe's understanding is quite convincing insofar it can potentially explain the existence and prevalence of every social element on the basis of it being an institutionalized discourse, drawing its exact meaning from the historic dynamic of discourse formation. The only factors that I could imagine being of non-discursive nature are relating to basic human needs. Of many elements of human behaviour, be it sexual, predatory or social, it can be discussed to what degree such behaviours are based on a biological component and to what degree they might be based on a social component. As interesting and ongoing as such a discussion might be, as difficult is it to distinguish between biological and social components (Hinde, 1974; Grammer, 1989; Hill, 2002). Thus, whereas I do not think that there is no biological component to human behaviour and thus human perception of the world, the identification of biological elements and their classification as non-discursive, as the subconscious might

be similarly called discursively formatted, seems to be almost impossible. I thus contend, that Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical approach towards discourses offers the most coherent understanding of discursive formation of the social world, an assertion, however, that does not translate into making a great difference for practical discourse analysis.

Truth, Reality, and the Role of Ideology

Similar to different understandings of the constituent nature of discourses, there also exist slightly different understandings of how truth or reality is constructed through discourses. Generally, "truth is embedded in, and produced by, systems of power" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 14). In the poststructuralist understanding of discourse theory, it thus makes no sense to ask about the truth, but rather, one should ask about the conditions in which truth and the limits of what gives meaning are created: How discourses shape how the world can be understood. In that sense, a poststructuralist understanding of discourses sees no everlasting meaning or a discourse that is forever dominant. Instead, how truth might be conceived under a dominant discourse can be grasped by what Gramsci called *Hegemony* (Gramsci, 1991; Belinda and Dzudzek, 2009, p. 138). Gramsci understood every social group as having agency in the production of meaning, thus giving more agency to the subject in contrast to poststructuralist writers. It follows, that every discursive understanding, no matter how marginalized, has the possibility to change dominant discourse and will do so ever so slightly. There is no fixed meaning to anything, with power for change laying in every individual discursive interaction. In continuation, *Ideology* is understood as seeming objectivity. Ideology limits what subject positions are possible. What seems objective is defined by the prevailing ideology or the current hegemonical understanding of "reality". Ideological discourses are seen as a tool for the reproduction of asymmetric power relations (Belinda and Dzudzek, 2009, p. 138), thereby potentially creating consent amongst those that are disadvantaged by such discourses, as thinking outside them is not seen as a possibility. The discursive understanding that everything is influenceable by everyone and that discursive reality could be different, does not mean, however, that there is a claim that such change is likely or easily achieved, especially considering the power of dominant discourses or hegemonic understandings of the world, such as for example capitalism, and the structures they create: In reference to contemporary discussions about climate change and the reliance of the world on carbon-dependent structures (Unruh, 2000), one might even talk about discursive lock-in.

Differences between understandings of ideology exist, however. Fairclough sees discourses as either being ideological or not, "the ideological discourses being those that contribute to the maintenance of power relations" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 75). Even though, this position differs quite starkly from other understandings, such as Laclau and Mouffe's, it is exactly this point, which makes discourse analysis useful. The aim is to find out how discourses influence power relations, but it is impossible to establish a category of (ideological) discourses that do contribute to the maintenance of power relations and (non-ideological) discourses that do not. From a different perspective, such as Laclau and Mouffe's, all discourses influence power relations, the question is just to what degree. It is not a deciding factor, if a discourse is called non-ideological or very little ideological. Deciding is the assessment that an element is not very powerful in influencing discursive formation.

The Subject

As there is no everlasting truth, but only different discursive understandings of reality, different interacting discourses also give the subject different concurring understandings of a particular aspect of the world (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 17), meaning that the subject is exposed to different, potentially contradicting interpretations of the world. The different theoretical approaches do not so

much differ in their understanding of the position of the subject, but it is more a question of how this understanding can be translated into research.

As the foundation of discourse theoretical thought, the subject is no longer being understood as the centre of the universe, a logical conclusion of discourse theory and poststructuralist thinking, as, in contrast to humanist thought (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 17). Such thinking does not acknowledge the existence of a hidden true self. Instead, poststructuralist thought does not see the possibility for a reality independent from linguistic expression, as the subject can only approach itself or others in linguistic terms, an understanding known as the *Linguistic Turn* in the social sciences. The Linguistic Turn signifies a renunciation of subject centrism, insofar as it is implied that the subjects' identity can only be understood within the context of its rootedness within a discursive framework (Bublitz, 2003, p. 28). Similarly, Laclau and Mouffe see subjects as put in a discursive context: "Discourses always designate positions for people to occupy as subjects" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 41). The subject is not autonomous but placed into subject positions by the discourses. There are always multiple discourses involved, meaning that there are no fixed subject positions.

When it comes to the implementation of a non-subject centred understanding of social relations, Martin Müller has formulated a critique of how that has been done within the field of Critical Geopolitics (see p. 8). Müller argues that Critical Geopolitics aims at deconstructing discourse but understands discourse based on social constructionism, as an actor-oriented process, "discourses as rules and resources that condition human action and weave together action and its constraints"(Müller, 2008, p. 325). This actor-centred approach, Müller argues, is not in line with above-described original poststructuralist understandings of discourse, as "although poststructuralism strives to map out an epistemological position which avoids the determinism of structuralism, in so doing it is quite clear about denying the possibility of an autonomous subject. It is not the individual that structures and manipulates discourse but vice versa – discourses speak through the individual" (Müller, 2008, p. 326). Instead, "the structural constraints inherent in discourses may offer subjects several subject positions, but subjects are not free to occupy any position that can be imagined. If these subject positions are not articulated in a particular historical context, it is because a hegemonic discourse has positioned the subject in a way that excludes other subject positions (Müller, 2008, p. 328). Müller criticizes the discipline of Critical Geopolitics as being too subject-focused in its analysis and argues for a return to the disciplines' theoretical foundations in poststructuralist understandings of the world. As the subjects' position is defined by discourses, empirical approaches should not remain actor-focused, as actors can only occupy certain subject positions. Instead, empirical work should aim at looking behind the subject at the discourses that create subject positions. In the words of Bublitz: "In discourse theory, humans are not presented as timeless categories, but as heterogenous multitudes of what has been said or thought about them during a specific period of time" (Bublitz, 2003, p. 20)[5].

Deconstruction and Genealogy

Having discussed the theoretical foundations of discourse theory and the differences between the approaches used in this thesis, the actual approaches to discourse analysis shall now be discussed. Discourse analysis asks: "what discourse or discourses does a specific articulation draw on, what discourses does it reproduce? […] alternatively, does it challenge and transform existing discourse by questioning some of its foundational assumptions? (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 29) an approach that others might call *Deconstruction*.

> *"Deconstruction is the operation that shows that a hegemonic intervention is contingent: that the elements could have been combined differently. […] Discourse analysis aims at the*

[5] "der Mensch stellt sich diskurstheoretisch nicht als zeitlose Kategorie dar, sondern enthüllt sich als heterogene Vielheit dessen, was zu einer bestimmten Zeit über ihn gedacht und gesagt wurde"

> *deconstruction of the structures that we take for granted; it tries to show that the given organisation of the world is the result of political processes with social consequences"* (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 48).

Based on the above-discussed understanding of the subject, the idea of discourse analysis is to deconstruct discursive processes which naturalize thinking by "situating discursive processes within processes of power" (Bublitz, 2003, p. 38). As things are not naturally given but the result of discursive processes, discourse analysis is about studying the genealogy of discursively conditioned power structures. Genealogy is about describing the "will to power" (Bublitz, 2003, p. 38) inherent in discourses, as they define how one can understand the world in the first place. Discourse analysis tries to investigate the preconditions of individual cognition and how these preconditions are constructed by the relationship of power/knowledge. Genealogy in this case specifically means that the goal is to understand where the naturalness of talking about the Arctic in specific terms, such as for example the frontier, comes from and how this is connected to power shaping knowledge. The goal of this thesis is to achieve this feat by drawing on a range of discursive analysis approaches from Laclau and Mouffe, Foucault, and Critical Discourse Analysis and their specific tools.

2.4 Developing a Strategy for Discourse Analysis

In order to grasp the different discursive understandings of space in the Arctic, it makes sense to approach what Laclau and Mouffe termed Nodal Points or Foucault called Dominant Discourses to find out how discourse around Arctic space is organized. The researcher might try to grasp what discourses are dominating Arctic space and what kind of different discourses exist. Having achieved that, it should be possible, in a next step, to investigate how the grouping of meaning takes place on a finer scale: Which discourses are grouped together, which actors propagate the position of the dominant discourses and which actors do not? Or in the terms of Laclau and Mouffe: What meanings of Arctic space is fixated at Nodal Points and what meaning is left in the field of discursivity? How might Nodal Points be defined in alternative ways, as Floating Signifiers? By identifying Floating Signifiers, one might start to understand, which parts of the discourse are contested and by whom. Such an approach is also proposed by Jørgensen and Philips: "areas where all discourses share the same common-sense assumptions are less open to change and more likely to remain stable, whereas areas where different discourses struggle to fix meaning in competing ways are unstable and more open to change" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 143). Finding out what different discourses dominate the imagination of Arctic space is important and it can potentially also be telling, which discourses are stable and shared by all actors. However, if interested in how space is being renegotiated and based on what discursive elements policy is being made in the Arctic, focusing on contested discursive elements makes more sense. Where discourses collide, antagonisms emerge until a hegemonic discourse is established for a period of time (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 48).

For the Arctic, the antecedent assumption that the region is becoming more interesting and contested due to climate change (see Introduction), could mean that there currently is a period of increased discursive competition, which might result in a more dominant and less contested discursive understanding of space in the future, out of the discursive understandings defining the region right now. Therefore, if groundwork of finding different discourses, as well as their contested parts, is done, one might eventually turn to a specific actor, here namely the state (why will be explained in further detail below), and try to understand what positions the actor holds, when it comes to contested meanings/Floating Signifiers. It could thus be instructive to understand how the government engages with such contested meanings and how it positions itself in relation to the discourses presented by different actors. One might aim at grasping how governmental discursive positions are defined in relation to other actors and what discursive elements are actively promoted or silenced. An improved understanding of governmental discursive formation of Canadian Arctic space shall be achieved by

consulting a range of documents of different levels of time and government. This might help to comprehend discursive differences between different levels of government, different agencies within government, or discursive shifts within government over time. How the corpus of documents is constituted specifically will be described below in further detail. By focusing on the discursive formation inside government, the goal of this thesis is to uncover how governmental discourse might differ in between different levels of government but also how governmental discourse might have changed over time. As systems of representation are not fixed, and meaning is constantly changing over time, it could thus be possible to track discursive changes or what Derrida called *Iterations* (Derrida, 2001; Belinda and Dzudzek, 2009, p. 144).

2.5 Tools for Discourse Analysis

In order to find what different discourse theorists might call Dominant Discourses, Scientific Discourses, Hegemonic Discourses or Nodal Points, as well as in a further step Floating Signifiers or Competing Discourses and how discursive understanding is changing over time, a more specific set of tools is needed. In the first part of the empirical analysis, the main approach for this discourse analysis shall be the creation of codes representing the different discursive structures found within Canadian Arctic imaginations of space, further refined by categorizing said codes into Nodal Points and Floating Signifiers. In the second part of the empirical analysis, different governmental positions over time and levels of government might then be compared according to differing definitions of Nodal Points and differing positions towards Floating Signifiers identified in the first part.

Argument Analysis

The main tool to be used for approaching discursive formations of Arctic space is employing an *Argument Analysis*. Applied to spatial analysis, the assumption behind Argument Analysis is that arguments and their reasoning are practices of spatial construction by reproducing, non-explicitly, background knowledge (Felgenhauer, 2009, p. 265). Arguments are a tool for connecting controversial statements (claim) with uncontroversial reasons (data), thereby convincing the reader of the validity of the argument. In that way, a discourse can be constructed, by basing arguments on societally rational reasons (which are deemed rational by dominant discursive structures). The method, introduced by Toulmin (Toulmin, 1996, p. 111ff; Felgenhauer, 2009, p. 266) , thus focuses on the specific way in which arguments are used and is interested in the connecting point between claim and data and how a claim might be supported by uncontroversial data to validate it.

An example for argument analysis which is frequently found in the corpus concerns the basic assumptions of resource extraction in the Arctic.

The claim: *Resource extraction in the Arctic will bring great economic prosperity*.

is supported by **the data**: *The Arctic is melting.*

In that way, the claim that resource extraction will bring great economic prosperity to the Arctic is naturalized by the obviously true statement, that the Arctic is melting, creating an impression of a direct logical connection between the two statements, even though many other factors might play into the generation of economic prosperity, besides it not being clear for whom, when and how said prosperity is being generated.

The two elements of claim and data are the foundation of an argument analysis. The schema is extended by introducing the terms **warrant**, meaning the statement, which justifies the connection between claim

and data and the term **backing**, which Toulmin understands as the explicit background knowledge, which is implied in the sentence through the warrant (Felgenhauer, 2009, p. 267).

Projected on the above-described example,

The warrant could be that: *There are valuable resources in the Arctic, which will become accessible through the melting of the region.*

This implies the **backing**: *Resource extraction brings economic prosperity; The melting of ice is a precondition for economic prosperity in the region.*

By analysing discursive statements in this fashion, as is illustrated below, it is possible to understand how particular geographical imaginations are being used to construct specific discourses or seemingly natural lines of argumentation. Natural assumptions behind claims can be excavated.

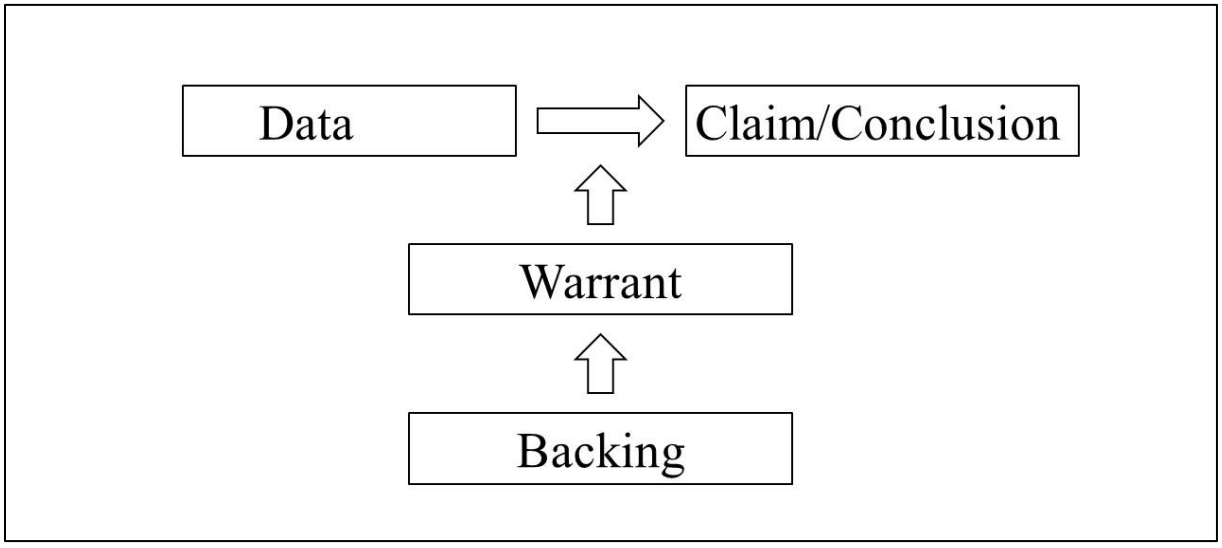

Figure 2: The Approach of an Argument Analysis, own figure, after (Felgenhauer, 2009, p. 267).

Tools Used Within Critical Discourse Analysis

The reason for the inclusion of Critical Discourse Theory in this thesis is that it offers a wide range of very specific tools for the textual analysis of discourses, whereas other theoretical approaches such as Laclau and Mouffe's approach or Foucault's understanding of discourses remain relatively vague on the specific empirical approach to analysis. These tools shall be used to further refine the methodology used within this thesis, relying on more analytical tools than a simple Argument Analysis.

One promising set of tools for the analysis of spatial discourses are Fairclough's understandings of **transitivity** and **modality**. Transitivity describes how "events and processes are connected", whereas modality "focuses on the speakers affinity with or affiliation to her or his statement" (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 83). For example, the use of passive sentence structures might project or discuss responsibility. This might be of special interest when it comes to different articulations of discursive elements like environmental damage caused by increased mining activities.

For **transitivity**, a statement issued by a company might be:

A body of freshwater was polluted in connection with a mining operation.

In contrast, a statement issued by an Indigenous person might be:

Mining activities polluted a body of freshwater.

Whereas the former statement is focused on the act of pollution and less concerned with the polluter through a passive sentence structure, the latter statement directly focuses on the polluter through the use of an active clause.

For **modality**, a statement issued by a company might be:

Mining activities might cause environmental damage.

In contrast, a statement issued by an Indigenous person might be:

Mining activities cause environmental damage.

Whereas environmental damage is portrayed as a potential outcome of mining activities in the former statement, it is linked directly to environmental damage in the latter.

In all examples, a version of the truth is presented with responsibility being distributed quite differently depending on the formulation of the sentence. When it comes to imaginations of Arctic space, the strategic use of different methods of attributing truth, responsibility, or possible outcomes in the future should be observed carefully, as they might be contested elements, which are depicted in the form of these lingual structures.

Another tool for analysis provided by Critical Discourse Analysis is focusing on the usage of different **levels of abstraction** in discourses. As all discourses are "internally variable" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 126), it makes sense to try to understand in what relation different discourses stand with each other. Where, for example, one discursive position might criticize mining activities in the Arctic as causing environmental damage and therefore call for higher environmental standards, another discursive position might aim at abolishing mining altogether for the same reasoning of environmental damage. Whereas the former discursive position criticizes the "Arctic mining" discourse from within, aiming for a change in discursive understanding within the discourse, the latter position questions the validity of the connection between the Arctic and mining altogether, thus criticizing the discourse from a macro level, questioning its validity from the outside. Thus, thinking about different levels of abstraction of discourse and discursive critique might help to identify not only which discourses are contested: where Floating Signifiers are, but also, on which level discursive negotiations of a specific aspect take place; if a discursive position is denied altogether or if it is simply understood in different ways.

These approaches from Critical Discourse Analysis, which shall also be applied in the following analysis here, focus not only on the existence of different discursive elements within speech or writing, but are also interested in the specific way, in which these elements are being expressed, as this might offer a grasp of the discursive understanding behind such elements.

2.6 Positionality

Finally, some words might be said about the authors positionality and what responsibility relates to that. During the whole process of discourse analysis interpretative work is necessary and there is a definite need to explain interpretative steps and blind spots of knowledge production (Glasze, Husseini and Mose, 2009, p. 299). This is especially true for coding steps and the interpretation of codes, as this process is difficult to comprehend from the outside. Additionally, it is important to reflect upon the discourses that shape the researchers' perception of reality.

> *"The movements of deconstruction do not destroy structures from the outside. They are not possible and effective, nor can they take accurate aim, except by inhabiting those structures."* (Derrida, 1998, p. 24; Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 49).

This means that the researcher is also subject to a discursive understanding of the world, maybe even to a similar discursive understanding that dominates the subject of study, such as for example the frontier

imagination of the Arctic. The researcher thus cannot possibly present an independent image. The researcher needs to acknowledge the personal position within discourse, as otherwise this would contradict discourse theory in general, especially Laclau and Mouffe's theory where discourse is constituting all aspects of social formation (Jäger, 2001, p. 83). Further, the researcher needs to acknowledge that creating an analysis of the discursive structure adds to the creation of discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis especially does not claim neutrality but is understood as a tools for the analysis of societal power dynamics (Jørgensen and Philips, 2002, p. 197). In that sense, it explicitly states the presumed position of poststructuralist research: Neutrality is not possible and thus every piece of research is also influencing the making of discourse. As an outside view on the research subject is impossible, the researcher needs to be as transparent as possible about all assumptions inherent in analysis.

3. The Formation of Geographical Imaginations in the Canadian Arctic

This chapter aims at highlighting geographical imaginations and dynamics that influence discursive formation about the Canadian North, natural resources, mining, and the imagination of the future of said space. For this purpose, different concepts and ideas, as well as their role in shaping Canadian understandings of the Arctic, as described in the literature shall be presented. These considerations thereby also provide a foundation for the discourse analysis below, as the preliminary categories, which help to map the discursive landscape towards the Arctic and mining are being formed based on the ideas found in this literature review, and because an adequate frame for the discourse analysis can be deducted, when focusing on the actors that are present within the political economy of the resource industry in the Canadian North.

3.1 The Frontier

In order to describe the dynamics occurring in the changing spaces in the Canadian North, the concept of the frontier offers a profound methodological approach, as it helps to explain how different understandings of space can interact with each other. Equally, the concept of the frontier helps to set the focus of this thesis more specifically on resource extraction projects, as dominant discourses shaping the imagination of the Arctic are usually centred around mining, resource extraction and economic potential, an imagination that is reflected in imaginations of the frontier.

The concept of the frontier has been first introduced by Frederick Turner in 1893 (Turner, 1893). His imagination of the frontier drew on the experience of the American expansion towards the West, where "free" land was continuously settled, thus pushing the frontier forward and similarly pushing the settlers away from "the influence of Europe's political institutions and steep social hierarchies" (Turner, 1963, p. 30; Geiger, 2009, p. 13). In Turner's eyes, this experience of land reclamation constituted the defining experience for the American character and thus naturalized the thought of American exceptionalism. From this teleological creation of a national myth, which disregarded not only previous occupation of lands but also genocide and was based on the ruthless exploitation of "empty" land (Geiger, 2008, p. 17), the frontier concept has evolved towards a more useful tools of analysis.

The term was reclaimed in the 1960s as a tool of describing dynamics of European colonial expansion (Geiger, 2008, p. 23) and was used most prominently by Kopytoff (Kopytoff, 1987) in his description of the African Frontier. In contrast to Turner, Kopytoff understood the frontier not as a linear process but as a diffuse zone "of cultural overlap, characterized by a mixing of style" (Korf and Raeymaekers, 2013). Thus, the frontier was understood as a zone where different understandings of space, jurisdiction or organization meet, often initiated by a dynamic of settlement, resource exploitation or an aim for territorialization by an expanding force (like the state) from the centre, which, parallel to Turner's own understanding, sees the space it extends into, as empty land (Korf and Raeymaekers, 2013, p. 11). In that sense, a frontier does not have to be a remote space, but can occur anywhere, where two or more sets of geographies meet.

Other scholars agree on the dynamic of the frontier as usually happening between a more powerful actor arriving in the space of a less powerful one, however do not necessarily precondition centre-periphery dynamics as the basis for occurring encounters, as Geiger does in his work on the contemporary frontier in countries of the Global South. He bases his analysis on Hvalkof's definition of a frontier as "an area remote from political centres which holds strategic significance or economic potentials for human exploitation, and is contested by social formations of unequal power" (Hvalkof, 2008, p. 219; Geiger, 2009, p. 28). Korf et al. describe similar dynamics as the "political frontier" in terms of "an ideological project or as the imagination of those who claim political space at the margins of the metropolis" (Korf,

Hagmann and Doevenspeck, 2013, p. 32), as a space where state power is territorialized through the employment of economic power and in disregard of the state's role as guarantor of everyone's rights (Korf, Hagmann and Doevenspeck, 2013, p. 33) and as a space with characteristics of disorder and violence. As these different concepts of a frontier space show, authors often agree on the basic dynamics of the frontier, as well as them being caused by unequal power relations, they differently emphasize however, what ought to be part of a definition, as well as what the exact role of the state in the frontier dynamic is.

The problem of an overarching definition is approached most recently by Rasmussen and Lund (Rasmussen and Lund, 2018) by focusing on one kind of frontier, the resource frontier, in contrast to a settlement frontier (Friedmann, 1996, p. 2). The authors see two different aspects arising from an engagement with the frontier. The first aspect concerns the political economy: They argue that when engaging with a particular frontier space, one needs to engage with the role of the political economy in shaping said space before engaging with the second aspect, the there occurring processes of the reconfiguration of space. Essentially, one needs to ask two questions: Primarily, what role the political economy plays in creating a space where two different sets of geographies clash, be that through centre-periphery dynamics (Wallerstein, 2005), geopolitical dynamics (Dodds, 2010), the commodification of nature through marketization processes (Polanyi, 1944), the frontier being penetrated by capitalist relations (Cleary, 1993) or the planetary dynamic of expanding urbanization (Brenner, 2014). Only secondly, one might engage with what happens when two different sets of geographies clash. For Lund and Rasmussen, the frontier is thus something that happens to a space, the antithesis to territorialization, where existing social orders are dissolved, in that process making room for new acts of territorialization (Rasmussen and Lund, 2018, p. 388). Applying the resource frontier concept thus means analysing the "constant process of formation and erosion of a social order of property rights, socio-legal identity, and political institutions in a spatial perspective" (Rasmussen and Lund, 2018, p. 389) after having understood the occurring processes of "capitalist appropriation of space" (Rasmussen and Lund, 2018, p. 390).

Essentially, the frontier can thus be understood as a dualism. On the one hand, the notion of the frontier describes a particular understanding of space, a geographical imagination similar to the Turnerian understanding of the American West as an empty land full of economic potential that waits to be untapped. On the other hand, the frontier can also be used as a concept of analysis. As described above, the analytical concept describes a space where the social order is dissolved and reconfigured due to the presence of multiple sets of geographies/imaginations of space. The presence of a multitude of such sets often occurs due to a resource in said space becoming interesting to actors located in the centre of the global capitalist economy, leading to a physical presence of different actors in a social space, thus dissolving said social space and creating a frontier space, in which different sets of geographies are negotiated through different the application of different discourses, eventually resulting in a new social order, a vernacular (Sheppard and White, 2017, p. x) of understanding and practicing space, shaped by global processes and discourses but unique to local circumstances.

The Frontier in Canadian Imaginations

> *The frontier is a compelling image in Canadian historiography and Canadian nation-building. It continues to inform political and cultural ideas and ambitions of economic development and resource extraction at high latitudes, as well as sovereignty and territoriality and the very ideas, images and narratives of Canada as nation, place and space."* (Nuttall, 2010, p. 30)

When it comes to frontier imaginations in Canada, Nuttal claims that the difference between a Turnerian (American) understanding of the frontier and a more Canadian one originally was that Canadians saw "empty land" as something to be cultivated and developed, while Turner lamented the loss of wild spaces. Whereas the importance of a Turnerian understanding of the frontier remains disputable for

Canada, the notion of untamed, empty, and wild lands full of opportunity "seems to hold true as much for Canada as it does for the United States" (Furniss, 2000; Nuttall, 2010, p. 31). The Canadian frontier experience can be tracked throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, with an artificial starting point to the Canadian frontier exercise of cultivating the wilderness being the Dominions Land Act of 1872, which surveyed and divided the Canadian West for settlement, pushing the imagined frontier to the West and eventually to the North (Nuttall, 2010, p. 36f), with the difference that the North was rather imagined in terms of natural resources than in terms of agricultural land, induced not only by the Klondike gold rush but also by geological surveys conducted by the Canadian state, making it a main actor in establishing a Northern frontier narrative (Nuttall, 2010, p. 38). Since then, a multitude of resource extraction projects have reinforced the idea of a resource frontier in the North: from mining to oil exploration, the existence of resources in combination with the difficult conditions for their exploitation have been deeply enrooted in the understanding of Canadian Northern space.

The frontier imagination is arguably still one of high relevance to the Canadian nation today, as remote regions continue to be seen and policy is continued to be shaped "by the attitudes and ambitions emanating from the metropolitan core" (Nuttall, 2010, p. 32), the imagination of an abundance of natural resources in the remote lands of the North hereby playing a key role. Arguably, The Canadian North and its resources are being imagined as playing a vital role for future demand and the functioning of the economic system, creating an image of a region that is "on the verge of a transformation into a transnational space firmly embedded in a global economy" (Nuttall, 2010, p. 33). This dynamic is also highlighted by Aguiar and Marten (Aguiar and Marten, 2011). They claim that the imagination of the hinterland as an integral part of Canadian society and economy is directly connected to the colonial attitudes of the 19th century, imagining Canadian lands as empty and full of unused economic potential. This imagination arguably still prevails today and shapes the understandings of its political economy, a claim that shall be tested with the following discourse analysis. They further claim that this shows how deeply entrenched Canadian national imaginations are with particular understandings of its landscape, which continues to be imagined as vast and full of potential, but is also framed by its Northern character, especially in contrast to the United States. At the same time, said imagination is still an expression of a White Anglo-Saxon worldview, in which other understandings (such as Indigenous understandings) have very limited validity and a world view of space that continues to shape physical place by sketching the hinterland as the source of raw materials for the economic centre.

The claim that the frontier imagination continues to play an important role in contemporary imaginations is also supported by Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt (2018, p. 92). In their book, they assess that interviewed officials of Northern countries[6] very much understood the Arctic in terms of its resource wealth, but also in terms of the inaccessibility of said resources, understanding the Arctic as a frontier region, where nature has to be overcome under difficult conditions (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 99). Additionally, the presence and exploitation of natural resources was and continues to be seen as positive for the local population, as it can potentially yield economic benefits (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 97). Interestingly enough, the authors assess that the current legal situation in Arctic states also contributes to the imagination of the region as a frontier. As for example, the Canadian territories possess a deal of autonomy which allows them to do business and decide about resource extraction directly, this creates a notion of legal openness or opportunity for corporations, a situation where direct deals with territorial governments are possible, bypassing the federal government in that regard (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 102). This arguably supports the imagination of possibility and unclear jurisdictional power, or exactly how Rasmussen and Lund (Rasmussen and Lund, 2018) define a frontier space.

The frontier imagination arguably still is very much present in contemporary imaginations of Canadian space. This thesis, derived from the literature shall not only be verified in the following discourse

[6] In this case limited to interviews with proponents of the five Arctic coastal states: Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia, and the USA (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 14).

analysis, but it needs to be contextualized historically, in order to better understand where such an imagination comes from. For that purpose, the following paragraph briefly highlights the history of interactions between Indigenous people and European settlers, how this shaped imaginations of the North as a frontier, but also how this violent history shaped and continues to shape imaginations of and by Indigenous people.

3.2 The History of Settler Contact

Naturally, Indigenous people in the area that is now being called Canada offer a rich history before contact with Western civilization. This rich history is neglected too often. In the scope of this thesis as well, this part of the history of Indigenous people will not be featured, as the idea of this chapter is the brief display of the history of the relationship between Indigenous people and Western settlers and how this history is influencing contemporary frontier imaginations connected to the Canadian North, as well as interactions between Indigenous people and Southern Canadians. Additionally, it aims at highlighting the ways in which a frontier narrative could be born out of a history that drew European populations to the North primarily through the existence of natural resources. For these reasons, this brief sketch shall focus on the time frame between the establishment of first European trade relationships and today.

Contact between the Indigenous people of the North of today's Canada and Westerners initially began with trade in pelts and blubber (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 116). Whereas this initially coincided with Indigenous peoples' activities, the increasing interest by European consumers led to the depletion of these resources. In 1870, the land of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), which encompassed large parts of today's Northern and Northeastern Canada, was transferred to the dominion of Canada, thereby providing the framework for a dynamic that had already been taking place in the more Southern parts of the dominion: dispossession and displacement of Indigenous people (Dickason, 2006, p. 227) in addition to the extractive trading practices by the HBC. This land transfer and other land treaties negotiated at the time, similar to the Dominions Land Act of 1872, also opened the door for assimilation practices applied onto Indigenous peoples in today's Canada. The history between European settlers and Indigenous people is a complex affair shaped by (extractive) trade relationships (Carlos and Lewis, 1993), the depletion of resources, accumulation by dispossession (Perry, 2015), forced resettlement and settler colonialism. The exact dynamic obviously differs depending on the exact region and cannot be done justice within the frame of this thesis. However, a brief coverage of the violent history of the relationship between settlers and Indigenous people shall highlight its continuing effects on Canadian geographical imaginations and their representation (or lack thereof).

After land treaties and forced resettlements, the history of this relationship was strongly shaped by the department of Indian Affairs, which took more and more control over the lives of Indigenous people (Dickason, 2006, p. 245). This was especially expressed through the system of education in the form of schools and residential schools, which, due to the lack of funding, were often operated by the church (Dickason, 2006, p. 246). The most recent findings of mass graves at sites of former residential schools around the country (BBC News, 2021; Austen, 2021; Mosby and Millions, 2021) highlight the role these schools played in "assimilating" the Indigenous population, which took the form of forced removal of children from families and communities, starvation, forced labour, rape, murder, and "cultural genocide" (Truth and Reconciliation Comisson of Canada, 2015) in the name of a white man's burden to civilize. The control of the Indigenous population through residential schools tightened in the 20th century and attending such an institution was the norm for Indigenous children, as was the abuse connected with those schools. Residential schools operated well into the 1970s with first apologies of churches being issued in the 1990s and the government only starting an official process of recognition and eventual apology in 2005 (Dickason, 2006, p. 266).

Even though developments in the North took a different pace as in the rest of the country, the effects have arguably been quite similar. In the North, "Canadian jurisdiction expanded through the fur trade"

(Dickason, 2006, p. 282), followed by interest in gold most famously through the Klondike gold rush (Dickason, 2006, p. 286), diseases and the overharvesting of natural resources thereby resulting in a sharp decline in Indigenous populations. Negotiations with the government, as in the South, similarly resulted in a patchy political landscape of treaties and land claims, whose complex legacy is influencing policymaking and resource projects until today and where negotiations are ongoing, not only through the creation of Nunavut in 1999 (Dickason, 2006, p. 295), but also in the form of ongoing negotiations over land claims agreements in the Northwest Territories (Government of the Northwest Territories, 2021).

3.3 Mining and High-Modernist Planning in the Canadian Arctic

After the depletion of fur resources and initial interest in gold, the mining and oil industries began expanding their operations after the Second World War and especially in the 1960s (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 120). The groundwork for Indigenous participation and disbursement in Canada in this context has been laid by the Berger Inquiry 1974/75 (Nuttall, 2010, p. 62), in which consultation for a pipeline along the Mackenzie River took place. Whereas the development of natural resources was deemed necessary, the frontier notion of empty land was contradicted by the inquiry's concern with Indigenous rights and potential environmental harm for the region, broadcasting such issues to the Canadian public for the first time and resulting in a ten-year moratorium on exploration rights for oil and gas in the region, during which Indigenous land claims should be negotiated. While issues such as Indigenous claims and environmental protection were covered for the first time by the inquiry, the results also underscored the importance of the North for the Canadian national imagination (Nuttall, 2010, p. 68). The connection of mining and Indigenous issues is especially pronounced in the North and indeed, mining can be seen as a key agent for colonial injustices done to Indigenous communities: Compromising traditional ways of living and disrupting them forever, not providing adequate alternatives, and leaving behind social and environmental problems.

> *"Very often the impacts of mining and its related developments occurred alongside the other profound environmental, social, and health challenges that northern Native people faced throughout the twentieth century. New diseases, acute hunger, poor nutrition associated with store-bought food, declining fur trade economies, community relocations, military activities, and poor housing often coincided with mining development or arose as a direct result of conditions within mining communities"* (Keeling and Sandlos, 2015, p. 8).

The experience and history of colonialism and "cultural genocide" (Truth and Reconciliation Comisson of Canada, 2015) in the Arctic can be further illuminated by considering the devastating results of high-modernist planning in the Arctic, which was not only driven by Southern interest in natural resources but also by Cold War fears. *High-Modernism*, a concept introduced by James Scott (Scott, 1998) is understood as "a sweeping, rational engineering of all aspects of life in order to improve the human condition" (Scott, 1998, p. 88) and describes the attitude and resulting actions with which states aimed at engineering society after their imaginations, coupled with the believe that this was actually feasible, in the process leaving behind the elements that are not part of the state's imagination of the future (Farish and Lackenbauer, 2009, p. 519). Farish and Lackenbauer show that high-modernist thinking has been very much present in Canadian developmental thinking and that this thinking shaped the planning and building of Frobisher Bay and Inuvik in the 1950s and 60s. They assess that "The paradoxical position of 'the north' in Canadian geographical imaginations – as removed from 'the south', but essential to national identity – was modified during the early Cold War. Although the image of the Arctic as a singular, hostile environment remained durable and was the centrepiece of much military research, the mid-twentieth-century attempt to modernize the north though new techniques and technologies was driven by the belief that the distinctiveness of northern landscapes could be subdued or even overcome" (Farish and Lackenbauer, 2009, p. 520). In this understanding, Northern society could be transformed

from nomads to villagers to urbanists, as "Cold War scholars, translating classic orientalist categories into cutting-edge social science, treated the village as a first step toward civilization from nomadism" (Farish and Lackenbauer, 2009, p. 523). In combination with military interest due to the Cold War, the two described settlements were erected as a "model Arctic community" (Farish and Lackenbauer, 2009, p. 530). Frobisher Bay was this model community for a time for flown in Southern military personnel, but as in Inuvik, the lifestyle of the local Indigenous population was changed by top-down planning. There, with the goal of bringing the amenities of modern life to the Arctic (Farish and Lackenbauer, 2009, p. 534), the Indigenous population was relocated into the newly planned town. The top-down planning, however, resulted in segregation, poor living standards and a forceful disconnect of the Indigenous population from their traditional way of life, without any form of agency or decision-making power (Farish and Lackenbauer, 2009, p. 537). Without going into detail, this example is brought up to show that the high-modernist thinking of the government needs to be considered, when considering Canadian imaginations of the North, especially when considering the perspective of Indigenous Canadians.

The history of high-modernism and colonialism in the North is also deeply embedded within science and ways of knowing (Bocking, 2011). Indigenous knowledge has been and continues to be side-lined when it comes to ways of knowing about the North. This dynamic has its deep roots in the above-described colonial and high-modernist practices applied onto the North in Canada. Not only was Indigenous knowledge disregarded and continues to be disregarded as having anything meaningful to contribute to "scientific" approaches, but such scientific approaches were also used in order to shape the North after Southern imaginations towards modernity, and a sedentary society. Even though there are more and more approaches that aim at incorporating Indigenous knowledge into decision-making and science, this dynamic can be equally understood as an incorporation of knowledge into an already established system. This legacy of disregard and occupation of the power/knowledge apparatus has shaped the understanding of the North and needs to be considered when engaging with contemporary positions towards Indigenous ways of knowing in the following discourse analysis.

Summing up the brief coverage of the historic dimension of the relationship between Northern Indigenous people and the settler population, it is fair to say that at least until very recently, Indigenous experiences within Canada have been dominated by violent interactions with the settler population, resulting in dispossession, forced assimilation, rape, death and "cultural genocide" (Truth and Reconciliation Comisson of Canada, 2015). Even though reconciliation and self-government measures are being increasingly implemented, it needs to be stated that tremendous structural injustices for Indigenous people remain to the present day. Additionally, this history has arguably also left a deep mark within the imaginations of and by Indigenous people. These imaginations continue to shape present discourse and need to be considered for a better understanding of discursive positions in the North. Additionally, this brief sketch of the history of Indigenous-settler relations should not only have shown that it is an extremely violent history, whose legacy and injustices shape contemporary imaginations, but also how deeply entrenched this history is with natural resource exploitation and therefore with imaginations of the North as a frontier.

3.4 The Understanding of the Political Economy of the Canadian North

As the outlines above should have shown, the Canadian North was, and continues to be imagined in terms of its natural resource richness and therefore as a frontier, with all the problematic dynamics that this entails. From a political economy perspective, resource frontiers are often understood as "essential spatial forms for the successful functioning of global capitalism (Angelis, 2004; Nuttall, 2010, p. 34), an understanding that researchers claim is also projected onto the Canadian Arctic. Research on the impact of mining in Canada has brought forth the idea of *Cyclonics* "the idea the hinterland resource developments proceed in storm-like fashion, with a sudden flood of capital, labour, materials, and

knowledge into remote areas that dissipates just as suddenly when conditions change" (Keeling and Sandlos, 2015, p. 6). This understanding of the economic dynamics of mining as an essential function of the global capitalist relationship between centre and periphery is also reflected by thinking within urban studies, more precisely by the concept of *Planetary Urbanization*. The projection of this concept onto mining hereby not only makes sense because the inflow of investment in the periphery (the North) is defined by capital and demand in the centre (the South), but also because changes in the centre (e.g. in the form of price changes for commodities) can lead to economic shock in mining areas, a dynamic that is reflected in the planetary dimension of Planetary Urbanization. It is with the background of this polito-economic dynamic that one should aim to understand not only the dynamics of mining, but also the discursive structures inside of which mining is understood.

3.5 Planetary Urbanization

The urban has become a universal feature of this planet, Brenner and Schmid (Brenner and Schmid, 2015) argue, following Lefebvre's thesis of complete urbanization (Lefebvre, 2014). In order to understand the dynamics that shape space, one can no longer examine urban space in distinction from non-urban space, as "the restructuring and repositioning of traditional hinterlands" is deeply embedded in the "planetary formation of capitalist urbanization" (Brenner and Schmid, 2015, p. 152,153). Processes of implosion/explosion have led to "wide-ranging territorial transformations that have ensued at various spatial scales" (Brenner, 2014, p. 18). Thus, the urban has become a planetary condition, whose influence is not limited to the city but reaches even the hinterlands of this planet through extended urbanization. These *Operational Landscapes* in the hinterlands that are shaped by the centre (Brenner and Schmid, 2015, p. 167) thus need further study in order to understand the complexity of Planetary Urbanization. This has two different sets of implications.

The first implication is that Planetary Urbanization poses an interesting tool for the understanding of how the global capitalist system influences every corner of this planet, including the Canadian North. In the words of Brenner and Schmid (2015, p. 161): "In a capitalist world system that continues to be shaped profoundly by the drive towards endless capital accumulation, by neoliberalizing and/or authoritarian forms of global and national regulatory restructuring, by neo-imperial military strategies, and by various interconnected forms of exploitation, dispossession and socio-environmental destruction, contextual specificity is enmeshed within, and mediated through, broader configurations of capitalist uneven spatial development and geopolitical power." The insights from this approach can be projected onto the dynamics of mining in the Canadian North, thus obtaining an understanding of the global dynamics that shape said space.

The second set of implications mainly concerns the study of the urban and its epistemology and creates an argument for a more in-depth study of the Canadian North that includes not only dominant discursive positions, but also marginalized positions within the discourse. Brenner and Schmid (2015) argue that there exists a need for a new epistemology of the urban, as current terms do not include said planetary dimension of urban capitalism. Current understandings of the city are limited by their own dichotomising focus on the urban in contrast to the non-urban. Thus, not only do such understandings fall short of explaining the planetary dynamics of what is called urban but also neglect what is called non-urban in their study, even though urban dynamics have become planetary.

Schmid's and Brenner's thesis has created a huge debate about its epistemological value. Many critical arguments reflect the critique that Planetary Urbanization has brought onto itself, as by focusing on Operational Landscapes, "Brenner and Schmid, who are singularly committed to disabusing urban studies of tired geographical dualisms and old-fashioned notion of bounded cities, seem to be paradoxically drawing a boundary around cities and making a clear separation between cities and their operational landscapes/hinterlands" (Reddy, 2018, p. 534). Reddy further argues that, even though Planetary Urbanization's aim is to subject the hinterland to intensive study, the theory creates empty

landscapes by only seeing the global dynamic of capitalism in a void field without players with agency. Additionally, Jazeel (2018) argues against a theory without an outside. Urbanism is planetary but not the only socio-spatial process that is responsible for "heterogenous characteristics" (Jazeel, 2018, p. 406) of cities and Planetary Urbanization needs to engage with an outside, with different perspectives and approaches, in order to create fruitful results. Reddy and Jazeel see a need to find a balance between generalizing epistemology without disregarding other perspectives or local epistemologies, "allowing for constitutive outsides to the urban" (Reddy, 2018, p. 533) (capitalism).

Building on Planetary Urbanization as well as its critiques, the concept can be used to understand the dynamic of how hinterlands and regions that are being imagined as such are becoming more and more part of the capitalist dynamic of urbanization and what global dynamics might influence such a place into being understood as a frontier space. At the same time, there exists a need for the *Provincialization* (Chakrabarty, 2000) of Planetary Urbanization. The concept explains one side of a dynamic taking place in a hinterland, the global side, but it tends to disregard local dynamics. In that sense, in order to understand the dynamics taking place in the Canadian North, there is the need for additional research to uncover other critical forms of knowledge. By incorporating different forms of knowledge and understandings of spatial dynamics in a place, like how this place is being imagined as a space, it will thus be possible to more thoroughly comprehend the dynamics of how landscapes are being shaped and understood from local as well as global perspectives. More specifically for this thesis, the goal is to employ the concept of Planetary Urbanization to the dynamics of resource appropriation (Kipfer, 2018) on the space that is imagined to be the Canadian Arctic resource frontier, an understanding that not only considers global, dominant discursive positions, but also more localized, marginalized discursive positions. It is of utmost importance to better understand the attitude of people living in these spaces pronounced as "peripheral" as not to create a teleological narrative of capitalist "annihilation of space through time" (Harvey, 2001, p. 24). That is one additional reason why this thesis employs a discourse analysis in order to reflect upon the different imaginations beyond dominant positions shaping the discourse about Canadian Arctic space.

3.6 The Complexity of Local and Individual Understandings of Space

The critique of mining and its extractive nature in macro-economic terms as an export-oriented industry feeding the capitalist centre is by no means a new critique, but an unresolved discussion in Canada that can be traced back to 1968 relating to the Pine Point mine in the Northwest Territories "as another in a long line of export-oriented northern development projects that contributed little to local economic development" (Sandlos, 2015, p. 139). As development to the standard of Southern Canada obviously has not been brought to the North yet, the discussion about the extractive nature of mining continues and is very much reflected within the differing discursive positions being analysed in the following discourse analysis.

Indigenous peoples should thereby not be understood as the passive victims of a dynamic coming from the economic centre, merely taking advantage of the possibilities that natural resource extraction has brought to the region, culminated in today's Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs) and land claims agreements (Keeling and Sandlos, 2015, p. 10f). The legacy of mining, and with that discursive positions, are more complex than that. This complexity is illustrated by the ethnographic work compiled in the book *Mining and Communities in Northern Canada* (Sandlos and Keeling, 2015) that follows the complex history of mining in Northern communities and the understanding of mining in the North. A simple antagonism, where mining is either depicted as good or bad does not reflect Northern experiences of the industry. This can be better understood in the context of entire biographies of individuals and whole families being deeply connected and intertwined with the mining industry. People take part in the economic opportunities the industry provides, are subject to the economic decline a disappearing mine brings, are wary of the ecological damage caused by mining projects, while still being proud of mining

and its history. This complexity is embodied by a miner that was interviewed during the ethnographic field work of above-mentioned book book. Having worked in and around the mining industry in Mayo, Yukon and the Keno Hill mine for all his life "Herman personifies the complexity of the mining and development debate in the Yukon. In spite of the sometimes fierce rhetoric surrounding contemporary mineral development in the territory, few Yukoners are completely against or completely in favour of mining. Instead, there is a spectrum of what people view as acceptable" (Winton and Hogan, 2015, p. 109). Thus, researchers should be very careful not to create a simple image of who is in favour or against mining in the North, as a simplistic distinction between North/South or for /against is often not feasible in a local context. Similarly, memories about the above-mentioned Pine Point mine, which had been criticized for its extractive economic nature, are usually mixed, even within Indigenous communities, as the mine is remembered as a place of environmental degradation, but also as a great place to work. However, "Whether it was a lack of employment and training opportunities or the absence of consultation and other financial benefits, the notion persists that in economic and political terms the mine bypassed nearby Native communities" (Sandlos, 2015, p. 146).

As all of the above-described dynamics play a role in influencing imaginations of the Arctic and with that Arctic discourse, the specific understanding of a region is still differing depending on the individual. As different imaginations within an individual compete against each other and might even contradict each other, an individual might understand the Arctic and its political map within the framework of Westphalian nation states and international law under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 5) or more from a different perspective, an Indigenous perspective whose territorial understanding is less concerned with international law and boundaries, and understands the region more in terms of it having been ancestral land for countless generations (Aporta, 2009; Robertson, Okpakok and Ljubicic, 2020). This might especially diverge from understandings of international boundaries because Indigenous people are also distributed and connected across national boundaries and are connected through transnational bodies like for example the Inuit Circumpolar Council (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 113) or part of the Arctic Council as transnational entities. This point is underscored by the discussions about sovereignty in the Arctic in connection to sea ice (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 131). Whereas the legal status of the ocean might be clearer within other parts of the world, Inuit do not necessarily see such a clear distinction between territory on land, which is included in a classical understanding of Westphalian sovereignty, and territory on sea ice, as sea ice is an integral part of the Inuit way of life and a part that is complicating dynamics concerning understandings of space in the Arctic.

3.7 The Role of the North in Canadian National Imagination

No matter in what specific terms the North is understood by individuals, it plays an important role for the imagination of the Canadian nation, as explained in all the above. Whereas some authors claim that in Canada, the North is imagined as a counterbalance to the Southern Canadian world, as the other, integral part to Canadian identity (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 102), other authors see this dynamic not only directly connected to the frontier imagination of the North but also to continued dynamics of settler colonialism and white supremacy (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi, 2011b).

> *"Sometimes the "Great White North" refers in solid and timeless terms to the snowy territory north of the Arctic circle, spatially remote, ahistorical, pre-human, but at others it is synonymous with the country as a whole. Its people, and the values upon which the nation was built, a creation of a population forging a common destiny. But transcending its meaning as an economic and political frontier, the North draws together cultural value and identity to produce a metaphor of imperial grandeur, innocence, and sovereignty."* (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi, 2011a, p. 2)

The still predominant image of the North in Canada, Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi claim, is defined by a particular understanding and a particular group, as "meaning [in this context] is created as much through presence as through absence" (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi, 2011a, p. 3). The claim is that the naturalization of White geographies needs to be understood in order to grasp the way the Canadian North is to a large extent still understood from a White settler-colonial perspective or White normativity (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi, 2011a, p. 7). In discursive language, the authors claim that a specific discursive understanding of the North, one based on a White settler-colonial perspective, is still dominating discourse about the North and the Arctic in Canada, forming a dominant discourse and pushing other discursive understandings to the margins.

> *"Euro-Canadian whiteness as neutral and observing, as a positionality in which one gazes upon the ills of colonialism but cannot quite think of oneself as involved, responsible, or actively constitutive of (and constituted by) those ills"* (Cameron, 2011, p. 171).

Also, problematic dynamics connected with the frontier narrative occur in the way that Indigenous people are continued to be imagined as natural stewards of the land (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 127). Indigenous people are not necessarily aiming at living as one with nature or stopping development of their regions, only because they are Indigenous people. This dynamic is a romanticized notion of the frontier projected onto Indigenous peoples. This problematic understanding of Indigenous people is exemplified by the European Union's (EU) ban on the import of seal products (Steinberg, Tasch and Gerhardt, 2018, p. 127). As Indigenous seal hunting practices do not fit with EU imaginations of self-sustaining Indians, the EU ban on seal imports robs Indigenous people of the possibility of creating a market for profit within the possibilities that their region is providing for them. Instead, Indigenous people are forced into passivity as there are little other possibilities for taking part in the globalized economy. This neocolonial attitude is reinforcing Indigenous people's specific, romanticized, and weak role as subsistence hunters not interested in the modern economy. At the same time, such considerations are easily disregarded when it comes to commodities such as oil, gas, and minerals, as these are arguably not produced by Indigenous people or play a more important role for the economy of the centre. This critique is also reflected within the above-discussed concept of Planetary Urbanization: The core, in this case the EU, is defining what economic activities are acceptable in the periphery, in this case the Arctic, and is therefore dominant in shaping peripheral landscapes, creating Operational Landscapes after its own imaginations. This dynamic also manifests itself in the projection of pipeline politics in Southern Canada onto the North (Nicol and Barnes, 2019, p. 112). As in Southern Canada, Indigenous groups are generally opposed to pipeline projects, the Southern Canadian imagination oftentimes understands Northern Indigenous populations as also naturally being opposed to resource development, an understanding that is not necessarily true. This projection leaves the complexity and uniqueness of the situation in the North out of sight, reinforcing imaginations of Indigenous people as backward nature-bound people and shows the lack of interest in Northern positions.

As the above-described imaginations show, the North not only plays an important role in the Canadian imagination in terms of economy and sovereignty but also in terms of individual understandings of the personal character of a Canadian. The wilderness as a personal space is inherently part of the Canadian soul (Razack, 2011, p. 265). This understanding is obviously directly connected to a frontier imagination of the North and highly problematic for the above-mentioned reasons. "If "unspoilt nature" is where white men and white women must go to know themselves as white, then it is indeed imperative to understand the relationship between subjectivity and the beautiful things that come with colonization" (Razack, 2011, p. 265). If the self-understanding of the Canadian citizen preconditions a frontier imagination and colonialism in order to use the North as an expression to find Canadianness in the form of wilderness but also in the form of resources, then this is a highly problematic understanding, an understanding that needs to be considered when analysing discourse about the Canadian North, making understandings of the frontier within the discourse analysis especially pivotal to understand.

3.8 Reading Geographical Imaginations

As the description of imaginaries and dynamics influencing the Canadian North show, how imaginations operating in the present are constructed is pivotally influenced by the construction of social imaginaries in the past. But as the documents analysed in the discourse analysis also show, such constructed imaginations are also heavily projected onto the future, as the imagination of the Arctic is often heavily dominated by specific imaginations of the future, constructed in the past. The following paragraphs thereby aim at explaining how imaginations of the future might be understood as a tool for creating specific action or policy in the present and as a theoretical foundation on which the following discourse analysis might understand how statements about the future of the Canadian Arctic are issued. For that purpose, the *Emotional Turn*, as well as the concept *Future Geographies* shall be presented briefly. This is followed by a concise discussion of concepts within development studies, which might equally help to deconstruct the ways in which the Canadian Arctic is imagined, and how its future is understood.

The Emotional Turn

Approaches basing their assumptions on a turn to emotions and affects are being increasingly used in Arctic research, especially in connection with natural resource extraction. The emotional turn is thereby understood as an extension of poststructuralist thought and what was here called deconstruction, as it "extend[s] discussions about culture, subjectivity, identity and bodies" (Clough, 2008, p. 1). There exist two strands of research within affect theory, one that focuses on the "subject as the subject of emotion", a focus that could be subjected to a similar critique of subject-centrism as Critical Geopolitics (Müller, 2008), and one strand that conceptualizes affects as "pre-individual bodily forces" (Clough, 2008, p. 1). In this discursive understanding of emotions, they are neither within or without the subject, but create boundaries and understandings through their circulation (Ahmed, 2004, p. 117). This understanding is then used by scholars engaging with the Arctic, to understand what role affects and emotions play in the formation of what this thesis calls geographical imaginations, as "emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities—or bodily space with social space—through the very intensity of their attachments" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 119). Thus, the affective turn can be used to show how emotions are deployed to create a specific image of geographical space by understanding emotions as produced through circulation (Ahmed, 2004, p. 129).

In recent research, this approach is used by Guerrieri (Guerrieri, 2019) to show how cartographic representations of the Canadian North have not only maintained predominant geographical imaginations but have also made Northern residents complicit in maintaining such images by "instilling hope" into such geographical imaginations (Guerrieri, 2019, p. 679). Maps offer the image of a future, where fossil fuel production is necessary, and the North is being depicted as empty in terms of infrastructure but full in terms of untapped resources, or what Guerrieri calls "turning potentially into reality" (Guerrieri, 2019, p. 687). Similarly, Lempinen and Lindroth show how resource extraction projects' perception is defined by affective elements such as "hope, expectation, prestige and redemption entangled with worry and anxiety" and how these elements are used in order to construct specific images of the future of a geographic space (Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021). As described, specific emotions, positive or negative, are often projected in connection with resource extraction projects and their potential, also creating specific geographical imaginations of these projects. How such emotional imaginations might lead to specific action, or propagation for action as displayed in the documents analysed hereafter, is explained by understanding this dynamic as creating Future Geographies.

Geographies of the Future

Acting in advance is a taken for granted aspect of life. But by doing that, a specific understanding of the future is projected onto the present that makes specific action necessary: Future Geographies are projected onto the present, thereby creating the need for *Anticipatory Action* that makes futures actionable (Anderson, 2010a, p. 778). Anderson argues that, through the application of different styles, practices and logics, a certain type of future is becoming naturalized, similar to how certain discursive understandings of "reality" are becoming naturalized through discursive action (Anderson, 2010a, p. 779). In that sense, he sees the possibility of better understanding politics and biopower by focusing on questions of how affects are being employed to create a specific image of the world (Anderson, 2013, p. 458). Even though Anderson speaks of Anticipatory Action in a negative context, action to avert disaster (Anderson, 2010a, p. 780), his point might be turned around for the context of the Arctic resource frontier towards the question of how futures are naturalized in the present in a positive context, for example in terms of imagining a positive future of economic prosperity due to mining activities.

> *"any type of anticipatory action will only provide relief, or promise to provide relief, to a valued life, not necessarily all of life. Certain lives may have to be abandoned, damaged or destroyed in order to protect, save or care for life"* (Anderson, 2010a, p. 780).

In discursive terms, emotions and in the case of this thesis specifically emotions of hope (for the future) can be seen as part of discursive formation. A specific rationale is being employed that gives more value to certain aspects of the future then to certain aspects of the present. Discourse is not only shaping the understanding of space in the present but also shaping the understanding how space might be like in the future. This future space is "made present" (Anderson, 2010b, p. 228), thereby legitimizing certain acts that lead to a specific future, while delegitimizing others that stand in the way of a specific future. Thus, focusing on emotions connected to Arctic imaginations of space, especially concerning the future, can help in understanding the construction of spatial discourses from an additional perspective. Thus, when analysing the discursive structure of Arctic spatial imaginations and its contested elements, a special focus can be put onto connected emotions and future imaginations, as a way of understanding on the basis of what assumptions a specific actor is constructing its geographical imaginations.

Imaginations of the Canadian Arctic and Development

Anticipatory Action in the Canadian Arctic is not only intimately connected to mining, as this thesis will show, but also to questions of development. Developing the North and creating economic growth in technical terms and on objective grounds are key features of the discourse about the region. How the development discourse is being employed in the Canadian Arctic can hereafter be better understood by providing the context of development literature that critically engages with the employment of said discourse. As the history of violent interventions and the prevailing discourse of development for the Candian North show, a *Will to Improve* the North is present throughout. The Will to Improve is a term coined by Tania Li (2007) describing the dynamic of developmental projects on Sulawesi in Indonesia. Even though development projects do not seem to be able to reach their set out goals, they are still continuously propagated, as "we still have to do something, we can't just give up" (Li, 2007, p. 2). Li thereby identifies the nature of these development projects as a translation of "messy conjunctures" (Li, 2007, p. 4) into linear problems, problems for which then, a technical solution can be provided. Providing such a technical solution for a development project then, Li calls *Rendering Technical* (Li, 2007, p. 123). Development processes of improving a situation are rendered technical by breaking down problems and by employing expert knowledge, in that sense defining what kind of knowledge is adequate for the improvement of a situation, thereby limiting discursive positions and creating boundaries between those who are capable to "diagnose deficiencies" (Li, 2007, p. 7) and those who are

not. At the same time, this process also renders developmental questions apolitical, a dynamic that Ferguson describes as the *Anti-Politics Machine* (Ferguson, 1994a).

The Anti-Politics Machine is a term that describes the dynamic of development projects in Lesotho. In his seminal study, Ferguson claims that by creating the notion of technical solutions for development, development agencies and states are disregarding the political nature of developmental questions, thereby not only creating the need for the existence of the development apparatus, but also negative "developmental" outcomes for the local population, as issues of political power at stake are not being included. Development is arguably being displayed as something that is being neutrally implemented to improve the condition of the local population, thereby excluding "the political character of the state" (Ferguson, 1994b, p. 178) or the existence of political relations of any kind. Describing the situation in Lesotho, Ferguson comes to the conclusion that: "It seems likely that such apparent political naivete is not a ruse, but simply a low-level manifestation of the refusal to face local politics which for institutional reasons, characterizes the entire "development" apparatus" (Ferguson, 1994b, p. 178). Essentially, Ferguson claims that the development thematic is not understood as a political one: "By uncompromisingly reducing poverty to a technical problem, and by promising technical solutions to the sufferings of powerless and oppressed people, the hegemonic problematic of "development" is the principal means through which the question of poverty is de-politicized" (Ferguson, 1994a, p. 256).

This process of apolitization is thereby understood as a discursive practice (Li, 2007, p. 10), as political questions of the distribution of power, land, or mineral rights (in this case) are framed as being questions of correct technical implementation. "Closure […] is indeed a feature of expert discourses. Such discourses are devoid of reference to questions they cannot address, or that might cast doubt upon the completeness of their diagnoses or the feasibility of their solutions. In particular […] they exclude what I call political-economic questions—questions about control over the means of production, and the structures of law and force that support systemic inequalities" (Li, 2007, p. 11). Similarly, Escobar (Escobar, 1995) sees the discursive formation of development and especially the need for it as key to understanding processes of power that take place. He describes how talking and thinking about specific regions, in his case "*the Third World*" but maybe also the Canadian Arctic are nearly impossible to think or talk about without thinking in developmental terms. This precondition of developmental thought arguably dominates thought about specific regions by "authorizing views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling over it, ruling over it" (Said, 1979, p. 3; Escobar, 1995, p. 7). What Said describes as how imaginaries of the Orient have been constructed vis a vis the West is hereby understood as taking place in the whole context of development. Preconditioning development for certain regions has created a way how geographical imaginations are specifically shaped, depicting a space as backward, thereby devaluing other geographical imaginations of said space that might depict the same space in other ways, a process that arguably also takes place in the Canadian Arctic. As the notion of development is often found within the analysed documents hereafter, this paragraph aimed at showing how notions of development are connected to geographical imaginations and how this might shape Arctic space, the primary concern of this thesis.

3.9 The Framing of the Discourse Analysis: Impact Benefit Agreements

In closing the chapter about Canadian imaginations of space, this paragraph aims at creating an adequate frame for the following discourse analysis, based on the considerations presented above. This frame shall explain why an empirical focus on documents provided by industry proponents, different levels of government and Indigenous groups makes sense. In accordance with the above presented considerations about Canadian imaginations of space, I argue that this framing ought to successfully capture the discursive landscape around mining and the Canadian North, as the negotiation of policy is taking place around these actors.

What has changed since the Berger Inquiry in terms of policy towards resource extraction projects is the establishment of many land claims agreements with Indigenous peoples, resulting in a "clear understanding of legal entitlement to energy and mineral resources" (Nuttall, 2010, p. 79) for Aboriginal communities, with individual communities negotiating agreements over landownership within a territorial or provincial framework, mostly granting land, as well as subsurface mineral rights to parts of said land to Indigenous communities. In that sense "to consult and deal with Aboriginal communities may be a statutory requirement, but it is also a practical business matter" (Nuttall, 2010, p. 94). In this dynamic, Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs) evolved during the 1980s and 1990s as an ever more important tool for engagement with Indigenous communities. Or as Campbell and Prémont understand it: "Convergence of various factors such as the search for the social acceptance of projects or the consent of indigenous communities, insufficient territorial taxation, and the shortcomings of regulatory frameworks in setting the conditions of natural resource development has led to the emergence and proliferation of negotiated agreements between industry and territorial communities" (Campbell and Prémont, 2017, p. 174).

Indeed, the rising importance of IBAs between industry proponents and Northern communities is illustrated by the fact that such agreements have become requirements for the development of natural resources in many places, such as in Nunavut and the Northwest Territories (Campbell and Prémont, 2017, p. 175). Campbell and Prémont describe how IBAs are essentially a product of Canada's unique legal structure, which grants mining priority over any other form of land use (Campbell and Prémont, 2017, p. 176) and gives the government limited power in influencing the dealings of mining companies. In that setting, IBAs provide Indigenous people as well as private companies with increased bargaining power. Thus, the authors see IBAs as a step towards deregulation and an increasingly twisted role for the government.

> *"what distinguishes IBAs from other components of resource governance in the North (such as mining codes, Crown land regulations, environmental impact assessment processes, comprehensive land claim agreements, various forms of licensing, and so on) is their bilateral and private nature: they are typically signed between an industrial proponent and an indigenous government, with no direct involvement by federal or territorial government representatives or agencies, and no public policy framework guiding their negotiation, terms of reference, or implementation"* (Levitan and Cameron, 2015, p. 261).

Indeed, IBAs are especially noteworthy for the absence of the state from negotiations, a fact that is argued for as empowering Northern communities, whereas other arguments speak of a neoliberalization of mineral development (Levitan and Cameron, 2015; Campbell and Prémont, 2017). As the discussion about neoliberalization is an ongoing and complex one and neoliberalization can be understood as a bundle of ongoing processes (Peck and Tickell, 2002) that might even contradict each other, and, its wide range of uses as an elusive analytical term having diminished its analytical value (Venugopal, 2015), only the particular understandings of the term for the specific context of mining in Northern Canada and IBAs shall be considered. Levitan and Cameron hereby understand neoliberalization as the "rolling back" of traditional state functions and the "rolling out" of state functions that "deepen institutional linkages with globalized capital" (Levitan and Cameron, 2015, p. 265). They do not understand the state in this particular context as being hollowed out by neoliberalizing processes, but that a specific institutionalized understanding of the state's functions is.

> *"With regard to its larger responsibilities (notably concerning indigenous peoples), the federal government is selectively very present in attracting foreign investment (no entry barriers; and the option of exporting profits and invested capital, including tax-free equity capital), supporting industry through tax incentives and conducting the geodetic surveys that are essential to industry. However, the federal government is rather absent from its role vis-a-vis indigenous peoples in the negotiation of IBAs. Current efforts to ensure the competitiveness of the investment environment at the national and international levels strongly encourage the provinces and the*

federal government to develop regulatory frameworks and practices that aim above all to be attractive to investment" (Campbell and Prémont, 2017, p. 177).

In connection to discourse theory, this dynamic can be understood as shifting the discursive understanding of the functions of the state, thereby limiting in what terms the state can be thought of, such as it being a part of negotiations between the industry and Indigenous communities. The discursive understanding of the reorganization of state functions is especially complex within indigenous-state relations (Levitan and Cameron, 2015, p. 266), as the state has been culpable of countless illegitimate interventions into the life of Indigenous people (as briefly sketched out above), which needs to be considered when wanting to understand positions towards how the functioning of the political economy is understood.

The absence of the state within frameworks more and more guiding resource extraction in the Canadian North understood as neoliberalization is discursively underlined by Levitan and Cameron describing how the extension of private property rights for Indigenous people is based on the idea that equality can only be reached through the institutionalization of White settler property regimes (Dempsey, Gould and Sundberg, 2011; Levitan and Cameron, 2015, p. 268): "The language of self-reliance and responsibility "hijacks" notions of self-determination", they argue, leaving First Nations with the opportunity to "self-determine within the narrow confines that are stipulated by the white capitalist elite" (Levitan and Cameron, 2015, p. 268). This dynamic "represents a new form of cultural and economic colonization insofar as it promotes resource extraction in indigenous territories and restricts the sovereign control of communities over affected lands" (Levitan and Cameron, 2015, p. 268). The dependency on the state is merely replaced by the dependency on a corporation. A naturalization of the industry taking over governmental tasks and regulation is occurring in the Canadian mining sector, with a power shift happening between the main actors of government, industry and the local (Indigenous) population.

As this chapter ought to have shown, there exist countless factors that influence contemporary imaginations of the Canadian Arctic and the North. Further, positions are highly complex and cannot be squeezed into a binary understanding of the North or mining, differing between the many individual stories and experiences of people living in and engaging with the North and with mining. In order to even rudimentarily do justice to all the differing discursive understandings of individuals, extended ethnographic field work would be necessary. As this is not possible within the scope of this thesis, the following discourse analysis shall focus on a limited set of actors or actor groups in whose statements discursive positions might be analysed more easily. Thereby, the discursive landscape shall include a spectrum that by all means possible does justice to the different understandings of Northern and Arctic space. The discursive landscape shall thereby orient itself around the Canadian geographical imaginations discussed above, as well as the described political economy of mining and the actor groups present within the negotiation of Arctic resource policy. An interesting frame for this purpose is not only proposed by the negotiations taking place around the new Northern and Arctic Policy framework, but also by the actors involved or excluded in the negotiation of IBAs, as such agreements are continuously becoming more important for how space and place are shaped in the Arctic mining sector.

4. Empirical Analysis

This thesis has the goal of understanding the discourse about geographical imaginations of the Canadian Arctic, thereby specifically trying to highlight the role of geographical imaginations for political decision-making in the context of mining and imaginations of the future. In order to be able to grasp differing narratives towards these topics, a plethora of different documents shall be analysed, following the above-described theory and worked out methodology for discourse analysis, applied onto the empirical frame of mining and the actors within the Canadian Northern mining industry, as described in the previous chapter. The analysed documents are referenced by using a number between 1-64 for each of the documents respectively, followed by the page number within the document; e.g. (5, p. 12). A complete list of all documents, as well as which number corresponds to which document can be found at the end of the thesis.

4.1 Description of the Corpus

For that purpose, the New Northern Policy Framework from 2018 offers a great vantage point, from which to map this discursive field. The New Northern Policy Framework was created by the federal government (Trudeau administration) and included a consultation process aimed at including all positions, but especially indigenous voices (9, p. 1). For that purpose, many different stakeholders were invited to create documents to reflect their positions towards Arctic policy making in the future. This resulted in a number of documents, which might create an entry point, from which to understand what narratives are shaping discourse about the Canadian Arctic. As sketched out in the chapter about the formation of Canadian Arctic Geographical Imaginations (see p. 25), the focus of the analysis shall lie on governmental, Indigenous, and industrial positions. The documents provided through this consultation process already provide positions from these sides. Besides the published federal Northern and Arctic Policy Framework, there are documents available from territorial governments, from different Indigenous groups, as well as from the NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines, representing an industry perspective. For the second step of the analysis, which includes the analysis of discursive positions found within previous administrations and provincial governments' documents, such documents were additionally incorporated. To compliment the documents available in direct reference to the New Northern and Arctic Policy Framework, a wide list of available documents was compiled. This includes mostly strategy and action plans from the governmental side, strategy papers and consultation reports from the Indigenous side, and strategy papers, sustainable development reports, or mining journals from the industry side. Additionally, documents from NGOs were also included, as these documents also offer an assessment of the mining industry, its future, and its role in the Canadian North that is not clearly attributable to one of the identified actor groups within policymaking in the mining sector, or because NGOs such as the Gordon Foundation have platforms which provide a voice to Indigenous people. These documents arguably helped to saturate the corpus by providing additional sources. A full list of the analysed documents is available in the appendix of this thesis.

The vantage point of the new Northern and Arctic Policy Framework also provided a means for limiting and saturating the corpus. Because the Trudeau Administration published the first relevant Policy Papers in 2017, and the first documents from the consultation process for the new policy framework were published in the same year, most documents, except for the ones used for the analysis of previous federal administration's' positions, are from 2017 or more recent. There are a few exceptions, however. A few strategy papers from the provincial side, that are analysed in the second analysis step are older than that, the oldest one being from 2011, however most provincial documents are from 2015-2020. Additionally, a few documents from the industry side are also a little older. This has two main reasons. One is the inclusion of the report: Levelling the Playing Field: The Future of Mining in Canada's North from 2015 (41), commissioned by the Mining Association of Canada. This report has been included, because many of the newer strategy papers specifically refer to it, thereby making it a credible up to date source. The

second reason is the inclusion of a few documents created by the NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines that advertise the future of mining in the North. The reason for the inclusion of these documents being, that they are available on the website of the chamber and therefore can be understood as representing current views as well.

In total, this compiles a list of 64 documents, of which 43 were used for the first step of the analysis and 21 for the second step. The saturation of the corpus is not only guaranteed because the focus of the analysis lies on a limited set of actors, of which recent and available documents were included into the corpus, but also because during the process of coding and interpretation, it became evident that many documents used the same type of argumentation, resulting in a similar discursive understanding of the Canadian North. I do not believe that an extension of the corpus, which would have been possible by including different webpages of governments, Indigenous groups, mining companies or mining chambers would have altered the results of the analysis in a meaningful way.

4.2 Coding

Finding Categories

In order to find the sought-after discursive structures, these need to be coded for. Coding happens in the search of discursive elements, which are either words, word orders or semantic concepts describing a discursive understanding. Such codes then function as a search help and are either defined in advance or during the coding process. However, it should always be clearly defined, what the reason is for coding an element. Within the discursive elements, one might then look for articulations: regularities how discursive elements are connected, in that way creating a discourse (Glasze, Husseini and Mose, 2009, p. 295).

As the argument presented in this discourse analysis is, that the different categories, discourses of thinking about Arctic space, are inherent in texts about the topic, categories should not only be applied deductively. In that way, one might diminish the chances of establishing a teleological narrative through beforehand created categories (Glasze *et al.*, 2009, p. 236), presenting the analysed data on the basis of predefined assumptions about the nature of the imagination of Arctic space. Still, as a consultation of secondary literature for the enhanced understanding of historic discourse formation is inevitable and the author is also positionally biased, categories cannot be created without preliminary assumptions. It is for that reason, that creation of categories in this thesis follows a combination of preliminary assumptions as presented in chapter 3 about the formation of Geographical Imaginations in the Canadian Arctic and the description of the political economy of the Canadian Arctic mining sector (p. 25ff), combined with categories resulting from a superficial skim of the corpus. These starting categories were then continuously engaged with during the coding process and adapted to better reflect the discursive understanding found in the documents. The idea for the creation of categories thus follows the assumptions of qualitative content analysis, as presented by Gläser (Gläser, 2009, p. 201). Categories should be strongly based on theoretical foundations, such as the above presented chapters about how geographical imaginations might have been formed in the Canadian Arctic, while similarly being open to changes in the coding structure, as information might surface that is not part of these theoretical assumptions. In that sense, qualitative content analysis is a highly rule-based approach (Gläser, 2009, p. 204): It approaches all texts with the same method and same theoretical foundation. This foundation is not set in stone but can be adjusted during the process of analysis. However, adjustment needs to be accounted for by the researcher for maximum transparency. In that way, there is no contradiction between a rule-based approach and the necessary openness of the process of analysis. The above-described thoughts therefore result in the following initial code structure.

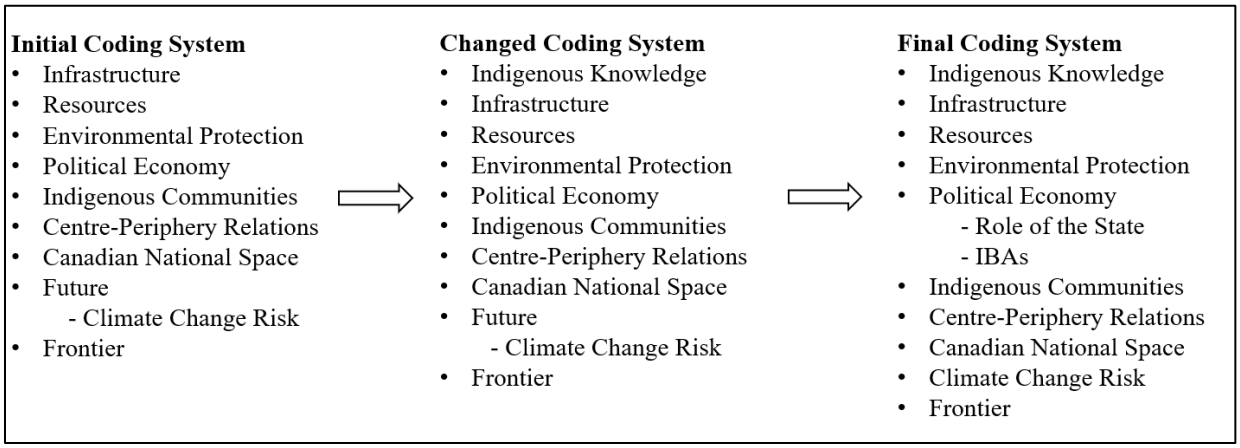

Figure 3: Evolution of the Coding System.

The Initial Coding System was based on preliminary assumptions made on the basis of the secondary literature read and the topics they engaged with, an initial skim of the available documents and the topics that were discussed there, and a selection of topics based on the focus of this thesis. As this thesis engages with the concept of the frontier, more especially with the resource frontier and its conceptualization as a dualism of a category of analysis as well as a particular understanding of space (see p. 25), the coding category *Frontier* focuses on said understanding of the Arctic mining sector as a frontier space. As the focus of Arctic policymaking and the focus of this thesis lies on mining, the precondition for coding categories is their connection with mining. Direct mentions of mining and its effects are thereby covered by the category *Resources*. This is not an excluding factor, as there are many interconnections between individual categories and the documents were chosen with a heavy emphasis on mining. From the engagement with secondary literature and concepts such as Planetary Urbanization (Brenner and Schmid, 2014, 2015; Brenner, 2016) as well as a skim of the documents, it was obvious that the engagement with different imaginations of the workings of the political economy are instructive, as it is not only interesting, how different actors' perspective on the political economy looks like, but also how perspectives on supposed centre-periphery dynamics of extractive industries such as mining would look like, creating the basis for the category *Political Economy* as well as for the category *Centre-Periphery*.

Directly connected to that topic and how it is perceived are the topics of what role *Indigenous Communities* play in these dynamics. Not only does the secondary literature provide a stark incentive to more deeply engage with the role that is imagined by and for Indigenous communities in the resource extraction industry considering the problematic history of relationships between Indigenous people and the government of Canada (see p. 28). But ongoing debates over land rights agreements and controversies such as Kinder-Morgan's Trans Mountain pipeline (Hernandez, 2021; Wilderness Committee, 2021; Woodside, 2021), but also generally the prominent position that Indigenous communities hold in the North, making up a large share of its population (OECD, 2021) equally stress the need for an occupation with Indigenous communities. That such a focus is necessary is further underlined by the ongoing legacies and discussions of colonialism (Dickason, 2006), high-modernism (Farish and Lackenbauer, 2009), and "cultural genocide" (Truth and Reconciliation Comisson of Canada, 2015) in the context of the treatment of Indigenous people, as the most recent findings of mass graves at former sites of residential schools show (BBC News, 2021; Austen, 2021; Mosby and Millions, 2021). That this complex history as well as the notion of the frontier is directly connected to the Canadian imagination of national space (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi, 2011b; Williams, 2011; Cooke, 2013; Medby, 2018) as an imagined community (Anderson, 1983) led to the creation of the category *Canadian National Space*.

From an engagement with the mining sector and the literature that engages with mining in the North, it becomes clear that the topic of *Environmental Protection* is also pivotal for an understanding of imaginations of Northern space. Whereas it is striking how proponents of the mining industry often pronounce the environmental sustainability of mining and its role in the transition to a low-carbon economy, such an understanding is not necessarily shared by all actors whose documents were skimmed for the creation of the initial coding structure. That this could be a point of different opinions and interesting dynamics is further confirmed by literature engaging with environmental degradation (Sandlos and Keeling, 2016) and differing understandings of such effects (Sandlos and Keeling, 2015).

Further, the initial document skim yielded the following categories to focus on. *Infrastructure* is a constantly surfacing topic in the context of mining and the economy and the North. At first glance, all involved actors have a stance towards infrastructure development and how it is connected to other issues. As the examined documents usually express a specific vision of the future for the Arctic and the future of mining, the category *Future* was created. This category was thought of as a category combining different aspects of all topics to be engaged with during the coding process, as not only the preliminary assumption of engagement with the Arctic in academic literature often is the increased accessibility of the Arctic and its resources in the future, but also because this notion is often found in the documents itself. Additionally, this category is heavily influenced by recent research about Arctic resources (Guerrieri, 2019; Lempinen and Lindroth, 2021) and the employment of concepts such as Future Geographies and Anticipatory Action (Anderson, 2010a, 2011). I argue that the engagement with frontier imaginations implies the imagination of a specific future, which leads to the assumption that the topic of how the future will look like, is a focal point of the analysed documents. In this context, the category *Climate Change Risk* was also created, as, because the assumed imagination of the future often occurs in connection with the exploitation of untapped resources being made accessible by the changing climate, it is instructive to see, how different actors assess the changes that arguably arrive with a changing climate.

During the coding process, it became obvious, that the engagement with how *Indigenous Knowledge* is referenced and imagined could be a worthwhile extension of the coding system. As many of the analysed documents refer to the role of Indigenous Knowledge in monitoring and safeguarding mining projects, the imaginations of the role that Indigenous Knowledge ought to play might be instructive of how general balances of power are understood, but also how problems such as environmental protection and the implementation of specific projects are imagined to function.

Additionally, as the framing of IBAs as the neoliberalization of the political economy of mining in Canada (Levitan and Cameron, 2015; Campbell and Prémont, 2017) and the prominence of Impact Benefit Agreements in the documents show, it is interesting to see, how attitudes towards the political economy and the role of the state between different actors differ, whether there have been remarkable changes in that regard, as Impact Benefit Agreements arguably change the structure of the political economy. For that purpose, the Code *Political Economy*, which aims at highlighting differing understandings of how the political economy works, was extended with subcodes for further analysis, that more specifically focus on the *Role of the State* and *Impact Benefit Agreements*.

During the coding process, it turned out that a separate category for the discussion of future elements was futile, as the imagination of the future is a central element of most of the analysed documents even more than anticipated. This is, on one hand, no surprise, as most documents are strategic documents which obviously propose a vision for the future. Nevertheless, this is remarkable, as the imagination of a future that differs to a great extent from the present is a narrative, that is expressed throughout the analysis, overarching the discussions of the single coded for elements. Therefore, it was concluded that it would make more sense, to include a discussion of what future imaginations connected to a specific subcode are in each individual code as a basis for a broader discussion of said feature. These further changes resulted in the final code system as visible in figure 3 (p. 42).

4.3 Strategy for Discourse Analysis

After having coded for the above-described categories, the compiled data needs to be analysed. For that purpose, the analytical tools presented in the theoretical chapter about Discourse (see p. 11) shall now be applied. Each individual code is analysed separately, before summing up the findings in a more concise manner. Such an extensive account of the analysis is necessary, as to provide a maximum of transparency of all the interpretative work done as well as to potentially highlight the discursive understandings which the researcher is subject to. For each code presented above, an overview over the code and its relative importance for the discourse about the Canadian Arctic and mining is given first. Afterwards, the Nodal Points of the discourse, dominant elements, are identified, before the more contested parts of the discourse are presented: the Floating Signifiers. The more contested part of the discourse are then analysed by employing an *Argument Analysis*.

As for each discursive position within an individual code only one specific argument is analysed, adequate representation of different positions and arguments within the discourse needs to be guaranteed. For that purpose, subcodes were created within the individual codes described above. Each subcode then contains the elements, which are represented by one type of argument, as presented in figure 6 giving an overview over the types of arguments used within each code (p. 58). This process can also be better understood by referring to the provided MAXQDA dataset. In that way, all the documents, all codes, what elements were coded for and what subcategory they were ascribed to can be traced, providing a maximum of transparency for the coding and interpretational process. For the first part of the analysis, out of 31 identified arguments, of which many are of the same type but are used within different codes, 19 argument types, a selection caused by a focus on contested parts of the discourse/Floating Signifiers, are analysed using Argument Analysis and further tools. These representative arguments are analysed after the following scheme:

Claim:	
Data:	
Warrant:	
Backing:	
Modality/Transitivity:	
Emotions/Future:	
Level of Abstraction:	
Interpretation:	

Figure 4: Scheme for Discourse Analysis. The different arguments found in the empirical part are filled into this scheme for specific analysis. All analysed arguments and how they fit into this scheme can be found in the appendix.

The first four points, Claim, Data, Warrant, and Backing are part of Fairclough's Argument Analysis (see p. 21) and aim at deconstructing what specific understandings are behind each argument, as their reasonings are understood as practices of spatial construction (Felgenhauer, 2009, p. 265).

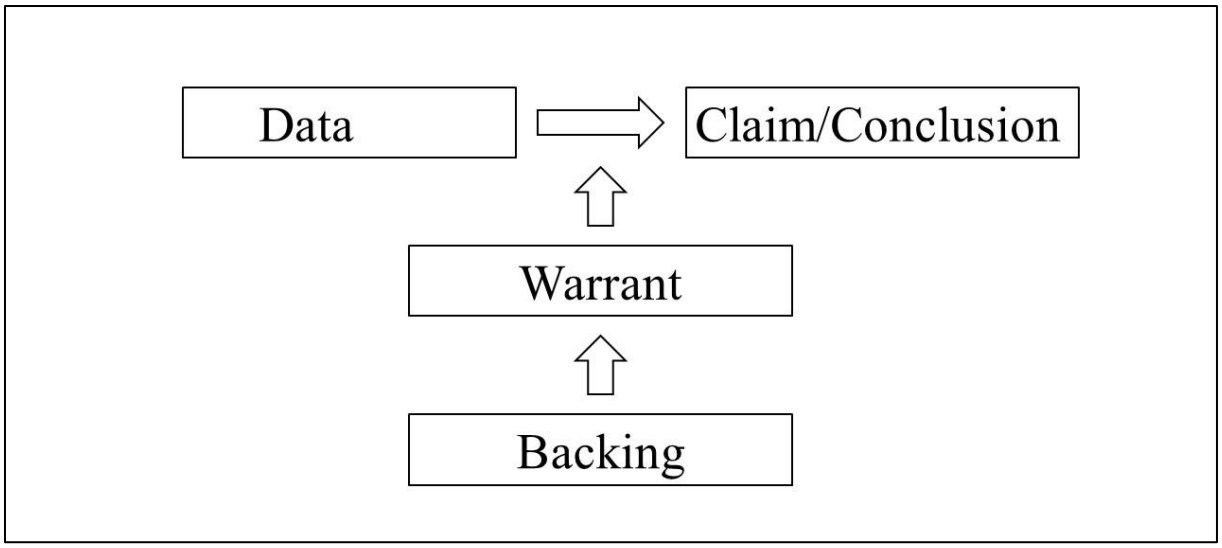

Figure 5: Reminder: The Approach of an Argument Analysis, (after Felgenhauer 2009, p. 267).

The further structure of the analysis engages with other presented tools for understanding the construction of spatial realities. Modality, Transitivity and the Level of Abstraction are part of Fairclough's discourse analysis theory and are useful for an in-depth understanding of the sentence structure and how responsibility and agency is discussed. The category Emotions/Future takes a specific look at how the future is constructed in the specific argument. As the discussion of the Emotional Turn and Geographies of the Future, as well as the initial skim of the analysed documents have shown, the construction of the future plays a central role in the negotiation of Canadian Northern space. These elements are then summarised and discussed for each individual argument under Interpretation. At the end of the analysis of each individual code, the findings for said part of the discourse are summarised and the positions of specific actors are described. In order to assure a more structured reading of the empirical part of this thesis, the analytical steps have not been fully included here. All 19 fully analysed arguments, as well as how they have been analysed and interpreted can be found in the appendix of this thesis (p. 83). Below, only the description and interpretation of the ten individual codes described above is included. Still, such empirical work is not easily presentable in a concise manner. For a better overview, the findings of the analysis of individual codes (following) and individual arguments (appendix) are discussed in a more concise and more clearly arranged manner following the analysis of the individual codes (p. 58).

The questions to be answered in relation to the imagination of Canadian Arctic space and mining through the first part of the discourse analysis are:

- What are the Nodal Points of the discourse?
- What are the Floating Signifiers of the discourse?
- What type of arguments are used in connection to what topic (code)?
- What actors use what kind of arguments?
- What are the connections between different topics (codes/arguments)?
- Is there an overarching narrative defining the imagination of the Canadian North?

Having now explained the theoretical background of discourse analysis, the understanding of geographical imaginations as discourses, the structure of the corpus, the coding structure, as well as the strategy for empirical analysis, the empirical analysis of the individual codes will be presented in the next step.

4.4 Discourse Analysis Part 1: Canadian Arctic Discourse

In the following, each individual code as presented above, the textual elements coded for, and their meaning and significance for Canadian Arctic mining discourse is presented. For every code, first an overview is given over each code, followed by an interpretation of the code and its meaning and importance for the discourse of the Canadian Arctic mining sector based on the discourse analysis structure above. For lack of space, said structure of discourse analysis and the individual arguments that have been analysed are not incorporated into the main text, but can be found in the appendix (p. 83). For the sake of clarity, all different arguments described and analysed within the discourse analysis are summarized in Figure 6, p. 58. Individual analysed documents are here referenced by using a number between 1-64 for each of the documents respectively, followed by the page number within the document; e.g. (5, p. 12). A complete list of all documents, as well as which number corresponds with which document can be found at the end of the thesis.

Code: Climate Change Risk

In general, the analysis of the Climate Change Risk code confirms the assumption implied in the initial creation of the code that there exists a focus on climate change and the attached risks within the discursive structure of the analysed texts. However, the code plays a relatively small role in comparison to other topics. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 25 textual elements were concerned with the risk of climate change, represented in 13 documents. This relatively small representation is partly caused by the code referring to superficial mentions of climate change risk for the future. More specific arguments in that regard are included in other codes such as *Environmental Protection*, *Infrastructure*, *Resources* or *Political Economy* and will be discussed there.

The Nodal Point of the code is that it is generally agreed upon, that climate change brings more risks and changes to the Arctic and Indigenous communities. These risks take the form of dangers for traditional lifestyles in the form of wild food sources (1, p. 1) or travelling possibilities on ice (9, p.12), dangers to infrastructure (3, p. 1), as well as dangers to biodiversity (27, p. 2).

The Floating Signifiers of this code are expressed by the different evaluations of what opportunities climate change might bring. Whereas some voices argue that climate change will bring more economic opportunities to the North by granting access to its resources, other voices are more cautious in that regard. For that purpose, two representative statements, a *Cultural Argument* and a *Socio-Economic Argument* were analysed in-depth and can be looked at in-depth in the appendix (p. 83).

Interpretation of the Code: *Climate Change Risk*

Whereas it is generally agreed upon the fact that climate change is affecting the Arctic disproportionately, there are differences between interpretations of what the specific effects might be. There exist positions that see the dangers of climate change more starkly than the opportunities that might arise, represented by the *Cultural Argument*. This argument sees climate change as a factor in the erosion of cultural values and possibilities to live local culture and is used by Indigenous groups thereby creating a rather bleak image of the future. The second type of arguing, represented by the *Socio-Economic Argument*, sees climate change equally as a threat, but also as an opportunity through increased possibilities for economic activities. This argument is more nuanced, ranging from actors, such as industry proponents that mostly see opportunities (43, p. 12) over government positions that see many opportunities but also negative side effects (5, p. 4, 9, p. 31) to other Indigenous groups seeing mainly negative side effects but also opportunities (25, p. 5), thereby creating a more optimistic image of the future. Therefore, there not only exist differences in how actors see the balance between risk and opportunity of climate change, but more profoundly, on what basis this assessment takes place: on a cultural basis or on a socio-economic basis.

Code: Environmental Protection

Similar to the *Climate Change Risk* code, the environmental protection code confirms that environmental protection plays a significant role in Northern mining discourse. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 40 textual elements were concerned with environmental protection, represented in 17 documents.

The Nodal Point of this code is the fact that it is generally agreed upon between the different actors that more environmental protection is necessary and that mining needs to become cleaner for the future. This shall be achieved through the employment of clean technology (1, p. 1), environmental oversight (12, p. 13), the deployment of renewable energy (25, p. 8), and improved infrastructure connectivity (43, p. 6)

The Floating Signifiers of this code are expressed in terms of how a balance between economic growth and environmental protection should be struck. Whereas there are a few positions that argue that mining cannot be sustainable and environmental protection cannot be measured in economic terms, most actors argue for a balance between economic development and environmental protection. Additionally, there is a specific argument used by industry proponents, that highlights the role of mining for the societal transition to a low-carbon future by providing important metals for clean energy and technology. The different arguments, a *Cultural Argument*, a *Socio-Economic Argument*, and a *Necessary for the Future Argument* are found in the appendix.

Interpretation of the Code *Environmental Protection*

The analysed arguments offer an improved understanding of different narratives concerning the need for environmental protection. Positions agree on the fact that environmental protection is desirable and that more environmental protection needs to take place. Where positions differ, however, is to what extent environmental protection should compromise economic growth. The *Cultural Argument* is an argument that is used very scarcely, namely by a few Indigenous groups, NGOs, and in the report submitted by the Minister's special representative on Arctic Leadership Mary Simon to the Government of Canada (10), a report that summarizes hearings of a consultation process of the Northern public for the new Arctic and Northern Policy Framework. This argument argues on a fundamental scale and claims that environmental protection cannot stand in competition with economic growth and therefore that environmental protection needs to be observed separately, as "mining has never been, and will never be, environmentally benign." (28, p. 55) and therefore offers a rather negative outlook on the future. The most prevalent argument, the *Socio-Economic Argument* is, that there needs to exist a compromise between environmental protection and economic growth. This argument is tackling environmental protection on a meso-scale and is nuanced in different ways, putting varying emphasis on environmental protection or on economic growth, but agreeing on the negativity of the future, should this balance not be found. Whereas Indigenous groups are more cautious about environmental protection (23, p. 8), territorial governments see a healthy balance between environmental protection and growth (12, p. 21) already in place. Interestingly, it seems that the federal government does not take a clear position in that regard. Whereas the federal government publishes arguments such as the one above citing public consultation and taking a firm stand for environmental protection, it also argues pro-economically in a different context, in the Canadian Minerals and Metals plan (7, p. 10), published for a more specific pro-mining audience, taking the position of industry documents, which see the solution for environmental problems with "sustainable development" (35, p. 6). Discursive positions are extended by the *Necessary for the Future Argument*, an argument that is exclusively used by proponents of the industry and which states the need for a strong mining industry for the future of society, as only the mining industry can provide the metals needed for the transition to a low-carbon economy. This argument functions in providing a positive point to the mining industries' environmental balance, offsetting its otherwise more negative impact in the future.

Code: Indigenous Knowledge

The code Indigenous Knowledge is concerned with the question of how the role of traditional, indigenous knowledge is imagined by the different actors. The topic does not play a major role in the discourse. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 28 textual elements were concerned with indigenous knowledge, represented in 17 documents.

For the specific Nodal Point within the topic of indigenous knowledge, there is agreement insofar that indigenous knowledge has a role to play in the assessment and future of the Arctic and decision-making when it comes to mining and policy. However, while some arguments are concerned with the role that indigenous knowledge already plays in informing decisions as well as social and environmental impact assessments (37, p. 37), other arguments see an even more fundamental role for indigenous knowledge in the decision-making process (24, p. 3).

Indeed, actors disagree on a significant point, creating a Floating Signifier. Whereas one type of argument is claiming that indigenous knowledge is implemented too little and in an inadequate way into the decision-making process in the North or even see incorporation per se as a problem, this is contesting other arguments that already see an adequate role for Indigenous knowledge. This rift is reflected in the use of a *Cultural Argument* vis a vis a *Socio-Economic Argument* in this context.

Interpretation of the Code: Indigenous Knowledge

The conflicting positions towards the role of Indigenous Knowledge describe very different interpretations and understanding of its current role. The *Cultural Argument* describes the incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge as not compatible with its current functionality. It sees the necessity for a fundamental change in the role of Indigenous Knowledge and therefore criticizes its current use on a fundamental scale. This position is taken by Indigenous groups and NGOs that represent Indigenous and Northern voices. the *Socio-Economic Argument*, however, represents positions that are arguing exactly for the increased incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge, that the other position is criticizing so heavily. This is a position that is taken by the federal government, in the context of the Canadian Minerals and Metals Plan (7, p. 17), as well as by proponents of industry. This conflict of Floating Signifiers leads back to the positions described towards the role of indigenous knowledge in general. Whereas some actors are content with the limited role that indigenous knowledge is playing at the moment and see occurring problems as a technical question, other actors, especially Indigenous voices, see a systemic problem with the implementation of Indigenous Knowledge. Again, there are no clear lines between the different positions but rather overlapping ways of understanding the issue. While some Indigenous voices might argue for a fundamental disregard of Indigenous Knowledge (19, 23), there is also strong support from the Indigenous side for more inclusion in the decision-making process (20, 23, 25). Similarly, the federal government might argue for the increased inclusion of Indigenous Knowledge on a cultural basis (2, p. 9), while bringing up a *Socio-Economic Argument* in a different context, even though these are contradictory statements, as has been argued above.

Code: Resources

The Resources code is concerned with the question of what role resources play for the North and for Arctic futures. This is a central question of this thesis and documents are often specifically about mining and resource development. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 46 textual elements were concerned with what Resources should be used for, represented in 23 documents. This relatively small number of mentions for such a central aspect can be explained by the codes' overlap with other codes such *Political Economy* for the specific role of mining for the macro-economic

environment, *Environmental Protection* for negative sides of mining, and *Infrastructure* for the role of mining in the creation of infrastructure.

The code Resources is grouped around the very dominant Nodal Point that shall be called *Sustainable Development*. Almost all actors agree that the mining industry and the exploitation of natural resources have a distinct role to play in the sustainable development of the Northern regions of Canada. This type of argument, that can be classified as a *Socio-Economic Argument*, is differently nuanced, arguments highlighting the positive downstream socio-economic benefits (5, p. 12), seeing sustainable development as a tool for reconciliation (7, p. 17) and Indigenous participation (17, p. 4), while other arguments highlight the need for social and environmental safeguards (15, p. 20) and the need for more adequate compensation for Indigenous peoples and Northerners (22, p. 145).

The understanding of resource extraction as being a cornerstone of sustainable development in the North is only extremely marginally contested and can thus not be considered a major Floating Signifier. Whereas there are arguments that highlight the negative aspects of resource development for socio-economic development caused by boom-bust circles (26, p. 2), for the environment and traditional ways of life (22, p. 141), or for women (21, p.2), only one document considers a fundamentally different role for mining. These different positions are represented by a *Cultural Argument* and a *Socio-Economic Argument.*

Interpretation of Code: Resources

When it comes to imaginations of how resources are supposed to be used in the North, it should be noted that there is a general agreement that sustainable development is desirable, and that resource extraction plays a major role in reaching that, therefore making the *Socio-Economic Argument* the nodal point of resource extraction. There are different nuances of sustainable development with Indigenous groups generally being more cautious of negative impacts of mining, voicing the *Cultural Argument*, that states that socio-economic development is not the only factor but that political and cultural positions of Northerners need to be strengthened too. In contrast to that position stand mining companies, which see sustainable development almost happening automatically. Governmental positions can be found in between. Territorial governments are strongly convinced that sustainable development is to be reached based on resource development (13, p. 21, 12, p. 13, 11, p. 4), whereas the federal government, again, is very selectively talking about resource development. Whereas statements made in the New Northern and Arctic Policy Framework describe resource development as “responsible and sustainable resource development […] are key to the development of the region” (9, p. 11) and Indigenous ownership being “key to success in the sector” (9, p. 30), participation in mining is actively being promoted as a tool for reconciliation in the Canadian Minerals and Metals plan (6, p. 2). Mentioning mining as a tool for increased participation of Indigenous people and reconciliation while not even mentioning the role that mining played in creating the exact dynamic that makes reconciliation necessary would seem unthinkable of in the context of a different document.

Code: Infrastructure

The *Infrastructure* code considers the question of how different actors understand the role of infrastructure for the North. Infrastructure is a central topic of many documents concerned with future developments for the Canadian North. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 66 textual elements were concerned with the role that infrastructure plays, represented in 25 documents.

Infrastructure is one of the main Nodal Points of the spatial discourse in the North. Not only is it one of the key themes to be found within the discourse but it is also one that is the least contested, not only because ALL actors agree that there is an infrastructure deficit in the Arctic, but also because argumentation for closing the infrastructure gap is also based on very similar arguments. All actors use a type of *Socio-Economic Argument*, when arguing for the closure of the infrastructure gap in the North.

Besides arguing for improved transportation infrastructure, many actors also mention the need for more housing (5, p. 10), climate monitoring (11, p. 3), healthcare (11, p. 22), digital infrastructure (15, p. 6), as well as energy supply (28, p. 33).

A divergent type of argument is mentioned a few times not concerning the need for more infrastructure but the basis on which infrastructure investments should take place, thereby creating a small Floating Signifier for the infrastructural Nodal Point between a *Socio-Economic Argument* and a *National Argument.*

Interpretation of the Code: Infrastructure

When it comes to infrastructure, the discourse seems to be very mainstreamed. All positions agree on the need for more transportation infrastructure, as well as on other features such as digital infrastructure, housing, healthcare, and energy supply. There are, however, a few differences that can be observed between the different discursive elements. Whereas arguments used by Indigenous groups, NGOs and governments argue for infrastructure in a very general sense, simply highlighting the socio-economic benefits of more infrastructure, the mining industry is quite clear about what infrastructure should be built for: for better mining opportunities. It should be noted that this does not mean that other positions are not favouring mining or that industry proponents do not favour other socio-economic effects of infrastructure, the ideas of how economic development functions are just more explicitly focused on mining, in the case of the industry, and on more general dynamics, in other cases. What is remarkable, again, is that governmental positions also overlap more with industry positions in documents that are more clearly concerned with mining and more clearly created for an industry audience. (5, p. 10; 7, p. 12; 12, p. 17).

The only divergent type of argument is used by Indigenous groups. The *National Argument* demands for increased investment in Northern infrastructure due to the Arctic being part of Canada. Often, the term “nation-building” is used to refer to needed efforts by the state to make the North a full part of Canada (20, p. 8; 23, p. 16; 25, p. 4). This is particularly interesting, because Indigenous groups are actively leveraging their belonging to the Canadian nation as an argument for increased state investments, while the Canadian state has been known to use Indigenous land claims for its own claims over Arctic marine space (Nicol, 2010; Stephenson, 2018).

Code: Frontier

The Frontier code is concerned with how imaginations of the Arctic as an empty space filled with untapped resources still influence the imaginations of the region. It is specifically prevalent within imaginations of the future of the Arctic. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 61 textual elements were concerned with the imagination of the Canadian Arctic as a frontier, represented in 20 documents.

Most statements issued share a similar imagination of the Canadian North as rich in economic potential, creating a frontier Nodal Point around the imagination of the Canadian North as a space of great economic potential, using a *Socio-Economic Argument* in the context of the frontier. Whereas some positions stated see potential in more general terms for tourism, culture, as well as mining (2, p. 7), the overwhelming majority of statements sees the economic potential of the Arctic in the context of its mineral resources. This does not mean, however, that all actors imagine the region as a resource frontier of the future, as statements of Indigenous groups cannot be read within a frontier narrative.

The Floating Signifiers for the frontier narrative can thus be found in the context of how Northern space is imagined specifically. There are a few statements by Indigenous groups that actively resist the frontier discourse that stand in stark contrast to many statements made by industry proponents that reinforce

exactly that picture. The type of arguments used in this context hereby are a *Socio-Economic Argument*, a *Resource Frontier Argument*, as well as a *Countering the Frontier Argument*.

Interpretation of the Code: Frontier

The frontier code poses, in my eyes, a more finely grained representation of the general discourse about the Arctic and its imaginaries. Two things are particularly striking: The first is, that the frontier discourse is not used by Indigenous actors, whereas ALL other actors use the discourse in one or the other way. This is not surprising, as a frontier imagination is arguably an understanding that can only happen from the outside, and people that see the Canadian Arctic as their ancestral land do not see the region as peripheral and empty and therefore such statements will not be found in documents published by such actors. In contrast, this is not at all the case for territorial governments, which very much state the economic potential of mining in the North in a frontier context (12, p. 5; 14, p. 6; 15, p. 14; 17, p. 5). Again, this is not to say, that Indigenous groups are not in favour of mining, but that their perspective on the place that the Arctic takes in the world is much more understood as central instead of peripheral. In general, the use of a *Socio-Economic Argument* reflected in the frontier discourse is prevalent with most actors, except for Indigenous people.

Another important point is the part of the frontier narrative, *the Resource Frontier Argument*, that is being employed by industry proponents and defied by Indigenous people. The resource frontier argument is exclusively being used by industry proponents (and a thinktank assessing mining potential) and describes the Canadian Arctic as traditional (28, p. 55), empty land (37, p. 12), that challenges one for its riches (37, p. 25). Even more, the North is referred to as "virgin land" (37, p. 14), "elephant country" (37, p. 45) or simply as a frontier. This description is contested by the type of argument, the *Countering the Frontier Argument*, that heavily criticizes the depiction of the North as a peripheral frontier to be exploited by the centre. The prevalence of such frontier imaginations is highly problematic, as it stands in direct contradiction to what residents of the region want the region to be depicted like. Even though statements countering the frontier discourse were only sparsely found within the documents (10, p. 3; 23, p. 12), I argue that this attitude is more prevalent because, as argued above, residents do not have a reason to engage with the frontier discourse, as it is not part of their own understanding of space. *Resource Frontier Arguments* are by no means on the fringes of the discourse but are found throughout industry documents, even in more recent ones such as the "Submission To The Government Of Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations And Northern Affairs In Regard To Discussions Contributing To The Arctic Policy Framework" (43) by the NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines that aims at creating a policy-making process inclusive of voices of all stakeholders. Such disregard of other stakeholders' positions, in my eyes, seriously questions the sincerity of the vocal approaches taken to enable Indigenous participation and create engagement on par. How can a policy process with inclusive engagement and positive outcomes for all function, if neocolonial understandings of space prevail within industry engagement documents? This attitude is additionally highlighted by the statement within the same document:

> *"Outside forces destroyed the fur and seal economies of the North, taking away traditional self-reliance, and forcing an increased reliance on government support and social assistance. The actions of these outsiders have contributed to increased social problems across the North."* (43, p. 9)

It seems highly questionable to me if the authors of a document that criticizes outside forces of destroying local economies while in the same breath inviting outside forces into an empty land to profit from mineral resources can be sincere in wanting to commit to a Northern and Arctic Policy Framework with having the interests of the local population in mind, besides their participation in the mining industry.

Code: Indigenous Communities

The code Indigenous Communities is concerned with the question of how the role of Indigenous communities is imagined within the discourse of the Arctic. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 45 textual elements were concerned with the role of Indigenous communities, represented in 23 documents.

The most prevalent imagination and with that the Nodal Point of the imagination of the role of Indigenous communities is the imagination of them being a successful part of the economic future of the region. This *Socio-Economic Argument* is mainly concerned with creating economic participation and benefits for Indigenous communities, especially through participation in the mining sector.

Another important point mentioned in connection with the role of Indigenous communities is the imagination of how they might be part of the decision-making process, the *Participation Argument*. Even though there are differences to be observed, these differences are not articulated starkly enough to be considered a Floating Signifier. Whereas articulations ranged from "Aboriginal governments need to be full and equal participants in decision-making" (28, p. ii) to more modest articulations in the form of "meaningful engagement with Canada's Indigenous peoples" (11, p. 2), the basic understanding of the role of Indigenous people was shared across statements. For that reason, there shall be no argument analysis for this code, but the issuances of the Nodal Points shall be discussed more actor-specific in the discussion of the first empirical part (p. 58).

Interpretation of the Code: Indigenous Communities

As described above, the role of Indigenous communities in the Canadian Arctic is predominantly understood as them being part of the future economic success of the region, as well as part of decision-making around policy and mining in an increased fashion. The uncontroversial nature of the code might be explained by its ill-chosen definition. By coding for an understanding of Indigenous communities and their role, I already presupposed a perspective from the outside, onto Indigenous communities, a perspective that is not inherent to Indigenous communities themselves. This one-sided categorization might explain the relative absence of Indigenous voices from the code concerned with Indigenous communities. Only three out of 45 statements concerned with Indigenous communities were made by proponents of Indigenous communities (18, 23, 24), with two more statements coming from an Indigenous person writing about Indigenous worldviews for an NGO (29).

The statements categorised as *Socio-Economic Arguments* indeed create a very positive outlook on the future for Indigenous communities as they underscore the economic opportunities that the North holds and the benefits that Indigenous communities can derive from that. This understanding is especially prevailing within industry documents, also strongly emphasised in government documents, and also found within statements made by Indigenous groups. In terms of decision-making, industry proponents emphasise the role that Indigenous communities play for social and environmental impact monitoring or input in "our decision-making" (40, p. 17). Decision-making powers for Indigenous people are similarly pronounced in government statements: "Canada is committed to meaningfully consult with Indigenous peoples on resource and infrastructure projects in the decision-making process, in accordance with Aboriginal and treaty rights" (9, p. 31). Only very few statements see a more fundamental role for Indigenous communities, surprisingly issued in the Future of Mining report by the NGO The Conference Board of Canada (28, p. ii, p. 44), which also represents many arguments closer to industry positions.

Code: Centre-Periphery Relations

This code is designed to highlight the understandings that are coupled with the relationship between the Arctic and the more Southern part of Canada and how this relationship should be engaged with. Out of

521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 47 textual elements were concerned with the role of Centre-Periphery Relations, represented in 16 documents. The small number of documents might on the one hand be explained with the overlapping of the code with the codes *Political Economy* and *Canadian National Space*, but also with the relatively low number of statements found in industry documents.

The Nodal Point of centre-periphery relations is that generally, it is agreed upon that the Northern part of Canada is substantially lacking behind the Southern part of Canada and that this needs to change. Agreement is mainly based on economic factors, making this Nodal Point a *Socio-Economic Argument.* The inequalities to overcome mentioned are the lack of input in decision-making (2, p. 4), lack of economic opportunities and infrastructure (16, p. 7), lack of education (16, p. 9), lack of adequate housing (16, p. 15), lack of research participation (23, p. 8), and cultural marginalization (24, p. 10).

The more contested part of the discourse, the Floating Signifiers, are, what the structural reasons for negative centre-periphery relations are and to what extent such deficiencies are overcome. Whereas federal government positions admit to wrongdoings in the relationship with the North in the past, Indigenous communities see many structural dynamics continuing in the present. Industry statements see the solution for structural injustices in economic development. These differing understandings are represented by an analysis of three different kinds of Political Arguments, a *Historic Centre-Periphery Argument*, an *Ongoing Centre-Periphery Argument*, as well as a *Good-Centre Periphery Argument*.

Interpretation of the Code: Centre-Periphery Relations

The understanding of centre-periphery relationships offers one of the most obvious Floating Signifiers of Canadian Arctic discourse. Whereas positions generally agree that tremendous socio-economic differences exist between the North and the South and that these need to be addressed, there is a stark contrast in the perception of the effect of new policies. Whereas the federal government admits to wrongdoings of the past (9, p. 1), represented by the *Political Argument: Historic Centre-Periphery Relations*, it also emphasizes the new character of relationships between the federal government and Northerners. Indigenous groups, however, do not share this notion of a fundamental policy change:

> *"Federal policies and investments are required that support Indigenous Peoples to enact our own visions of our collective and individual futures, and not just the ability to avail ourselves of the predetermined and finite opportunities created by distant policy-makers"* (23, p. 12).

The narrative that established itself through Indigenous positions is, that socio-economic improvement is only one part of reconciliation and face to face relationships, and that the focus on socio-economic aspects and not on foundational imbalances of power are exactly the reason why no real overhaul of the centre-periphery relationship can happen, represented by the *Political Argument: Ongoing Centre-Periphery Relations.*

In this dynamic, the territorial governments take a special position. Whereas they assert to more decision-making power for the people in the North, this mainly seems to extend to the territorial governments themselves: More power should be shared with territorial governments, on a national, as well as an international scale, exemplified by the statement that "Northern Premiers reiterate our desire to be engaged in decision-making processes that involve the North and avoid unilateral decision-making, such as the Canada-US Joint Leadership Statement, which imposed a moratorium on new offshore petroleum licensing in the Canadian Arctic without any prior consultation" (11, p. 4). As for increased participation and structural imbalances of power concerning Indigenous people, the territorial governments see the solution for this problem in improving the economic situation and even see the centre-periphery relationship defined by mining as a positive one (12, p. 8). With this attitude, the territorial governments seem to exactly embody what Indigenous groups criticize as the structural reasons for continuing inequalities and centre-periphery relations.

Industrial proponents are taking an "apolitical" position that refers to structural injustices as soluble through the expansion of mining operations, which will solve the problem through trickle-down economics. Even though single critical stances towards the past can be found within the documents, these refer either to the past as being firmly in the past (37, p. 6) or as being the responsibility of the government (43, p. 9). In that sense, centre-periphery relations are not understood as fundamentally negative, but rather as a relationship of which can be profited off.

Code: Canadian National Space

In combination with the codes *Centre-Periphery Relations* and *Indigenous Communities*, this code is concerned with the imagination of the role that the Arctic plays for Canadian national space as a whole. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 44 textual elements were concerned with the Arctic as part of Canadian national space, represented in 16 documents. The small number of documents concerned with this question might be due to the fact that NGOs and industry proponents were not concerned with the question of the North for national imaginations. Statements about the topic are only found within documents by territorial and federal governments, as well as by Indigenous people.

The Nodal Point of the imagination of Canadian national space is that the Arctic is generally understood as being a part of Canada by all actors. This understanding is especially pronounced in terms of the maritime character of the North and the inclusion of the Northwest Passages into Canadian national space (3, p. 2), forming the *National Argument*. When it comes to sovereignty claims, it is striking that actors use Canadian claims to the North and the perceived increasing interest in the region as an argument for *Socio-Economic* demands for the region. Naturally, actors agree that citizens of the North should be full members of Canadian society and also admit to the significant limitations for Northerners to exercising the same rights and possibilities as Southern Canadians (4, p. 4).

However, it remains disputed as to what extent and in what regards the government is working towards the pronounced goal of parity between North and South. This is especially contested in terms of political power and creates a Floating Signifier for the understanding of Canadian national space (19, p. 11; 20, p. 15; 23, p. 6). As the argumentation for the lack of political participation for Northerners is similar to arguments analysed within the Centre-Periphery Code, especially the *Political Argument* type, such arguments shall not be analysed in-depth, but will be included in the following interpretation of the code. Instead, the focus will lie on how actors use the Canadian claim to Arctic sovereignty in different ways to create demands for their agenda, thereby turning usual argumentation patterns upside down, represented by a *Cultural Argument* and a Socio-*Economic Argument*.

Interpretation of the Code: Canadian National Space

Canadian national space is not disputed from within. The discursive narrative is clear on the point that the North is part of the Canadian nation and Canada has a Northern character. The use of such understandings differs, and takes the form *of Cultural*, *Political* or *Socio-Economic* Arguments. Statements from Indigenous people specifically assert that the North is not fully recognized as an equal part of Canada and therefore Indigenous people often claim that they are primarily Northerners and not Canadians (22, p. 10; 23, p. 6). That there is a difference between the North and the South is recognized by all actors. This difference is usually pronounced in *Socio-Economic* terms. However, the lack of engagement on par and political participation is criticized by some Indigenous positions (19, p. 11; 20, p. 15; 23, p. 6), similarly to the *Political Argument: Ongoing Centre-Periphery Relations,* seeing the lack of real participation as the main hindrance for the full "Canadianness" of the North.

The federal government is leveraging Indigenous communities as part of the Canadian nation as an argument for Arctic sovereignty (2, p. 2; 8, p. 79). This argument is picked up by Indigenous communities and used to argue for increased investment in the North, as well as for more political demands, as to conform to the pronounced Northern character of Canada (25, p. 5). This is striking,

because for other parts of the discourse, argumentation on a *cultural* basis is more often used by Indigenous groups, whereas a *Socio-Economic* argument is usually strongly present within positions taken by the federal government. For the part of the discourse concerning the Canadian nation, the types of arguments used seem to be reversed.

The imagination of national space, however, is also negotiated by territorial governments. Territorial governments are positioning themselves as the champions for Indigenous self-determination, reconciliation and decolonization (15, p. 23). This is surprising in regard that, as discussed within the interpretation of the code *Centre-Periphery Relations*, territorial governments mainly champion increased decision-making power for themselves but not necessarily for Indigenous people. Between the arguments used by Indigenous communities and the federal government, the territorial governments use both arguments at the same time. Whereas Indigenous history is used for jurisdictional claims over Northern space (17, p. 6) and demands for more political power for the territories (17, p. 1), territorial governments also employ the argument of Northern communities being the sovereignty argument of the federal government for demands of infrastructural development and investments for "economic parity" (17, p. 7). Thereby, the territorial governments use Indigenous claims to navigate their own agenda towards the federal government, without engaging, however, with the full scope of what Indigenous positions are demanding and criticizing, also about the territorial governments, such as the lack of political opportunities and the "Southern" character of territorial governments (19, p. 14; 20, p. 1). It seems that territorial governments are cherry-picking the features from Indigenous positions that are useful, while disregarding other demands. The territorial governments are leveraging the Indigenous character of the territories for *Socio-Economic* demands and more political powers, while at the same time disregarding demands for reform or more political participation for Indigenous people on the territorial level.

Code: Political Economy

The Political Economy code is by far the largest one. This is understandable as most documents are concerned with the economic future of the Canadian North and therefore provide a specific understanding of the functioning of the Political Economy. Out of 521 coded textual elements for the first part of the analysis, 85 textual elements were concerned with the functioning of the Political Economy, represented in 29 documents. Additionally, the role of the state was already introduced as a subcategory early during the coding process, providing additional 11 textual elements. The imagination of the role of the state will be discussed in the interpretation of the code.

The Nodal Point of understandings of the Political Economy of the Canadian Arctic is the prevalent agreement between all actors that economic growth is necessary, making the whole discussion about the functioning of the political economy one based on *Socio-Economic Argument*s. Generally, actors agree that economic growth is the precondition for prosperity and healthy communities in a region that lacks economic opportunities and "high quality of life" (17, p. 3). This notion of growth is also framed as sustainable development, as a diversified, socially and economically responsible economy. What this entails, specifically, and by what means, is more contested, however.

The way that economic development should function is imagined in two different ways. Whereas there are voices that are cautious about economic growth, especially of the mining sector, and highlight negative side effects, such as the negative impacts on women (21, p. 4), the traditional subsistence economy (20, p. 10) or Northern communities (22, p. 78), positive aspects are also highlighted in terms of employment and economic opportunities, giving this type of argument the name *Balance Argument*. This perspective is countered by a different view on the Political Economy of the North that sees mining as the cornerstone of the Northern economy and highlights the many positive aspects of the mining economy in the form of trickle-down effects (7, p. 19), as well as the need for the North to develop

according to its comparative advantage and sees the functioning of markets as the defining factor of how the economy is organised (15, p. 2), the *Market-Based Argument.*

Interpretation of the Code: Political Economy

The understanding of how the Political Economy works revolves around a shared understanding for the necessity for growth in order to enhance opportunities and the standard of living for everyone. Whereas this paradigm is often depicted as sustainable development, the actual understanding of sustainable development is often differing. In that dynamic, the role for the federal government is seen as having the responsibility to develop strategies for growth, diversification (4, p.4), and for "closing the gap" (15, p. 2). Most importantly, however, the federal government is, by all actors, understood as responsible for providing funding and initial investment, especially for infrastructure (15, p. 2; 20, p. 9; 25, p. 2). In this shared understanding, economic prosperity can only function if initial investment is provided, investment that creates the structures and modalities that can enable economic growth, prosperity, and sustainable development. How sustainable development functions, however, differs between the different actors.

Indigenous groups are the most cautious about economic growth prospects and often reflect a wariness of negative impacts on women (21, p. 4), the traditional subsistence economy (20, p. 10) or their own communities (22, p. 78). Nevertheless, a world is imagined where a traditional economy can coexist with a "Southern" economy, which is dominated by mining. Territorial governments strongly favour economic growth and mining, as these elements are seen as the tools for prosperity for the region (17, p. 1). Additionally, the territorial governments are specifically pronouncing the responsibility of the federal government in providing the necessary investment for infrastructure that facilitates economic activity and provides the possibility for "closing the gap" (15, p. 2). The industry, in contrast, strongly argues for the positive benefits provided by the mining industry and sees sustainable development as functioning automatically. The trickle-down effect of the presence of mining is heralded as the main factor for growth and prosperity in the North, which is to be continued in the future (43, p. 4). Additionally, the need to work according to a regions' comparative advantage is pronounced. Not surprisingly, the comparative advantage of the region is mainly seen in its richness of natural resources (41, p. 8), but also by Canada's great international reputation in terms of human rights and environmental standards (40, p. 12). Further, it is striking how much the industry argues in terms of having to comply with market forces and pressure from international markets, creating the need for the reduction of taxes and laxer regulatory frameworks (28, p. 4; 40, p. 22; 41, p. 6). When it comes to the position of the federal government, different arguments concerning the functioning of the political economy are pronounced in different contexts. Whereas a diversified economy based on fisheries, tourism and mining and responsible development are pronounced in the new Northern and Arctic Policy Framework (9, p. 19, 25, 30), the arguments in the Canadian Minerals and Metal Plans reflect a more important role for mining and depict the North as subject to trickle-down effects from mining (7, p. 19) and in need to adjust to better fit the economic needs of the mining industry (7, p. 35).

In general, no single position is considering the structure of the Northern political economy and its strong focus on mining as an extractive dynamic per se, as understood within concepts such as Planetary Urbanization. The only position that reflects such an understanding comes from the NGO MiningWatch Canada, which states that the biggest part of mining profits is leaving the territories, thereby questioning the success of "trickle-down" economics (26, p. 4). Even though some, especially Indigenous positions, are more cautious about the extractive industries and their effects on the land and see the transformations (in accordance with Planetary Urbanization) that mining brings, no position is totally against mining and the (negative) impacts it might bring but see mining and the effects it brings as necessary tools for economic growth, which will enable diversification and prosperity for the region in the long term. This position is also expressed in the different attitudes towards Impact Benefit Agreements (IBAs). Indigenous positions as well as a few NGOs are quite critical towards IBAs and the way they are

implemented, criticizing the lack of transparency (21, p. 6), missing implementation of contractual elements (26, p. 13) or gender aspects (21, p. 8). The current state of IBAs is even described as:

> *"Indigenous communities do not recognize current impact assessment systems as mechanisms to protect individual or collective rights; instead, communities observe the current system as one that allows industries to undertake massive mining and extraction development projects to accelerate their companies' economic growth"* (21, p. 6).

Still, the very same actors issuing such statements are not against IBAs but merely criticize how they are implemented and still see opportunities in such agreements (21, p. 9). At the same time, industry proponents and territorial governments herald IBAs as a hugely successful mechanism for Indigenous participation and even reconciliation (40, p. 23), while the federal government, again, only mentions IBA mechanisms in the Canadian Minerals and Metals Plan (7, p. 17) but not in documents relating more specifically to Northern policymaking or Indigenous people.

In that sense, I conclude that there are no pronounced Floating Signifiers in terms of the understanding of the functioning of the political economy on the basis of mining. All actors agree that economic growth is necessary and desirable and even though some actors might be very cautious about negative effects, mining is essentially seen as a central tool to that end.

4.5 Discussion of Part 1 of the Discourse Analysis

In this section, the results from the first step of the discourse analysis above shall be discussed in more detail. First, a general overview over the types of arguments used within the discourse shall be given, followed by a more detailed discussion of Nodal Points and Floating Signifiers of the discourse. This shall be done by summing up the interpretational part of each analysed code and by discussing the different actors' positions and use of arguments in more detail for the most contested parts of the discourse, dividing the analysis between industry, territorial governments, federal governments and Indigenous groups. Finally, it shall be discussed, how the discursive landscape of spatial imagination in the North could be described and what the implications of the features of the discursive landscape are for a next analysis step.

Figure 6: Overview Over the Different Argument Types Analysed. Yellow Marked Arguments are Nodal Points, whereas Purple Marked Arguments are Floating Signifiers)

Considering the used arguments and the analysis thereof, it is striking that the discussion about Northern space takes place on two preliminary modes of arguing. On the one hand, for every analysed topic, represented by an individual code, a *Socio-Economic Argument* was used. If this type of argument was not recognized as the Nodal Point, an uncontested part of the discourse, it was at least featured as a Floating Signifier, a way of arguing that was not shared by all actors (see Figure 6, above). On the other

hand, the discussion about the Arctic very much takes place on the basis of assumptions about the future of said space. The argument analysis showed that most arguments are concerned with creating a specific understanding of how the future of the region might look like or what conditions for a successful future must be met. These two ways of arguing show that the discussion about Northern space is very much defined by socio-economic terms and is also very much directed towards the future. Even though other ways of arguing can be found within the discourse, I argue that the prevalence on these modes of arguing signifies a power/knowledge component that defines the way, in which space is being produced in the Arctic.

The least contested elements of the discourse are concerned with the codes *Infrastructure, Resources*, and *Indigenous Communities*, and are very much represented in the actors' understanding of the *Political Economy*. Still, these discursive elements are important to understand the general dynamic of the discourse, as they build an uncontroversial foundation for the more controversial elements. All discursive positions agree that an increase in economic activities is necessary, that resources will play an important role for the future of the North, more infrastructure is going to be needed for the future, and that Indigenous communities will have a role to play in the future. Whereas different positions exist on the possible negative impacts of economic expansion and resource exploitation, what specific role Indigenous communities play in the decision-making process, and to what end infrastructure is being built, all actors still argue on a socio-economic base and agree on the basic features of these elements. From the understanding of the Political Economy, a more generalized understanding of the North in economic terms can be deducted. Thinking in economic terms is clearly the most prevalent within industry documents. It is striking that industry actors not only continuously pronounce the market features of the North, such as its comparative advantage in terms of resources, but also emphasize the stresses that the international dynamics of the economy put on mining companies and how governments need to create a competitive environment for companies (e.g., in the form of lower taxes). Territorial governments are also arguing very much in economic terms by highlighting the important role that mining inhabits in the territorial economy and the many benefits it brings, but also by highlighting the federal governments' responsibility to finance economic programs and infrastructure. On the other side of the spectrum are Indigenous groups, who are usually most cautious about linear growth perceptions, see more environmental and social problems with mining and also pronounce their wish for a "dual economy" where traditional subsistence patterns can exist parallel to a capitalist economy, which importantly also includes mining activities. The federal government is positioning itself in between those positions. Whereas in some documents, caution about environment and social justice for Indigenous people is pronounced, other documents for other audiences stress the positive trickle-down effects of mining in the North, thereby operating with strongly market-based ways of arguing. This ambiguity of the federal government, depending on which document is analysed, is found throughout the analysis and will thus be further discussed below. Still, what this paragraph shows is, that the basic structure of the discourse is built on a socio-economic understanding of Northern space centered around growth, where resource exploitation and infrastructure are necessary parts of the future.

Contesting Socio-Economic Foundations: Cultural Arguments

More contested elements of the discourse are found in the codes *Climate Change Risk, Environmental Protection, Indigenous Knowledge* and to some extent in the code *Resources*. These codes complicate the uncontroversial foundations identified above because they are a lot more contested and show arguments that actively contest the socio-economic imagination of a harmonic future, on a cultural basis. In terms of differing assessments of climate change risks, actors might agree that the Arctic is disproportionately impacted by climate change, but disagreement quickly arises. The *Socio-Economic Argument* that pronounces the economic opportunities arising from a changing Arctic is used by all actors, but most strongly by industry proponents and territorial governments and least strongly by Indigenous people. This argument is countered by a *Cultural Argument* employed by Indigenous People

that fear for the extinction of their culture due to the enormous changes in the biosphere. This fear and caution are also reflected in the attitudes towards *Environmental Protection*. Whereas all actors employ the idea of a balance between growth and environmental protection, Indigenous groups are most wary about environmental protection. The industry takes a position that favours economic growth and heralds the need for mining for the transition to a low carbon economy, while the territorial governments see little problems in combining environmental protection with healthy growth. In a recurring pattern, the federal government does not take a specific position. Again, the socio-economic understanding of space is countered by cultural arguments that state that an intact environment is part of a healthy society, and that the environment cannot be accounted for in economic terms and economic growth cannot stand in competition with environmental protection. This type of argument is pronounced by Indigenous groups, NGOs and in the engagement paper by the federal government. This indicates the rifts that begin to emerge between actors purely arguing on a socio-economic basis and actors that have a worldview, in which the socio-economic perspective is complemented by other elements.

This rift is to a smaller extent also visible in the *Resources* code, which has been described above as relatively uncontroversial. There, the pronounced cultural argument is already stressing the important features for "sustainable development" that are outside of the economic sphere. This is also pronounced by differing understandings of the role of *Indigenous Knowledge*. Whereas industry proponents and the territorial governments see the use for Indigenous Knowledge in a limited role of advising decision-making concerning environmental protection and social safeguards for economic prospects[7], Indigenous positions see a fundamental incompatibility of indigenous knowledge being used as a foreign element within a Western system of governance dominated by economic concerns. Instead, such arguments see a fundamental change necessary in order to incorporate indigenous knowledge on par with other ways of knowing. This assessment already hints at the real rift that exists between different positions within the discourse. It is not so much defined by the socio-economic understanding of the Arctic, even though positions also differ in that regard, but more so by the elements outside the economic sphere: Encounter on equal terms and political questions.

Discursive Differences: Political Participation

The most distinctly emerging differing positions within the discourse about Arctic space are topics that are found outside of the socio-economic sphere, specifically where some positions might be within the socio-economic sphere and others outside of it. Such controversial positions are found within the codes *Centre-Periphery Relations*, *Canadian National Space*, and *Frontier* and as described above also to a limited extent within the codes *Resources* and *Indigenous Knowledge*. Within both the codes *Centre-Periphery Relations* and *Canadian National Space*, which occupy very similar themes, agreement exists in socio-economic terms, where all actors admit that there exist substantial socio-economic differences between the "North" and the "South". In this context, it should be noted how understandings of national space and jurisdiction are being used to leverage arguments for socio-economic investment. The federal government is leveraging Indigenous communities as part of the Canadian nation as an argument for Arctic sovereignty (Nicol, 2010; Stephenson, 2018). This argument is in turn used by Indigenous communities to demand increased investment in the region, as well as more political powers, as to conform to the pronounced Northern character of Canada and the full membership of the North in the imagined Canadian community (Anderson, 1983). Thereby prevailing argumentational dynamics are turned around, because the federal government argues on a cultural basis, whereas Indigenous groups leverage a specifically socio-economic argument. In other instances, Indigenous groups more often argue on a cultural basis and the federal government pronounces the socio-economic aspect more often.

[7] As the position of the federal government is depending on the context, the federal governments' position will be discussed separately in more depth.

Outside of having to engage with differences between North and South economically, however, deep rifts between the actors can be found. For both codes, Indigenous actors argue that there is a fundamental imbalance of power and recognition between the North and the South and this problem needs to be addressed, should the North really become a full part of Canada and centre-periphery relations be overcome. The idea of an imbalance of power is picked up by the governments, with the federal government admitting to past wrongdoings and power imbalances but also by pronouncing the fundamental change in the relationship through the introduction of the New Northern and Arctic Policy Framework. This attitude is not necessarily shared by Indigenous voices, that are already criticizing the lack of engagement for this very document (20, p. 4). Essentially, the two codes show a political rift between Indigenous positions and the federal government. Indigenous actors argue that socio-economic improvement is only one part of reconciliation and the establishment of face-to-face relationships, and that addressing only socio-economic aspects and not foundational imbalances of power is exactly the reason why centre-periphery relationships cannot be overcome and why the North is still no full part of Canada. The federal government, however, argues that imbalances of power are an injustice of the past and that a new era in the relationship between government and Indigenous people is commencing.

Concerning this issue, the territorial governments take a specific role in between Indigenous positions and the federal government. Whereas a centre-periphery relationship and the incomplete recognition of the North as part of Canada is admitted to and more investment by the federal government is demanded for, Indigenous sovereignty claims are also used to demand more political power for Northern actors. However, these demands are limited to the territorial governments themselves. Thereby, the territorial governments use Indigenous claims to more power to support their own claims towards the federal government, without engaging, however, with the full scope of what Indigenous positions are criticizing. It seems that territorial governments are cherry-picking the features from Indigenous positions that are useful, while disregarding other demands. The territorial governments are leveraging the Indigenous character of the territories for *Socio-Economic* demands and more political powers, while at the same time, disregarding demands for reform or more political participation for Indigenous people on the territorial level because increased participation and structural imbalances of power on the territorial level are not recognized. The territorial governments see the solution for power imbalances in improving the economic situation. With this attitude, the territorial governments seem to exactly embody what Indigenous groups criticize as the structural reasons for continuing inequalities and centre-periphery relations.

Proponents of the industry take an “apolitical” position towards structural injustices perceived by Indigenous people by continuously relying on socio-economic arguments and largely ignoring questions of political power. The trickle-down effects of mining are understood as automatically addressing the structural problems of the North and centre-periphery relationships are thus also not necessarily understood as negative.

This understanding is further illustrated by specifically discussing socio-economic or sustainable development reports provided by mining operators. As is visible from the corpus, the documents used for the discourse analysis were generally strategy papers or reports based around the New Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, but other documents were also included in the analysis. Because industry proponents do seldomly directly comment on policymaking, few documents directly involved in policymaking from the side of the mining industry were analysed, complimented by a wide range of journals or said socio-economic or sustainable development reports.

The analysis of sustainable development reports does not yield many distinct results for an improved understanding of discursive structures in regard to political questions, however. But maybe, the documents should not be understood in terms of what is present, but rather in terms of what is missing. These socio-economic impact reports are constructed as an objective, scientific analysis of socio-economic dynamics within the context of a specific mine by introducing extensive measurements, tables and diagrams of different socio-economic factors. In that sense, the reports create an image of an

objective scientific study, that comes to the conclusion that socio-economic factors are being objectively monitored: Just look at the numbers.

In the example of the Baffinland socio-economic impact report on its Mary River mine (31) in the territory of Nunavut, low numbers of Indigenous employment (15%) are described as a success story due to its increase from previous years (31, p. 10). Similarly, resource and land use environmental problems are deemed unproblematic. "The Project will not have a significant effect on harvesting within the land use study area as a result of Project development" (31, p. 65) without clearly stating what the exact "land use study area" is. This positive outlook in the report is questioned by recent developments at the Mary River Mine, where Indigenous hunting groups have blockaded the runway of the mine, criticizing the insufficient environmental impact measurement of the mine extension on their hunting grounds (Bell, 2021; Frizzell, 2021; Venn, 2021). But such more complicated discussions do not have a place in the socio-economic impact reports that the industry compiles.

Similarly, the TMAC socio-economic monitoring program report for its Hope Bay project of 2019 (32) assembles a multitude of numbers and indicators without talking about their problematics. The fact that only 8% of employees are Indigenous (32, p. 5-3) is simply accepted and highlighted positively, as charts that are being discussed see "substantial personal income benefits to employees" (32, p.5-8), whereas the percentage decrease of the Indigenous workforce is simply not discussed. Additionally, an increase of female employees by 70% is hailed as a success, even though female employment is only 11% after that increase (32, p. 5-7), remarking on all the efforts the company takes to hire more female personnel. "No qualitative indicators are included in the SEMP at this time" (32, p. 2-9) and no effort is done in the report to contextualize the findings that are being naturalized through quantitative representations.

These are only exemplary explanations of how such socio-economic reports work, but they are representing the way in which such reporting is done within the mining industry in the North. Being structured and employed that way, socio-economic reports can be understood as creating a discursive framework that limits, in what terms impact can be understood, but also how these socio-economic terms are understood themselves. As these reports are a result of the agreements between the mining companies, the territorial government, territorial review boards, and Indigenous groups, it should be questioned, how the power/knowledge interaction in this case facilitates the creation of a specific understanding of socio-economic impact reviewing. What is largely missing from the reports is meaningful engagement with the topics being discussed besides the compiling of an endless stream of numbers and diagrams. The reports do not engage with their subject or with more difficult questions in a meaningful way, but rather compile an endless list of positive indicators. Often, the interpretation of data is limited to an analysis of how the numbers of indicators in the reports have developed over the years, but not what the potential socio-economic reasons for that could be, nor are the more important political aspects highlighted above discussed.

This position is not only problematic as it ignores imbalances of power, but also because it is reinforcing such imbalances, as the analysis of the code *Frontier* shows. The analysis of the *Frontier* code shows that imaginations of the North as a remote, economically promising space are present within the imagination of all actors, except for within Indigenous positions, as they arguably do not see their homeland as a frontier space. Whereas the prevalence of this type of argument is already problematic in terms of seeing the North on an equal footing (even though this argument is also used by territorial governments), it is the strong prevalence of the *Resource Frontier Argument*, which stands in specifically stark contrast to Indigenous positions. This argument is found throughout industry documents and depicts the Arctic as virgin, empty land that is ripe for economic exploitation. Not only do such arguments stand in stark contrast to Indigenous perceptions of the Arctic, but they also act as reinforcing the above-mentioned problematic imbalances of power by continuously disregarding the equal footing of the North, even though such statements also come from Chambers of Mining situated in the territories. As mentioned within the analysis of the code, it seems highly questionable, if actors

that deploy such an understanding of space are sincerely interested in overcoming the imbalances of power and committing to a Northern and Arctic Policy Framework with having the interests of the local (Indigenous) population in mind.

The Northern Narrative: Individual Positions

Following up on the analysis above, this section aims at summing up the positions of the four analysed actor groups (federal government, territorial governments, Indigenous groups, industry) in order to problematize their positions and create a basis for further analysis of governmental positions. Obviously, generalizations of this sort cannot do justice to each individual aspect and positions within actor groups obviously differ and might not be represented by the narrative created here. Still, I think that describing each actors' position more generally helps to understand the conflicts that arise in the discourse about the Canadian Arctic.

The position of Indigenous people is clearly the most cautious about the socio-economic promises of the capitalist economy. At the same time, Indigenous people are by no means against the expansion of a capitalist economy or mining. Their arguments favour increased economic activities, but they more often point to possible negative side effects and the responsibility of the governments for financing infrastructure as a historical deed and the need for meaningful participation in industry activities. At the same time, Indigenous people stress that in order for the North and Indigenous people to be on par with the South there is more needed than economic development: more political power through participation and in decision-making that really includes Indigenous people instead of simply consulting them in a predefined process.

Industrial positions wield socio-economic arguments in respect to every analysed topic within the discourse. Mining and an increase in economic activities is seen as beneficial for the region and its people, as many economic benefits will be provided. As, in its own eyes, the industry is creating tremendous benefits for the region but is subject to world market dynamics, it demands that the governments also subject themselves to these dynamics by enabling the operating firms to be more competitive. When it comes to questions of more political power for Indigenous people, industry positions take an "apolitical" stance. Indigenous power is often described as participatory and problems of the region are seen to be soluble by economic means, while at the same time, however, pronouncing the frontier character of the North, thereby undermining eye to eye relationships and reinforcing a centre-periphery dynamic.

The territorial governments take a position that strongly stresses the need for economic development of the territories. They pronounce the importance of mining and further mining development for the future prosperity of the region and generally argue on the basis of socio-economic arguments. Political power is being engaged with in terms of the relationship with the federal government. Besides demanding funding from the federal government, the territorial governments also demand more political power and participation. When it comes to more power for Indigenous people, however, territorial governments generally also see this as an "apolitical" problem, and as a socio-economic problem.

The federal government takes a special position within the discourse that is not always clearly fixable. Depending on the context, arguments are more clearly recognizing the position of Indigenous people, or are arguing more on a socio-economic basis, in line with territorial governments or the industry. For more unproblematic topics, the federal government is taking moderate positions within the discursive landscape, such as arguing for risks and opportunities of climate change. On other topics, the federal government offers multiple positions. Whereas the New Northern and Arctic Policy Framework generally offers positions that pronounce the need for environmental protection and social justice and does not argue exclusively on a socio-economic basis, the Canadian Mineral and Metals Plan, arguably created for a different audience but also by a different governmental agency, also offers a different

position. This ambivalent position is not so clearly visible in regard to topics, whose basis is socio-economic, such as Environmental Protection, Resources, or the functioning of the Political Economy. Here, different federal positions are not that striking, because there exists a basic rhetorical consensus of what is to be done, differences simply being the different pronunciation of economic or social and environmental elements.

However, diverging federal positions are more visible in regard to more contested topics, such as the above described cultural and political questions concerning Indigenous Knowledge, the role of Indigenous Communities in decision-making, or Centre-Periphery relations. It is very striking how, in one document, the federal government pronounces a new relationship with Indigenous people but in another document, from the same year, does not mention a need for a change in power dynamics in one sentence and rather pronounces the many positive effects of the trickle-down economics of the mining industry (7, 10). The two-faced nature of federal positions thus makes it very difficult to describe a general position of the federal government, because there arguably is none. Where to a certain extent, political questions and cultural problems are accounted for, at least in some documents, these are being met by a more "apolitical" stance in others. In any case, addressing the political nature of the power relationship between the federal government and Indigenous groups is limited to a few topics. As the discussion of Centre-Periphery Relations and Canadian National Space shows, an imbalance of power between North and South is admitted to. However, this is seen as a dynamic of the past and not as one of the present. Pronouncing a new relationship, however, does not hide the fact that the strategy for overcoming imbalances of power is still largely seen from a socio-economic perspective, in an "apolitical" fashion.

Summing up the discursive landscape of the Canadian Arctic, it can be argued that there exist two different axes of positions. There exists a socio-economic axis, that is touching upon every aspect of the discourse and is highly influential. There, positions often offer a basic common understanding, while differing between arguing more for the economic or the social and environmental side. There are no clear lines between pro/contra mining. Many Indigenous positions are also favouring mining, however there are trends that see Indigenous groups most cautious about mining and the industry the least concerned with negative effects. The governments are found in between, usually tending to be more on the industry side, especially the territorial governments.

The discourse becomes contested, when actors are leaving the socio-economic axis and are arguing on cultural or political terms. The focus on these elements shows where promises of engagement and inclusivity fall short, as whole parts of the discourse employed by Indigenous people, NGOs and even the federal governments' consultation process is ignored. It shows that there still exist fundamental rifts in the understanding of the Canadian Arctic, pronounced in its imagination as an empty resource frontier by industry proponents, but also by the differences in understanding fundamental problems in socio-economic or cultural/political terms. The "apolitical" stance that industry and governments take towards these problems is reminiscent of what Ferguson called the "*Anti-Politics Machine*" (Ferguson, 1994b) or Li called *Rendering Technical* (Li, 2007). The argument projected onto the Canadian North is that even though the admittance to past wrongdoings and imbalances of power by the federal government are an important step, problems will not be solved if dominant forces within industry and government continue to regard the state of the North as an "apolitical" socio-economic problem that can be solved by money, employment and infrastructure. Whereas these are important factors, the fundamental imbalances of power and critiques issued by marginalized (Indigenous) groups are continuously disregarded, thereby inhibiting a real change of relationship.

Now, in a next step, this thesis shall explore governmental positions in regard to these contested elements in a comparative fashion. On the one hand, territorial and federal positions shall be compared to positions of provincial governments for the purpose of getting a more profound image of how current Canadian governments are engaging with the question of imbalances of power and the above-described contested parts of the discourse. On the other hand, this analysis shall also be extended to past federal government

administrations. That way, discursive shifts between federal administrations can be explored in regard to that very same question.

4.6 Discourse Analysis Part 2: Discursive Positions Within the State

As described in the first part of the analysis, the most contested parts of the Arctic discourse shall be more profoundly engaged with in a second step. As was shown in the discussion of the first analytical part (see p. 58), the main discursive rifts in Canadian Arctic discourse exist in contestation of the socio-economic sphere, around the issue of political participation and continued imaginations of the North as a frontier. Whereas some arguments used by Indigenous groups claim that socio-economic improvements, which are proposed by all actors as needed for the future of the Arctic, are only part of the equation and that there continue to exist fundamental imbalances of power, which inhibit reconciliation and a true face to face relationship between the North and the rest of Canada, industry proponents usually argue most strongly in socio-economic terms, creating a narrative of the solution for agreed-upon deficiencies of the North being an "apolitical" one. Additionally, the imaginations of the North as a frontier are at least partially present within government discourse, especially on the side of the territorial governments, a feature that also directly connects to the political/apolitical nature of an imagined future of a space. These understandings shall now be further discussed in a second step by more specifically comparing the territorial and federal government's' positions towards these controversial aspects of the discourse with the positions inhabited by provincial governments and federal government administrations preceding the Trudeau administration. For that purpose, a new code for this specific analysis of available textual data is defined, which will help to engage with the positions of provincial and previous federal administrations specifically in a way that makes its positions vis a vis the positions of the Trudeau administration and the territorial governments clear.

Introduction of the Code Discursive Rift

The code, which shall be called *Discursive Rift* aims at specifically understanding the discursive landscape of the rift between political and apolitical solutions, frontier imaginations, and the understandings thereof within government. For that reason, the positions and arguments of territorial and federal governments shall be recapped briefly in the following. The federal government, the Trudeau administration, engages the discursive rift by admitting to political imbalances in the relationship with the North but by locating them firmly in the past. Whereas an inclusive political process and participation is stressed and thereby argued for on a political and cultural basis, the Trudeau administration also argues in a socio-economic way in other contexts, not mentioning the political dimension of the imagination of the future of the Arctic but rather the many positive economic benefits connected to extractive industries.

The territorial governments' position also argues on a political basis concerning the discursive rift described above, but with a different future outcome in mind. Territorial governments also see a need for more political decision-making power for Northern actors, but mainly see this as a question of power distribution between territorial and federal governments, excluding calls from Indigenous people for more political participation. Besides that, the territorial governments firmly argue on a socio-economic basis, understanding the solution for the closing of the gap between the North and the rest of Canada as a question of economic development based on natural resource extraction, thereby imagining the North as a frontier space.

Now, the code for the analysis of provincial government documents, as well as documents from previous administrations focuses on the expressed positions within the newly analysed documents vis a vis the positions of the Trudeau administration and the territorial governments above. That is why the code looks at understandings of differences between the North and the South, how the gap between the North and the South should be closed, and if the solution for that purpose is argued for on a socio-economic, cultural, or political basis. Also, is Northern space imagined as a potentially economically prosperous frontier space of the future? The engagement with these questions might offer a better understanding of

discursive shifts between federal government administrations but also of discourse formation within the different levels of government. The following questions are thereby of specific concern:

- Is there a discursive shift to be observed between the Trudeau administration and the previous Harper administration, especially considering the pronounced new relationship with the North under the Trudeau administration?
- Is there a similar discursive binary visible within the Trudeau government to be found within documents of the Harper administration or of provincial governments?
- Is the solution for "closing of gap" described mainly in socio-economic or in cultural and political terms?
- To what extent is the political nature of the discourse considered? Is there an admittance of political arguments and arguments about the distribution of power into the discourse happening or are political arguments marginalized by socio-economic ones?
- Do the arguments of provincial governments follow the logic of territorial governments, which pronounces the need for more political power for themselves but neglects the claims for more political power by Indigenous people?
- What role does the frontier narrative play in the imagination of Northern space and its future?

Certainly, if less contested aspects of the discourse, such as the agreement on the need for "sustainable development", the shared imagination of a prosperous future, the need for infrastructure development, or the continued reliance on mining are contested within the second step of the analysis, this would need to be engaged with as well.

Documents for the Second Part of the Analysis

For the second part of the analysis, 21 documents are coded according to the above defined parameters aiming at describing the discursive rift. 10 documents refer to previous federal government administrations and 10 documents refer to provincial governments. For the comparison between federal government positions, the emphasis lies on a comparison between the imaginations between the Harper and the Trudeau administration. Marginally, also the preceding Martin and Chrétien administrations are considered, but the analysis of these positions is limited to a complimentary engagement, due to the scope of this thesis, as well as the lack of readily available documents. Besides that, the discursive differences between the two administrations are of specific interest, as the Trudeau administration argues for a new kind of relationship, thereby aiming at a clear distinction from previous administrations. How this new relationship changes the discursive landscape is therefore a point of specific concern. Nonetheless, I propose that a consideration of a few documents from earlier administrations could highlight how defining the Harper administrations' role in shaping Arctic policy was. Stephen Harper made Arctic policy a central topic of his foreign policy (48, p. 5) and held multiple speeches about the topic. These speeches are an ideal focus point for the investigation of the understanding of the Arctic. For that purpose, four of Harper's speeches are being investigated in this second part of the analysis, taken from the encompassing collection of documents and relevant statements of the Harper administration towards Arctic policy by Whitney Lackenbauer and Ryan Dean (Lackenbauer and Dean, 2016). To compliment this account, a speech by Justin Trudeau concerning Arctic policy is also included, as to not engage with too different forms of texts, thereby complimenting the 10 documents from the federal side and the 10 documents from the provincial side.

For the analysis of provincial government positions vis a vis those pronounced by the federal and territorial governments, the analysed documents are mainly economic development plans published by provinces for the Northern parts of their province. These strategy papers are not primarily focused on

mining activities, but mining and extractive industries play a significant role in the imagination of future economic prosperity of the Northern parts of the provinces. However, some of the documents are not directly published by the provincial governments, such as in the case of British Columbia, but are published by government-funded trusts for the development of the North of the province. This difference will be incorporated in the analysis as much as possible. Again, the question arises, to what extent the future of the Northern part of the provinces is imagined in socio-economic terms and where this imagination might be contested by political arguments.

Provincial Positions In-Between Federal and Territorial Governments

When it comes to the discursive understanding found within provincial government documents, an obvious continuation of the most prominent discursive elements identified in the first part of the analysis is visible. For the Northern part of the provinces, the imagination of the future in terms of socio-economic development remains a key topic, with mineral resources similarly playing a pivotal role. Indeed, the very same points of emphasis identified in the first part of the discourse analysis are also valid for the provinces. The need to raise standards of living in the North and the need for more connectivity and infrastructure are key topics. Indigenous political power is mainly imagined in terms of input and consultation.

In a similar fashion as the Trudeau administration and territorial actors, provincial strategy plans do not provide many insights into cultural and political questions but cement the narrative of sustainable and inclusive development being achieved by promoting growth opportunities and establishing a strong economy. All other matters, such as environmental, social, and political problems, can arguably be complied with within a framework centred around economic growth, if they are being discussed at all. If it is not provinces but provincial government-owned funds for the promotion of economic development, an encompassing vision for the future of the North is also provided, but it is even less concerned with political or cultural questions, as is the case for British Columbia (55, 56, 63). The Look North Manitoba report (64) is an exception within the provincial reports. It engages more deeply with the structural injustices that hold back Indigenous communities, but also creates an image of more directly linking the North and Indigenous communities as being one entity, instead of creating different narratives for the white North as naturally being part of economic activities and the Indigenous North that needs to be included more. Nevertheless, the imagination of a prosperous future is mainly based on economic development.

Provincial governments certainly present themselves in a more politically conscious fashion than territorial governments. It seems like that they are aware of discursive sensitivities that need to be conformed with in Southern provinces, making sure that inclusivity and environmental protection are continuously mentioned throughout the documents. Nevertheless, the analysed documents should be understood not only in terms of what is present but also in terms of what is missing: the understanding of the world and how a successful future can be built is a socio-economic understanding, where a successful economy will also mean healthy communities. Political and cultural questions are being depicted only marginally and in a very specific way. Cultural arguments used in the provincial context reflect a discursive understanding that sees the preservation of Northern and Indigenous culture as an important feature for an inclusive future, but also more directly connects cultural arguments to socio-economic ones. By stressing how important a diverse workforce is, how companies need to make sure to create a more inclusive and culturally appropriate workplace (for Indigenous people), cultural arguments are also used to place the cultural dimension of the discourse within a frame of socio-economic success: An appropriate incorporation of cultural values can be used to ensure sustainable economic development. The same dynamic can be observed in regard to political arguments.

By using inclusive arguments for participation and reconciliation in an elusive manner, a styled-through type of argument is created (61, p. 14), an argument that effortlessly combines adequate consideration

of political and cultural questions with the economic growth maxim. Cultural and Political arguments have found their way into the discursive mainstream, without, however necessarily being connected to specific action. This is illustrated by the absence of political arguments that would really engage with the distribution of power or aspects criticized by Indigenous groups. Except for the emphasis on inclusivity, it remains elusive, how inclusivity and power dynamics should be addressed, excluding the fact that terms such as inclusivity and participation of a specific group already make clear how power is distributed between different actors. Such an argument, that could be called neoliberal is new to Canadian Arctic mining discourse: Cultural and political issues are seemingly effortlessly included into the mainstream growth paradigm, without specifically engaging with them.

Another discursive position raised by Northerners in provinces reflects similarities to the argumentation used by territorial governments. In the same fashion, it is asserted that more power (mainly in economic terms or by revenue sharing) is needed in the North and that decisions for the North should also be taken by the North. However, this is always limited to the framework of socio-economic development. Decision-making is to be rooted in the North, not because the North knows best what kind of decisions it wants to take for the region, but because it knows best how economic development is produced for the North. Positions that do not argue within the discourse of economic development, such as arguably some Indigenous positions, are not included. First Nations are imagined as participating in economic development but are not imagined as being given more fundamental decision-making power. In fact, together with the fading-out of political questions, the relationship between the Northern and the Southern part of the provinces is often imagined as a good kind of centre-periphery relationship, where the North is providing the important natural resources for the consumption and economic success of the South. This is not seen as a problem, however, at most it is problematized in terms of how the wealth springing from Northern natural resources is distributed between the two parts of the province.

One could therefore argue that provincial positions are similarly largely dominated by the socio-economic discourse centred around resource extraction for a Northern future. However, there are positions that reflect both the understanding of the federal government, as well as the understanding of the territorial governments. The implementation of cultural and political change remains similarly vague as with the Trudeau administration, putting such issues on the table, without however necessarily changing fundamental dynamics. At the same time, more political power is also imagined for Northerners, even though such political power arguably comes with economic development and is not necessarily extended to Indigenous communities, thereby reflecting a similar understanding of the relationship between the Northern part of the provinces and its Southern part as territorial governments do in regard to the Southern part of the country: A positive centre-periphery relationship, in which the distribution of economic power needs to be adjusted.

Discursive Positions Within the Harper Administration

As with provincial governments, the main features of the discourse within the documents from the Harper administration are largely the same as the discourse identified in the first part of the discourse analysis. The North is imagined in terms of a prosperous future based on natural resources, which will allow the North to grow economically and thus fully become a part of the Canadian nation. A further continuity is how a change of tone is visible depending on the government agency that is concerned. In documents for an international and pan-Canadian audience, the importance of Northern culture, values and environmental protection is more strongly stressed (47), whereas the document focused on specific Northern economic development (49) is a lot less concerned with these issues. A difference to dominant discourse is that the Harper administration imagines connectivity between North and South, as well as infrastructure in a more militaristic sense, where more ports, boats, and planes are not only used to connect the North to the South but also to exercise Canadian sovereignty in the North. Environmental protection is understood as not opposing the sustainable development efforts promoted for the region, even though oil and gas are mentioned prominently. The administration understands sustainable

development as naturally occurring green growth, growth that is possible without having to make many compromises.

When it comes to imaginations of the North as a frontier, it is impressive how the Harper administration continuously imagines the North as a space of great opportunity. This frontier narrative is continuously present and connected with understandings of Northern space in terms of primordial natural beauty. It is striking how direct Harper's speeches refer to a frontier imagination of the North, as well as an imagination of a beneficial centre-periphery relationship based on a free-market economy and resource extraction. Harper speaks of the North as a frontier (51, p. 12, 53, p. 286) and describes his imaginations in terms of Northern explorers (51, p. 12). As mentioned above, a prosperous future of the North is created by letting the free market engage with the enormous resource wealth of the North, which will cause prosperity through economic development, downstream effects and trickle-down economics.

Describing the role of Indigenous communities in the North, Indigenous political power is mainly imagined in terms of input and consultation. The Harper administration takes a stance on Indigenous issues that recognizes Indigenous people as being "disproportionately burdened by history" (51, p. 17). The responsibility for this burden is, however, not placed with the government, but the government is willing to help. Improvement of the situation is arguably achieved through economic development based on the resource industry, as this will also benefit Indigenous people, who can then take part in a prosperous economy. Also, mentioning paternalistic relations of the past, a feature that decidingly shapes the Trudeau administrations' position, is equally found within Harper speeches (51, p. 13). Paternalistic polices are understood in a different sense by the Harper administration, however. The politics hindering the North from prospering, "made in Ottawa", are largely understood as a slow regulatory process which hinders Northern economic development by taking too long for new resource projects to be approved or the Mackenzie River Pipeline being obstructed (51, p. 16). Whereas the use of the argument of paternalistic policies being an issue of the past by Harper does not mean that they actually are an issue of the past, this is equally the case for the Trudeau administration. What becomes clear is, that the discursive emphasis on a new type of relationship is coined by the Trudeau administration in terms of a relationship on an equal footing, whereas the Harper administration imagines a new relationship in terms of a new emphasis on the North and rising importance of the North.

Engaging with the more contested part of the discourse, cultural arguments are used in two different ways. On one hand, the well-known argument stressing the importance of Northern culture and the respect for Northern traditions as proof of concern is being used, on the other hand, the common cultural background of all Canadians as a Northern people, as a uniting element, is also stressed, thereby connecting imaginations of Canadian national space with frontier imaginations of the North. In political terms, the Harper administration sees its government already on a good way for just Northern governance, as the government continues to devolve power to territorial governments and employs many innovative "consultative approaches to government" (48, p. 23). As Indigenous governance is mostly framed in terms of participation, devolution agreements, and self-government agreements, good centre-periphery dynamics are essentially pronounced. In that sense, the political problems of power distribution that are described by Indigenous groups do not exist for the Harper administration but are already implemented through power sharing with territories and the existing participatory frameworks. Again, it should be noted that the imagination of power dynamics in terms of consultation, participation and devolution already makes clear, how power is distributed.

Even though paternalistic policies of the past are mentioned (51, p. 13), there is no actual reference to a change in politics or a recognition of problematic political dynamics in the relationship between North and South. In that sense, the Harper administration is basing its geographical imaginations on very similar assumptions as industry proponents, as well as territorial governments and to a certain extent the Trudeau government. The relationship with the North is purely understood in apolitical terms, again starkly reminiscent of Ferguson's "*Anti-Politics Machine*" (Ferguson, 1994a) or Li's *Rendering Technical* (Li, 2007). The fundamental political problems and power dynamics that are being criticized

by Indigenous people are not addressed a single time and political aspirations of territorial governments are understood in economic terms. As the economy in the North is enabled through resource extraction, territorial governments will also become more independent and powerful. That, at the same time as pronouncing a new era for the North, a discourse is created that invites extractive industries on free-market premises into the region, thereby arguably reinforcing the power dynamics between the North and the South, is not seen as a problem.

Discursive Positions Within the Martin and Chrétien Administration

Comparing the discursive positions found within the Harper administration to the ones found within the Chrétien and Martin administrations the conclusion is that, unsurprisingly, issues of political power distribution and the role of Indigenous communities inhabited a less prominent role in the past than in the present and that these issues continuously move more to the centre of the discourse over time. During the Martin and Chrétien administrations, The North is equally seen as a space that is being developed through resource extraction and Indigenous communities ought to take part in that, however regulation or problematization of such dynamics is not a major issue: "Collaboration between the industry and Aboriginal communities is encouraged" (44, p. vii). Documents are generally much more constructed for a smaller audience, like the Minerals and Metals policy (44) from 1996, and in terms of how provincial and federal responsibilities to enable growth are working. Political questions and the specific relationship with the North are not of special concern. Indigenous relations are mentioned only marginally.

Also, the imagination of the North as an important space for national security and international relations has certainly tremendously increased through the Harper administrations' strategic pivot on the North. The region is barely mentioned in previous administrations' foreign policy documents. However, the first Northern strategy was compiled under the Martin administration in the year 2000 (46). Interestingly, in that paper the North is imagined less as a resource frontier with plentiful economic opportunities, but more in terms of a region where international cooperation will be important, with a focus on the Arctic Council. Even though the potential of the region is mentioned, together with the need for land claims agreements and the need for economic inclusivity for Indigenous people, as well as potential effects of climate change, these are no major themes in comparison to the significance of these topics in the first part of the analysis. Indeed, the focus on multilateralism and the Arctic Council is almost encompassing. This does not mean that economic topics do not play a role, but they are a lot more marginal in the discourse. This is especially striking, because general foreign policy of the Martin administration is much more directly dominated by an economic discourse (45). This shows that the understanding of the Arctic in terms of an economic frontier is only marginally established and becomes more prominent only later, with the Harper administration.

In general, the predominant discourse of previous administrations is, from a teleological perspective, strongly defined by an "End of History" narrative (Fukuyama, 1992), where a prosperous world for all under the reigns of deregulated capitalist markets, trade agreements and multilateralism is imagined. This is not only true for international relations but also for inter-Canadian relations, exemplified by the role that minerals ought to play. Not only are they imagined as being a driver for economic growth of marginal areas (44, p. 7), but also as a positive factor for Canada in the internationalized economy.

The understanding that can be drawn from the discursive positions of previous administrations is therefore, that Indigenous issues and questions of political participation have become increasingly more central to Canadian discourse about mining and the North, already being mentioned more by the Harper administration and becoming even more central with the Trudeau administration. However, as discussed above, this does not necessarily mean that there is a fundamental change in the discursive landscape or in actual policymaking. The basic understanding of economic development through resource extraction leading to prosperous Northern communities through economic benefits still is the dominant discursive

understanding throughout the administrations, political questions still inhabit a marginal place in the discourse.

Discourse In Between the Harper and the Trudeau Administration

Engaging the more contested parts of the discourse in specific comparison between discursive positions found within the Trudeau and Harper administrations, a few observations can be made. When comparing the rhetoric of the speeches between Harper and Trudeau, they might appear to be quite different at first glance, however, when analysing discursive positions, differences are not that drastic. The Trudeau speech that was part of the corpus for the second part of this analysis needs to be understood in its context for its discursive positioning to make sense. The speech was held during the election battle between the Conservative party under Stephen Harper and the Liberal party under Trudeau before the Liberal Party won the election in 2015. The speech heavily criticizes the politics of the Harper administration towards Indigenous people, while promising a new approach at the same time. Even though the speech is very critical of the current Harper administration, election promises and even election rhetoric and discourse do not necessarily reflect discourse of an acting government. Leaving aside the strong words towards Harper and reconciliation, the Trudeau speech reflects the discourse of its following administration, as identified in the first part of the analysis in this thesis, quite well. A new era of relations is announced, and government failure is accounted for. This failure, however, is strongly placed in the past, as a new type of relationship ought to begin. Similarly, it remains rather unclear, how this new relationship ought to look like, besides it being shaped by inclusiveness and consultation. As the first part of the analysis shows, this attitude is not necessarily mirrored by all government agencies and neither does that necessarily mean the promised fundamental change in relationship. Therefore, including a speech by Trudeau in order to achieve greater comparability to the speeches made by Harper has not yielded the observation of meaningful discursive change within the Trudeau administration. Certainly, the language used in speeches uses grander rhetoric than the language found in policy documents. Harper aims at summoning a very specific mythical image of the North and Trudeau aims at doing the same for a new type of relationship with Indigenous people. Looking behind that rhetoric, the foundational discursive understanding found within speeches from both actors does not differ to a large extent.

I argue that the Harper government is generally employing a discourse very similar to the one employed by the Trudeau government. At the margins, the discourse is contested between the two administrations in the extent to what negative aspects of government policies and injustices for the Indigenous population are admitted to. Even though the Harper administration also mentions the importance of cultural resources, environmental protection, and the importance of the Inuit for Canadian sovereignty claims in the Arctic, there is much less engagement with the atrocities committed in the past or admittance to mistakes. Additionally, the Northern character of Canada is much more pronounced within the arguments brought forth by the Harper administration. This comes as no surprise, as the Harper administration proclaimed a new strategic focus on the North (48, p. 4). Even though the Harper administration might pronounce the need for the exercise of Arctic sovereignty and boots on the ground and the Trudeau administration pronounces the need for reconciliation and inclusiveness more, these are only shifts occurring at the margins of discourse. The Trudeau administrations' discourse shows continuation of the Harper administrations' discursive understanding in many aspects and most importantly, not only in terms of dominant discursive positions but also concerning the identified discursive rift of political understandings of power. In that regard, it seems that the Trudeau administration took one more step towards the recognition of political problems and power dynamics between North and South and between governments and Indigenous people than the Harper administration, but not much more. For both administrations, unjust relationships are being localized in the past, with a glorious future inbound. This future is imagined in an apolitical fashion, where Northerners and Indigenous people are becoming full members of a prosperous Canada, enabled by

resource extraction in the North. In that apolitical system, Northerners, however, are continuously imagined as passive actors within: They might take part in industry activities and profit from them, but that does not change the fundamental dynamic: As the theoretical assumptions presented above assume the workings of discourse to predefine the boundaries of a knowledge system, the imagination of the functioning of the system of the political economy in the North is already in place, with Indigenous people and Northerners merely able to choose what specific role within the system they might take. There is no imagination within government that sees a fundamentally different role in power dynamics. It seems unimaginable that there could be a different reality with Northerners and Indigenous people actually at the nexus of power and (economic) activities in the North instead of the North being fit into an already existing system of resource extraction and economic development primed by Southern mining companies with Northerners allowed to take part in the system and reach prosperity. This dominant narrative of an Arctic future, one that makes the North a prosperous part of the Canadian nation through sustainable economic development based on natural resources is shared between the two administrations.

4.7 Discussion of Part 2 of the Discourse Analysis

The second part of the discourse analysis offers a few conclusions. Firstly, the analysis strongly supports the thesis formulated at the end of the first part of the discourse analysis. A large part of the discourse is dominated by the imagination of an Arctic future in terms of "apolitical" socio-economic development. This notion is strongly present within the understandings of industry proponents but is also prominently found within understandings of territorial and federal government papers. This understanding is strongly connected to the continued imagination of the Arctic as a frontier space. In the second part of the analysis, it is shown that this notion is not only strongly present within previous federal administrations, but also that it is also found within discourse employed by provincial governments. The imagination of the North as an integral part of national identity is continuously visible, this is one reason why the frontier narrative is still prevalent in the discourse: The North, as a vast, (empty), land full of natural beauty and resources is a key theme in the imagination of the Canadian nation (according to my analysis). It seems that the very foundational imagination of the position of the North within Canada and of the functioning of the North as a frontier and periphery to the Southern part of Canada is continuously reinforced by the imagination of the functioning of the political economy in a vicious circle. Because the functioning of the political economy of the North is understood as it having to profit from a positive centre-periphery relationship based on its vast natural resources, this, in turn reinforces imaginations of the North as a frontier region. With the prevalence of this imagination as the North as a frontier and personal wilderness backyard of Southern Canadians (Razack, 2011), as well as a hub for economic extraction, a real face to face relationship with Indigenous people is difficult. I argue that the above-described self-reinforcing imagination of the North also inhibits an engagement with the *Discursive Rift*. As long as the North is imagined as a frontier and periphery that is primordial, empty and full of resources to be profited off, there can be no change in the fundamental dynamics of the power-relationship. It is no surprise that the solution for Northern "backwardness" is seen in apolitical socio-economic development if the North is continuously imagined as a primordial wilderness full of economic potential. As long as this attitude does not change, there can be no engagement on a face-to-face basis between the North and the South, a precondition for the discussion of the political dimension of the observed rifts between geographical imaginations.

The continuation of the above-described dynamic of imaginations can also be established for the provinces. I argue that the imagination of the Northern part of the provinces takes a quite similar role as the imagination of the North or the territories do in the pan-Canadian context, even though provincial parts of the North might be subject to less extreme versions of said imaginations. Both geographical spaces are imagined as needing socio-economic development on the basis of natural resources and that said economic development will bring prosperity. The marginality of the Northern part of the provinces,

however, is not as strongly issued as with the territories, for example in terms of the need for infrastructure. However, there are great differences between the single provinces that inhibit a general statement in that regard, also because Northern parts of e.g. British Columbia or Alberta are actually a lot more connected to the South than that is the case for e.g. Manitoba or Ontario. Further, similar to the position that territorial governments take, the Northern parts of the provinces are also imagined as needing more power in decision-making, however that imagination largely being limited to more economic power, thereby offering the same "apolitical" stance as territorial governments towards Indigenous power relations. Provincial governments reflect discursive positions of the federal government insofar, as issues such as inclusivity and participation are much more pronounced as by territorial governments.

Lastly, conclusions can also be drawn in regard to the discursive shifts and continuities between the Trudeau administration and the Harper administration, and to an extent to the previous Martin and Chrétien administrations. I argue that there are discursive changes visible, however, these changes are marginalized by the continuities within the discourse. It is visible that, over the years, issues of environmental protection, inclusivity and participation of Indigenous people have become more central to the discourse. Also, the Harper administration pronounces the frontier character of the Arctic and the Northern character quite strongly, as well as it understands the Arctic in terms of sovereignty as compared to the Trudeau administration that focuses more on issues of environmental protection and inclusivity and less openly mentions the frontier character of the region. Still, the continuities between the two administrations are much more defining of the discourse than their discrepancies. The above-described understanding of the Arctic as a frontier space and its function as a periphery for the Southern Canadian economy define both administrations' imaginations of the North. This means that questions of political power also remain untackled by both administrations, even though their rhetoric might differ substantially.

5. Conclusion

In the following chapter, the goal is to thoroughly discuss the most important findings of the discourse analysis in context with the literature provided at the beginning of the thesis. The main findings are thereby identified as the nature of the dominant discourse within mining in the Canadian Arctic, the rift between apolitical and political positions at the margins of the discourse, the discursive continuities between the Harper and the Trudeau administrations, as well as how the interplay of discursive elements reinforces dominant discourse about the Canadian North. Besides that, a specific example, where differing understandings of space are clashing might help to contextualize the findings and show what the implications of this discursive frontier space might mean on a less theoretical level. For this purpose, the case of the Mary River Mine in Nunavut is presented anecdotally. This should not be considered as hard evidence for the dynamics that are being described in this thesis but should rather point to how described dynamics might take place at a specific site and how this can lead to conflict. For more thorough conclusions for a specific site, in-depth ethnographic field work would be necessary.

5.1 The Mary River Mine

The Mary River Mine is an iron ore mine on Baffin Island in the territory of Nunavut (Baffinland, 2021c). The mine is under operation since 2015, with a current maximum capacity of six million tons of ore per year. In order to "ensure economic viability" (Baffinland, 2021b), Baffinland, the mine operator who is owned by the Energy & Minerals Group and Arcelor Mittal, is seeking approval for an expansion of the mine, which would enlarge the mine's capacity to a maximum of 12 million tons of ore per year. The expansion would lead to an increased size of the mining site and the port, the construction of a railway line between the mining site and the port, as well as increased shipping traffic for the transportation of the additional ore (Baffinland, 2021a). The mine has received international attention at the beginning of 2021 because Inuit hunters blocked the runway of the mining site in protest over the expansion. They claimed that their position was insufficiently heard, compensation was too low, and that the environmental impact of the mine expansion would cause great damage to local ecosystems and with that to the subsistence and lifestyle of the local population. (Beers, 2021; Bell, 2021; The Guardian, 2021; Venn, 2021; WWF, 2021). This example is instructive as it shows how different discursive positions, differing understandings of space and its supposed function in the world, interact at a specific site, or in other words, how frontier dynamics are taking place. Additionally, the example also offers a more finely grained perspective on discursive positions towards mining operations, as understandings can be looked upon in regard to a specific site, highlighting differing positions within the workforce or the local population and how this influences political dynamics. To highlight how the different findings of this thesis might influence such a specific site, the Mary River example shall be briefly talked about in regard to each finding hereafter. Each of the findings discussed below shall reference the Mary River example briefly, as to sketch out how identified dynamics might manifest themselves there.

5.2 Dominant Discourse and Entailed Imaginations

As both parts of the discourse analysis have shown, discourse about the Arctic is to a large extent uncontested, many features of the imagination of the Arctic being agreed upon across positions. As has been described thoroughly in the empirical chapters of this thesis, discourse about the Arctic is strongly defined in terms of the anticipation of a specific future for the region. Further, the argumentation within this imagination of the future very much takes place on the basis of socio-economic arguments. A future is imagined, where prosperity is reached through economic growth based on the extraction of natural resources. At the same time, this development is also imagined as sustainable and green, guaranteed by

responsible practices and Indigenous consultation. Lastly, it is also concluded that the imagination of the North as a frontier still plays an important role in the discourse, except for in imaginations from Indigenous groups. Combining this characterization of the dominant discursive strands with the above discussed literature, a few conclusions can be drawn, especially in terms of how a naturalization of these dominant parts of the discourse takes place. The reference to Benedict Anderson's concept of Anticipatory Action (Anderson, 2010a) makes clear how the need for resource extraction in the Canadian North is naturalized. As the North is imagined as a frontier and in terms of natural resources and the need for economic growth and infrastructure, this creates the need for Anticipatory Action. The growth maxim so present in dominant discourse in combination with the imagination of the North as a frontier full of economic potential creates the need to conform to the future imagination of a region that can only prosper economically on the basis of natural resources, therefore creating the need for anticipating actions that create an adequate environment for the economic success of the mining industry. In that sense, anticipatory action in the North is not quite understood in terms of *Anticipatory Ruination* (Paprocki, 2019), a term that is coined by Paprocki describing how the naturalization of the anticipation of environmental damage naturalizes further environmentally damaging practices for adaptation in Bangladesh, but it follows a similar line of argumentation, where mining and its negative environmental effects need to be supported in order to avert ruination. This projection of imaginations of the future onto the present can be continuously observed within the discursive positions.

This specific imagination of an Arctic future also shows how much said discourse is shaped by the imaginations of the economic centre. The relationship between the North and the South of Canada (or the rest of the world) not only continues to be imagined as a positive centre-periphery relationship, even by actors such as local chambers of commerce or territorial governments, but the region itself is also very much dominated by the imaginations that the centre has for the periphery. In accordance with Planetary Urbanization (Brenner and Schmid, 2014), it can be concluded that the imaginations of the North as a frontier and in terms of the need for economic development and resource extraction are supporting the creation of so-called Operational Landscapes at the periphery of the capitalist world system. This is on one hand, because the North is continued to be imagined as being in a positive centre-periphery relationship with the South within most of the discursive positions, thereby reinforcing the role and the imagination that the region plays in the political economy. On the other hand, the centre-periphery dynamic is not only responsible for the creation of Operational Landscapes, physical places shaped by the dynamics of the political economy, but it is also creating "*Operational Spaces*" in the sense that discourse about the Arctic is starkly shaped by imaginations coming from the centre, as exemplified by the naturalization of the role of the North in the political economy as highlighted above. By extending the language of Planetary Urbanization with the term Operational Spaces this not only highlights the power of the centre in shaping the ways of understanding space, but also engages with the critiques brought forth towards Planetary Urbanization itself (Jazeel, 2018; Kipfer, 2018; Peake *et al.*, 2018; Reddy, 2018). The concept has been criticized as creating empty Operational Landscapes, where no actors with any kind of agency can be found. Speaking of Operational Spaces exactly stresses that point, without denying the value of its critique: The problematic dynamic is that landscapes perceived as peripheral are not only shaped physically by an economically powerful centre, but also that its perceptions of space are being dominated by the centre, thereby pushing other understandings of space, such as the positions of Indigenous groups analysed here, to the margins of the discourse. The problematic dynamic is not only that there is no engagement with the actors in these "peripheral" landscapes, a problem that has been engaged with very modestly in this thesis, but also, that the understandings of space of these actors is equally marginalized and pushed away by dominant discursive positions that create a linear imagination of a space and its future.

At the Mary River Mine, the prevalence of the dominant discourse and that this might marginalize other discursive positions is obviously shown by the newspaper articles that put the spotlight on the mine and its planned expansion (The Guardian, 2021). These articles show that there is a dominant discursive position that propagates the expansion of the mine as beneficial to the region, its economy and its

inhabitants, whereas there also exist other discursive positions that do not agree, but also state that their position is being marginalized through the governance system. Further, the role of the centre in dominating discursive positions is illustrated by comments made by the Baffinland president, claiming that the mine expansion is necessary to ensure the economic viability of the mine, warning of its potential closure, should the expansion not be seen through (George, 2021). Such statements not only illustrate the perceived importance, at least in dominant discourse, of the economy of the centre and its performance in shaping peripheral landscapes, but also illustrate the naturalization of anticipatory action, not only by companies or the government, but now also demanded from Indigenous organizations in the form of compliance with the expansion of the mine, in order to avert ruination.

5.3 The Discursive Rift and Entailed Imaginations

The discourse analysis has led to the conclusion that the main rift in the discursive structure exists between different positions concerning the political nature of imaginations of space and future, expressed in differing positions towards political participation and the political system in the North as a whole. Even though a rift between different discursive positions starts to emerge more generally in relation to topics such as environmental protection or climate change, with differing pronunciations of the need for environmental measures compromising economic growth, the basic imagination of Arctic space remains similar. The imagination of the political system of the North, however, poses a fundamental discursive rift, especially between some Indigenous positions and the rest of the discursive positions, a finding that shall be presented hereafter. How discursive positions are pronounced within governmental positions was also investigated and shall be presented in the next paragraph. As described in the discourse analysis, most discursive positions employ an apolitical discourse when it comes to imaginations of Northern space and its future. Northern space is imagined in accordance with the dominant discourse described above, naturalizing the need for growth, the extractive industry and a centre-periphery relationship between North and South. In contrast to that stand some Indigenous positions that understand the current system of power distribution as fundamentally unjust, arguing that growth can only bring so much reconciliation. As long as the North is continued to be understood as occupying a specific function in the political economy of the country (as a frontier) and Indigenous people only as taking part in this predefined system, there can be no fundamental change. As long as Indigenous people do not occupy a more central and powerful position in the North instead of their worldview and knowledge merely being incorporated through consultation and participation processes, no fundamental change in the imbalance of power in the region can take place. As long as dominant forces see “apolitical” solutions for the future of the North through resource extraction, growth, money, and employment instead of thinking about questions of political power, a change in the relationship is being inhibited, and the North cannot become a fully recognized part of Canada.

That the imagination of Northern space in need for development through economic growth managed by outside actors is highly problematic is already shown by the reference to James Scott’s concept of High-Modernism (Scott, 1998) by Farish and Lackenbauer (Farish and Lackenbauer, 2009) regarding Arctic planning during the Cold War. I argue that high-modernist understandings of the Arctic are still part of the discourse and a reason for the existence for such a striking discursive rift. The imagination of a prosperous Arctic future through the implementation of the right measures for successful mining operations shows how linear thinking of economic trickle-down effects are projected onto a whole region, without considering a specific context. This top-down planning approach is further illustrated by the discussion of mining companies’ socio-economic or sustainability reports (30-36) and a similar general attitude that is found throughout the discourse. Not only are these sustainability reports conceptualized as an endless stream of numerical “technical” data, that ought to show how sustainability can objectively be conveyed, but they also disregard any kind of political question in the context of sustainability. This act of limiting the discourse to a technical level is found throughout positions of industry and government by stating how Indigenous participation can be guaranteed by consultation

processes and monitoring. The clearly weak position of Indigenous people is thereby "rendered technical" (Li, 2007) in the discourse, as a naturalized by-product in an already existing system of resource governance in the Anti-Politics Machine (Ferguson, 1994a) of Northern discourse. After Ferguson's argumentation in regard to the Anti-Politics Machine, this not only leads to failed development interventions, but also to an expansion of state power, as such dynamics are undermining and disenfranchising local political power structures. I do not follow Ferguson in claiming that continuing failed developmental approaches in the North are meant to expand central state power, but I argue that the discourse analysis plainly offers an understanding of how discourse about Canadian Arctic space is continuously rendered apolitical with high-modernist ways of thinking prevailing in the discourse until today. What the role of the state is in this dynamic is still of interest and shall be discussed in the following paragraph.

The apolitical nature of the dominant discourse is also clearly observable at the Mary River Mine. Not only is this attitude clearly visible from the Mary River Social Impact Report that was analysed during the discourse analysis (31), but it is also expressed through the demands of protestors blocking the Mary River mine runway for actual negotiation with "the most impacted" communities. The protests are not against mining per se but are concerned with questions of decision-making power and distribution of revenue.

> *"Many of the groups opposed to the project are not opposed to all mining in the region. "My brother and cousins work at the mine. I don't want them to lose their jobs," said Natanine. "But the mine doesn't consider our ideas. We told them to change the railway location and we would accept it. We told them, 'Take this route instead.' But they just shoved us off."* (The Guardian, 2021)

That questions of political power and that how negotiations are taking place is not inherently apolitical and just and that this is not addressed properly is also illustrated by the open letter written by some non-Indigenous workers at the Mine, expressing their support for the protesters, even though this blocked the miners from going home. The letter indicates that the above-described centre-periphery dynamic and its apolitization are no far-fetched academic constructs but that workers on the ground are also conscious about such dynamics, even stating the very problem of the marginalization of "these peoples' voices as they fight to protect the land and their culture" (George, 2021).

5.4 Engaging the State

The role of the state and the interactions between the federal, provincial, and territorial governments certainly are complex issues. This conclusion merely aims at highlighting the most striking dynamics observed during the discourse analysis. For a more in-depth discussion about the individual positions of federal, provincial, or territorial administrations, the concluding part of the discourse analysis chapters 1&2 (p. 58, p. 73) is recommended. Generally, all levels of government employ a relatively similar discourse with territorial governments arguably more favourable of mining and the above-described dominant discourse, and provincial and territorial governments also issuing more cautious arguments. The main finding in regard to the role of the state, however, is concerned with the discursive continuities and differences between the Trudeau administration and the Harper administration. In conclusion, it can be stated that the dominant discursive elements of the discourse largely stay the same between the Trudeau and the Harper administration, both largely displaying the dominant discursive features of resource industry focused, apolitical, "sustainable" growth necessity, as displayed above. Differing discursive positions are only found at the margins of the discourse and do not change the fundamental attitude towards the Canadian Arctic, as documents published by the Trudeau administration very selectively engage with more political topics, thereby mirroring the attitudes of the Harper administration.

Both administrations place unfair relationships between the government and Indigenous people clearly in the past, with Indigenous people becoming full members of the Canadian nation by taking part in the apolitical economic system. Even though Trudeau's rhetoric is much more starkly stressing a new kind of relationship with Indigenous people defined by inclusivity and consultation, and the Harper administrations more strongly asserting Canadian sovereignty and "boots on the ground" (47, p. 9) in the Arctic, these are only rhetorical diversions from the continued discursive mainstream. Indigenous people and Northerners are imagined as passive actors within an already established system of the political economy, allowed to profit from inevitable developments, thereby only creating specific positions Indigenous people might take in the already established system, without creating a chance of rethinking the system as a whole. This is exactly the apolitical dynamic that is being criticized by Ferguson and Li (Ferguson, 1994a; Li, 2007), but also by Indigenous people in the Arctic. Systems of power, extraction and distribution are already in place, with Indigenous people generously being allowed to take part, without an existing possibility of doing things differently. Both federal government administrations positions can be found on the same "apolitical" side of the discursive rift, as both administrations argue that structural injustices can be solved by socio-economic means, as well as by employing technical solutions for inclusivity, such as monitoring programs and consultation processes, leaving aside or in the past the political nature of the political economy in the North.

In that context, it is understandable why Campbell and Prémont describe the role of the state in the mining sector as neoliberalizing (Campbell and Prémont, 2017, p. 265) and Bernauer the mining sector in Nunavut as continuously colonial (Bernauer, 2019). Even though the discursive stance between the Harper and the Trudeau administration has changed tremendously at first glance, the main discursive positions have not, especially when considering Trudeau administration documents published less for a mining critical, liberal voting public, but documents published for the mining industry. Discursive positions continue to favour the dominant discourse, making mining and the need to create favourable conditions for mining companies in the North a central idea of the Trudeau administration, as is also illustrated by the continued support for IBAs (7, p. 17), which have rightfully been described as a neoliberalization of mining policy. I therefore argue that the Trudeau administration is equally positioning itself behind this neoliberalization of mining in the North, it does so less overtly as the Harper administration did, however. This conclusion is also supported by literature engaging with the Trudeau mining policy and its effects. Lightfoot (Lightfoot, 2018) claims that the Trudeau administration has developed a legacy of strong rhetorical promises concerning Indigenous issues, which are not necessarily being followed up upon in practice. Similarly, the rhetorical emphasis of the Harper government with its proposed new focus on the Arctic (McCormack, 2020) was expressed strongly in rhetoric, the actual action on the ground ,however, looked different. Not only did the military forces in the Arctic not get increased, but the new proposed deep sea port at Nanisivik was also rescaled tremendously (McCormack, 2020, p. 445). Thus, rhetoric emphasis does not necessarily result in tremendous change. This difference between rhetoric and action might also be explained by understanding that the rhetorical changes actually only occur at the margins of the discourse.

How such dynamics might take place on a local level and what the problematics of governance structures in Arctic mining are locally, is once again illustrated by the Mary River Mine. The neoliberalization of the mining sector is highlighted most specifically by going back to the statement by the Baffinland president, that the mine might have to close if the expansion is not seen through (George, 2021). It illustrates the enormous power, that a company has in negotiations. Once the mine is built and operating, the company is enormously powerful as so much of the economic activity in the region is directly connected to the mining project, allowing it to pressure the local population into agreement. Environmental damage that is done in the region, cannot be reversed. It is one thing to trade 15 years of employment for a part of the community (however fair that deal is) for the environmental integrity of the region. It is another thing to trade environmental integrity for 5 years of employment. What is stopping Baffinland from making similar demands in the future or shutting the mine down if their demands are not being met?

An additional dynamic that is illustrated at the Mary River Mine is the governance structure of mining in the North and how that might act in further undermining Indigenous negotiation power. As is illustrated by these newspaper articles (Beers, 2021; Bell, 2021), negotiations take place between Baffinland and the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, leaving aside the local communities, where the protestors came from. Similarly, the revenues from mining are not necessarily distributed among the communities but directly flow to the Qikiqtani Inuit Association, which then decides where revenues are going. This governance structure, which directly goes back to the Nunavut Agreement of 1993, essentially creates powerful Inuit organizations with land rights, and communities, that do not own land and are not being considered in negotiations. This agreement, that was negotiated and voted for by Inuit seems to have created a rift between different Indigenous positions and highlights not only the complexity of the situation, the impossibility of generalizing positions, and the need for ethnographic field work to engage with that, but also how the governance structure in place is disempowering Indigenous people in negotiations, as their positions are divided and pitted against each other, as some are profiting more from mining than others.

5.5 Canadian Arctic Discourse and the Frontier

Looking back on Canadian Arctic discourse and the conclusions that have been drawn above, there are some overarching conclusions to be drawn on the role of the North within Canadian imaginations of space and on the implications of its continued imagination as a frontier. What became evident from the discourse analysis is that the frontier imagination continues to play an important role in the imagination of the Canadian North and is arguably also a reason why a change in the relationship between the North and the South is rather unlikely. Resorting to literature on the role of the dominant social order in shaping geographical imaginations of the North in Canada (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi, 2011b), I argue that the understanding of the North as a frontier is conditioned by a dynamic, where a specific epistemological understanding of the world, one coined by White, neocolonial, capitalist attitudes is dominating Arctic discourse, as has been shown in regard to the imagination of the dominant discourse. Describing the multiculturalist policies of the Pierre Elliott Trudeau administration, Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi argue that, whereas the multiculturalism of the Trudeau dynasty offered the marginalized "an entry into the dominant social order" (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi, 2011a, p. 8), it is still very clear about what this dominant order looks like and by what values and measurements of success it is defined by, a dynamic that is arguably also visible within all administrations observed in this thesis and one that is reinforced by the individual discursive elements within the discourse.

> *"Disaffiliation is the practice by which white people distance themselves from the economy of signs that frame white hegemony. Its effect is profound: It allows the liberal majority to assert that racialization is something that used to occur but that no longer does, while the everyday embodiment of whiteness is simply absorbed into normative discourse, a part of nature."* (Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi, 2011a, p. 14)

I argue that these individual discursive elements thereby reinforce themselves, creating a vicious circle, where no real change in the discursive structure is likely to happen and where continued injustices are equally absorbed into normative discourse. As the economic position of the North is understood as the space needing to be subject to a positive centre-periphery dynamic based on its natural resources in order to prosper, this, in turn, reinforces the imagination of the region as a frontier, as a primordial, empty wilderness full of nature's treasures, an imagination, that, according to Razack, is also reinforced by the imagination of the North as the personal wilderness backyard of Southern Canadians (Razack, 2011, p. 265). The continued imagination of the North as a frontier, then, hinders the establishment of a real face to face relationship between the inhabitants of "the North" and their Southern counterparts, as there is no one to engage with at face value in an empty land. Such an engagement, in turn, would, in my eyes, be the precondition for an engagement with the above-described discursive rift and an engagement with

political questions concerning the North and its relationship with the rest of Canada. Summing up, I argue that, as long as the North is imagined as a peripheral, primordial frontier, needing to profit from its natural resources in an uneven power relationship with the Canadian South, no fundamental change in power relationships will occur, which at the same time is the precondition for a change in geographical imaginations. As long as a whole system understands the North as "backwards" and solutions for this "backwardness" are projected as apolitical socio-economic development based on natural resources, the fundamental problems of the region will not disappear. This description should not be understood as an argument against mining in the North, but as an argument for thinking about the entailed power relations that mining brings and how they might be changed without necessarily arguing against the industry per se. It seems that the power/knowledge component of the discourse is limiting the imagination of actors to think outside the power relations already in place. To change this whole dynamic, a power structure would need to be established that really puts the people living in the region at the centre of power, instead of incorporating them into a predefined economic system, in which positions can merely be chosen. As the described vicious circle shows, changing the discursive limits is not easy, but the identification of discursive elements that are part of the vicious circle at least show which elements could be tackled to induce change.

5.6 Concluding Remarks

As this discourse analysis should have shown, the Geographical Imaginations inherent in imaginations of the Canadian Arctic are discursively constructed. This discursive nature was used in order to analyse how Geographical Imaginations in the Canadian Arctic are constructed and on what premises they are built upon. In that sense, this thesis can also be understood as an approach for applying Critical Geopolitics in the Arctic. By understanding what discursive positions are present within the region and what actors are influenced by what discursive positions, a better understanding of power relations and policy making can be achieved.

Through this approach, the geopolitics of mining can be illuminated more profoundly: Besides a better understanding of different discursive positions in relation to Northern Canadian mining, what has become most evident in relation to geopolitics from the discourse analysis is that the Trudeau administration discursively favours an independent mining sector with power in the hands of mining corporations, instead of actually aiming to devolve power to the inhabitants of the North. The critical geopolitical approach has thereby helped to gaze beyond the rhetoric employed by the administration and to understand its discursive positions. How such politics might function on a discursive basis has of course only been approached on a subnational scale, but understanding dynamics of the political economy on a smaller scale is inherently needed for an improved understanding on larger scales (Agnew, 1994; Brenner, 1999).

Obviously, the question of scale has equally not been addressed sufficiently. As highlighted by discussions within Critical Geopolitics (Megoran, 2006; Hyndman, 2007; Tuathail, 2010; Sharp, 2013; Pain and Staeheli, 2014; Laketa, 2021), there exists a substantial need to scale down geopolitical research, to escape the paradigms criticized by Agnew and Brenner, which exclude voices of a large part of the population, especially marginalized groups (Spivak, 1994), thereby reinforcing dominant discourse. At the same time, a scaled-down approach also helps to better understand the effects of political reality and discursive structures on the individual body and vice versa, to better understand how discourse is created from the bottom up, springing from discursive formation in between countless individuals influenced by countless discursive positions to create powerful discourses that dominate states and international politics. This thesis has equally fallen short in peopling the Arctic in that regard, but it shows the way in which research would be necessary for a better understanding of political dynamics and discursive formation in the Canadian Arctic mining sector. In-depth ethnographic field work would be needed to really grasp what the discursive positions of individuals are, in order to build

an adequate foundation for conclusions for a larger scale. The anecdotal use of the Mary River Mine example could in that sense be put on a broad empirical basis by allowing future research to engage with a further scaling down of its empirical data, meaning the ethnographic analysis of discursive positions of workers in mines and government, politicians, inhabitants, and Indigenous people, but also with an extension of the research field to other countries. Having built a substantial ethnographic, empirical foundation, an inductive up-scaling from the empirical material could take place, thereby yielding an improved understanding of political dynamics and discursive formation on an international scale.

One of the discourses that has formed itself to a very dominant degree on the international scale is the discourse of the anticipated resource frontier in the Arctic. That this discourse exists is not only exemplified by the occupation of this thesis with said topic, but it is also tirelessly mentioned within so many documents and scientific papers engaging with the region, that this discursive understanding has arguably become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Is the resource frontier in the Arctic really emerging or is it only propagated to emerge? Does the resource frontier emerge because the Arctic is changing and becomes accessible, as propagated everywhere, or is it emerging because people discursively imagine it to be emerging? I do not claim to know the answer to these questions, but the emerging resource frontier has been a topic of scientific debate for quite some time now (Dittmer *et al.*, 2011) and the emerging resource frontier should not be taken for granted, with climate change not necessarily creating an easily accessible region, only because it is warmer (Têtu, Pelletier and Lasserre, 2015). There are many factors influencing increased activity in the Canadian Arctic and the development of more mining projects, and it is by no means clear, that the increase in significance of the Canadian Arctic will take place in the next few years or at all in the way that it is commonly assumed in dominant discourse. Still, throughout this thesis, it became evident that an understanding of the Arctic carrying huge resource potential remains intact. Also, the hunger for resources will probably only increase in the (longer) future and the price for their exploitation will likely decrease with climate change, making investments demanded by all actors voicing their positions in the Arctic policy-making process more likely. Thus, I would agree that the Arctic will see increased mineral exploitation and with that an expansion of the resource frontier, the questions remaining however, are when, under what conditions, and if this is caused by the actual properties of physical place or simply by imaginations of space.

6. Appendix

6.1 Analysed Arguments

Code: Climate Change Risk

Cultural Argument

"The impact of climate change on food security in the Gwich'in Settlement Area (GSA) stands as a barrier to strong peoples and communities. Rising water levels challenge the navigation routes used since time immemorial, due to the increased presence of debris. Access to the vital caribou herds that have sustained our people for thousands of years are challenged by climate change and have been put in direct threat by decision to open up the American part of the migration route of the Porcupine Caribou to oil and gas leases. The impacts of not having ready access to country foods goes beyond food security and touches upon the fibers that make up Gwich'in culture: connection to the land, the principle of sharing, identity, language, and mental health." (20, p. 6)

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Climate Change and its effects are an immediate threat to Gwich'in culture…
Data:	…because they threaten the very foundations the culture is built upon.
Warrant:	The Gwich'in culture is made up of elements that are directly dependant on intact environmental conditions.
Backing:	Climate Change and its effects, such as the opening up of the Arctic for resource exploitation change the environment in such a way that Indigenous (Gwich'in) lifestyles are directly threatened.
Modality/Transitivity:	In this representative example, the authors are quite clear about causal relationships, using active clauses and direct language. Climate change is causing these negative effects on our culture.
Emotions/Future:	By summarising all the negative effects that are caused by climate change, the authors paint a bleak image of the future that is connected with negative emotions.
Level of Abstraction:	The arguments formulated in this sentence offer a critique on a fundamental, macro level: The changes brought upon by climate change are incompatible with Gwich'in culture and therefore should be avoided in its entirety.
Interpretation:	This type of argumentation paints a very negative picture of climate change and its effects. Not only are there many direct negative effects of climate change, but indirect effects, in this case oil and gas exploration, are equally understood in a negative way.

Socio-Economic Argument

"Although the warming of the Arctic and the North offers economic opportunities, which would bring much needed socio-economic development, employment and infrastructure investments that are acutely lacking in the region, higher levels of activity could bring the potential for damage to unique ecosystems and may also increase the risks associated with increased movement of people and goods, the pursuit of interests by foreign state and non-state actors in Canada's Arctic and northern territory, and human-induced disasters." (3, p. 2)

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Climate Change and its effects offer economic opportunities as well as risks to Canada's Arctic…
Data:	…because higher activity has the potential to damage the environment.
Warrant:	Climate change brings more economic opportunities and with that socio-economic development.
Backing:	More economic opportunities arise because more resources are being made available. The development of these resources will bring socio-economic development because this will boost the economy and positive economic effects through not clearly defined mechanisms.
Modality/Transitivity:	In this exemplary sentence, the authors are very cautious to set the focus of the sentence on the modality of economic benefits by using the modal verb "would". This implies the possibility of much-needed development through climate change while also modally questioning negative impacts of climate change by using the modal verbs "could" and "may".
Emotions/Future:	The sentence attributes possible positive emotions to the future, as much-needed economic development could take place.
Level of Abstraction:	The argument approaches climate change on a meso scale: It is not climate change per-se that is the issue at stake, rather, it is the right management of associated risks.
Interpretation:	This sentence expresses optimism about Canada's future with climate change, while cautioning about possible negative sides. Whereas there are problems occurring through increased activity in the region, such activity is also bound to bring many positive side effects in the future.

Code: Environmental Protection

Environmental Stewardship: The Cultural Argument

> *"Over the past months, I took note that although the unique Arctic environment is central to many aspects of life and identity, conservation is not sustainable if it competes with economic progress." (10, p. 19)*

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Conservation cannot be sustainable…
Data:	… if it competes with economic progress.
Warrant:	Environmental protection and economic development are not compatible with each other.
Backing:	Economic development is always damaging to the environment.
Modality/Transitivity:	The statement is very direct by creating a diametral difference between conservation and economic progress by using an active clause. Further, "conservation" is conditioned by the modality of "if" right after, questioning the validity of conservational efforts if the attached condition is not considered.
Emotions/Future:	The argument is inherently creating an image of the future because the subject of economic development and environmental protection are considerations for the future. The emotions attached are rather negative, as

	environmental protection can only be a success, if economic progress is not considered in that regard.
Level of Abstraction:	The argument criticizes the reliance on economic development as a measurement tool, as it is arguably not compatible with environmental protection. It therefore provides a fundamental critique on the macro level.
Interpretation:	This representative argument is criticizing the overreliance on economic measurements for environmental protection on a fundamental level and therefore creates an image of the future that is rather negative.

The Socio-Economic Argument

"The industry generally favours reducing the carbon footprint of its activities. Whatever method is used to achieve this, there is concern that the "emissions-intensive and trade exposed" mining industry will be subject to additional costs resulting from pricing pollution, and that northern operations relying on diesel may be disproportionately affected" (7, p. 10).

Argument Analysis

Claim:	The industry generally favours more environmental protection…
Data:	… but this will put additional costs on mining operations.
Warrant:	Environmental protection can be measured monetarily.
Backing:	Protecting the environment is costing mining operations and will affect their economic prospects.
Modality/Transitivity:	The argument is creating a clear distinction between culprit and victim by transitively putting the mining industry in the passive position of being subjected to additional costs.
Emotions/Future:	Similar to the *Cultural Argument* above, this argument creates a negative image of the future, if the mentioned conditions for success, in the form of not pricing the mining industry for pollution too much, are not met.
Level of Abstraction:	The argument favours environmental protection in the form of "reducing the carbon footprint of its activities". Still, the following sentences create an argument that is criticizing environmental protection on a very fundamental level. As this is a representative example of the type of arguments used in the documents and other statements are more clearly in favour of environmental protection, I argue that this argument operates on a meso-scale, trying to define, how environmental protection should look like.
Interpretation:	This type of argument is concerned with the economic consequences of environmental protection. Whereas environmental protection is necessary, it should be balanced with the economic demands of the mining industry. It thereby creates a negative image of the future for the economy, should the balance between environment and economic necessities not be found and therefore tries to create an understanding of how environmental protection should look like.

The Necessary for the Future Argument

"Environmental stewardship is not only the right thing to do for society and the planet, but it's also becoming increasingly important as miners look to position themselves as providers of key materials needed for a transition to a low-carbon economy." (40, p. 12)

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Mining is an integral part of the future…
Data:	… as it provides key materials for a low-carbon economy.
Warrant:	The future of our societies is going to be in need for metals for a low-carbon economy.
Backing:	The mining sector will have a significant positive environmental impact by providing key materials for the low-carbon economy, therefore justifying its current negative environmental impact.
Modality/Transitivity:	By stating the integral position of the mining industry for the environment in an active clause, the authors steer the focus of the argument on this positive effect, rather than on other negatives that could exist.
Emotions/Future:	The argument provides a positive outlook onto the future, as it awakens the impression that the mining industry is already taking care of the transition to a low-carbon economy.
Level of Abstraction:	The argument is used on a meso-scale to argue for the positive impact of the mining industry, providing an additional argument for the environmental viability of the industry instead of highlighting its negative effects.
Interpretation:	This type of argument used by industry proponents creates a positive outlook into the future, should the mining industry be left to conduct its business, as it will provide for the low-carbon economy. It thereby justifies the necessary environmental impact that the industry has, as it is in the interest of the whole of society that the mining industry provides its materials.

Code: Indigenous Knowledge

Implementation: The Cultural Argument

> *"The Government of Nunavut, with the adoption of a centuries-old western style governance system, has successfully turned Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit into a limited definition of a set of principles, minimizing the critical concepts of Inuit worldview." (19, p. 11)*

Argument Analysis

Claim:	the use of traditional knowledge (Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit) is limited…
Data:	… because it has been incorporated into the Western style of governance.
Warrant:	There are foundational differences between how Western and Indigenous forms of knowledge function.
Backing:	The incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge into a Western system of governance and knowing is not compatible with the way Indigenous Knowledge functions and hinders Indigenous Knowledge form functioning properly.
Modality/Transitivity:	The transitive structure and use of active language of the argument identifies a clear culprit: The government of Nunavut and not the Indigenous People.
Emotions/Future:	Whereas the argument is not specifically concerned with the future, the statement nevertheless implies that change is necessary for the role that Indigenous Knowledge currently plays without referring to specific negative or positive emotions.

Level of Abstraction:	The argument operates on a macro scale, as it offers a fundamental critique of how Indigenous Knowledge is being evaluated.
Interpretation:	This argument and other statements that it represents are clear in their assessment that Indigenous Knowledge cannot be incorporated into Western ways of knowing and governing and is corrupted by attempts to do so, thereby criticizing the way Indigenous Knowledge is currently being incorporated.

Implementation: The Socio-Economic Argument

> *"Assistance is also required in supporting Indigenous government participation in environmental processes, in providing their Traditional Knowledge to enhance decision making. This will also help them meet the timelines required of their investors to meet market demands, or in other words, contribute to more efficient regulatory processes." (43, p. 11)*

Argument Analysis

Claim:	The incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge will lead to more efficient regulatory processes…
Data:	… because it will enhance participation in environmental processes and therefore decision-making.
Warrant:	Indigenous Knowledge is currently not used to enhance decision-making and to meet market demands.
Backing:	The incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge can be used to better meet market demands.
Modality/Transitivity:	The sentence structure offers a very clear focus on the actor: They (Indigenous People) need to adjust their ways and they need to be assisted with that.
Emotions/Future:	The argument expresses preconditions for the future: The future is painted as positive, should these preconditions be met.
Level of Abstraction:	The sentence expresses ideas how Indigenous Knowledge could be used to improve decision-making and behaviour of Indigenous Peoples. It thus proposes changes on the micro level.
Interpretation:	The sentence argues for more Traditional Knowledge in decision-making while providing an interpretation to what conclusion Traditional Knowledge would come right after, thus leaving the sincerity of interest for Traditional Knowledge in doubt. This impression is reinforced by the clear modal structure that shifts the responsibility to act towards Indigenous Groups, away from the group the authors represent.

Code: Resources

Sustainable Development: The Socio-Economic Argument

> *"Support the sustainable development of the mining and energy sectors in a manner which increases community capacity, maximizes jobs and wealth in the territories, and produces positive economic impacts in communities." (5, p. 12)*

Argument Analysis

Claim:	supporting the mining sector will create sustainable development…
Data:	… because it produces positive effects in Northern communities.

Warrant:	Sustainable development is conditioned by certain aspects that can be provided by the mining sector.
Backing:	The mining sector is a sector that will provide aspects of sustainable development. It therefore needs to be supported for the prosperity of Northern communities.
Modality/Transitivity:	The sentence structure is a clear, active clause. Supporting the mining sector leads to sustainable development.
Emotions/Future:	With this argument, a positive image of the future is created, as the option of sustainable development is made available by supporting the mining sector.
Level of Abstraction:	The argument happens on a micro-scale, as sustainable development of the mining sector should be supported, meaning no big change in the order of operations.
Interpretation:	This type of argument that is found throughout all documents and actor categories creates the image of a pivotal role for the mining industry for the sustainable development of the North because of its many positive effects and its central position to the Northern economy.

The Cultural Argument

> *"The pervasive belief from outside the region is that if jobs and money are provided through non-renewable resource extraction, people will become physically and mentally healthier. We believe the opposite is true. We assert that we must focus on healthy communities first and that only healthy, culturally grounded, and knowledgeable people will be capable of evaluating and creating economic success. Only when our people and communities are healthy in body and mind can we truly capitalize on economic investments in our communities." (23, p. 16)*

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Investment in healthy communities is more important than investment in resource extraction…
Data:	… because only healthy communities can capitalize on economic investments.
Warrant:	Investments in resource extraction are not sustainable for Northern communities.
Backing:	In order to be able to achieve sustainable development economically, Northern communities need to be healthy and sustainable culturally and socially first.
Modality/Transitivity:	The argument functions by creating two active parts opposing each other. The view from the outside and the view from the inside. This clear distinction is supported by a modal structure guided by "only when" that implies the modality of having to comply with the inside perspective in order to reach the desired outcome.
Emotions/Future:	The argument offers the potential of a positive future, but it is very cautious, as current ways are not in line with reaching a positive future.
Level of Abstraction:	This is a fundamental critique of the current ways of investing on a meso level, as investment and resource development are not declined in its entirety.
Interpretation:	This argument criticizes the current ways of investing on a fundamental scale and offers a quite different understanding of how sustainable development could be reached. Instead of investing in economic development driven from the outside, investment should focus on creating healthy communities, as only then, Northern communities can profit from resource extraction.

Code: Infrastructure

The National Argument

"Inuit Nunangat includes 50 percent of Canada's coastline and represents a geopolitically strategic region, including the Northwest Passage. Yet marine infrastructure throughout the region is impoverished or does not exist compared to other coastal regions of Canada, despite surging international interest and activity in the region that includes increased shipping traffic." (25, p. 8)

Argument Analysis

Claim:	The North needs more infrastructure…
Data:	… because the North is part of Canada, and it is a contested region.
Warrant:	Canadian territory needs to be adequately connected by infrastructure in order to assert Canadian national interest.
Backing:	The Arctic is part of Canadian National Space and therefore entitled to an adequate level of infrastructure.
Modality/Transitivity:	The active clauses used within the sentence create a clear focus on the Northern part of Canada (here Inuit Nunangat) and its current status as contested and deficiently connected by infrastructure.
Emotions/Future:	Whereas it can be argued that the argument appeals to national sentiment, the more important factor is, that it creates a specific image of the Arctic: on the one side as contested in the future, but on the other side as part of Canadian National Space.
Level of Abstraction:	Within the Infrastructure code there are no arguments on a macro-scale. This argument argues for more infrastructure on a meso-scale, because there is no complete change of strategy necessary, but substantial investment should follow.
Interpretation:	This type of argument provides an interesting case, as the Arctic as being part of the Canadian nation is leveraged to demand increased investment in infrastructure. Similarly, the international narrative of increased activity in the region is used for leverage. This is especially interesting, as this type of argument is exclusively used by Indigenous groups.

Code: Frontier

The Resource Frontier Argument

"The territorial symbol of Nunavut is the inukshuk. Meaning "in the image of man," these stone figures stand vigil on Nunavut's vast tundra and treeless horizons, helping to guide those traveling through the territory. That these lonely figures are often the only sign of human influence for huge distances perfectly embodies both the scale and the emptiness of the land. However, although this may be Canada's most remote region, it also contains some of the most favorable under-explored geology of the country." (37, p. 25)

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Canada's North has huge untapped resource potential…
Data:	… because it is an empty land with favourable geology.

Warrant:	Perceived empty land with favourable geology means that resources can freely be taken.
Backing:	The Canadian North is a resource frontier whose resources are located in an empty land waiting for their discovery.
Modality/Transitivity:	The powerful metaphor of the stone figures brought forth in an active clause is meant to directly attach the meaning of the metaphor transitively to the imagined space. Further, by employing the modal verb "may", the argument connects the created image with the more positive aspect of favourable geology.
Emotions/Future:	Through the employment of the resource frontier narrative, the statement wakens a potentially very positive future, as the imagined space holds many positive elements for the future.
Level of Abstraction:	I would argue that the statement operates on a macro-scale, as it creates a fundamental description of how Northern space is understood.
Interpretation:	Statements like the one analysed above provide a very specific understanding of Arctic space and its future. By stressing the remoteness and emptiness of the region and connecting that feature with its economic potential, the statement creates an impeding need for more resource extraction in the future.

Countering the Frontier Argument

> *"Another common thread in my discussions with leaders was the importance of a shift in thinking about the Arctic as a remote, marginal and sparsely populated region of Canada, to thinking about the Arctic as a representation of who we are as an Arctic nation, linked to a new era in intercultural relations, global science and sustainable development." (10, p. 3)*

Argument Analysis

Claim:	The representation of the Arctic as an empty land needs to change…
Data:	… because it misrepresents the Arctic how it is seen from the region.
Warrant:	Representations of the Arctic as a frontier space are wrong.
Backing:	The Arctic is being represented as a frontier space in a wrong way from the outside, instead of representing it more as an integral and complete part of Canada.
Modality/Transitivity:	The active sentence structure provides a clear focus of the argument on the Arctic. It modally contrasts imaginations that are, with imaginations that could be by using the term "shift in thinking".
Emotions/Future:	The argument provides a hopeful, positive outlook on the future, provided that the mentioned conditions are met.
Level of Abstraction:	The discourse about Arctic space is profoundly criticized on a macro level.
Interpretation:	This type of argument arguably reflects the position of the people in the region that feel that their region is misrepresented from the outside and understood as an empty land, even though there are people living there that have their own perspectives and interests.

Code: Indigenous Communities

Code: Centre-Periphery Relations

Political: The Historic Centre-Periphery Argument

"Our government recognizes that 'made in Ottawa' policies have not been successful. The new approach puts the future into the hands of the people who live there to realize the promise of the Arctic and the North" (9, p. 2).

Argument Analysis

Claim:	The mistakes of policies of the past will not be repeated…
Data:	… because the new Northern and Arctic Policy Framework puts the future of the North in the hands of the people living in the North.
Warrant:	The new Northern and Arctic Policy Framework reflects a new approach to policymaking in the North.
Backing:	Because the government introduces a new way of policymaking in the North, centre-periphery relations of the past will be overcome.
Modality/Transitivity:	The sentence is transitively creating a focus on the "new approach" by using a passive clause for the "made in Ottawa policies", while using an active clause for the "new approach", leaving away any modal structure in order to be very clear about the nature of the new policy framework.
Emotions/Future:	The argument contrasts the past with the future, thereby creating a very positive image of the future, in contrast to a negative past.
Level of Abstraction:	The absolutist wording of the argument creates an image of a policy-change on the macro level, as everything will be different.
Interpretation:	The rhetoric of this argument is very clearly structured to create a very positive image of the new policy approach by contrasting it with old policies in every rhetorical aspect investigated.

Political: Ongoing Centre-Periphery Relations

"While we welcome the present opportunity to engage on the Arctic Policy Framework, we want to communicate our disappointment that the federal government chose to engage with national Indigenous organizations who have little footprint or impact in the North, rather than directly with Indigenous governments like the GTC" (20, p. 4).

Argument Analysis

Claim:	The Northern and Arctic Policy Framework has not been designed including the worldview of Northerners…
Data:	… because Northern Indigenous organizations have not been consulted.
Warrant:	The new Northern and Arctic Policy framework is disregarding Northern perspectives.
Backing:	The new policy framework is not fundamentally different from previous policies, as it still disregards Northern perspectives.
Modality/Transitivity:	The formulation of the argument in an active clause points to a clear culprit: The federal government.
Emotions/Future:	This argument and the statements it represents do not see a bright future policy wise, but rather see a continuation of past policies in the future.

Level of Abstraction:	This critique operates on a meso-level, as a strongly criticizes policy consultation but does not aim at abolishing federal policies altogether.
Interpretation:	This argument paints the picture of a continuing process of policymaking in the North that does not fundamentally differ from what has been done in the past. Therefore, it also does not see a fundamental change to the better for the future.

Political: The Good Centre-Periphery Relations Argument

"Mineral development activities have long contributed to the development, growth and diversity of the territorial economy. The relationship between the Northwest Territories and the rest of Canada has been, in part, defined by its mining heritage and its contribution to the Canadian Economy" (12, p. 8).

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Mineral development is a positive aspect of centre-periphery relations…
Data:	… because it has contributed to positive outcomes for the territories.
Warrant:	Positive outcomes for the territory can be measured in terms of development, growth, and economic diversity.
Backing:	Centre-Periphery relations are not inherently bad but provide many positive aspects for the North.
Modality/Transitivity:	By using a passive clause in the first part of the sentence, the authors put emphasis on the actively formulated positive aspects of mineral development.
Emotions/Future:	In its context, it is clear that this type of argument sees a bright future for the North, as mineral development has brought many positive aspects to the region and will also do so in the future.
Level of Abstraction:	This argument acts on a micro-scale, as the past order of operations is deemed positive and to be continued in the future.
Interpretation:	This type of argument does not see a problematic dynamic centre-periphery relationship in the economic structure of the mining sector. By providing social and economic benefits to the local population, the mining industry is understood to be a positive type of centre-periphery relationship.

Code: Canadian National Space

The Cultural Argument

"Although Canada's North is sparsely populated, the region is spotted with vibrant communities, many inhabited by Canada's Indigenous populations. These communities form an integral part of Canada's identity, and our history is intimately connected with the imagery and the character of the North" (8, p. 79).

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Canada is intimately connected with the North…
Data:	… because its communities are an integral part of Canada.
Warrant:	Indigenous and Northern communities are full members of Canadian society.

Backing:	The Canadian Northern character and sovereignty over the North is due to its Northern communities.
Modality/Transitivity:	The active formulation of the argument underlines the strong role that Indigenous communities play for the Canadian Northern character.
Emotions/Future:	This type of argument does not directly refer to the future, it rather refers to historic legacies. The implication is, however, that the territories are being made part of the Canadian future, as they arguably have been part of the Canadian past.
Level of Abstraction:	This argument is within the discourse about Canadian Arctic identity and sovereignty and therefore operates on a meso level.
Interpretation:	Statements like these make clear that Indigenous communities are an integral part of Canada. This implies that the North is not only part of the Canadian character, but also part of Canadian space.

The Socio-Economic Argument

> *"Nation-building infrastructure is needed for transportation, economic development and growth. There are no interconnected roads or rails among Nunavut communities. Without ports, adequate air transport facilities, and telecommunication infrastructure, Nunavut has no access to national and international opportunities" (24, p. 8).*

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Infrastructure needs to be built in the North…
Data:	… because it is part of the Canadian nation.
Warrant:	The North is part of the Canadian nation and therefore has the right for infrastructure that connects Northern communities with each other and to the rest of Canada.
Backing:	Because the North is part of the Canadian nation, it is not only entitled to adequate infrastructure, but it is also the responsibility of the federal government to engage in nation-building, as to create a closer connection between the North and the South of Canada.
Modality/Transitivity:	By using a passive clause, the authors create an argument that sees the North (Nunavut) in a passive position, while at the same time creating the obligation for an unnamed actor (arguably the federal government) to engage in nation-building.
Emotions/Future:	This argument conditions the future, as a just national future can only be reached, if the conditions mentioned are fulfilled: the creation of adequate infrastructure and opportunities.
Level of Abstraction:	Similar to the Cultural Argument, such statements operate on the meso level, as they similarly reinforce the notion of the North as part of Canadian national space but also argue for a change in behaviour.
Interpretation:	This type of argument creates a moral obligation for the federal government to invest in the North. Because the North is part of the nation, it is also entitled to adequate services. This argument picks up the argument made by the federal government, that employs Indigenous communities for sovereignty claims and uses it argument for Northern demands.

Code: Political Economy

The Balance Argument

"Harvesting of wild foods remains a centrepiece of the Inuit way of life, and Inuit-owned corporations and businesses play a dynamic role in the region's economy. Inuit seek to participate fully in the national and global economies" (25, p. 4).

Argument Analysis

Claim:	Indigenous (Inuit) can participate in the national and global economies…
Data:	… because Indigenous (Inuit)-owned businesses play a role in the regional economy while traditional economic activities remain central to the regional way of life.
Warrant:	There are two separate economic spheres (the traditional economy and the "Southern economy) that function independently from each other.
Backing:	There are two different kinds of economy in the Arctic that can coexist and in both of which Indigenous people can participate.
Modality/Transitivity:	By refraining from the use of modal structures and using active clauses, this type of argument creates a very clearly distinct understanding between the two different economies.
Emotions/Future:	The future is portrayed as positive because the best of two worlds will be available for the North.
Level of Abstraction:	This type of argument operates on the meso-scale, as it envisions a specific type of economic future within the currently existing frameworks.
Interpretation:	This type of argument is representative of an understanding of the political economy being balanced between the globalized "Southern" Canadian economy and its benefits and the traditional Northern economy and what it has to offer.

The Market-Based Argument

"Mining is the economic advantage of remote and northern Canada. The discovery, development and production of mineral resources in these areas result in increased regional investment, business development, revenue generation and employment. This economic activity increases income, corporate and property taxes and royalty payments to governments, augments territorial, provincial and national GDP, and helps support one of the world's largest mining supply sectors (which generates its own robust economic contributions to local, provincial and national economies)" (41, p. 8).

Argument Analysis

Claim:	The Northern society is benefitting from mining…
Data:	… because it is profiting off of mining and its activities economically.
Warrant:	Mining activity is good for the region because it has many positive side effects trickling down from the economic activity.
Backing:	Mining in northern Canada is good for the region because it provides many financial benefits and positive side effects. Additionally, mining is the "economic advantage" of the region.
Modality/Transitivity:	The clear sentence structure in simple, active-clause sentences is creating a logical link between each individual element, leaving out modal structures.
Emotions/Future:	The positive emotions for the future are based on the present and all the positives the mining industry is already providing in the present.

Level of Abstraction:	The argument operates on the micro-scale, as it does not seek to change how things are, but rather explains why the way the political economy works is positive.
Interpretation:	This argument is representative for a specific understanding of the functioning of the political economy because, on the one hand, it argues for mining being the competitive advantage of the North, as well as it argues for the many "automatic" positive benefits mining operations have for the region.

6.2 Investigated Documents

All documents, as well as the codes created therein are also available in the attached MAXQDA file.

1: Trudeau Administration: Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change, 2016.

2: Trudeau Administration: Arctic and Northern Policy Framework International chapter, 2019.

3: Trudeau Administration: Arctic and Northern Policy Framework: Safety, Security, and Defence Chapter, 2019.

4: Trudeau Administration: Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency: Towards a Pan-Territorial Growth Strategy, 2019.

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6: Trudeau Administration: The Canadian Minerals and Metals Plan: Action Plan, 2020.

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8: Trudeau Administration: Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada's Defence Policy, 2017.

9: Trudeau Administration: Stronger Together: Canada's Arctic and Northern Policy Framework, 2019.

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29: The Gordon Foundation: Balancing Worldviews: Climate Change Solutions in Canada's North, 2018.

30: Agnico Eagle Mines Ltd.: Agnico Kivalliq Projects 2019: Socio-Economic Monitoring Program Report, 2020.

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32: TMAC Resources: Hope Bay Project 2019 Socio-Economic Monitoring Program, 2020.

33: Dominion Diamond Mines: 2019 Ekati Diamond Mine Socio-Economic Agreement Report, 2019.

34: Agnico Eagle Mines Ltd.: Adaptable.Sustainable.Accountable.:Sustainability Report 2020, 2020.

35: RioTinto: Diavik Diamond Mine 2019 Sustainable Development Report, 2019.

36: De Beers/Mountain Province Diamonds: Building Forever: Agahcho Kué Mine 2020 Socio-Economic Report, 2020.

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38: The Mining Journal: Nunavut: Canada's Rising Star, 2013.

39: NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines: Measuring Success 1996-2016: Diamond Mines Deliver Big Benefits to the Northwest Territories, 2017.

40: BC Mining/PWC: ESG: Resilience and Opportunity in Uncertain Times. The Mining Industry in British Columbia 2019, 2019.

41: The Mining Association of Canada: Levelling the Playing Field: The Future of Mining in Canada's North, 2015.

42: NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines Mining: Our Spectacular NWT Emerges!.

43: NWT & Nunavut Chamber of Mines: Submission To The Government Of Canada, Crown-Indigenous Relations And Northern Affairs In Regard To Discussions Contributing To The Arctic Policy Framework, 2018.

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47: Harper Administration: Canada's Northern Strategy: Our North, Our Heritage, Our Future, 2009.

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49: Harper Administration: CanNor: Building a Strong North Together: Strategic Framework 2013-2018, 2012.

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61: Government of Canada: Prosperity and Growth: Strategy for Northern Ontario: A Plan for Economic Development, Inclusiveness and Success, 2018.

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6.3 Literature

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Zurich, 08.12.21

Personal declaration:

I hereby declare that the submitted Thesis is the result of my own, independent work. All external sources are explicitly acknowledged in the Thesis.

Thilo van der Haegen