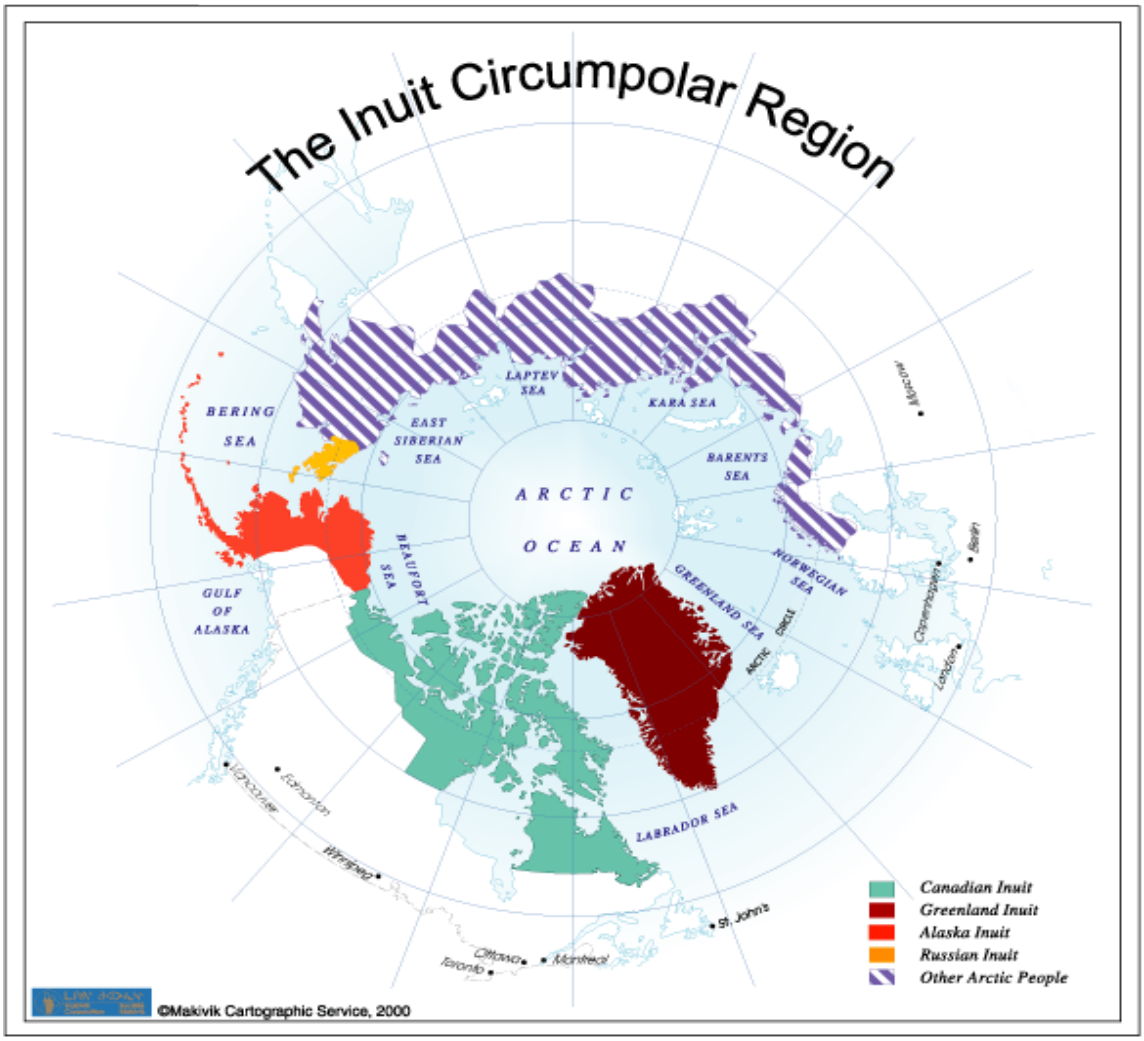

Discourse and Inuit Identity

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Development & International Relations

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Abstract

This master thesis seeks to examine how leading (Canadian) Inuit organizations contribute to shaping Inuit identity in relation to plans of socio-economic development in Inuit territories. The master thesis builds on a methodological approach based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which implies a certain structure as well as consideration to the three levels set forth by Norman Fairclough: textual, discursive practice and social practice. Within the overall CDA framework, carefully selected theoretical conceptions from Fairclough's CDA, Anna De Fina's 'Discourse and Identity', George Lakoff's 3-dimensional framing model as well as various nationalism theories have been incorporated into the framework. These respective theoretical conceptions enable the thesis to adequately analyze the empirical data, the Inuit texts/communicative events, and provide sufficient answers to the research question set forth in the thesis. Conceptually, the analytical tools of CDA, 'Discourse and Identity' and framing constitute the methodology of the thesis, which aims to apply these tools in order to analyze Inuit identity along the lines of the nationalism theories.

The thesis concludes that the Inuit discursive practice seeks to dissociate Inuit from Canadian national identity, and thereby oppose the hegemonic order of discourse in the sense that they challenge the Canadian national high culture by alienating Inuit identity from other Canadian identities. At the same time, Inuit still want to be part of the Canadian nation-state, as it is perceived as the most rational option to foster socio-economic development in Inuit areas. The Inuit organizations do not put forward demands for interdependence and/or sovereignty in accordance with classic nationalism – instead they demand more self-determination/autonomy as proposed by neo-nationalism. Therefore, this thesis suggests that Inuit, as represented by the three Inuit organizations, perceive themselves as an ethnie (ethnic community), conforming to neo-nationalism. Neo-nationalism suggests that national ethnic identities have become more pragmatic – at least within liberal wealthy democracies, and thus strive for as much autonomy as possible – as opposed to classic nationalism, which suggests that the end goal of these entities is independence. Whether or not the Inuit community is imagined or an actual ethnie, the discursive practice carried out by the Inuit organizations at least contributes to shaping Inuit identity as such.

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1. Introduction

Concurrently with climate change, including the increasing potential for new shipping routes and mineral exploration, the external interest in the Inuit homelands has increased substantially. Climate change, however, is not the only challenge facing Arctic residents, among those Inuit. For years, various Inuit organizations, among those Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC), Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), and Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA), have called for international as well as national political action to improve the living conditions for Inuit, who face immense socio-economic disparities compared to majorities of the populations of the nation-states, in which Inuit reside. Common for the three Inuit organizations are their perceptions of Inuit identity as founded on deep, multigenerational ethnic ties, including traditional ways of living and cultural heritage. These attributes are articulated as idiosyncratic factors enhancing Inuit identity and unity across the vast landmasses. The organizations emphasize how they historically have brought together different Inuit communities and corporations, and ICC personifies Eben Hopson Sr. as their founding father and thus as the international unification of Inuit. The organizations work to safeguard Inuit interests, promote and preserve Inuit identity and to enhance Inuit self-governance and self-reliance as a response to what they perceive as an unjust encroachment of colonialists, which continues to severely threaten Inuit existence. According to Inuit, including the three above-mentioned organizations, the lack of socio-economic development is caused by a number of developmental factors, which differentiate Inuit from others (other Canadians) including lack of sufficient development programs, investments and funding as well as lack of Inuit involvement and leadership in the political and economic decision-making processes. Particularly in Canada, which is home to a significant indigenous population, including Inuit, is Inuit voicing their dissatisfaction with the government, despite enactments of land claims agreements and that Inuit representatives and the Canadian government have initiated official talks on reconciliation and a new Arctic Policy Framework (APF), including plans of socio-economic development.

This thesis sets out to examine how the aforementioned Inuit organizations contribute to shaping Inuit identity in relation to plans of socio-economic development in (Canadian) Inuit territories. The conduction of this research entails an analysis of how Inuit – in this case, the Inuit organizations – perceive Inuit identity. Inuit are spread across an enormous landmass in four different countries, and they do not possess a state of their own. Therefore, the way in which the Inuit organizations discursively articulate Inuit identity as either outwards or inwards oriented may contribute to shape

Inuit as a nation or an ethnic community, respectively. This distinction is important because nations, historically, and according to classic nationalist scholars, such as Ernest Gellner, aim to obtain interdependence and sovereignty, as their ultimate objective, which will enable the nation to form a nation-state. As a post-modern alternative, Robert C. Thomsen sets forth the concept of neo-nationalism, which suggests that stateless nations [or ethnic communities] – in liberal, wealthy democracies have devolution of political power and as much autonomy as possible without damaging the social, economic and political state of affairs for the stateless nation, as the core objective. They are, in other words, considering the most rational and beneficial course, which in many cases is not secession and formation of a new nation-state cf. Thomsen. According to Thomsen, who is a modernist-constructivist scholar, national identity is to be seen as *"the sum of collective held images of self and other"* but "*ethnicity and national distinctness, however, remain constructs; it is never really a question of discovering or rediscovering the national core, as nationalist rhetoric suggests"* (Thomsen 2010, 11-15). By suggesting that national identity can be socially constructed through national rhetoric, Thomsen thereby adopts Benedict Anderson's idea of the imagined community. He does not, however, disregard the aspect of Anthony D. Smith's perennial approach, which suggests that nations and nationalisms sprout from ethno-symbolism conveying deep inherited attributes of so-called ethnies, which is best described as ancestral pre-nations. Incorporating these notions into the research, this thesis aims to uncover how leading Inuit organizations discursively contribute to shaping Inuit identity in relation to plans of socio-economic development in (Canadian) Inuit territories, along the lines of ethnic and/or national identity.

2. Research Question

How do plans of socio-economic development in [Canadian] Inuit territories contribute to shaping Inuit identity?

3. Methodology

3.1. Aim of the Study

As the above stated research question indicates, this thesis aims to understand how a minority social group – in this case Inuit, as represented by (Canadian) Inuit organizations – shape Inuit identity to influence and transform the perceptions and social practice, including the social structures, in relation to plans of socio-economic development in Inuit territories. The mere focus is on how these

organizations employ a clear set of discourses to establish ethnic self-definition and group identification, and it is thus slightly inspired by María-Eugenia Merino and Cristian Tileaga's examination of the social construction of ethnic minority identity within the Chilean Mapuche minority group. Accordingly, this project seeks to uncover a particular interest in *"how ethnic self-definition can be seen as the contingent outcome of a practical and interpretive issue for members of society, with a special focus on how ethnic minority identity is constructed through the flexible use of group-defining attributes and characteristics, categories and common-sense categorical knowledge"* (Merino & Tileaga 2011, 86).

This thesis, however, differentiates from Merino and Tileaga's study in a number ways. This thesis does not focus on the interethnic effect of the discursive practices but rather on the concrete discursive practices and their effect on the broader social perception and social practice of Inuit socio-economic development, which is conveyed in the social construction of a nation and/or an ethnic minority identity. Ultimately, this thesis is predominantly based on the framework of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In line with Merino and Tileaga's view on identity as something that is dynamically (re)constructed, Fairclough suggests that any use of language or discourse is a text or communicative event, which intends to reproduce, reconstruct or transform the social practice (Merino & Tileaga 2011, 87; Fairclough 2003, 8-9). In the following sections, a more detailed conception of the methodological approach as well as the research design of this thesis will be provided.

3.2. Methodological Framework

3.2.1. Norman Fairclough – Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The application of Fairclough's CDA approach in this thesis encompasses the overall methodological framework as well as selected analytical tools, which have been deliberately selected in accordance with its relevance to the research question set forth.

Inspired by the paradigm of social constructivism, Fairclough developed his approach to CDA as a tool to grasp how a text or discourse, ultimately, affects social practice in a contextual perspective (Fairclough 1989, 37). This implies that discourses are ways of representing aspects of the world – particular aspects of the world may be presented differently, and therefore humans are generally in a position where they have to consider the relationship between different discourses and thus different representations of the world. As Fairclough puts it: *"Discourses not only represent the world as it is*

(or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions" (Fairclough 2003, 124). Hence, texts, which are any use of communication, language or discourse, written or spoken language as well as visual elements, are capable of (re)shaping, (re)constructing, reproducing or transforming social practices and social structures. Thereby, CDA becomes a means to analyze societal changes based on a text: *"Texts as elements of social events have causal effects – i.e. they bring about changes"* (Fairclough, 2003, 8).

Fairclough states that social constructivism is able to influence how human beings regard and interpret the surrounding world. He argues that while texts may partake in constructing reality or social practice, the social practice will inevitably also partake in the creation of texts, including the historical and social contexts in which they are shaped (Fairclough 2003, 8-9; Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 67). Ultimately, these conceptions constitute Fairclough's view that there is a dialectic relationship between texts, discursive practices and social practices (Fairclough 1989, 23). Accordingly, the CDA analyst is ultimately assessing the communicative event (text), which is any occurrence of language use, in relation to the social practice or – more specifically – the order of discourse, which is the *"totality of discursive practices in an institution and the relationship between them"* (Fairclough 1992, 43). Analyzing the reciprocal relationships and functions of the three dimensions encompasses a variety of discursive features, which are conveyed in Fairclough's 3-dimensional model framework, comprising 'text', 'discursive practice' and 'social practice'. Through the 3-dimensional model, Fairclough distinguishes between discursive and non-discursive processes. Non-discursive processes refer to processes that do not involve use of discourse. Discursive practice is shaped by the non-discursive dimensions of social practice and vice versa, and are therefore said to be in a dialectical relationship. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the reciprocal relationship between these entities

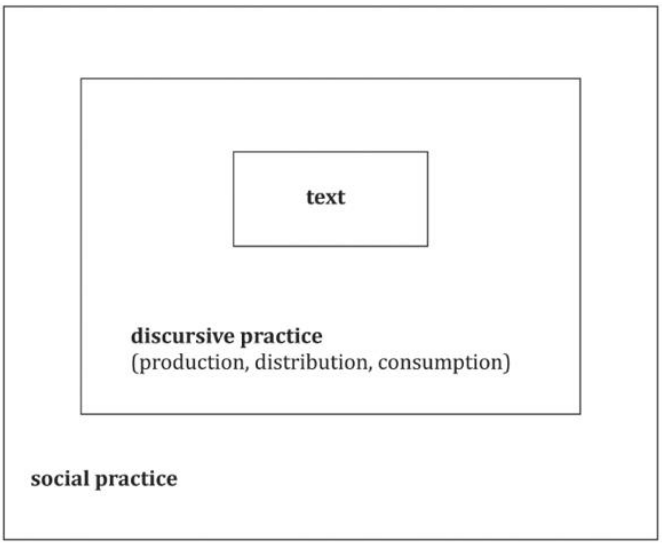

Figure 3: Representation of Fairclough's diagram of "social theory of discourse" (Fairclough, 1992: 73)

to understand why discourses, on the one hand, are determined and created by social structures (constituted), and on the other hand, are able to influence the social structures (constitutive).

In relation to the three levels of the model and as a result of the critical socio-linguistic approach to language and discourse, Fairclough distinguishes between three discursive functions: an identity function, a relational function and an ideational function, which convey the functional or meaningful-choice perception of language. The identity function examines how social identities are set up in discourse, in other words how a text producer creates an identity of oneself. Implicitly, an identity-creation is also made of the receiver in the sense that the text is aimed at a receiver or asking one to take a stand, and thereby compare individuals and their opinions. The relational function considers productions of texts, how the texts are created through the communicative event or the discursive practice and how they are received or consumed, thereby illustrating how individuals' relations are constructed and how they develop. The ideational function regards how the communicative event, in which the identities' texts or discourses are articulated, is co-constructing the world and the social practice, of which the communicative event is part. Fairclough identifies action, representation and identification as three major functions or meanings of texts (Fairclough 1992, 63-64).

3.2.1.1. Text

At its core, the textual level deals with specific grammatical and technical linguistic features in relation to language use, and is thus not sufficient to analyze discourse – the incorporation of the discursive and social practices is necessary to examine the implications of the communicative event. To Fairclough, a text is a linguistic event, which processes two fundamental entities, cognition and representation of the world (Fairclough 1992, 4; Baker & Ellece 2011, 150). A text is open to different interpretations, which indicates that the interpretation must be understood in relation to the interpreter.

In order to analyze the textual level of a discourse, Fairclough proposes a list of linguistic features to grasp. In this thesis, however, only the following analytical tools will be applied at the textual level: wording, transitivity and modality. Wording concerns the interpretation of the use of specific vocabulary and emphasis of some discourses over others, and how they are linguistically expressed. Transitivity involves the interpretation of the textual connection between events and processes on the one hand, and objects and subjects on the other. This concept enables analysis of social agents

and their relation to certain activities in the text. Hence, transitivity largely relates to the aforementioned identity function. Modality concerns the text's affinity to the discourses set forth, and is typically marked with the use of modal verbs and personal pronouns (Fairclough 1992, 158-162). According to Fairclough, *"modality is important in the texturing of identities, both personal ('personalities') and social, in the sense that what you commit yourself to is a significant part of what you are – so modality choices in texts can be seen as part of the process of texturing self-identity"* (Fairclough 2003, 166).

3.2.1.2. Discursive Practice

Fairclough determines discursive practice as processes of production, distribution and interpretation of texts. When a text is produced, it becomes discursive. Accordingly, Jørgensen and Phillips claims that: *"it is only through discursive practice - whereby people use language to produce and consume texts - that texts shape and are shaped by social practice"* (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 69). Hence, the producer of the discourse interprets and constructs reality through processes of articulation and expression (discursive practice). The social context is evident when it comes to production and interpretation of texts. Therefore, it is important to examine the circumstances of production and interpretation because it may reveal implicit rules or routines the text has been subject to, i.e. particular economic, political and/or institutional settings (Baker & Ellece 2011, 37).

Fairclough provides two concepts to grasp the discursive practice and analyze how – if – the text makes use of already existing discourses: (manifest) intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality (interdiscursivity). Often, it is only possible to make sense of a text if one fully understands how it refers to other texts. The producer of the discourse may seek to either reproduce or transform the existing discourses to promote its interests in the social practice. Intertextuality covers a text's ability to use actual content from other texts, i.e. direct references, quotations etc. Interdiscursivity involves using structures from existing texts by referring to other discourses or discourse types, which affects the production. Thus, a text is capable of transforming previous texts and reconstruct existing genres and discourses in order to generate new ones (Fairclough 1992, 124-125).

3.2.1.3. Social Practice

Social practices are structured or institutionalized non-discursive activities conveyed in the use of language, and thus not possible to grasp it with CDA alone but in combination with relevant theory

of social or cultural character. However, Fairclough sees the discursive practice as embedded in the social practice, because it influences the articulation of reality. He notes that a social practice involves activities such as means of production, social relations, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis. These elements are also dialectically related because they shape and reshape each other and thereby the social practice (Fairclough 2001, 122). The concepts of ideology, hegemony and order of discourse are applicable entities to analyze the relationship between discourse and power, and the discursive practice and the social practice.

The general concept of ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs and aims that a person or group holds. Fairclough views ideologies as constructions of reality built into the discursive practice in various forms and meanings (Fairclough 1992, 87-89).

Hegemony is the exercise of power, whereby there is a general consent, also from the lower class, to a dominant person or group, whether the person or group achieved this status intentionally or unintentionally as a result of a natural state of affairs or because one benefits from it. According to Fairclough, the concept of hegemony contributes to analysis of how discursive practice is part of a larger social practice, in which power relations are present. Within this fight for hegemony, the discursive practice contributes to reproduction and transformation of the order of discourse, and thereby the power relations.

The order of discourse deals with *"a particular combination of genres, discourses and styles, which constitutes the discursive aspect of a network of social practice"* (Fairclough 1992, 142). In general terms, order of discourses are the social structuring of linguistic variations or differences – there are always many different possibilities in language, but choice amongst them is socially structured (Fairclough 2003, 220).

3.2.2. Anna De Fina – Discourse and Identity

In her contribution, published in 2009, Anna De Fina presents a social constructionist approach to identity studies, centered on language and discourse analysis. According to De Fina, *"we use language to convey images of ourselves [but] we also use it to identify others, to classify and judge people, to align ourselves with them signaling our similarities, or to distance ourselves from them underlining our differences. In these and many other ways language and discourse are central to the construction and negotiation of identities"* (De Fina 2009, 263). De Fina emphasizes the interactional, relational and practical aspect of identity formation, which is constantly shaped and negotiated through language and discursive as well as social practice. According to her definition,

"identity connotes both a persistent sameness with one self (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others" (De Fina 2009, 265). De Fina thereby highlights the association between identity and the self but also the role of social interaction as a driving force in the construction of identities. She further argues that one has several identities, depending on the situation and the social context. Ultimately, she introduces five discursive processes, which have been identified as central to the construction of identity within the interactionist paradigm: *indexicality*, *local occasioning*, *positioning*, *dialogism* and *categorization*.

Except for dialogism and local occassioning, which implies the participation of more than one in the communicative event, typically in the form of debates or conversations, these concepts may be useful in the analysis of this project. The term indexicality encompasses sounds, words, expressions of language and styles and other non-linguistic symbols, which associates distinctive social groups with certain qualities, ideas, social representations and entire ideological systems. To the social groups, these symbols represent meaning creation as they 'index' or point to elements of the social context, and they are constantly subject to modification. Positioning covers one's ability to change between different identities or positions, depending on the situational and social context. Categorization amounts to identity categories used in discourse, including inventory identities available at hand but also societal and historic identities. Categorization allows the research to tap into general identification labels and the attributes, actions and situations that are typically associated with membership of a specific group. De Fina argues that categorization of local identities are both reflective and constitutive of social representations, beliefs and ideologies, and social relations between individuals and groups. She adds that categorization of identities is in part negotiated through the discursive process but just as much a result of the cognitive conception of the identity in question (De Fina 2009, 269-275).

The application of De Fina's concepts of indexicality, positioning and categorization as part of the discursive practice level enable the thesis to analyze the level of social identity creation through discourse more closely, and thus works complimentary within the text-discursive level.

3.2.3. George Lakoff – Framing

Similar to CDA, framing is an interdisciplinary approach, which assesses the interaction between linguistics and cognitive science, including various sub-disciplines. George Lakoff, one of the key

contributors to the academic field of framing, aims to find linkages between framing and (US) politics, and how the linguistic and cognitive discovery of frames are employed as a persuasive tool to convince individuals about certain discourses. The inherent nature of framing, however, goes much deeper than politics, which Lakoff suggests in the following: *""Framing" is not primarily about politics or political messaging, or communication. It is far more fundamental than that: Frames are the mental structures that allow human beings to understand reality—and sometimes to create what we take to be reality"* (Lakoff 2006, 20). Inspired by Erving Goffman, Lakoff argues that framing is capable of changing perceptions and thus enable social change. Framing takes place through discursive practice, as a part of a communicative event or social interaction. Accordingly, reality is individual and subject to social (re)creation or *reframing* to use Lakoff's terminology. According to Lakoff, this implies that if a fact does not comply with one's frame or reality perception, the fact will not be internalized and thus one will stick to the perception of the frame, regardless of its factual correctness (Chua 2006, 3; Goffman 1974, 11-13). Hence, framing argues that what is perceived as the truth is subjective, and dependent on one's already existing frames. Framing, and particularly reframing, deals with human beings' perceptional change of issues, which is subject to the occurring frame or text cf. Fairclough. According to Chua, Lakoff presents three levels of framing (see table below), which will enable the interpreter to analyze how frames can be useful in achieving social change.

Lakoff's Three Levels of Analysis (Chua 2006, 4):

Framing	**Type**	**Constituent**	**Examples**
Level 1	Deep frames	Ideologies, values, principles	Equity, prosperity, justice, fairness
Level 2	Issue-defining frames	Certain issues or morality categories	Environment, human rights, poverty, social welfare
Level 3	Surface frames	Policies, political programs	Educational- and housing programs, child care, innovation promotion

The effect of (re)framing largely depends on one's ability to activate the deep frames, which ultimately is the key to perceptional change of issue-defining frames and surface frames. Deep

frames constitute the first level and define one's overall "common sense", and without them, surface frames will not have any effect because they will not resonate without reinforcing deep frames. Surface frames make up the third level and are the most basic frames that constitute policies and programs, which only make sense if they are given deep frames (Lakoff 2006, 22-23). In between, at the second level, issue-defining frames conceptualize slogans about issues and the deep frames, characterize problems, assign blames and constrain the possible solutions. More important, issue-defining frames block relevant concerns if those concerns are outside the frame. The framework thus conveys that a text or a communicator must connect the three levels of framing in order to gain cognitive effect. This is especially important in the case of reframing because it takes time to transform or cultivate deep frames, and usually requires continuous activation through a specific discursive order of texts and communicative events, which, ultimately, affects the surface frames (Lakoff 2016, 24).

The essence of framing theory makes it a natural addition to CDA as it assesses the way in which texts or subjects apply frames to (re)construct social reality or social practice, through the application of specific frame structures.

3.3. Conceptualization of Analytical Framework and Research Design

Several factors make discourse analysis a particular useful point of departure for the study carried out in this thesis. As citing Robert C. Thomsen: *"In trying to explain social relations and social conflicts, discourse analysis focuses on the importance of perceptions of social reality (as opposed to structural facts), the roles of actors in the processes that shape society, and, in turn, collective identities"* (Thomsen 2010, 10). This tallies to Fairclough, who perceives language use or discourse as a result of social practice rather than individual activity or a reflex of situational variables. Thomsen applies discourse analysis in a critical realist manner, arguing that there is a dialectical relationship between material and discursive practice and that structures are incapable of determining political behavior, and explaining why people act the way they do. According to him, social reality is constructed by subjects interpreting, rather than describing, social structures at particular points in history. He thereby lean towards Fairclough's moderate social constructivist approach.

The 3-dimensional CDA framework is methodologically applied as the structure of the thesis, and thus the analysis/discussion is divided in accordance with the three levels. In practice, it means that the textual and discursive levels function as the overall analytical framework of this thesis. Due to the overlapping nature of them and the minimal focus on the linguistic part of the analysis (the textual level), these levels will be analyzed simultaneously, applying the selected analytical tools. The minimal linguistic focus of CDA is due to the lack of relevance for the research carried out in this thesis. Fairclough suggests that the CDA analyst conducts the analysis with the following initial steps:

"(1) Identify the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented – the main 'themes'.

(2) Identify the particular perspective or angle or point of view from which they are represented" (Fairclough 2003, 129).

The conceptualization of the research carried out in this thesis will thus be based on three main themes identified in the empirical data, namely: 1) Representation of Inuit history and tradition, 2) Socio-economic inequality (compared to the rest of Canada) and 3) Self-determination/autonomism. The discourse themes were identified as the most prominent in the pre-face analysis, keeping in mind the focus on national ethnic identity, of the empirical data – the Inuit texts – and thus clustered in accordance with themed constituents of the applied nationalism theory. The analysis will be structured accordingly. Analytically, the discourse themes naturally tap into one another but the discursive emphasis still varies to an extent that enables clustering. The first theme, Representation of Inuit history and tradition, comprises discourses on distinct Inuit ethno-cultural and historical traits and attributes, especially as differentiating factors from other (Canadian) identities, and is thus inspired by both Smith and the more social constructivist nationalism theories applied in this thesis. The second theme, socio-economic inequality, analyzes text sequences, which articulate socio-economic inequality or inequity between Inuit and "the other" (i.e. Canadian), in relation to plans of socio-economic development and developmental advancement comparisons at large. In relation to nationalism theory, this discourse theme of the analysis contemplates a social constructivist approach as to how the Inuit organizations discursively produce and articulate the socio-economic inequality. The third theme, self-determination/autonomism is the main claim set forth by Thomsen, namely that the objective of neo-national entities is to obtain more autonomy and self-

determination, as opposed to the ultimate goal of sovereignty and the foundation of a nation-state, simply because it is seen as more beneficial – particularly economically – to the minority ethnic community or nation. Since the empirical data or the communicative events come from Inuit organizations, they represent the social world or social reality from an Inuit perspective. The joint textual-discursive practice analysis will thus consist of three sections – each encompassing an examination of the use of one of these three identified discourses across the empirical data or texts. The analysis of the respective themes/discourses will be subject to the different concepts of framing, discursive identity and nationalism within the overall framework of CDA. Following this, a discussion will be carried out to grasp the implications of the communicative events in relation to the social practice, including the (hegemonic) order of discourse and social structures.

Theoretically, the thesis relies on some of Fairclough's concrete analytical tools. From Fairclough's textual level, the analysis will incorporate the concepts of wording, transitivity and modality, because these concepts are assessed as the most relevant, from the textual level, when it comes to articulation of Inuit identity. In addition, it will include the identity function to examine how the text producers linguistically create social identities of self and other.

At the discursive level, the concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity will be applied to analyze how the texts or communicative events, subject to analysis in this thesis, refer to and rely on other texts and discourses, when representing their social reality. In order to grasp the discursive level in relation to identity-creation in more detail, Anna De Fina's concepts of indexicality, positioning and categorization, set forth in her work 'Discourse and Identity', are integrated into the discursive level. To supplement these concepts, George Lakoff's framing model is added to the discursive level in order to analyze which frames the Inuit framing and reframing of discourse employ to (re)construct the social reality and thus enhance the social effects of the communicative events. These complimentary concepts are thus compatible with Fairclough's approach, specifically the relational function at the discursive level, which grasps how relations are constructed and how they evolve.

Nationalism theory is incorporated to understand how the Inuit organizations' texts and discursive practices articulate national ethnic identity, and thereby shape Inuit identity. This thesis will rely on different aspects of scholars within the field of nationalism, starting by proposing that Anthony D.

Smith's perception of the nation, and its merely cultural components and heritage sprouting from ethnies, is the perception that the texts, subject to analysis in this thesis, discursively articulate. As proposed by Montserrat Guibernau, this approach – ethno-symbolism, however, *"focuses on the cultural aspects of nations and nationalism. The political aspects are left practically untouched"* (Guibernau 2004, 126). According to Guibernau, Smith fails to distinguish between nations and states, by attributing features such as legal rights and duties to the nation. She states that a nation is a cultural community, whereas a state is a political institution, and accordingly, she sets forth the concept of *'nations without states'*, which are *"territorial communities with their own identity and a desire for self-determination included within the boundaries of one or more states, with which, they by and large, do not identify"* (Guibernau 2004, 132). This perception corresponds to Robert C. Thomsen's concept of stateless nations. Thomsen, as well as Guibernau, however, acknowledges the differences in ethnic origin, and the ethno-cultural antiquity that characterizes nations, in accordance with Smith. Inspired by Benedict Anderson's concept of the imagined community, Thomsen claims that these peculiar ethno-cultural traits constituting the nation are used as discursive constructs to obtain as much (political) autonomy as possible. Combining these approaches, nationalism, in this thesis, encompasses the texts' or communicative events' depiction of Inuit as an ethnie cf. Smith, through a modernist-constructivist discourse to obtain autonomy, as proposed by Thomsen. He states: *"the ongoing transition between discourses is what characterizes the dynamics of the nation. It follows that national identities are constantly in a state of construction, and the definition of national symbols and narratives is a competitive, continual process"* (Thomsen 2010, 17). This view fits into Fairclough's framework, emphasizing the dynamic dialectic relationship between discursive and social practice, and Thomsen continues by stating that: *"National identities are not fixed because images of self and other are by nature dialectical"* (Thomsen 2010, 18). Accordingly, groups and collectivities are always constituted in relation to others. Therefore, Ernest Gellner's concept of high and low cultures will be applied, as it functions as a differentiating element between different national identities, and thus specify the identity and relational functions cf. Fairclough in this analysis. The concept will be applied in an inverted manner, due to the minority, as opposed to Gellner's perception, is the weaker part of the power relations in the case of the Inuit nation/ethnic group.

At the social practice level, the thesis discusses the implications of the communicative events, the official Inuit statements and documents, in relation to the societal context, which constitutes the

ideational function cf. Fairclough. At this level, the terminology Fairclough introduces in relation to social practice, including ideology, hegemony and order of discourse will be applied to comprehend the effects of the discursive productions on non-discursive elements. In other words, the findings from the textual-discursive practice analysis will contribute to the examination and discussion of the social practice, including social structures, in relation to Inuit identity.

3.4. Empirical Data

The empirical data consists of four official texts from three different Inuit organizations – two Canadian and one encompassing all of Inuit communities (including its Canadian department). The organizations are Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK), Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA) and Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC). These organizations and their respective documents have been chosen because they articulate the Inuit nation or ethnic community, including Inuit identity, in relation to plans of socio-economic development in Canada, and to an extent across Inuit Nunaat.

ITK is the national representative organization for the 65,000 Inuit in Canada, the majority of whom live in Inuit Nunangat (Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Nunavik in Northern Quebec, and Nunatsiavut in Northern Labrador). Inuit Nunangat encompasses 51 communities and makes up nearly one third of Canada's landmass and 50 percent of its coastline. The empirical data from ITK is the organization's Arctic Policy Framework (APF) Position Paper that addresses Inuit priorities for the content and structure of Canada's new policy on Northern Governance (ITK APF Position Paper, 2018).

QIA is a not-for-profit organization, which represents approximately 14,000 Inuit in the Qikiqtani (Baffin) Region of Nunavut, which includes 13 communities from Grise Fiord in the High Arctic down to Sanikiluaq (Belcher Island). The Mission Statement of QIA is to safeguard, administer and advance the rights and benefits of the Qikiqtani Inuit; and to promote Inuktitut, the Inuit language and Inuit traditions, environmental values, self-sufficiency, and economic, social and cultural well-being in an open and democratic forum (QIA website, 2019). QIA's part of the empirical data consists of a document presenting a new approach to economic development in Nunavut, dated February 2018.

Finally, ICC is an international non-governmental organization representing approximately 160,000 Inuit of Alaska, Canada, Greenland and Chukotka (Russia). ICC promotes Inuit rights and interests on an international level, and have chairs in international organizations, such as UN and the Arctic

Council (ICC website, 2019). ICC's part of the empirical data amounts to a speech from the Chair at the Circumpolar Inuit Economic Summit in Anchorage, Alaska, 2017 and the Utqiaġvik Declaration from 2018, at the 13th General Assembly of ICC.

It is expected that these documents constitute a sufficient empirical foundation to provide an answer to the research question set forth in this thesis, due to its tangible and official nature as well as the broad Inuit representation.

3.5. Limitations

The methodological approach to the thesis confines the analysis to a textual empirical foundation, which is subject to selected theoretical frameworks. Accordingly, the empirical data as well as the particular text passages subject to analysis in the thesis have been selected based on subjective assessments by the author. The assessments concern the texts' content and ability to provide sufficient foundation to be analyzed in accordance with the examining intention of the research question. According to Fairclough, textual analysis is "inevitably selective" and based on the analyst's subjective perceptions, and thus 'objective' text analysis does not exist (Fairclough 2003, 14-15). Fairclough's points underline the subjective element of interpretation, which entails that perception of the applied theoretical frameworks as well as the findings of the analysis are based on the interpreter's/analyst's subjective interpretation.

4. Theoretical Framework

4.1. Nationalist Ethnic Identities

This section features four different theoretical approaches to national ethnic identities. Gellner's main focus is on why states need to become nation-states in relation to the evolvement of high and low cultures. Anderson presents a conception of how nations have become the dominant imagined communities because of the advancement of print capitalism. These approaches essentially claim that nations are social constructs as opposed to Smith's perennial approach, which adhere to the idea that nations are products of pre-national ethnies and ethno-symbolic roots. Finally, Thomsen's neo-nationalist approach concerns minority social groups or national identities in wealthy liberal democracies and their aim for more autonomy as opposed to classic nationalism and its independence focus cf. Gellner.

4.1.1. Ernest Gellner – Nations and Nationalism

In 1983, Ernest Gellner published his view on the development of nationalism in the transition from agrarian to industrialized societies. He terms nationalism predominantly as a political principle, which dictates that the political and national unit should be congruent. He elaborates further with the following: *"In brief, nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cross across political ones, and in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state – a contingency already formally excluded by the principle in its general formulation – should not separate the power-holders from the rest"* (Gellner 1983, 1). Accordingly, nationalism always has national sovereignty as its political goal, which often entails constitutional change. Gellner describes this as the process of nations that ultimately seek to reach their final destination: forming themselves into states.

During the state formation process, nationalism takes pre-existing cultures and turn them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates them, which Gellner determines as an "inescapable reality" because it cannot possibly encompass all of them. In other words, it is the convergence of a mix of different cultures alongside political units of all shapes and sizes. This is a result of a new form of (industrial) social organization, based on what Gellner coins *high cultures* or *garden cultures*, which are deeply internalized, education-dependent and protected by its own state. Correspondingly, he coins the pre-existing cultures, which are obliterated or transformed, *low cultures* or *wild cultures* (Gellner 1983, 48-49). The wild cultures *"are produced and reproduce themselves spontaneously"*, while the garden cultures are *"most usually sustained by literacy and by specialized personnel, and would perish if deprived of their distinctive nourishment"* (Gellner 1983, 51). These attributes suggest that nations and nationalism are largely constructs designed by an economic, political and cultural elite in order to 'nationalize' the masses, and thereby create the social structures that were necessities at the time to transition from agrarian to industrialized, capitalist societies. In pre-industrial societies, the high culture existed independently from the low cultures but with modernization, it became normative, pervasive and universal in society. At this point, the high culture cannot dispense with a political infrastructure and it thus wants a state, preferably its own. Ultimately, Gellner states that *"nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority"* (Gellner 1983, 50). Not every wild culture can evolve into a garden culture, and those without serious prospects of becoming one tend to bow without a struggle. However, some low cultures thinking they have a chance fight it out among themselves for available populations and for

the available state-space, which may lead to nationalist/ethnic conflict cf. Gellner (Gellner 1983, 51).

4.1.2. Benedict Anderson – The Imagined Community

In 1983, Benedict Anderson set forth the idea of a nation as something *imagined,* and thereby implicitly conveying the idea of nationalism as something that does not exist beyond the collective imagination of communities. Accordingly, Anderson defines a nation as the following: *"it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion"* (Anderson 1983, 49). The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest nations, with millions of people, has set boundaries, beyond which lie other nations, and thus no nation imagine or aim to encompass all members of the human race. It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept originated in times of revolutions, which were destroying the legitimacy of the hierarchical dynastic realm. Lastly, it is imagined as a *community* because it is perceived as deep, horizontal camaraderie, despite the inequality and exploitation that may take place in each of them. Anderson assesses the fraternity aspect of nationalism in a critical way by connecting it to the loss of millions of lives in wars during the past two centuries: *"These deaths bring us abruptly face to face with the central problem posed by nationalism: what makes the shrunken imaginings of recent history (scarcely more than two centuries) generate such colossal sacrifices? I believe that the beginnings of an answer lie in the cultural roots of nationalism"* (Anderson 1983, 50).

The style in which the communities are imagined is what distinguishes them from one another. Anderson coins nationalism as 'imagined' because he compares it to medieval perceptions of monarchs, priests – and religion at large – as something greater than humankind with the exclusive access to the ontological and cosmological truth. Anderson emphasizes that he does not see the origin of nationalism as a consequence of the erosion of religion: *"What I am proposing is that nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which - as well as against which - it came into being"* (Anderson 1983, 52). Breaking away from these views, people looked for new ways to connect fraternity, power and time meaningfully together. In this vacuum, print capitalism made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways. The logic of capitalism meant that once the elite

Latin market was saturated, printers looked toward the huge markets represented by the monoglot masses. Ultimately, the origin of the imagined community and thus national consciousness sprouts from the convergence of capitalism and print technology, combined with the diversity and proliferation of human vernaculars and languages.

4.1.3. Anthony D. Smith – Nationalism and Modernism

Anthony D. Smith belongs to a different school of nationalism than Gellner and Anderson do, namely the perennialist as opposed to the modernist-constructivst. In opposition to modernist-constructivist scholars (and others), Smith takes a step back from the modern era of nation-states and nationalism to the earliest manifestations of collective cultural sentiments. He does so because *"it was possible to find examples of social formation in pre-modern periods, even in antiquity, that for some decades or even centuries approximated to inclusive definition of the concept of the 'nation' (...)"*, he claims and continues: *"In other words, the concept of the 'nation' was perennial, insofar as recurrent instances of this formation could be found in various periods of history and in different continents. Here, then, one could speak of national recurrence"* (Smith 1991, 191). Hereby, Smith commits to the perennial school and mentions examples, from different continents, of the early social formations or nations, such as ancient Jews, Egyptians, medieval Japanese and Koreans, as well as Greeks and Chinese. He points to *ethnic continuity* and *ethnic recurrence* of these communities, which, for millennia, maintained and reproduced certain key identifying components, such as name, language, customs, religious community and territorial association, despite huge cultural changes.

Due to these discoveries, Smith's focus of analysis changed "from nationalisms to nations, and from nations to ethnic communities": *"The study of ethnies (the French term for ethnic communities) became central to the understanding of why and where particular nations are formed and why nationalisms, though formally alike, possess such distinctive features and contents"* (Smith 1998, 190-191). Accordingly, he defines ethnies as "*named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity"* (Smith 1998, 191). The sense of uniqueness of the ethnic community is particularly reinforced by the myth of a common and idiosyncratic origin in time and place, since it symbolizes the point of foundation of the community. In the light of these considerations, Smith defines 'nation' as the following: *"a group of human beings, possessing common and distinctive elements*

of culture, a unified economic system, citizenship rights for all members, a sentiment of solidarity arising out of common experiences, and occupying a common territory"(Smith 1998, 188). According to Smith, the nation has become the norm of social and political organization, and nationalism the most ubiquitous of ideologies. He further states that nations are, as signified by the notions and definitions above, based on, and created out of, pre-existing ethnies – "at least some nations":

> *"It is exactly those features of nations that ethnies lack—a clearly delimited territory or 'homeland', a public culture, economic unity and legal rights and duties for everyone—that make nations ultimately quite different from ethnies, despite the fact that both possess such features as an identifying name, myths of common origins and shared historical memories"* (Smith 1998, 196).

Smith notes various usages of nationalism but proposes the following working definition: "*an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of self-government and independence on behalf of a group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'"* (Smith 1998, 188). He further elaborates by stating that the respective nationalisms possess idiosyncratic, differentiating ideas embedded in what Smith terms *ethno-symbolism*, which consists of symbols and myths affiliated to distinct human groups. Symbols represent particular experiences and values, whereas myths convey meanings of those experiences and bring the "values to life" so to speak. If the constituents of ethno-symbolism of a human group fail to resonate with its members, it is because the members find these constituents insufficient for identification, representation and meaning. Unable to unite, the group ultimately finds itself weakened and fragmented. Smith acknowledges that there are different types of nations, and that not all nations have a rich history of symbols and myths as well as shared sentiments and languages. In terms of ethnic survival, "ethno-history" is a great cultural resource for nationalists, and correspondingly lack thereof a major challenge for younger nations, e.g. Tanzania, Eritrea, and Libya cf. Smith. Nations, regardless of their type or age, however, strive for the ideals of national autonomy, national unity and national identity.

According to Smith, there are three routes to nationhood, of which the first two of them, presented in the following, are more common. The first route is that of so-called *bureaucratic incorporation*, which involves the transformation of a loose, aristocratic ethnie into a territorial nation. This is

initiated by the bureaucratic state, led by the upper class, which draw the lower classes into a politicized *national* culture. Thus, a civic type of national identity gradually forges the nation to outlying regions from the ethnic core and down the social scale. The second route to nationhood is termed *vernacular mobilization* cf. Smith. This route suggests that a demotic ethnie is transformed into an ethnic nation, under the guidance of an indigenous academic elite. This guidance is conveyed in rediscoveries and reappropriations of selective ethno-historical elements, made by the native intellectuals. These elements were to highlight the authenticity and genuineness of the national identity, which, in turn, requires cultivation of indigenous history as well as vernacular languages and cultures in order to execute the vernacular mobilization. As a result, this type of nation is founded on ethnic conceptions and ancestral nationalism but simultaneously defined in territorial and political terms, and thus allow room for minorities. The third route to nationhood consists of admitted immigrant fragments of other ethnies, in particular from overseas. Examples of this nation type include USA, Canada and Australia. According to Smith, however, none of these routes ensures automatic attainment of nationhood. It depends on various factors, starting with the degree of adaptation to market capitalism and penetration of the bureaucratic state as well as secular, mass education – either directly as in the West or through the mediation of imperialism and colonialism. In addition, general human agency, individual and collective, alongside case-specific ethno-historic occurrences, has been vital in the process of uniting ethnies and transforming them into nations (Smith 1998, 194).

4.1.4. Robert C. Thomsen – Nationalism in Stateless Nations

To better understand the development of political nationalism in post-modern Western societies, Robert C. Thomsen suggests the concept of 'stateless nations', which incorporates the relationship between national identities as *"the processes by which social actors are influenced, and, in turn, influence the relationship between the national self and its "others"*. According to Thomsen, *"national identity is the sum of dominant perceptions of self and others in all spheres of society at any given time"* (Thomsen 2010, 2). He adds that national identity is dynamic rather than static, and it is based on processes and practices rather than persistent conceptions. Thomsen's point of departure is some of the most prominent scholars of nationalism; Smith, Gellner, Anderson etc., who belong to the perennialist and modernist nationalism schools, respectively. In Thomsen's view, Smith's perennialist approach puts too much emphasis on ethnicity and often fails to account for the development of nationalisms, which have made only selective use of ethnic heritage. On the other hand, the modernist-constructivist approaches of Gellner and Anderson, which account nationalism

as a discursive construct that made way for the transformation from pre-modern to modern, industrialized societies, are unable to account for the emotional appeal of nationalism or the development of post-modern nationalisms in industrialized societies.

Due to the explanatory shortages of these approaches, Thomsen sets forth the distinction between *classic nationalism* and *neo-nationalism*, where the former largely occurred as a response to nationalist developments in non-democratic nation-states and the latter deals with nationalist movements in wealthy liberal democracies. In addition to Scotland and Newfoundland, he mentions Catalonia, Greenland, The Faroe Islands and Quebec as examples of neo-nationalism. Though he acknowledges that these movements are highly different, they share two central features: *"an origin in wealthy liberal democracies and the distinction from classic nationalism in both content and purpose".* The content and purpose element refers to the increased degree of rationalism that characterizes neo-nationalist movements, which to a larger extent consider the political and socio-economic advantages and disadvantages of self-determination. It is a pragmatic acknowledgement that globalization, including economic interpenetration, the rapid technological communications advancements as well as the increasing regionalization and integration of nation-states into supra-state entities, have made the devolution of power a valid alternative to the status quo for many self-proclaimed national communities. Therefore, rationalist reasoning has become just as important – and in some cases more important – than ethno-cultural affection in neo-nationalist communities. Accordingly, neo-nationalists, as opposed to classic nationalists, strive for devolution of political and economic power (autonomy) over full status of sovereignty (Thomsen 2010, 3-5). From these perceptions of classic nationalism and neo-nationalism, Thomsen sets forth his conceptualization of *autonomism*:

> *"As political and economic globalization increasingly prevents the attainment of full nationalist sovereignty, many political neo-nationalist movements may be more accurately defined as autonomist movements – that is, as political movements that strive for as large a measure of national self-sufficiency (e.g. the attainment of linguistic or natural resources rights, or financial responsibility for regional development programs) as is deemed possible under the circumstances* (Thomsen 2010, 6).

Thomsen makes a distinction between cultural and political nationalism, where the former refers *"to the apolitical celebration of the cultural history and heritage of the imagined nation"* and the

latter refers *"to the effective political expression of nationalist demands for empowerment"*. Ultimately, this distinction is useful in the analysis of the development of autonomism. Hence, autonomism is a form of political nationalism *"that has either an ill-defined goal or does not have an independent nation-state as its cardinal aspiration – either because this is considered an unattainable goal, or because currently independence is not seen to be beneficial to the nation"*. Autonomist demands always imply the intrinsic rights of the nation of self-determination and if necessary ethno-cultural arguments may be present – though often applied with rhetorical subtlety (Thomsen 2010, 6-8).

The success of any nationalist movement relies, largely, upon its ability to produce persuasive, legitimizing rhetoric, which can mobilize a significant number of people. Therefore, national identity becomes the underlying ideology of nationalism. Thomsen defines national identity *"as the sum of collective held images of self and other (...). National identity is not, therefore, defined as the all-inclusive combination of images in all society's spheres, but as the combination of those images which pertain to the national self, as opposed to other – gender, regional, occupational etc. – identities"* (Thomsen 2010, 11). While national identity remains at the core of political nationalism, it is something that can be socially constructed i.e. for political purposes. Political or other powerful actors exposed to the community are thus able to (re)shape the formulation of national identity in accordance with political and socio-economic objectives (Thomsen 2010, 19). This entails a differentiation of the nationalist self and extra-national "others", and national identity is thus constructed in the articulation of images of self in relation to images of other, which ultimately constitutes the social reality and definition of the nation.

As a result, political nationalist movements' ability to mobilize people depends on widespread acceptance of common images of self and other as legitimate: *"One necessary pre-condition of nationalism, be it classic or new, is the desire among the majority of a population to engage in or affiliate to a collective identity – a large-scale, imagined solidarity. Ethnicity and national distinctness, however, remain constructs; it is never really a question of discovering or rediscovering the national core, as nationalist rhetoric suggests"* (Thomsen 2010, 11; 15). He thus lean more towards the modernist-constructivist approach introduced by Anderson and Gellner, which Thomsen describes as "convincing evidence against the naturalness of the nation", and claims that the development of the nationalist cause still depends on the community's belief of such national core. On the other hand, he also adopts aspects of Smith's more ethno-cultural view by stating the following: *"What can be stated with certainty, though, is that so-called 'ethnic' and*

'civic' elements exits in every nationalism, only they are given different emphasis. The mere idea of an "ethnic-less" nationalism makes no sense. If there is no perception of being a distinct ethnic group, there can be no idea of the nation, and any political movement ceases to qualify for the label 'national'" (Thomsen 2010, 13;19).

4.2. Nationalism Theory in Practice

In accordance with the identified discourse themes cf. Fairclough's methodological approach, the analysis seeks to examine the Inuit texts' and/or organizations' respective discursive practices of the applied nationalism theories, and thereby suggest the most applicable approach(es) in the Inuit case. In this regard, a nation is usually seen as oriented outward towards the world whereas an ethnic community is seen as oriented inward as part of a nation (-state). Accordingly, the analysis carried out in this thesis seeks to uncover how leading [Canadian] Inuit organizations, in this regard, discursively construct Inuit as a(n) nation and/or ethnic community, without excluding Smith's idea about deeper ethnic ties. In other words, how is one to label the entity encompassing Inuit identity? What are the implications in terms of sovereignty/autonomy? According to Gellner, the ultimate aim of nations is to gain statehood and national sovereignty. Does that imply that ethnic identities will be transformed into national identity within a newly established territory? On the other hand, Thomsen and Guibernau suggest that the stateless nations or nations without states seek to gain as much autonomy and self-determination as possible, and that statehood is not the ultimate goal – as it most likely is not the most pragmatic and beneficial solution to the insufficient/lack of socio-economic development. In this regard, one naturally has to consider when the respective works have been published. As noted earlier, Gellner's conception of low and high cultures sprouts from post-colonialism where different ethnic groups/nations where fighting to get supremacy over their own territory after years of colonial occupation, merely focusing on the African context. The same goes for Anderson's conception of the imagined community, which occurred in times of war, and therefore has a stronger focus on clearly defined communities associated with clearly defined territories. The empirical data subject to analysis in this thesis, and the discursive practices executed in the texts, will help uncover the general notion of this perspective in the (Canadian) Inuit context. On the other hand, Thomsen's modernist-constructivist ideas are a result of what he coins neo-nationalist tendencies in modern, Western societies. While he acknowledges the presence of shared, unique cultural characteristics, he does not see a sense of common destiny and national identity as a pre-requisite for an autonomist movement to succeed. National identity can be socially constructed,

and therefore, nationalist rhetoric may, in some cases, be an even stronger engine on the development of the sense of a national identity than actual distinctive attributes.

In terms of the element of nationalism, these are questions and thoughts, which this thesis seeks to uncover in relation to the case of Inuit, conveyed in the overall methodological framework of CDA.

5. Analysis

As accounted for in the 'Methodology' section, and as Fairclough suggests, the analysis will be divided into clusters of the main themes or discourses. As noted earlier, the identified themes or discourses are: 1) Representation of Inuit history and tradition, 2) Socio-economic inequality (compared to the rest of Canada) and 3) Self-determination/autonomism.

5.1. Representation of Inuit History and Tradition

The first discourse theme subject to analysis is the texts' emphasis on the distinctiveness of Inuit history and tradition. Nationalism theory, including the different theories presented in this thesis, perceive identity as a cornerstone of nations and ethnic communities. Whether or not it is socially constructed or ethnic heritage associated with the origins of certain peoples, history and tradition, including identity, differentiate nations and ethnic communities from one another by associating distinct qualities or characteristics to a group of people in opposition to others. This aspect makes the discourse theme 'Representation of Inuit history and tradition' relevant in the research carried out in this thesis, as the Inuit texts articulate these attributes in relation to others.

5.1.1. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)

To portray who is part of the Inuit identity, ITK introduces itself and the Inuit population in Canada in the beginning of the position paper: *"Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK) is the national representative organization for the 65,000 Inuit in Canada, the majority of whom live in Inuit Nunangat (Inuvialuit Settlement Region in the Northwest Territories, Nunavut, Nunavik in Northern Quebec, and Nunatsiavut in Northern Labrador). Inuit Nunangat encompasses 51 communities and makes up nearly one third of Canada's landmass and 50 percent of its coastline. Consistent with its founding purpose, ITK represents the rights and interests of Inuit at the national level through a democratic governance structure that represents all Inuit regions"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 2). This passage encompasses tangible numbers and information, which make it comprehendible for the recipients to grasp the size of the Inuit population and land. These figures illustratively demonstrate

that it is a relatively small population, living in huge pieces of land – 65,000 from 51 communities in "one third of Canada's landmass" – taking into account that Canada is the second largest country in the world by landmass. These features are fundamental attributes of the Inuit identity, as it is part of the everyday life of an Inuit living in Inuit Nunangat to deal with remoteness and limited mobility, depending on the season. These features index Inuit from most other Canadians, living in the south, where they do not experience the same challenges, and thus constitute a distinctive factor and categorizations of these different identities. This sequence thereby make use of the identity function to implicitly distinguish Inuit from other Canadians. Another characteristic of the Inuit identity is the relationship with the sea or the water, which the traditional hunting economy still relies on today, and therefore most of the Inuit settlements are found near the water, illustrated by the huge amount of coastline in Inuit Nunangat. Mentioning the full names of the regions highlights that these regions are indeed Inuit, due to their Inuit names but also their respective distinctiveness. Combined with the figure of the communities, ITK illustrates that it is "the national representative organization for the 65,000 Inuit in Canada", and thus it discursively frames a unit of the imagined community, which some may argue is indeed imagined due to the distance between them and the remoteness. This discourse is interdiscursively reiterated in the final sentence of the quote where ITK clearly states that it represents all Inuit – in other words, ITK discursively commit to constitute Inuit identity. ITK seeks to appeal to Inuit by stating that it represents the rights and interests of Inuit at a national level through the activation of the deep frame value, 'democratic governance'. This is "consistent with the founding purpose", and by claiming so, ITK legitimizes its existence as it does what it set out to do. A couple of pages further down, this quote is almost identically reproduced, constituting it as an example of interdiscursivity, which further underlines ITK's commitment to represent the Inuit people and Inuit identity, and the (imagined) Inuit community (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 4).

Speaking of the land, ITK makes a note later on the land claims agreements: *"These land claims have the status of protected treaties under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, and we remain committed to fully implementing them in partnership with the Crown. ITK advocates for policies, programs, and services to address the social, cultural, political, and environmental issues facing our people"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 2). Mentioning the land is not a coincidence – the land is very special to Inuit and constitutes a substantial part of Inuit identity because it was taken away from them by colonialists. It is often referred to as "our homeland" to connote an even stronger relationship with the land, which the Inuit has lived on and from for generations. In so doing, one

may claim that ITK articulates Inuit as an ethnie along the lines of Smith's definition. The intertextual reference to the "protected treaties under section 35 of the Constitution Act" is the official recognition of the Inuit rights to these lands, which is of great significance to the Inuit people. This arguably appeals to the deep frames of justice and fairness, which is associated with the surface frames of policies, programs and services, which, according to ITK, is needed to overcome "the social, cultural, political and environmental issues facing our people". In other words, it is reframed from being about the past to the future, and accordingly, the message is that it is only fair if the surface frames become reality, considering the historical perspective. Using the categorization 'the Crown' refers to the other part of the negotiations – the federal government, with which Inuit historically have had a strained relationship. At the end, ITK once again identifies itself with the Inuit people by using the phrase "our people", thereby appealing to the imagined community cf. Anderson.

In the end, ITK sums up the discourse on Inuit identity by stating the following: *"The APF should recognize Inuit Nunangat as a distinct geographic, cultural, and political region and address Inuit priorities through the application of an Inuit Nunangat policy. This can be accomplished by including Inuit as partners in determining how federal policies, programs, and investments are developed and implemented in our homeland, as committed in the Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 14). This statement indexes Inuit Nunangat as opposed to other Canadian regions, and therefore an Inuit Nunangat policy is needed. Again, ITK emphasizes the distinct qualities of Inuit and applies the phrase "our homeland", thereby suggesting that it is an ethnie along the lines of Smith's terminology, as well as a national identity cf. Thomsen, which distinguishes itself from the "other". To legitimize the message of this statement, ITK refers intertextually to the Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership. This discourse is reproduced several times throughout the position paper, and ITK thus seeks to reinforce this discourse through the use of interdiscursivity.

5.1.2. Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA)

The discourse theme 'Representation of Inuit history and tradition' plays a central role in QIA's publication on economic development in Nunavut. Among other things, the relationship to the land, nature, wildlife and the impact of the colonial past are central features, which the following section will display.

QIA initiates this overall discourse theme by intertextually referring its new publication on economic development to the negotiation of the Nunavut Agreement: *"The driving forces for negotiating the Nunavut Agreement were Inuit relationships with wildlife, the environment, and the hunting way of life"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 3). Applying the intertextual reference states that this approach has worked before, thereby establishing legitimacy on the part of QIA. This piece of text also features central aspects of Inuit identity: relationships with wildlife, the environment and the hunting way of life. In Fairclough's terminology, this is an example of the use of the identity function, as it implicitly differentiates Inuit identity from other identities by underlining the importance of these aspects to Inuit, implying that they do not have the same significance to other (Canadian) identities. In line with this, these attributes index Inuit from other identities, which ultimately constitute different identity categorizations, Inuit and other (Canadian) identities cf. De Fina. In Inuit terms, these characteristics are perceived as values and/or principles of life, and therefore constitute deep frame values/principles cf. Lakoff. In this instance, they are included under the same hat as the environment, which is an issue-defining frame. QIA thus arguably frames the preservation of Inuit identity and traditional lifestyle as an integral part of sustaining and preserving the environment by activating the deep frames.

In a similar, manifest intertextual fashion, QIA quotes its President at the time, PJ Akeeagok, on establishing the Tallurutiup Imanga Marine Conservation Area: *"I want to ask you to use our words, which tell our stories, when referring to this body of water"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 3). Along the lines of modality, the QIA President firmly expresses his and QIA's Inuit affiliation in this statement by using the phrases "our words" and "our stories" and by connecting it to 'this body of water', he implies that it is "our water", in other words Inuit water, as well. Using 'our' here also indexes certain Inuit qualities or social representations from other identities, which again constitutes an application of the identity function to distinguish Inuit from other identities. The use of the wording 'body' in relation to water humanizes this particular area of water illustrates how close the Inuit relationship is with this specific place. In Smith's terminology, one may argue that these distinct 'words' and 'stories' are constitutive entities of the Inuit ethnie.

QIA expands the manifest intertextual reference of this discourse theme to the Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit-Crown Partnership, stating: *"…full and fair implementation of the obligations and objectives of Inuit land claims agreements as foundational for creating prosperity among Inuit which benefits all Canadians"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 4). This intertextual reference illustrates the importance of the official recognition and ratification, especially from the Crown, of

the Inuit land claims agreements to Inuit, as these acknowledge that Inuit people have their own lands – and as stated earlier, the (home)land is of great significance to Inuit identity. In this instance, the surface frame, 'land claims agreements', and its implementation is associated with the deep frame value, prosperity. In other words, QIA seeks to cultivate the transitivity frame that the Inuit land claims agreements are "foundational for creating prosperity among Inuit which benefits all Canadians". Ultimately, QIA frames these agreements as fundamental pre-requisites to Inuit socio-economic development, which in turn will be beneficial to all Canadians.

In continuation of the emphasis on the land the beneficial outcomes, QIA states the following: *"This right-holding status is reinforced in the Constitution but flows from Inuit historical occupancy and long-term jurisdiction over Inuit Nunangat. These circumstances place Inuit and the Government of Canada in a nation-to-nation partnership to advance mutual objectives, among them reconciliation and mutual prosperity"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 6). By intertextually referring to the Constitution, QIA commits itself to the highest possible legitimacy, and thus reinforces its own legitimacy as an organization. This statement also emphasizes that Inuit occupied Inuit Nunangat for generations, and therefore illustrates that Inuit deserve the rights to these lands, as well as displaying the special relationship to said lands. In terms of framing, it can be argued that the deep frame of self-determination falls under the phrase 'historical occupancy and long-term jurisdiction', and it is connected to the surface frame, 'the Constitution' and, the issue-defining frame, 'rights'. Together, these frames cultivate a discourse that the rights to and management of Inuit Nunangat should lie in the hands of Inuit people – even though it is not per se written in the Constitution. Applying the relational function cf. Fairclough, QIA – in this instance – states that Inuit and the Crown are placed in a nation-to-nation partnership, and thereby explicitly determines Inuit as a nation, as opposed to an ethnic community. The relational function is also applied here to commit the Crown to the mutual objectives of reconciliation and mutual prosperity, which features another connection of deep frame principle and value, reconciliation and mutual prosperity, with a surface frame, mutual objectives.

A central intertextual point of reference throughout QIA's publication on economic development in Nunavut is the Qikiqtani Truth Commission. Quoting the Qikitani Truth Commission Final Report, QIA states: *"Qikiqtani Inuit are seeking saimaqatigiingniq, which means a new relationship, when past opponents get back together, meet in the middle, and are at peace"*. Thus, this statement highlights the historical relationship between Inuit and the Crown, using the relational function. The use of the Inuit wording for 'a new relationship' illustrates the independence that QIA seeks to

foster among Inuit and functions as a tangible example of the uniqueness of the Inuit language, implicitly indexing Inuit from other identities. This manifest intertextual reference is followed up the following: *"The resulting report, Qikiqtani Truth Commission Final Report: Achieving Saimaqatiqiingniq, chronicles coerced relocations, mass removal of children from families, slaughter of qimmiit (Inuit sled dogs), separation of families due to a lack of healthcare infrastructure, separation of Inuit from the land, and residential schools. The report also recognizes that Inuit still suffer from the impacts of past colonial policies and programs; and, in some ways, the colonial nature of federal policies and programs continues today"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 9). This statement taps into all of the three identified discourse themes set forth in the analysis. It is featured in the Representation of Inuit History and Tradition-section, due to QIA's emphasis on the impact of Inuit identity today, and because these attributes are something that is framed as something that constitute Inuit history and differentiate Inuit identity from other Canadian identities. This sequence seeks to highlight how these different historic colonial attributes and/or social representations index Inuit from other Canadian identities – at least non-indigenous – and that they still affect Inuit today. QIA follows up by explicitly stating that Inuit are still subject to colonial practices by the Crown, stating that "the colonial nature of the federal policies and programs continues today". The wording of this passage is very strong, and aims to depict a picture of a submissive group of people and a superior one. Combined with the indexed attributes, this depiction constitutes the use of the identity function, framing the current Government of Canada as a contemporary colonial ruler, which ultimately constitute identity categorizations of the two. Applying Gellner's terminology, one may argue that it is discursive representation of a high and low culture. Accordingly, the statement also features the use of transitivity that connects the current Government of Canada to the colonial rulers as well as by claiming that the impacts of colonial practices are present today. Applying Lakoff's 3-dimensional model, the surface frames of colonial policies and programs as well as federal policies and programs are associated with the horrific depiction of the colonial past, which seeks to cultivate the deep frame values of injustice and inequity.

To illustrate the close Inuit ties to nature, QIA applies another intertextual reference, quoting a participant from Lancaster Sounds during a community consultation, in 2013: *"Money comes and goes, but when the animals are gone, they are gone"*. Not only does this statement intend to show that QIA is an inclusive organization, which involves every single community, it also removes focus from economic funding to environmental sustainability, as this statement indicates that the

presence of animals is more important than the presence of financial means. This enhances the credibility of QIA, and represent QIA as an honest organization. Accordingly, it indexes that Inuit, as opposed to other Canadian identities, are reliant on reproductive animals. In continuation of this discursive practice, QIA emphasizes the importance of traditional hunting and its implications for Inuit identity: *"The hunting economy is essential for providing for family and community and is also a vital expression of Inuk identity. By sharing food, hunters and harvesters maintain and reinforce important social networks and cohesion within communities. Development in this context requires jurisdiction over lands and waters to ensure access, mobility, and maintenance (and renewal) of cultural practices, as well as the protection of important sites and the responsibility for the endurance of biodiversity in our regions. If these opportunities are not preserved, the hunting economy will not survive"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 12). As demonstrated by this quote, QIA underlines why sustaining the hunting economy is fundamental to Inuit – it is an expression of Inuk/Inuit identity, and the social interactions associated with hunting activities are important in order to maintain cohesion and connection within and across Inuit communities. These attributes index Inuit identity from other (Canadian) identities, and applying the identity function, QIA frames hunting as an integral part of Inuit culture and identity, and implicitly the opposite of other identities. Ultimately, it can thus be argued that Inuit is categorized as traditional people, who lives in and of the nature, which is not the case for most other Canadians. The sustainability of these traditional ways of living, including biodiversity, and its associated economy is then connected to the "jurisdiction over lands and waters", meaning that it requires Inuit jurisdiction to sustain the traditional practices and preserve the environment. QIA thereby activates the deep frames of self-determination and prosperity, by appealing to issue-defining frames such as environment and social welfare as well as surface frames of land claims and conservation areas in order to provide Inuit with the juridical management of these lands and waters. If these requirements are not met, QIA expresses that it predicts the hunting economy will extinct, thereby putting extra pressure on the decision-makers in this regard.

Citing another participant at the community consultations in Lancaster Sounds in 2013, QIA applies a manifest intertextual reference to demonstrate what the nature and wildlife means for Inuit identity: *"Inuit have a very strong emotional link to the land and wildlife. The establishment of a NMCA [National Marine Conservation Area] is important for our traditional lifestyle and country food—the ocean is like a forest to us and we feed on the animals in the ocean"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 16). As noted earlier in relation to the previous comment from a community

participant, by applying such statement, QIA displays a willingness to listen to every single Inuit, thereby enhancing its own credibility both internally and externally, reinforcing its Inuit affiliation and Inuit identity at large. The wording "very strong emotional link to the land and wildlife" emphasizes that the land and wildlife is foundational to Inuit, and these entities are associated with certain Inuit identity characteristics. It indicates that the emotional bond to the land and wildlife constitutes the cornerstones of Inuit identity, which is conveyed in a traditional lifestyle and a close relationship with nature. This discourse is framed in relation to the establishment of a NMCA, which, according to QIA, is necessary to preserve the land and wildlife in a sustainable manner, and thereby implicitly preserve the backbone of Inuit identity. Hence, QIA activates these deep frame Inuit values, which are meaningful – especially to Inuit – as it is an indigenous people – in order to cultivate the surface frame of the NMCA and the establishment hereof. Accordingly, these entities are connected through the use of transitivity. The Inuit attributes conveyed in the citation also index Inuit identity from other identities, and thus constitutes an application of the identity function. Finally, the comparison of forest and ocean in the context of a NMCA serves to illustrate that the conservation of the ocean and its animals – merely fish – is equally important to the conservation of forests for Inuit, who lives from these natural sources of life.

5.1.3. Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

For ICC, Inuit history and traditions play a key role in order to unite Inuit populations across borders, and it takes up a substantial part of the two pieces of empirical data subject to analysis in this thesis. In the following example, ICC articulates a number of distinct Inuit attributes:

> *"For example, Inuit have experience in watching others benefiting from our innovations such as the parka in the success of the Canada Goose parka; the success of the name brand and boot of Kamik; and the world-wide use of the qayaq in sport. On top of that, we continue to be negatively impacted by emotional, uneducated, "moral" campaigns to protect our resources such as the seal and the impact of other campaigns effecting resources such as the ivory from the walrus and from the narwhal. From inuksuit to ulus to igloos to parkas to kamiks to qayait, these are Inuit innovation we still use today. Inuit are looking to go beyond these iconic innovations to re-create our economies to meet the needs of a changing Arctic – an Arctic that the world is looking towards for renewable and non-renewable resources"* (ICC Chair Speech 2017, 1-2).

In this paragraph, ICC applies the identity function to index certain qualities and characteristics to Inuit identity, which differentiates Inuit from other identities. Specifically, ICC refers to well-known Inuit innovations such as the parka, which is known from Canada Goose, the Kamik boot brand and the world-wide use of the kayak in sports. In addition, inuksuit, ulus, igloos are mentioned as "iconic" Inuit inventions, which are still in use today. This is further reinforced by the fact that the spelling of these inventions are only found in Inuit wording except 'kayak', which does have an alternative spelling. Ultimately, these attributes constitute a firm categorization of Inuit identity in relation to other identities. In this instance, it can be argued that ICC applies positioning cf. De Fina to frame and portray Inuit as pioneering people, rich in terms of innovations, as opposed to the often submissive outlook of the depictions of Inuit identity. There is also a direct reference to "the other", as the extract "Inuit have experience in watching others benefiting from our innovations" suggests that other identities have learned and adopted Inuit practices, which explicitly distinguish Inuit from these "others". Simultaneously, ICC criticize "the other" for actively trying to educate Inuit about sustaining resources and wildlife idiosyncratic to Inuit identity, which displays a hostile application of the relational function cf. Fairclough. By applying 'our' repetitively in this context, ICC commits to the standpoints set forth in this paragraph, while at the same time demonstrating unity among Inuit in accordance with the imagined community. The final sentence of the paragraph interdiscursively reproduces the positioning discourse, suggesting that Inuit are innovative people by stating: "Inuit are looking to go beyond these iconic innovations (…) to meet the needs of a changing Arctic". Applying transitivity, ICC connects the surrounding world to this by uttering that it is looking for renewable and non-renewable resources in the Arctic, which implicitly indicates that Inuit are working on providing the innovations needed in the changing Arctic, and "the other", in this case the world, is monitoring these innovative developments (again). Accordingly, ICC cultivates the issue-defining frame of environment by associating the world's attention on the Arctic in terms of renewable and non-renewable resources with the Inuit innovations, functioning as a prosperity deep frame.

This discourse and its constituents are reproduced in the closing remarks of the ICC Chair speech at the 2017 Circumpolar Inuit Economic Summit: *"Now is the time to re-imagine the economies of the Arctic and to be innovative. Let us create industries in the Arctic that feed our people, create energy, support our arts and culture, and sustainably take advantage of our mineral wealth. So, I look forward to discussing economic development across the Arctic and the potential of an International Inuit Business Association so, together we can make certain that in 2050, Inuit and*

the North are seen as global leaders in sustainable and equitable growth that truly benefits those who call it home" (ICC Chair Speech 2017, 5). As with the previous paragraph, the primary focus here is on the innovative attribute of Inuit, and the Chair calls for action to create innovations that feed Inuit, support Inuit arts and culture and take advantage of Inuit mineral wealth in sustainable manner. These attributes contribute to further reinforcing the categorization of Inuit identity by indexing distinct people, arts and culture, as well as mineral wealth to Inuit and thereby distinguishing Inuit from other identities. Again, the issue-defining frame of environmental sustainability is connected to the deep frames of equity and prosperity, i.e. equitable growth and economic development, in the form of innovative and sustainable Inuit solutions. The request to discuss the potential of establishing an International Inuit Business Association works as a tangible reinforcing factor of the imagined Inuit community, which is complemented by the aim to benefit "those who call it home" and the use of 'our'. The use of the wording 'home' further contributes to the categorization of Inuit identity, by indicating the Arctic as the Inuit home, which index it from most other identities. The use of transitivity between a potential formation of an International Inuit Business Association and the 2050 goal of Inuit to be seen as global leaders in equitable and sustainable growth provides the Chair's suggestion with credibility and legitimacy.

The 2018 Utqiagvik Declaration elaborates on the imagined community frame in relation to the overall discourse theme of this chapter, Representation of Inuit history and tradition, by stating: *"Reaffirming that Inuit are one Arctic people living in four nations across Inuit Nunaat, our shared homeland, that today encompasses northern Alaska, Chukotka, Canada, and Greenland, as declared in the 2009 Circumpolar Inuit Declaration on Sovereignty in the Arctic;"* (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 1). Here, ICC intertextually refers to a specific text and thus commits itself to consider Inuit as one people living in four different nations across Inuit Nunaat, which is determined as "our shared homeland", thereby confirming that these different Inuit populations originate from and share the same ancestral heritage. It also features a concrete identity categorization, namely that Inuit are "one Arctic people", as opposed to non-Arctic peoples, and associates Inuit to distinct territorial entities, which are associated with nations and pre-nations, ethnies cf. Smith. Smith's perennial ideas about nations and how they arise from ethnies are further suggested by the following ICC statement: *"Celebrating the 40th Anniversary of ICC and recalling that Eben Hopson, Sr. invited Inuit from across Inuit Nunaat to Utqiagvik in 1977 to work together in solidarity, to share regional experiences, celebrate our strength and unity as Inuit, and pursue and coordinate collective international and local actions;"* (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 1). In this

instance, ICC recalls the myth about the founding father of ICC, Eben Hopson, Sr. and frames him as the embodiment and uniting figure of ICC as the first person to bring together Inuit from across Inuit Nunaat. By applying this story or myth, ICC discursively calls for unity among the current Inuit across Inuit Nunaat in accordance with the imagined community, and underlines that ICC has been the sole international unit for Inuit unification.

As articulated earlier by QIA, ICC also claims that Inuit possess a unique knowledge, which sprouts from the multigenerational experience of living under Inuit Nunaat conditions:

> *"Indigenous Knowledge is a systematic way of thinking applied to phenomena across biological, physical, cultural and spiritual systems. It includes insights based on evidence acquired through direct and long-term experiences and extensive and multigenerational observations, lessons, and skills. It has developed over millennia and is still developing in a living process, including knowledge acquired today and in the future, and it is passed on from generation to generation. Under this definition, it is recognized that Inuit Knowledge is a way of life. It goes beyond observations, ecological knowledge, and research, offering a unique 'way of knowing'"* (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 6-7).

In this passage, the ICC wording mystifies and raises Inuit knowledge as something beyond the capacity of other identities, and thereby index Inuit knowledge as a prerequisite to understand Inuit way of life, and it ultimately constitutes an identity categorization of Inuit and others, based on their respective frameworks of knowledge. In this instance, Inuit knowledge is framed as something that not anybody can learn or understand. It is a constant exposure and impact to traditional Inuit practices passed on from generation to generation as well as the impact of living under remote and, in some's view, primitive conditions on a daily basis, which constitute Inuit knowledge.

In line with the above passage, ICC continues to add indexing factors that enhance the identity categorization of Inuit identity, as opposed to other identities, by articulating the importance of Arctic environment for Inuit identity: *"We know that the Arctic environment is unique and plays a fundamental role in global climate change regulation. Our culture is dependent on the land and sea, therefore the sustainability of the Arctic environment and its living resources is crucial to our communities and a focus on supporting families and Inuit society. More than 40 years ago, concern for the security and integrity of the Arctic environment prompted the establishment of ICC. ICC was the first non-governmental organization to call for the precautionary principle and vocalized the*

human rights dimension of the implications and impacts of a rapidly changing Arctic environment" (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 8-9). In this instance, ICC associates issue-defining frames, such as environment, sustainability and human rights, with security and integrity thereby activating these deep frame values, and thus add meaning to the issue-defining frames. ICC emphasizes the significance of sustaining the Arctic environment by ascribing it with a fundamental role in Inuit (culture) survival, which differentiates it from other identities, which do not rely as much on its habitat as Inuit. On the same occasion, ICC underlines that it was the first non-governmental organization to call for action in terms of the changing Arctic environment, and thereby seeks to establish credibility, trustworthiness as well as legitimacy. As with earlier occurrences of 'we' and 'our', it also serves the purpose of a uniting voice on behalf of all Inuit, and ultimately represents the imagined community.

5.1.4. Sub-conclusion

Common for all three organizations in terms of this discourse theme is that they discursively urge to represent all Inuit within the lines of their geographic mandate and representation. In this context, the encompassing, repetitive articulations of 'our' in connection to homeland, people, words, stories etc. reinforce the social construction of the imagined community cf. Anderson. In addition, uniting labels such as Inuit Nunangat and Inuit Nunaat and various Inuit wording are interdiscursively reiterated on a frequent basis to foster the idea of a unified nation/ethnic community, across the vast landmasses. In this case, the Inuit organizations emphasize distinct Inuit attributes and characteristics, i.e. relationship to nature, water and animals and their importance to Inuit identity as well as the Inuit way of life or "Inuit knowledge", which has resulted in inventions such as parka for Canada Goose, Kamik and kayaks. These are often framed in opposition or relation to the Crown or other (Canadian) identities by applying the identity function, indexicality and categorization, thereby enforcing and highlighting the frame of different identities, and implicitly indicating that Inuit is an ethnic minority group in Canada. Another frequent discursive element is the historic relationship with the Crown or the colonial past and the implications for Inuit identity, which reinforces the hostility towards and dissociation to the Government of Canada. These attributes represent deep frames cf. Lakoff and are often framed in connection to issue-defining or surface frames, such as the environment and sustainability to add more assertiveness. Within this particular discourse theme, it can also be argued that Inuit identity, in Gellner's terms, is framed as a low culture in opposition to the high culture of the Crown, which seeks to obliterate Inuit identity. The articulations "nation-to-nation partnership" (QIA) and "Inuit are one Arctic people" (ICC)

point to an Inuit nation self-perception. On the other hand, "our communities" is found several times, which point to an Inuit ethnic community self-perception within nation-states borders.

5.2. Socio-economic Inequality (Compared to the Rest of Canada)

The second discourse theme subject to analysis is the texts' emphasis on socio-economic inequality between Inuit and the rest of Canada (and others). Socio-economic inequality or inequity is a major theme of the Inuit texts subject to analysis in this thesis. It lends itself well to CDA and Lakoff's 3-dimensional framing model because this discourse theme, in particular, cultivates different surface and issue-defining frames by activating deep frames such as inequity and prosperity by reproducing discourses within this overall thematic discourse theme. Socio-economic inequality between different nations and/or ethnic communities within the same country or nation-state often triggers civil unrest and calls for political action, devolution of power and/or more radically interdependence, which actively contrasts Gellner's and Thomsen's respective theories.

5.2.1. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)

ITK initiates this discourse stating that: *"The APF is needed to direct strategic investment and activity in one of the most politically and economically neglected regions in Canada at a time when international activity in Inuit Nunangat is surging. The impacts of climate change have redefined our homeland as a strategic region domestically and internationally"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 4). In this sentence, ITK, through the application of transitivity, "glocalizes" Inuit Nunangat by associating the region with global issues caused by climate change. ITK thereby reframes the discourse from local socio-economic inequality issues to global environmental issues. It can also be seen as dual issue-defining framing cf. Lakoff. Accordingly, this is discursively done in order to legitimize and argue for "direct strategic investment" in the Inuit region, which thus activates the deep frame value of prosperity, thereby providing the issue-defining frames with deeper meaning. This is reinforced by using categorization phrases such as "Inuit Nunangat" and "our homeland", which arguably are examples of articulations of the imagined community. Another element of categorization is the implicit comparison set forth by the statement *"one of the most politically and economically neglected regions in Canada"*, which entails that other Canadian regions have not faced such neglection, and it thus also function as an example of indexicality since being Inuit is associated with being economically and politically neglected. The use of 'neglected' functions as

wording in this instance, as the use of this word implies that it has been *neglected* by someone. In this case, it implicitly refers to the Crown or Canada, and it thus connects the issue-defining frame of inequality with the relational function cf. Fairclough by articulating the historic relationship between the two in this way.

Following this, ITK proclaims *"that federal policies and programs should be focused on ensuring all Inuit are able to benefit from such initiatives in an equitable fashion, irrespective of whether they reside in provincial or territorial jurisdiction and irrespective of other circumstances which historically have served to exclude Inuit from federal programs and services"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 4-5). Here, ITK associates the deep frame of equity – "equitable fashion" with federal policies, programs and services – surface frames. Accordingly, ITK connects the deeper value of equity with these surface frames, thereby justifying why these programs, policies and services *should* ensure that all Inuit benefit from these incentives. The use of 'should' adds authority and credibility to the affinity of ITK's statement, and by applying the phrase "all Inuit", ITK shows that they represent all Canadian Inuit, and it can thus be argued that they discursively construct the social construction of the imagined community. From this text piece, the application of the relational function demonstrates that ITK and Inuit in general have a strained relationship with provincial and territorial governments because they, in ITK's view at least, are the main reasons that Inuit have experienced inequitable distribution of funds from the federal initiatives. The relational function is connected to the indexicality of the historical attribute that these entities – provincial and territorial governments – "have served to exclude Inuit from federal programs and services". This phrase reinforces the activation of the equity deep frame, and suggests that it has been the primary task of these governments to carry out this Inuit exclusion. Non-Inuit people may perceive this example of framing as an exaggeration but discursively it works in a way that presents Inuit as a "neglected people", and thus relies on interdiscursivity as it reproduces that exact discourse set forth earlier. Ultimately, it can be argued that it resembles a relationship between a low culture minority group and a high culture majority group.

Similar to the discourse and reframing of Inuit Nunangat in relation to climate change, ITK applies transitivity – and a manifest intertextual reference at the same time – to "glocalize" Inuit Nunangat by associating the region with advancement of UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). ITK thereby reframes the discourse from local socio-economic inequality in Canada to the global stage of UN's SDGs, which aim to make the world a better place and to sustain the globe. It can arguably be described as an example of reframing, which connects the deep frames of equity and fairness to

certain issue-defining frames, which is incorporated in the SDGs, such as environment and social welfare. These are then again associated with "new investments, funding and programs" at the surface frame level. The application of the UN SDGs as an intertextual reference thus bridges the deep frames with surface frames, and the deep frames activate a value framework in the recipients of this text, which reinforces the effect of the statement cf. Lakoff. Furthermore, ITK states that Canada "can and should" use the ambitious benchmarks "to allocate resources devoted to eliminate social and economic disparities between peoples living in Inuit Nunangat and elsewhere in Canada". Applying the modality markers "can and should" here indicates that Canada is capable of fulfilling the global goals in their home field, and therefore, they are obliged to do so, also because Canada has committed to work to advance the SDGs. Ultimately, this is done through "new investments, rather than simply re-profiling existing funding and programs", which ITK stresses that the federal government *must* commit to execute. Using 'must' here signals that there is no other way to facilitate inclusive, socio-economic development in Inuit Nunangat, which again is categorized in relation to "elsewhere in Canada". Again, the use of the wording 'eliminate', in relation to the socio-economic disparities, underlines the seriousness of ITKs message (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 7).

Moving on to the section in which ITK states Inuit Nunangat priorities for action and investment: *"The APF should be considered an exercise in nation building, with the principle aim of bringing Inuit Nunangat into Canada while creating equitable opportunities and prosperity for its residents. Canada's Arctic infrastructure lags behind that of all other countries with Arctic territory. The APF should therefore include actions and investments that eliminate gaps which in turn create social and economic equity for Inuit"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 7). Starting with the first sentence, ITK mentions nation building in relation to "bringing Inuit Nunangat into Canada", implying that Inuit Nunangat at this point is not really part of Canada, except on the map. Whether the nation building aspect then relates to Inuit Nunangat or Canada is somewhat ambiguous. However, taking previous ITK discourse into account as well as the roots of national identity, which is deliberately constructed by molding different ethnic groups into a nation with a heterogeneous population, ITK's objective is not independence but to bring Inuit Nunangat into the Canadian nation. Applying the imagery, combined with the remoteness and distance from the most populous parts of Canada, make this wording or strategic use figurative language particular applicable in this case. As the sub-sections display, the phrase covers a range of different areas, which all fall under the hat of socio-economic disparities with the rest of Canada, and that is probably what the phrase intends to

convey. This is further backed by the latter part of the sentence about "equitable opportunities and prosperity for its residents". The first sentence conveys two actual deep frames, equity and prosperity, in accordance with Lakoff's 3-dimensional model, and are connected to the surface frame of 'investments' in this particular piece of text, and further on to the specific sub-sections, which focus on different aspects of the socio-economic indicators. The surface frame, 'investments', is followed by rearticulations of both the wording 'eliminate' and the equity deep frame. The text piece also states that Arctic Canada has the least developed infrastructure, compared to the other Arctic countries, thereby categorizing Arctic Canada in relation to other countries with Arctic regions. This is also an instance of indexicality, which is used to further justify why investments in Inuit Nunangat is something that *should* be included in the APF. The use of the modal verb 'should' illustrates ITK's affinity to the statement, and it, ultimately, constitutes the Inuit identity of ITK.

ITK's stand on infrastructure development in Inuit Nunangat is very well conveyed in the following: *"The Infrastructure gap across Inuit Nunangat is a notorious impediment to the economic, social and cultural development of Inuit and non-Inuit, and contributes to a tremendous opportunity cost for Canada's national economy. This gap is perpetuated by provincial and territorial governments, as well as the federal government, because federal infrastructure programming targets infrastructure realities common in southern Canada but absent in Inuit Nunangat"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 8). Here, ITK frames the discourse in a way, which stresses that it is not only about Inuit, by mentioning "non-Inuit" and "Canada's national economy". Using the wording 'notorious impediment' reiterates that it is not the first time, it is rather something that has been reoccurring. This wording and the infrastructure gap are then, through transitivity, associated to the provincial, territorial and federal governments, which, in the eyes of ITK, fail to target the distinct infrastructure challenges in Inuit Nunangat. Instead, ITK claims that these governments perpetuate this infrastructure gap by applying a southern Canadian infrastructure model, which index Inuit Nunangat from the rest of Canada. This statement highlights the relational function applied in the discursive practice, in this case between Inuit and the governmental landscape of Canada, which ITK blames for the underdevelopment of Inuit Nunangat. "The economic, social and cultural development" is arguably equivalent to the deep frame of prosperity and equity, which is connected to the surface frame of 'infrastructure programming', and thus aims at activating deeper values in the recipients. Combined with the phrase "tremendous opportunity cost for Canada's national economy", the lack of these developments is framed as a loss for

Canada's national economy, and not just regionally in Inuit Nunangat. It can thus be argued that ITK in this instance reframes Inuit Nunangat from being an underdeveloped region of Canada to a lucrative and prosperous opportunity for Canada as a whole, and therefore investments in infrastructure should be allocated north. Again, this reinforces the meaningful deep frame of prosperity to the specific surface frame of infrastructure development programs and/or investments.

This discursive practice underpins the previous discourse of "bringing Inuit Nunangat into Canada", which is reproduced again as one of the final remarks in the position paper: *"The APF has the potential to bring Inuit Nunangat into Canada, thereby helping to create prosperity for its citizens that in turn benefits all Canadians. The sharp divide between Inuit Nunangat and most other parts of Canada has for decades demanded urgent action and investment to remedy that can only be achieved through serious and concerted federal action and investment"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 14). Hence, ITK again commits to a former discursive practice, namely that Inuit development, regardless of the area, is to the benefit of all of Canada. This statement links the deep frame value of prosperity to "serious and concerted federal action and investment", which works as a surface frame. This piece of text also features a categorization, as it distinguishes between Inuit Nunangat and "most other parts of Canada". Adding the phrases "the sharp divide" and "has for decades demanded urgent action and investment" further differentiates and index Inuit Nunangat and Inuit identity from other Canadian identities.

5.2.2. Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA)

Moving on to QIA, the discourse theme of socio-economic inequality also takes up a substantial part in its paper on Economic Development. This discourse theme is initiated with the following statement, referring intertextually to the 2017 Inuit Nunangat Agreement: *"The Declaration also states that the Government of Canada is now: Recognizing also the disproportionate socio-economic and cultural inequity facing Inuit compared to most other Canadians and committing to working in partnership to create socio-economic and cultural equity between Inuit and all other Canadians"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 4). The manifest intertextual reference to an official document/source – in this case the declaration – signed by both Inuit and the Crown, increases the legitimacy of said statement. The statement features the relation function as it touches upon the relationship between Inuit and the Government of Canada, and how it should evolve from an inequitable relationship to a new relationship – a partnership – on creating socio-economic and cultural equity. Phrasing "socio-economic and cultural equity" implies a differentiation between

Inuit and “all other Canadians”, as stated in the citation. In other words, QIA indexes certain socio-economic and cultural qualities to Inuit as opposed to “all other Canadians”, thereby constituting a reproduction of the categorization, proposed by ITK, Inuit and “all other Canadians”. The (in)equity wording also represents the deep frame of the same wording. It is activated in relation to Inuit rights and values, and quality of life of Inuit, thereby linking the deep frame to the issue-defining frames, which further cultivates the overall discourse, socio-economic inequality between Inuit and the rest of Canada.

QIA further cultivates this discourse through another intertextual reference:

> *“As the Department of Justice’s “Ten Principles” states, the Crown is obligated to “act with honor, integrity, good faith, and fairness in all of its dealings with Indigenous peoples.” For Inuit, the Honor of the Crown simply means respect—that is, respect for the views of Inuit, Inuit culture, the Nunavut Agreement, and the solutions Inuit present for the socio-economic hardships and cultural inequity that Inuit face every day. The impacts of colonial policies and programs, such as residential schooling, coerced relocation, and decades of mistreatment generally, must be appreciated and reversed. Respect is foundational for improved communication and the development of co-operative, supportive relationships today and into the future; and, respect cannot be demonstrated or reciprocated if this history is ignored or minimized”* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 7).

Here, QIA reframes or rephrases ‘honor’ as ‘respect’, which, along side “integrity, good faith and fairness” constitute deep frame values cf. Lakoff. These are then associated with surface frames, “the impacts of colonial policies and programs”, thus drawing upon the historical relationship between Inuit and the colonizers, which ultimately are reframed as the Crown. Arguably, the current Government of Canada is connected to colonialism through transitivity, and thus framed as directly involved in the colonial impacts affecting Inuit people today. The relational function cf. Fairclough is thus applied to establish a discourse on the historic inequitable relationship between Inuit and the Crown, and to suggest how this relationship can be restored. This is justified and argued for by referring to the deep frame values as drivers for this change of the relationship, implying that these deep frame values historically have been and currently are non-existent in the Inuit-Crown relationship, which further cultivates the cognitive impact of the deep frames. One can simply add to this instance of framing that due to the historical mistreatment, causing “socio-

economic hardships and cultural inequity that Inuit face every day", it is only fair that Inuit views on socio-economic development is respected and that Inuit decision-making in this regard increases "today and into the future". Ultimately, this statement features interdiscursive reproductions of the inequality discourse, which reinforces the cultivation of this discourse, and it justifies an increased Inuit role or participation in socio-economic development processes, based on the impacts of colonialism. This text element also indexes certain identity qualities of the Inuit, which differentiates it from other Canadians by stating that Inuit has been impacted by "residential schooling, coerced relocation, and decades of mistreatment", as opposed to other Canadians, thereby also implicitly using the identity function to categorize Inuit in relation to the other identities. In relation to the colonial past, one may argue that this also features a discursive creation of a low and high culture, which is projected or reframed to the current Inuit-Crown relationship. The identity differentiation is further emphasized by referring to "Inuit culture" and "the Nunavut Agreement", which are certain criterion that only applies to Inuit.

Following this textual reference, QIA reiterates the discourse theme of socio-economic inequality between Inuit and the rest of Canada, which further reinforces the discursive cultivation (QIA Economic Development 2018, 7-8).

As part of QIAs proposal for pillars of economic development, one of the four pillars, 'Government Policy' features elements that falls under the discourse theme of this section: *"With Inuit priorities identified, a policy framework is the first step in supporting socio-economic objectives. The Inuit Nunangat Declaration can serve as a guiding framework to identify socio-economic equality and prosperity as a shared priority of both the Government of Canada and QIA. The Declaration commits the Crown to take aggressive action to address the long-standing inequalities between Inuit communities and most of Canada"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 13). This piece of text connects the surface frame 'a policy framework' to the deep frame values of prosperity and equality. Doing so cultivates the surface frame, as the activation of the deep frame values connects these other frames to a deeper and more tangible concept, which is in line with the interests of most stakeholders. Again, QIA refers intertextually to the Inuit Nunangat Declaration, which increases the legitimacy of its publication on economic development in Nunavut. Applying the wording 'aggressive action' indicates that it is the Crown's responsibility to take necessary action to address and solve "the long-standing inequalities between Inuit communities and most of Canada". Connecting these elements together constitutes another QIA application of transitivity, and the last phrase further emphasizes the time aspect of these inequalities, which then interdiscursively

reproduces the former discourse on the historic inequalities between these two entities and thereby establishes a categorization between the two.

Linking the deep frame of economic development and the surface frame of reconciliation, QIA states the following: *"Economic development is closely linked with creating prosperity and equality for Inuit. For this prosperity and equality to be achieved, genuine collaboration across areas of shared jurisdiction is required. In the current climate of reconciliation, Inuit are demanding this approach. Moreover, in undertaking socio-economic development it is crucial to respect what Inuit have been subjected to and the continuing negative legacy of our historic relationship with the federal government. This is important so that we can make efforts to establish trust and see new commitments from the Government of Canada materialize"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 18). Connecting these together illustrates why the association to the deep frame is important, as reconciliation, due to the activation of the deep frames of prosperity/economic development and collaboration, is connected and directly linked to prosperity and Inuit economic development. In other words, without the connection to the deep frames, the cultivation and emphasized importance of reconciliation would stagnate. These frames are bridged by the issue-defining frame of equality, which reinforces the meaning creation and cognitive impact of the frame. Hence, reconciliation and equality are enhanced by economic development/prosperity. The text piece also features an application of the relational function and a reproduction of the discourse on the historic inequitable Inuit-Crown relationship in association to the deep frame value, respect. As with the previous text piece, this sequence utilizes the historic unequal relationship to justify why Inuit should have more influence in the future. By explicitly stating "the continuing negative legacy of our historic relationship with the federal government", QIA, again, frames that the colonizers were the predecessors of the current federal government/the Crown, and thus categorize these two entities on the basis of colonialism, which arguably implies the presence of a low and high culture – at least discursively. It also displays transitivity because the current Crown is associated with the actions executed by the colonizers.

5.2.3. Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

Overall, the discourse theme of socio-economic inequality plays a less substantial role for ICC, compared to ITK and QIA. Within this discourse theme, ICC primarily focuses on Inuit socio-economic indicators. The first one concerns health: *"Inuit face significant health disparities today. We experience unacceptably high rates of cancer, diabetes, infectious diseases including*

tuberculosis, sexually transmitted infections and diseases, addiction, and suicide which have serious, negative impacts on families and our communities. The appropriate physical and mental health services, including necessary clinical, financial and human resources, are inadequate or non-existent in Inuit Nunaat" (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 5). This citation firmly states that Inuit face health disparities, which implicitly compares it to the health level of other social groups or identities. ICC further specifies these health disparity indicators as "high rates of cancer, diabetes, infectious diseases including tuberculosis sexually transmitted infections and diseases, addiction, and suicide", and thus index these health disparity qualities as something distinct for Inuit compared to other identities. In addition, it states that the health services of any character are inadequate or non-existent. These attributes are ultimately conveyed in the identity function, which implicitly distinguishes Inuit identity, characterized by said qualities, from other identities. The implicit distinction entails that the other identities have more appropriate and sufficient health services. Ultimately, it can be argued that these indexed health attributes and the use of the identity function establish a categorization of Inuit identity as an unhealthy identity as opposed to other "healthier" identities. The use of 'we' and 'our' displays ICC's Inuit affiliation and indicates that ICC represents all Inuit, which is also the objective of the organization, and simultaneously features an example of the imagined community. In terms of framing, it appeals to the deep frames of equity and fairness, and connects it to the surface frame of health services.

Another socio-economic indicator mentioned by ICC is the broadband connectivity within the overall frame of infrastructure: *"We are part of a connected world and connectivity or broadband, is crucial to provide societal benefits (e.g. health care, public safety, education, training, business and social services). The Arctic poses extreme challenges to connectivity and overcoming these challenges requires political will, and infrastructure"* (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 10). Similar to the former statement of this section, this passage underlines the insufficient broadband development – or lack thereof – in the Arctic. According to ICC, this has severe implications for the level of the societal benefits such as health care, public safety, education, training as well as business and social services. It can thus be argued that this attribute indexes Inuit from other identities, which have appropriate – or at least sufficient – broadband connectivity. In addition, it arguably further emphasizes the remoteness of Inuit identity, compared to other identities. Ultimately, this instance of indexicality constitutes an integral factor of Inuit identity and thus a categorization of Inuit as a remote identity.

5.2.4. Sub-conclusion

This discourse theme corresponds to a deep frame, socio-economic inequality; cf. Lakoff, and it is articulated in various ways, most notably in comparison to other Canadian identity categorizations though, i.e. “so many other Canadians”, “the rest of Canada”, “southern Canada” etc. This discourse theme also features frequent use of “Inuit Nunangat” and “our”, which reinforces the idea of an imagined Inuit community. The community is articulated as “Inuit communities” and “our communities” in relation to the aforementioned categorizations, and thus indicate that the Inuit organizations perceive Inuit as part of Canada and as Canadian. The most common articulations regard the history, implicitly referring to the colonial past, the lack of sufficient economic means to undertake remote infrastructure developments and to access basic human needs due to the pricing on goods in Inuit Nunangat. Framed as the infrastructure deficit, roads, airports, harbors, telecommunications and broadband, housing, healthcare facilities etc. are all subject to calls for more and sufficient funding from the Crown. These attributes, which also constitutes parts of the Inuit identity, are in many instances framed as deep frames of inequity, prosperity, (un)fairness, reconciliation etc. in relation to surface frames, such as various development programs, investments and funding in said areas. Doing so, cultivates a discourse that adds meaning to the surface frame by implying why Inuit Nunangat should be subject to more of the proposed surface frames, i.e. comparisons with the rest of Canada and due to the historic, colonial mistreatment. In certain instances, this vision is articulated as “bringing Inuit Nunangat into Canada” as part of a nation-building process, and as strategic investment as to accommodate the SDGs as well as the increased shipping activity due to climate change. Doing so, ITK in this case, glocalizes the developmental issues faced in Inuit Nunangat. In addition, it is emphasized several times that socio-economic development in Inuit Nunangat is beneficial to all Canadians, and it is thus framed as a mystery and a “no-brainer” to allocate more investments to Inuit Nunangat. It can be argued that these socio-economic disparities constitute a minority low culture vs. a majority high culture cf. Gellner.

5.3. Self-determination/Autonomism

The third discourse theme subject to analysis is the texts’ emphasis on self-determination. Increased self-determination/autonomism is one of the main arguments of Thomsen’s theory, neo-nationalism, which consider national identities’ call for devolution of power in liberal, wealthy democratic states. The analysis of this discourse theme thus contributes to whether or not the Inuit nation or ethnic community demands self-determination/autonomy, and if so to what extent and in which

context is self-determination/autonomism articulated, which implicitly includes the selected tools for discourse analysis in this thesis.

5.3.1. Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami (ITK)

The emphasis on self-determination is illustrated by the vision of ITK: *"Canadian Inuit are prospering through unity and self-determination"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 2). The ITK vision statement corresponds to Thomsen's notion of neo-nationalism, which is characterized by rationalism, and thus an increased demand for autonomy and self-determination, not independence. Similarly, ITK's mission statement claims that *"ITK is the national voice for protecting and advancing the rights and interests of Inuit in Canada"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 2). Applying Lakoff's 3-dimensional framing model, ITK hereby connects deep frames to issue-defining frames with 'prosperity' and 'self-determination' being deep frames and 'rights' and 'interests' being issue-defining frames. Hence, ITK successfully activates the deep frames, which thus reinforce the frame of Canadian Inuit as a self-determining unit, which have distinct rights and interests.

Using an intertextual reference to a Crown-Indigenous Relations March 2017 report, ITK claims that the APF has not yet met the expectations of Inuit in terms of co-development in the process, thereby yet again highlighting the need for increased Inuit inclusion and self-determination. In addition, ITK refers to this exact Position Paper by stating: *"This position paper identifies the Inuit-preferred policy approach for developing and implementing the APF and outlines specific priorities for action and investment that should be included in the APF"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 3). By doing so, ITK applies another intertextual reference while also using modality in the form of 'should' regarding the "priorities for action", thereby actively attributing credibility to ITK as a knowledgeable organization by displaying affinity to the statement. These discourses are interdiscursively reproduced later on by stating: *"One purpose of an Inuit Nunangat policy is to provide additional guidance to decision-makers on how to implement a distinctions-based approach, while respecting Inuit self-determination. (…). Federal programs and investments should be guided by the priorities set out in this Chapter"*. And later on the same page: *"Applying an Inuit Nunangat policy respects and facilitates our right to self-determination and should be similarly applied in the APF"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 5). Noteworthy here is the repetitive use of 'self-determination' and the commitment to the ITK's own Position Paper as well as the repetition of the use 'Inuit Nunangat', which is the term covering all of the four major Inuit areas. Using these terms repeatedly, reinforce the deep frame of self-determination in relation to Inuit Nunangat and

surface frames of 'federal policies', 'programs' and 'investments', and highlights neo-nationalism cf. Thomsen. Simultaneously, Inuit Nunangat is articulated as "our homeland", which "index" distinct qualities and associations to Inuit people, and it is thus an example of indexicality and wording at the same time: *"An Inuit Nunangat policy will ensure that Inuit are able to fully participate and come to agreement on how federal policies, programs, and investments are developed and implemented in our homeland. The application of an Inuit Nunangat policy approach is needed to achieve our aspirations for our homeland, people, and communities"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 5). This statement also reveals the use of categorization on the part of ITK as the use of "our" differentiates Inuit homeland, people and communities from other homelands, peoples and communities, and thereby increase the level of identification for Inuit. One may argue that the emphasis on Inuit Nunangat and "our homeland" corresponds to Smith's definition of an ethnie: "*named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity"* (Smith 1998, 191). On the other hand, this also taps into Thomsen's definition of national identity *"as the sum of collective held images of self and other (…). National identity is not, therefore, defined as the all-inclusive combination of images in all society's spheres, but as the combination of those images which pertain to the national self, as opposed to other – gender, regional, occupational etc. – identities"* (Thomsen 2010, 11). Another example of the use of categorization is when ITK states that a distinctions-based approach to policy development is needed and must reflect the distinct needs of First Nations, Inuit and Métis, thereby distinguishing between the three different indigenous populations of Canada (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 5).

Using the repetitive phrase "Inuit Nunangat [policy approach]", ITK once again makes use of categorization by applying the discourse of distinct governance structures in the four Inuit regions, while emphasizing that "Inuit are one people". On the basis of this statement, and the constant use of 'Inuit Nunangat', it can be argued that ITK articulates attributes of an ethnie cf. Smith and what Anderson determined the 'imagined community'. In other words, a discursive social construction that there, among local Inuit communities, is a sense of Inuit unity and larger ethnic or national community across the vast Canadian Inuit regions, conveyed in the phrase 'Inuit Nunangat' and the repetitive use hereof. Building on this, ITK states that it entails APF investments are made directly to the four Inuit regions, rather than provinces and territories. According to ITK, *"Doing so would help ensure that citizens within Inuit Nunangat are not solely dependent upon southern Canadians for the delivery of essential programs and services. This critical aspect of self-determination does*

not require political accords or constitutional change, but rather political commitment and action" (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 5). This quote reveals multiple things. The reiteration of the deep frame and wording 'self-determination' is once again associated with the surface frame(s) 'essential programs and services', which emphasizes the Inuit demand for more autonomy cf. Thomsen. In addition, the quote deploys the relational function cf. Fairclough by stating that Inuit Nunangat, at this point, are dependent on southern Canadians, thereby activating a bridging issue-defining frame of inequality between southerners and northerners in Canada. Simultaneously, this works as yet another categorization cf. De Fina.

According to ITK, funding is inaccessible directly to Inuit: *"Inuit communities are shut out from accessing funding because of program thresholds and criteria which do not account for the small size of our communities and the higher cost of infrastructure projects in Inuit Nunangat. There is limited funding targeting remote communities in particular which, by Natural Resources Canada's own account, can only support projects in about 10 percent of over 200 eligible communities, including all communities in Inuit Nunangat"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 13). This piece of text contains several categorizations cf. De Fina, for instance Inuit communities, later rephrased to or equated with the wording *remote communities*. Applying these categorizations implies contrasting types of communities, which are *not "*shut out from accessing funding". In addition, the latter part of the quote emphasizes the categorization by depicting Inuit as a range of small, disperse communities. The use of figures discursively serves the purpose of illustrating the funding "deficit" faced by a large percentage of all Inuit communities. However, it can be argued that this use of measurements fails to account for the absolute number of people in these communities, which may not be that great – relatively speaking and compared to other federal funding projects. On the other hand, infrastructure costs, among other things, are higher in Inuit Nunangat compared to the rest of Canada, and therefore it may be justified to allocate more funding towards these remote communities. Accordingly, one may also argue that deep frames such as equity and fairness may be activated in relation to the surface frame of funding programs. ITK also uses interdiscursivity in the case of reproducing "Natural Resources Canada's own account", thereby making the statement more credible. Again the use of 'Inuit Nunangat', this time combined with "our communities" displays how ITK takes ownership over and responsibility of all Canadian Inuit but also that the individual communities are part of something bigger in accordance with the imagined community cf. Anderson.

Following this statement, ITK states: "*We seek energy independence, both in reducing dependence on diesel and in increasing Inuit ownership and governance of energy systems in our communities. (…). In Inuit Nunangat, energy policy and regulation is under the jurisdiction of territorial and provincial governments. Those same governments own the diesel-powered utilities that serve our communities"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 13). This reference is another example of the Inuit demand for greater self-determination and autonomy in accordance with neo-nationalism cf. Thomsen. Here, the emphasis on Inuit ownership is underlined in particular. Similar to the previous text reference, the use of 'we' and 'our' indicates that ITK speaks on behalf of a united Inuit community. Again, the deep frame of self-determination is activated through "Inuit ownership and governance of energy systems", and associated with a surface frame, renewable energy programs. This piece of text is also subject to the relational function cf. Fairclough, as it depicts Inuit as a submissive entity among territorial and provincial governments, which are the decisive parties – not the Inuit communities themselves. This can again be associated to deep frames such as equity and fairness, which is then associated to the issue-defining frame of environment cf. Lakoff.

As part of the conclusive recommendations section, ITK proposes that *"[t]he APF should include an Inuit Nunangat chapter to recognize and ensure that the privileged position of Inuit and Inuit priorities as affirmed in the Inuit Nunangat Declaration on Inuit- Crown Partnership are fully reflected in the document and guide the framework's actions and investments"* (ITK APF Position Paper 2018, 15). This illustrates that ITK perceives Inuit Nunangat as a distinct community, which should have its own 'chapter' in the APF. Using categorization markers such as 'privileged position' and 'Inuit-Crown' further emphasizes the distinction between Inuit and other indigenous peoples and the federal government of Canada. ITK applies an intertextual reference by referring to the official document, the Inuit Nunangat Declaration, thereby legitimizing the proposed recommendation. This also functions as a case of transitivity cf. Fairclough where the finalization of the APF is connected to the declaration and Inuit-Crown relations at large.

5.3.2. Qikiqtani Inuit Association (QIA)

QIA also touches upon the discourse theme of self-determination/autonomy in their publication on economic development from February 2018. QIA initiates their economic approach document by stating: *"Inuit sought self-determination and recognition of jurisdiction. For these aspirations to be realized, Inuit must lead planning and design of all major initiatives in their homeland"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 3). In this sequence, QIA activates the deep frame value of self-

determination, which is associated with the surface frame, "major initiatives in their homeland". Self-determination in Inuit territories is central to Inuit people, as it was taken away from them during colonialism, and was not given back to Inuit before enacting the land claims agreements, which only provides Inuit with some self-determination, as they are still subject to federal and territorial government legislation. Using the wording 'homeland' thereby reinforces the message, as it creates special connotations for Inuit people, indexing it as a special characteristic of Inuit identity. Applying 'must' displays QIA affinity to the statement and its Inuit affiliation, as it is presented as a demand.

This discourse is reproduced shortly after, and thus constitutes an application of interdiscursivity: *"For Inuit, economic development must be guided by Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit (Inuit Knowledge). This means that the decision to pursue development and the processes to achieve development must be guided by Inuit Qaujimajatuqangit. Taking this approach applies an Inuit worldview to decisions and actions that influence Inuit lives"* (QIA Economic Development 2018, 3). Although this statement features a different use of words, the content of this piece of text is still reproducing the previous discourse, as it calls for Inuit "guidance", constituted in Inuit knowledge. QIA thereby implies that Inuit knowledge, which is only held by Inuit, is a prerequisite in order to guide or manage the economic development in the Inuit Qikiqtani region. Using the Inuit translation of 'Inuit knowledge' illustrates an example of a wording as well as the commitment to the statement by QIA, and their objective to preserve the Inuit language. Thereby, QIA actively applies the identity function, indexing that it takes an "Inuit worldview to decisions", in other words Inuit background, to lead the development initiatives. Again, the use of 'must' in this case demonstrates QIA's Inuit affiliation and an authoritative role, legitimizing its representation of the Inuit Qikiqtani region. These statements together illustrate the Inuit demand for more autonomy cf. Thomsen, sustained through Inuit management of development programs and embedded in Inuit ways of living and Inuit identity.

Another example of QIA's call for Inuit self-determination is the section about strengthening Inuit governance, which says: *"A central target of colonialism in the Qikiqtani region in the North has been Inuit governance. Before 1950, Inuit were self-governing and engaged in a way of life that stretched back hundreds, even thousands, of years. After 1950, colonial authorities sought to control Inuit, including changing their way of life and undermining their governance structures and processes. A feature of reconciliation should be restoring Inuit jurisdiction and capacity for governance. This will require effort from each level of government"* (QIA Economic Development

2018, 3). This statement explicitly expresses the importance of Inuit self-governance, thereby appealing directly to the deep frame value of self-determination or self-governance, and it is associated with the surface frame of reconciliation, which is the approach to restore the Inuit-Crown relationship. Applying transitivity to connect the two entities in this way through the relational function, and referring to colonialism, frames a historic inequitable relationship between the indigenous Inuit people, and the colonial authorities, which today would be the English and French populations. Accordingly, it connects past events to future developments, colonialism to the level of self-governance, bridged by reconciliation. Doing so, QIA also seeks to activate the deep frames of justice and equity, which again is connected to the surface frame of reconciliation. It implies that the Crown, due to the historical events, are more or less obliged to give in and compromise to the Inuit demands for reconciliation. This articulation of colonialism, including the aim to control and change the ways of living, while undermining governmental structures resembles the relationship between high and low cultures cf. Gellner. In this particular instance, it is framed as an attempt to wipe out the existence of the Inuit low culture. Stating that the Inuit way of life stretches back "hundreds, even thousands, of years" indicates that QIA perceives the Inuit as a unique people, thereby categorizing them from others, and to some extent, indicating that Inuit originated as an ethnie cf. Smith. The inclusion of this phrase is also used to frame inequity and injustice in relation to the colonial occupation, and to demonstrate the Inuit rights to these lands.

In relation to the discourse theme, self-determination, QIA activates the deep frame of prosperity and economic development to the surface frame of "sustainable programs that support education, training, childcare and small business financing". This is further associated with 'Inuit control' and 'Inuit governance', thereby activating the deep frame value of self-determination. In other words, the surface frame constitutes meaning due to the connection to the deep frames. The deep frames and the surface frame are bridged by the mentioning of "social and political inequalities", which is an issue-defining frame. The social and political inequalities refer to those between Inuit and the rest of Canada. Put in to practice, it frames that Inuit control and leadership will reverse these inequalities and create economic prosperity, while defending the Inuit culture. Referring intertextually to the Inuit Nunangat Declaration, QIA states: "this will ensure the cooperation between the Crown and Inuit", thereby suggesting that Inuit control will ensure cooperation (QIA Economic Development 2018, 18-19). Towards the end of the document, QIA calls for Inuit food sovereignty – more precisely everyday country food access, which is "a key element of the vibrancy of Inuit culture and community self-sufficiency". This builds upon the already existing commitment

to increased Inuit self-determination, while using the identity function to index the implication and significance of country food to Inuit people and Inuit culture. Thereby, implicitly indicating that it is not as central for other identities or cultures, and thus categorizing it as opposed to other Canadians (QIA Economic Development 2018, 22-23).

5.3.3. Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC)

Moving on to ICC, which also touches upon the discourse theme of this chapter in its two publications subject to analysis in this thesis. As one of the opening remarks at the 2017 Circumpolar Inuit Economic Summit, the ICC Chair states the following: *"Today, we have the people together, in this room, with the commitment, expertise, experience, resourcefulness, and the connections to build upon economic development from the Inuit perspective for Inuit by Inuit. Inuit, to a large extent, have only been able to watch outside forces directly impact our lives and to a large extent, global forces continue to negatively impact our livelihood* (ICC Chair Speech 2017, 1). In this citation, ICC discursively represent Inuit as a submissive people by stating that Inuit only have been able to watch external forces impact and continue to negatively impact the livelihood of Inuit. It can thus be argued that the submissive outlook of this statement, through the relational function, articulates the relationship between a low culture and high culture(s) cf. Gellner. Therefore, ICC seeks to activate the deep frame Inuit value of self-determination by using the phrase "economic development from the Inuit perspective for Inuit by Inuit", which rhetorically highlights the demand for more Inuit autonomy. The call for more self-determination is associated with another deep frame value, namely economic development, which is framed as bound upon an increasing Inuit autonomy, as opposed to the impact from global external forces – both historically and contemporarily. Using the wording 'global' in this instance reinforces the message of Inuit as being submissive because it depicts Inuit as a small entity versus the huge global forces. This sequence also features an example of (re)positioning cf. De Fina as the Inuit representatives present in the room at the day of the summit are attributed with qualities such as expertise, experience, resourcefulness and connections (network) to successfully deliver on economic development, and thus it strongly opposes the submissive Inuit representation that follows. The use of 'our' illustrates ICC's modal affinity to this statement, and emphasizes the organization's Inuit affiliation and aim to represent a collective Inuit entity. To an extent, it arguably features a discursive demonstration of the imagined community cf. Anderson.

The articulation of the imagined community on the part of ICC can be further argued for in the following: *"We have started. We have experience. We have tenacity. We are here. Inuit own airlines. Inuit own ships. Inuit own hotels. Inuit own construction companies. We own or manage a lot of things in our communities. In our regions. In our territories and in our countries. We want to do more. So now, how do we as an international people collaborate to own international companies across borders and compete with international non-Inuit businesses…for the betterment of Inuit"* (ICC Speech 2017, 2). This passage reveals ICC's mandate as an international Inuit organization, and it thus seeks to unite and establish a collective Inuit people. Rhetorically, this is done by the repetitive use of 'we' and 'our' and the phrase "we as an international people", which represent and categorize the Inuit people as a unit, and combined with the use of the subject "international non-Inuit businesses" establishes an "us vs. them" discourse. On the other hand, the diverse use of representational entities, which span from communities to regions and from territories to countries, in combination with the use of the possessive 'our', arguably questions ICC's stand on its categorization of Inuit. At least "our countries" challenges the somewhat common understanding of Inuit, as there is no Inuit country as such. The three other labels, on the other hand, do fall under the general perception of Inuit land. This statement also seeks to demonstrate a relative richness and self-determination of Inuit locally and thus again reposition the identity of Inuit from being secluded, submissive and poor to autonomous and capable.

To further elaborate on the self-determination discourse theme, ICC states the following in the 2018 Utqiagvik Declaration: *"Further reaffirming that the rights to lands, resources and territories and the right of self-determination, affirmed by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), applies to our entire homeland, including lands, waters, ice, air space and resources;"* (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 1). Referring intertextually to the UNDRIP legitimizes and emphasizes the significance of the Inuit rights to lands, resources and territories directed by Inuit self-determination. This also entails that Inuit have rights to particular lands, resources and territories, which the statement reiterates at the end by phrasing "our entire homeland, including lands, waters, ice, air space and resources". In other words, these entities are distinct to the Inuit identity and feature characteristics that index and differentiate these entities from similar non-Inuit entities. The affinitive use of 'our' highlights this differentiation and, as noted earlier, the inclusiveness and collectiveness, which ICC discursively aims to foster. This discourse is interdiscursively reproduced in the declaration by the following: *"Among other human rights, our United Nations Consultative Status provided us with the opportunity to advance our rights to lands,*

territories and resources as recognized in UNDRIP, including those lands, territories, and resources that we have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired" (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 2). In this instance, ICC discursively speaks on behalf of all Inuit, which is the representational mandate of the organization. It does so in relation to its UN Consultative Status, which aims to increase the credibility and ethos of ICC. From CDA perspective, this illustrates an articulation of the imagined community. As with the former statement, this is rhetorically done by uses of 'our' and 'we', which displays the affinity and Inuit affiliation of ICC. The rights to lands, territories and resources are associated with human rights, and thus these rights constituents of the deep frame value self-determination foster and cultivate a discourse that Inuit self-determination is an Inuit human right. The historical element of these entities is further emphasized by the wording 'traditionally owned', which demonstrates the special Inuit bond with these distinct lands, territories and resources. Again, it discursively works to index these lands, with Inuit identity attributes, in relation to similar entities of other identities.

The elements of indexicality and human rights are later applied, as ICC elaborates with further qualities and social representations that distinguish Inuit from other identities in connection to the overall self-determination discourse theme: *"Sustainable wildlife management is an important element for achieving Inuit food security. Inuit have rights in national and international agreements that protect indigenous hunting and fishing activities. These human right instruments affirm Inuit rights to self-determination, including our right to govern wildlife management"* (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 7). The element of self-determination, which also functions as a deep frame Inuit value, refers to the (sustainable) wildlife management, and this is associated with Inuit rights "in national and international agreements that protect indigenous hunting and fishing activities". In other words, the deep frame value is connected to the issue-defining frames of sustainability and rights and the surface frame of national and international agreements. This trifold frame cultivates a discourse that promotes Inuit self-determination backed by human rights and national and international agreements, which provide the discourse with endorsement and sense-giving. The emphasis on sustainability in relation to wildlife management discursively index it as a quality that is highly significant and distinct to Inuit as opposed to other identities because it provides Inuit with food security. Similarly, the use of the wording 'indigenous' in the phrase "protect indigenous hunting and fishing activities" implicitly conveys that there are other hunting and fishing activities/practices, which are not indigenous/Inuit.

In line with Thomsen's concept of neo-nationalism, the following statement reveals that ICC seeks to obtain greater political self-determination and autonomy: *"We know economic development and social and cultural development must go hand-in-hand, resulting in self-sufficiency, which is an essential part of greater political self-determination. We recognize that employment and wealth creation are building blocks for autonomy and that equitable sustainable economic development and employment must be a priority. Building capacity is a key to success and a foundation for economic vitality"* (Utqiagvik Declaration 2018, 10). This sequence also features 'we', indicating that ICC speaks on behalf of all Inuit, thereby encompassing the imagined community. As slightly revealed already, it also includes references to Inuit deep frame values such as self-determination, self-sufficiency, autonomy, equity and prosperity (economic development). The magnitude and discursive connectivity between these deep frame values enhance the cultivation and activation of the overall Inuit self-determination discourse theme.

5.3.4. Sub-conclusion

Self-determination itself constitutes a deep frame value in Inuit terms, and the Inuit organizations connect it to another deep frame, prosperity, in several instances, while also associating these deep frames with i.e. development program surface frames. Reproducing this discursive practice continuously fosters the reasoning of why Inuit should obtain more autonomy, i.e. it requires a distinctions-based approach, including Inuit knowledge and worldview to understand Inuit needs, and thereby undertake successful socio-economic development in Inuit communities. In addition, it is argued that Inuit used to be self-governing prior to colonialism, and self-determination is needed to increase self-sufficiency. The three Inuit organizations unanimously call for greater Inuit self-determination/autonomy – in particular politically, which corresponds to Thomsen's thesis about neo-nationalist countries, and arguably resemble a relationship between a high and low culture cf. Gellner. This is backed by the emphasis on the interference from external forces and the dependence on the respective nation-states, in this thesis mainly focusing on Canada. In this regard, the articulated lack of self-determination and interference from high cultures also function as Inuit identity attributes and thus index Inuit from other (identities). This discourse theme features multiple identity categorization articulations of the imagined Inuit community, i.e. "we", "our homeland, people and communities", "Inuit communities" etc. As a complementing discourse, QIA states that the Inuit way of life stretches back "hundreds, even thousands, of years", and thereby articulates one of Smith's key characteristics of an ethnie.

6. Discussion

This section aims to discuss the findings of the analysis and the implications for the social practice, as related to the questions set forth by nationalism theory as well as the overall research question of this thesis. From a CDA perspective, the Inuit organizations are challenging the existing hegemonic order of discourse and thus aiming to transform the social practice in several ways. As previously accounted for, social practice involves activities such as means of production, social relations, social structures, social identities, cultural values, consciousness and semiosis, and is part of a dialectic relationship with the discursive practice, which is the Inuit organizations' discursive shaping of the texts/communicative events.

In terms of the first discourse theme, Representation of Inuit history and tradition, the Inuit organizations articulate an Inuit perception of Inuit identity in relation to other, mainly other Canadian identities cf. Thomsen. In so doing, the articulations of "we", "Inuit", "our", "Inuit Nunangat", "Inuit Nunaat" and various applications of Inuit language, combined with framed distinct Inuit attributes and characteristics function to strengthen the imagined Inuit community, which is oriented inwards as it applies merely to Inuit recipients, and thus suggests that Inuit is an ethnic community. On the other hand, the potential outward message works to educate about the richness of Inuit identity, despite the dire history, and that Inuit is a collective identity or unit across geographical boundaries, and may imply that Inuit perceive themselves as a nation. Is it thus an example of national identity of a stateless nation, in accordance with Thomsen's terminology on neo-nationalism?

If the dispersed Inuit communities perceive themselves as one imagined community, as articulated by the Inuit organizations, one may argue that it is the case. Unless, the communicative events are to be seen as vernacular mobilization cf. Smith's second route to nationhood, however – and even so – this does not seem to be the case due to the lack of cohesion i.e. formal bureaucratic structures, economic unity and legal rights and duties, which characterize a nation, and differentiate a nation from an ethnie according to Smith. Conversely, it seems that Inuit, as represented by the three organizations, do not feel as part of the Canadian nation or any other nation. This is demonstrated by the discourses on the remoteness and to some extent alienation of Inuit, i.e. the phrase about "bringing Inuit into Canada". Although articulations such as "other Canadians" refer to Inuit as Canadian, it does not appear to be genuine because the relational function cf. Fairclough, through these articulations, work to differentiate and frame the two identities in an inequitable and

irreconcilable manner. Accordingly, the Inuit discursive practice conveys that Inuit as part of the Canadian nation is a result of the first route to nationhood, bureaucratic incorporation cf. Smith and not as Smith himself suggests, namely that it is a result of the third route to nationhood, which consists of fragmented immigrants and celebrates cultural diversity. The first route to nationhood is led by the upper class, which draw the lower classes into a politicized national culture by forging the nation to outlying regions from the ethnic core and down the social scale (Smith 1998, 194).

Together, these notions suggest that Inuit is to be seen as an ethnie (ethnic community) in accordance with Smith's definition: "*named human populations with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory, and a sense of solidarity"* (Smith 1998, 191). These attributes represent the overall articulation of Representation of Inuit history and tradition by the Inuit organizations in the texts, i.e. the myth about Eben Hopson Sr. and how he unified Inuit and founded ICC, which reinforces the imagined community cf. Anderson. On the contrary, as the third discourse theme suggests, the communicative events collectively convey an ideology of more Inuit self-determination/autonomy, in accordance with Thomsen's neo-nationalism. What does that mean when it comes to shaping Inuit identity? Combining the two approaches to nationalism suggests that it is an ethnie or ethnic community (and not a nation) – imagined or socially constructed (as according to CDA, Anderson, Gellner and Thomsen) or not – within a liberal, wealthy democracy, which is advocating for transformation of the social practice, namely that Inuit communities should regain more autonomy – as opposed to interdependence or sovereignty cf. classic nationalism. Except for a few discursive instances where the Inuit organizations articulate Inuit as a nation, the majority of discourses set forth perceive Inuit as an (imagined) ethnic community, which is backed by the absence of demands for Inuit interdependence or sovereignty.

The Inuit texts frame the demand for increasing Inuit self-determination/autonomy in relation to colonialism and being subject to the will and decisions of external forces, which corresponds to Gellner's idea about high and low cultures, with Inuit being a submissive low culture and resembles Smith's first route to nationhood. According to Gellner, the infusion of low cultures into the national high culture is the means by which the elite is imposing statehood for protection, which ultimately is to make way for a nation-state. However, according to Thomsen and Guibernau, cultural globalization has made the preservation of distinctly national cultures impossible, and thus less relevant to nationalist movements. Accordingly, the state plays a vital role in shaping national identity (Thomsen 2010, 4; Guibernau 2004, 141). Relying on this, the Inuit organizations are

arguably breaking with the Canadian national identity by claiming the rights to be Inuit and dissociating from the national high culture in Canada. In other words, Inuit, as represented by the Inuit organizations, oppose the hegemonic order of discourse in the sense that they challenge the Canadian national high culture by alienating Inuit identity from other Canadian identities. On the other hand, Inuit still want to be part of the Canadian nation-state because it is the most rational option in terms of enabling socio-economic development, and it thus arguably confirms Thomsen's thesis about neo-nationalism.

This naturally taps into the second discourse theme, socio-economic inequality, as the Inuit demand for more autonomy relates to transformation of the decision-making social structures, for instance development programs and investments, as well as the actual social structures – the infrastructure – in Inuit territories, which are outdated and not at the same level as non-Inuit social structures, i.e. in southern Canada. The Inuit organizations argue that it requires a different approach to undertake socio-economic development in Inuit territories – an approach that understands Inuit identity/culture and needs as well as the living conditions in remote areas.

It can thus be argued that the Inuit organizations discursively articulate cultural values and idiosyncratic attributes through the identified discourse themes by applying CDA textual as well as discursive elements. Consequently, this reshapes the hegemonic perception of Inuit identity (social identity) both inwards and outwards, and to transform the order of discourse in relation to the social structures as well as the social practices in relation to Inuit socio-economic development and Inuit self-determination/autonomy.

7. Conclusion

Based on the discussion and the analysis, it is time to conclude on the following research question, set forth in this thesis: *How do plans of socio-economic development in [Canadian] Inuit territories contribute to shaping Inuit identity?*

Despite the current and ongoing negotiations about a new APF, including plans of reconciliation and socio-economic development, between the Government of Canada and Inuit representatives, the overall impression of the three Inuit organizations, as represented in this thesis through the communicative events, illustrate the strained relationship between the Crown and Inuit – at least from an Inuit perspective. This is reflected accordingly in the shaping of Inuit identity, which is discursively framed in relation to other, mainly Canadian, identities in an inequitable and

irreconcilable fashion. This is discursively carried out by applying the identity function, indexicality and categorization, which often regard the historic relationship with the Crown, the current socio-economic development gap, including the 'infrastructure deficit' and the lack of Inuit self-determination, and works to dissociate Inuit from Canada, in particular. This is one way, in which the Inuit organizations attempt to unite Inuit across geographical boundaries – communities, territories and countries. In combination with the encompassing, repetitive articulations of "our" in connection to homeland, people, words, stories etc., it reinforces the social construction of the imagined community cf. Anderson. In addition, labels such as Inuit Nunangat and Inuit Nunaat and various Inuit wording and attributes are repetitively reproduced to foster the idea of unification among Inuit. Hence, the Inuit discursive practice works to undermine the Canadian national identity. Doing so, the Inuit organizations oppose the hegemonic order of discourse in the sense that they challenge the Canadian national high culture by alienating Inuit identity from other Canadian identities. On the other hand, Inuit still want to be part of the Canadian nation-state because it is the most rational option in terms of enabling socio-economic development, and it thus arguably confirms Thomsen's thesis about neo-nationalism.

As suggested in the discussion, however, Inuit do not possess the requisites of a nation cf. Smith, which is backed by the absence of putting forward demands for interdependence and/or sovereignty, which is key in classic nationalism – instead Inuit demand more self-determination/autonomy in accordance with neo-nationalism. Therefore, this thesis suggests that Inuit, as represented by the three Inuit organizations, perceive themselves as an ethnie (ethnic community), conforming to neo-nationalism. Whether or not the Inuit community is imagined or an actual ethnie, the discursive practice carried out by the Inuit organizations at least contributes to shaping Inuit identity as such. This thesis tend to conclude that it is a combination in accordance with Thomsen's view: *"What can be stated with certainty, though, is that so-called 'ethnic' and 'civic' elements exits in every nationalism, only they are given different emphasis. The mere idea of an "ethnic-less" nationalism makes no sense. If there is no perception of being a distinct ethnic group, there can be no idea of the nation, and any political movement ceases to qualify for the label 'national'"* (Thomsen 2010, 13;19). By "different emphasis", Thomsen refers to the ability of nationalist rhetoric or discourse to socially construct and shape nationalist identity – and thus the imagined community – which aims to articulate ethno-cultural differences between self and other, whether or not it is in accordance with the actual ethnic elements of that ethnic group.

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