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Canadian Political Discourse and Social Change

A Case of Climate Justice



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ABSTRACT

This thesis studies the Canadian political discourse and its effect on social change and mobilization in Climate Justice (CJ) new social movements. The thesis identifies four main themes within the Climate Justice literature: *An Unequal Burden*, *Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, *Practices and materiality in local everyday life* and *Climate Change, Risks and Responsibility*. This thesis has selected relevant political discourse of Stephen Harper's Conservative Government from 2011-2015, and Justin Trudeau's Liberal Government from 2015-2019 on the four main Climate Justice themes to assess. The methodological approach of this thesis is based on Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis framework. Fairclough's three conceptual levels are used thesis explores the textual, discursive practice and sociocultural practice of the political discourse, and its effect on social change. Georg Lakoff's framing concepts are applied together with Agenda-Setting and New Social Movement Theory. Together, these theories constitute the analytical framework and method of analysis of this thesis.

e analysis, via selected relevant empirical data, representative of the Canadian governments' political discourse on the identified themes, acknowledges several areas of incongruence and congruency between the political discourse and CJ discourse. These findings indicate that CJ discourse is more likely to be prevalent within Liberal discourse. However, on issues of high contention, there is little consolidation, and thus little influence from one party onto another. There seem to be lesser degree of CJ influence of policy agenda-setting for the Conservative Government compared to the Liberal Government. The thesis explores the identity-formations around key CJ issues by the two governments, and concludes that both conservative and liberal construct identities that are congruent with CJ values, however Liberal identity-formations are more frequently in line with the values of CJ.

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PREFACE

This thesis is the final academic project on the master's degree in Development and International Relations – Arctic Studies specialization – from Aalborg University (AAU), Denmark. The idea of writing this thesis came from my internship in Canada, at the Royal Danish Consulate General in Toronto. From this position, I acquired an advanced understanding of the political social practice in Canada, which birthed the idea for this thesis. I have benefitted from the supervisory collaboration with my professor, to whom I send my deepest gratitude. My direction of my academic journey has not always been clear and steadfast, and I am truly grateful for the capable and kindhearted AAU staff and the institution as a whole for the support and guidance, which have ultimately led to my sincere curiosity, appreciation and respect for my own, my peers' and my seniors' academic work.

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“There are dreamers and there are realists in this world. You'd think the dreamers would find the dreamers, and the realists would find the realists, but more often than not, the opposite is true. You see, the dreamers need the realists to keep them from soaring too close to the sun. And the realists, well, without the dreamers, they might never get off the ground.”

C.M.

TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

IP	Indigenous Peoples
	“‘Indigenous peoples’ is a collective name for the original peoples of North America and their descendants. Often, ‘Aboriginal peoples’ is also used. The Canadian Constitution recognizes three groups of Aboriginal peoples: Indians (more commonly referred to as First Nations), Inuit and Métis. These are three distinct peoples with unique histories, languages, cultural practices and spiritual beliefs.” (National.ca 2020)
EJ	Environmental Justice
CJ	Climate Justice
IEJ	Indigenous Environment Justice
AGW	Anthropogenic (Human-caused) Global Warming
TIK	Traditional Indigenous Knowledge
UN	United Nations
US	United States
FJ	Food Justice

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

In 2016, a meta-study found that 97 % or more of actively publishing climate scientists support the position of Anthropogenic, or human-caused, Global Warming (AGW). UN States: *“Without drastic action today, adapting to these impacts in the future will be more difficult and costly.”* (UN: Climate Change 2020). Despite of AGW and the glooming words of the UN, countries are withdrawing or deescalating their actions on mitigating AGW, exemplified by Canadian Environment Minister, Peter Kent’s announcement in 2011 to withdraw Canada from the Kyoto Protocol, and later United States President, Donald Trump’s announcement of US withdrawal from the Paris accord. Explaining the reason for the US withdrawal, Trump stated: *“The Paris accord will undermine [the US] economy (...) [and the accord] puts us at a permanent disadvantage.”* (Fox News 2017). The former Canadian Prime Minister (PM), Stephen Harper, stated in 2018 that *“Populations will always choose economic growth over what emissions may do a hundred years from now,”* (Global News 2018, 13:30). Trump and Harper’s successor, and current Canadian PM, Justin Trudeau, has stated the following to a Canadian Arctic community at a campaign event:

“Unlike the Conservatives, Liberals believe that climate change is a real emergency that we must address now. (...) Like so many of our friends in the North, you are truly on the front lines of the fight against climate change” (National Post 2019).

Assuming that governments will want to make use of the best available knowledge to build their societies and considering the climate scientists’ 97 % support of AGW and its “costly” consequences, the political divide on how to interpret scientific data, and in effect, the different approaches to handle climate change, may be described as illogical - and from a scientific standpoint even paradoxical. Because, why would people commit to actions that work against environmentalism, when they know the risks, costs and repercussion associated with continued AGW? Assuming that people are not inherently self-destructive, this may indicate that in the social world of politics and other social arenas, the factualness of climate change and its consequences are up for discussion. Since the 1970s, scientists have, however, recorded that temperatures in the Arctic have risen twice as fast as any other place on Earth. This phenomenon, also known as “Arctic amplification,” has resulted in more drastic changes in living conditions for the people and all living beings in the Arctic regions relative to those in

non-Arctic regions. Anthropogenic activities within the Arctic and elsewhere can induce further climate change and result in detrimental influences on Arctic ecosystems and indigenous peoples of the Arctic (Stjern et al. 2019, 6698). For the regular people(s) in the Arctic, this will continue to mean increasing social “within-country inequalities,” e.g. in Canada where the people of the North truly are, like Trudeau put it, “on the front lines of the fight against climate change” (National Post 2019; Islam & Winkel 2017, 1).

Inequalities imposed on humans due to climate change have been central to discussions within Environmental Justice movements, and especially in *Climate Justice* (CJ) debates, a sub-field of EJ. Studies show that recent political approaches to climate adaptation are informed by environmental justice ideals, thus emphasizing “(...) *the direct influences of the environmental justice movement on conceptions*” (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 359). Essentially, individuals participate and not groups, and according to Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, it is a sharedness of identity in social movements that motivate collective action, i.e. a shared identity built around individual’s group identification with others sharing the same position on key issues (Hassan 2009, 31-33).

In 2015, Trudeau’s liberal government was about to take over from Harper’s conservative program, and First Nations peoples of Canada was promised “(...) *a renewed, nation-to-nation relationship with First Nations peoples, one that understands that the constitutionally guaranteed rights of First Nations in Canada are not an inconvenience but rather a sacred obligation,*” Justin Trudeau, December 8, 2015 (CBC.ca 2015). However, in 2020, in the wake of Trudeau’s reelection, the PM’s reputation among First Nations peoples hangs in a thread, as his first term in office has been characterized by broken promises to Native tribes and consistent prioritization of oil interests, and Trudeau’s Arctic priorities have been described as “more of the same” (Nytimes.com 2020; The Arctic Institute 2016).

The above-mentioned developments have led to the wonderment about the extent to which CJ movements have distinctly influenced Canadian political discourse of the two latest Canadian governments from 2011-2019, insofar that the respective government’s political discourse reflects the discourse of the CJ movements. Furthermore, how the two governments have influenced social change in CJ movements via agenda-setting and identity-formation, which are central to collective action and mobilisation in social movements.

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis aims at attaining a new perspective of whose agenda is reflected in the Canadian political discourse from 2011-2019. Accordingly, the following research questions have been formulated:

- 1) *How has Stephens Harper's Conservative Government from 2011-2015 and Justin Trudeau's Liberal Government from 2015-2019 in their political discourse on the Northern Policy reinforced or challenged Climate Justice discourse?*
- 2) *How does the Canadian political discourse via identity-formations and agenda-setting influence social change and mobilisation in Climate Justice movements?*

METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 2

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 AIM OF STUDY

This thesis sets off from a social constructivist stance and use the methodological and analytical framework of Norman Fairclough's, specifically his Three-Dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework. Fairclough ultimately seeks to explain the sociocultural dynamics of society from the perspective of text production, consumption and interpretation and the reciprocal relationship between discourse and social change. Therefore, via Fairclough's CDA, this thesis aims at understanding how sociocultural movements concerning climate justice influences the political discourse, and how political discourse have the potential to influence the sociocultural dimensions. Fairclough proposes that the inclusion of social theory is needed in order to conduct comprehensive CDA (Fairclough 1992, 5). For that purpose, New Social Movement (NSM) theory is applied to explore the Canadian political discourse's identity-formation and (counter-)hegemonic function, which is central to mobilization of collective action and social change, cf. NSM. Agenda-setting theory is applied to explore the policy agenda-setting function of the political discourse, as agenda-setting is a "(...) *collective process in which media, government, and the citizenry reciprocally influence one another in at least some respects.*" (Lee & Riffe 2017, 293-294). Lakoff's Framing analysis tools are applied on the discursive practice to assess, how framing contribute to identity-formation and its potential for mobilizing collective action. The findings will be held against the identity-formations and discourse of the CJ movements to explore the extent to which at CJ movements discourse can be qualitatively measured to be represented, reinforced or challenged within the political discourse. This thesis, ultimately, aims at assessing the effect of the political discourse and the identities that are formed with regards to their socially mobilizing effect and the impact on the wider social practice. A section on EJ and CJ is found in the Appendix.

2.2 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

2.2.1 PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE

The *ontological position* is in *constructivism*, which proposes that reality is continually accomplished or "constructed" by social actors through interaction. Conveying to the aim of the thesis, we take an *epistemological position* in *interpretivism* and *(social) constructivism*, which suggests that we can obtain knowledge about and make sense of the world by studying

and interpreting how humans socially construct the world. This post-positivist approach is critical towards any claim of “established” truth and indicates that knowledge is not and cannot be neutral. Knowledge is inherently subjective and up for discussion, and one must study the competing claims about how the world works in order to understand how social change happens (Jackson & Sørensen 2013, 232-233, 245-247). Humans interact and communicate their sense-making of the world through language and symbols, or discourse or text (cf. CDA below), which are all placed in a hierarchy or order, by which certain aspects of the socially constructed reality is deemed more important than others, thus enabling social agents to prioritize action. Since knowledge is up for discussion, it must be reasonable to challenge and (re)evaluate existing and established orders or structures of discourse that prescribe social action. This implies an inherent power struggle of discourses and between social agents over how to govern and set the social agenda in society, e.g. how we treat the environment and create equal standards of living for all peoples of the world (Collin & Kørpe 2012, 140-147, 372-376, 420).

2.2.2 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA) - NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH

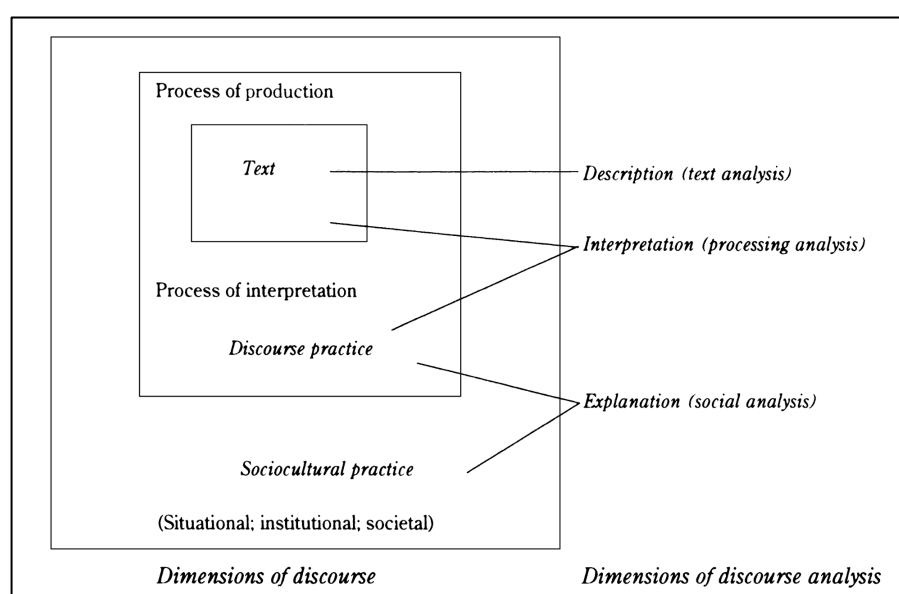
The methodological framework of this thesis is largely comprised by Fairclough’s CDA approach, from which certain analytical tools have been selected according to their relevance to the proposed research question. Fairclough’s approach has been chosen for this thesis, as it provides a comprehensive model for research in the dynamics of communication, culture and society (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 60).

Fairclough takes a moderate social constructivist methodological stance and differentiates his approach from poststructuralist discourse theory by viewing discourse as both *constitutive* of and *constituted* by the contextual social practice. According to Fairclough, discourse is, on the one hand, shaped by its social practice and its structures, and on the other, able to reproduce and change the knowledge, identities and social relations within the social practice, and by extension the social practice itself. Thereby, discourse is seen as a form of social practice, like an action social actors might take against or with the world or others to challenge the existing social order and *social structures* of the world, by introducing representations that lie outside the existing structure, e.g. representations of equality between peoples that previously did not exist or environmental rights (Fairclough 2003, 124). Discourse and discursive elements are understood as any use of language and communication, spoken or written, as well as visual elements, and altogether termed ‘text’ by Fairclough. Furthermore, Fairclough suggests that

“(…) [a]ny discursive 'event' (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice.” (Fairclough 1992, 4). Non-discursive elements, such as melting ice, are formed via non-discursive practices, e.g. the physical practice of the natural world that is involved in changing the chemical properties of the frozen water, which makes ice melt. Ultimately, Fairclough propose CDA as a tool to analyze and understand societal changes from texts.

2.2.2.1 NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH'S THREE-DIMENSIONAL CONCEPTION OF DISCOURSE

Fairclough (1992) outlines a three-dimensional model for CDA, in which he visualizes the complex and reciprocal relationship between text (micro-level), discursive practice (meso-level), and social practice (macro-level) (Fairclough 1992, 73). Fairclough changed the name “social practice” to “sociocultural practice” 1995, and the model is shown below.



*Figure 1: Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse and CDA Model
(Fairclough 2010, 133)*

(The peripheral frame is added in this thesis, and represents the text created by this body of work; the author of this thesis is not above the social practice but rather “inside it”. Therefore, one must be self-conscious about interpreting discourse, and the structures and struggles that condition the analysis. (Fairclough 1992, 199))

For this thesis, the 1995-model provides a methodological structure for the analysis and suggest interdisciplinary points of departure for linguistic/textual, processing and sociocultural analysis.

Considering Fairclough's past formulations about dimensions, this thesis will, to avoid confusion, regard the textual level as the micro-level, the discursive practice a "meso"-level, and the social practice as the macro-level (Fairclough. 1992, 85, 231; Fairclough 2003, 15-16; Fairclough 2010; 31). Thereby, Fairclough's model serves as a structure for the methodological approach, the analysis itself, and the thesis as a whole.

In line with the above-presented approach, this thesis will, roughly speaking, assess text at the micro-level with an aim of describing the communicative event (text). Secondly, it will consider the interactional dimensions of the discursive practice at the meso-level, and finally, the analyst will assess the social practice, within which the text and discursive practice is embedded, thus analyzing the contextual framework conditions of the micro- and meso-level with the aim at explaining the implications of the social practice upon the discursive practice and the text and vice versa. The CDA analyst will draw on an interdisciplinary approach to analyze the social practice.

Fairclough describes three functions of discourse: the identity, relational, and ideational function (Fairclough 1992, 64), which is described in the illustration below:

<p><i>The identity function</i> concerns how discourse creates social identities, establishes subject positions for social subjects, and forms types of self. The identity function implicitly also produces identity-creations of others through the identity-creation of self, thus comparing social agents and the opinions.</p>
<p><i>The relational function</i> concerns how discourse or text enable the construction of social relationship between social agents through interaction and negotiation.</p>
<p><i>The ideational function</i> involves how knowledge and belief systems are constructed with influence from discourse. It relates to the ways in which discourse is signifying certain aspects of the world and its processes, entities and relations (Fairclough 1992, 63-64).</p>

Figure 2: The three functions of Discourse

Fairclough states that texts bring about changes, and since they are fundamental parts of social events, they have shorter- and longer-term “(...) *causal effects upon, and contribute to changes in, people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world[.] (...) [Therefore,] textual analysis needs to be framed in [such a] respect in social analysis which can consider bodies of texts in terms of their effects on power relations.*” (Fairclough 1992, 64-66; Fairclough 2003, 8-9). Social agents can thus challenge what Fairclough terms the *orders of discourse*, described as the “(...) *totality of discursive practices in an institution and the relationship between them, (...)*” which are in use within a specific social domain (Fairclough 1992, 43). The order of discourse constitutes the discursive aspect of a network of social practices. In other words, “(...) *there are always many different possibilities in language, but choice amongst them is socially structured [.]*” and negotiated, and thus through discourses social agents can challenge how a certain topic (Fairclough 2003, 8, 220). Genres are *ways of acting* and can be reports, official documents, press reports, television programmes etc. Genre chains are regularly linked genres that support “action at a distance” of social agents and can be seen as features of globalization of ideas and meaning, and thus significant parts of social change (Fairclough 2003, 27, 216).

CDA seeks to understand the interactional role of discursive practices in maintaining social order or creating social change, e.g. changing the agenda on environmental protection (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, 69-71). In the following three sections, a more detailed conception of the three dimensions are provided.

2.2.2.1.1 TEXT (MICRO-LEVEL)

Fairclough sees text is an inherently discursive event and open to different interpretations, which must be understood in relation to the interpreter (Baker & Ellece 2011, 150). Inspired by Halliday (1994), Fairclough propose a line of linguistic analysis tools. For this thesis, certain analytical tools have been selected according to their relevance and will be applied at the textual level: word meaning, presupposition, transitivity and (Fairclough 1992, 169-200).

<p>Word meaning concerns the connotation of the chosen language and vocabulary. Text are subject to different interpretation, thereby enabling producers and interpreters of text to choose subjectively how to give meaning to words both in production and in consumption (Fairclough 1992, 185).</p>
<p>Presupposition relates to the propositions that social agents take as given and regard already established, e.g. that climate change impose a threat to humans' standards of living. Presuppositions can be seen as ideologically invested, as will be explained later, and ideological text production is seen as creating identity (See Sociocultural Practice) (Fairclough 1992, 89, 120-121).</p>
<p>Transitivity concerns the interpretation of the textual association between processes and events, and subjects and objects. Transitivity enables the analyst to connect social agents to specific activities in the text, thus relating to the abovementioned identity function.</p>

Figure 3. CDA Tools

The text analysis is, ultimately, concentrated on creating a descriptive overview of the formal features of language, from which main discourses and themes emerge.

2.2.2.1.2 DISCURSIVE PRACTICE (MESO-LEVEL)

CDA of the discursive practice concerns the socio-cognitive aspects of text production, consumption and interpretation. Fairclough suggests:

“Analysis [at the meso-level] involves both the detailed moment-by-moment explication of how participants produce and interpret texts, which conversation analysis and pragmatics excel at, and analysis which focuses upon the relationship of the discursive event to the order of discourse, and upon the question of which discursive practices are being drawn upon and in what combinations.” (Fairclough 2010, 94-95).

This thesis is, like Fairclough (2010), concentrated on the latter. Namely, on how text producers draw upon already existing discourses, genres and other texts to create their texts. Producers can create chains of thematic equivalence around privileged signifiers, nodal points, i.e. chain distinct aspects of a topic together to build an argument of interrelatedness, e.g. when the Occupy Wall Street movement stressed the nodal point of “real democracy,” around which they chained discourse like “corruption among politicians” and “leaving us helpless, without a voice” (Decreus, Lievens, & Braeckman 2014, 138). Directly associated with these aspects, and

what Fairclough refers to as *intertextual analysis*, two closely related linguistic concepts are proposed: intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

(Manifest) Intertextuality concerns the text's ability to refer directly (explicitly, and thereby manifestly) or indirectly to other texts and incorporate aspects of them, e.g. direct references, quotations. It is, however, often difficult to make sense of a text, if one does not fully understand, how it refers to other texts, and if one does not have a comprehensive understanding of the referred text. Therefore, Fairclough distinguishes between intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1992, 84-85; Baker & Ellece 2011, 64).

Interdiscursivity (or constitutive intertextuality) concerns the text's ability to refer to other discourses or text types and is thus seen as the "constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres." (Fairclough 2010, 96). Analysis of interdiscursivity "(...) allows [the analyst] to locate texts within processes of social change and to identify the potentially creative and innovative work of social agents in texturing." (Fairclough 2003, 17, 39-40, 216). Moreover, interdiscursivity thus reflects the disarticulation and/or re-articulation of the order of discourse in the course of social hegemonic struggle (Fairclough 1992, 124).

Figure 4. Intertextuality and Interdiscursivity

In summation, CDA of the discursive practice is focused on the maintenance of the social order or social change through (re)production, consumption and interpretation of texts. In addition, the analyst must consider the framework conditions of the discursive practice that may impose implicit rules and routines, e.g. political and/or institutional settings (Baker & Ellece 2011, 37).

2.2.2.1.3 SOCIOCULTURAL PRACTICE (MACRO-LEVEL)

The analyst must assess the social practice to truly understand the effects of text. For this purpose, the systematic investigation of connections between properties of language use (text) and the nature of social processes and relations (ideologies, power relations, culture), Fairclough propose the use of social theory (Fairclough 1992, 5; Fairclough 2010, 131-132).

IDEOLOGY

Ideology can be located in constructions of reality, both in the physical world, in social relations, and social identities. Fairclough emphasizes the struggle over power, and stress that ideology is built into the dimensions of discursive practices, and thus contribute to the (re)production or transformation of relations of domination. Ideologies can thus be located in the orders of discourse, in which they contribute to reproduce and transform the conditioning structures of social practice. Ideology can be found invested in the formal features of language and it *interpellates* subjects, i.e. ideology (in a Freudian sense) “recruits” or “hails in” subjects among always-already ideologically subjected individuals. In other words, ideology shapes the identity of individuals, as ideology becomes their guiding principles for action. (Fairclough 2006, 103-106)

HEGEMONY

Hegemony concerns the exercise of power that has been intentionally or unintentionally acquired by dominant individuals, social groups, or institutions. Hegemony is seen as both leadership and domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological societal domains, yet it is regarded as a temporary, “unstable equilibrium”. The CDA analyst must, therefore, be concerned with the aspects of hegemonic struggle that focus on winning consent, fracturing alliances and produce subordination, both in economic, political, cultural and ideological form, e.g. winning support for certain environmental action. Hegemonisation of ideology thus involves “winning the debate” of what discourse is being established and understood as the “truth”, facts, or the knowledge by which we in society organize ourselves by (Fairclough 1992, 91-92).

Figure 5. Ideology and Hegemony

Fairclough suggests:

“[A] piece of discourse is embedded within sociocultural practice at a number of levels: in the immediate situation, in the wider institution or organization, and at a societal level[.]” (Fairclough 2010, 132).

Analysis of the social practice, therefore, entails different areas of enquiry. Inspired by Althusser (1971) and Gramsci (1971), Fairclough suggests a framework for investigating discourse as an occurrence of social practice; a framework that centers around the concepts of *ideology* and *hegemony*.

2.2.3 FRAMING – GEORGE LAKOFF

Inspired by Goffman (1974), George Lakoff has substantially added to the field of framing analysis and developed the understanding of how linguistics and cognitive science are connected. Lakoff states:

“Frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. As a result, they shape the goals we seek, the plans we make, the way we act, and what counts as a good or bad outcome of our actions. In politics our frames shape our social policies and the institutions we form to carry out policies. To change our frames is to change all of this. Reframing is social change.” (Lakoff 2004, XV).

According to Lakoff, political language and political ideologies typically are characterized by systems of frames, held by individuals subscribing to a certain political ideology. (Lakoff 2010, 71-72). In other words, one can hardly avoid activating framing, but the question is, whose frames are being activated in the minds of the public. To draw nearer the theme of this thesis, Lakoff argues that (ideological) framing is essential for mobilizing people's support on complex matters such as climate change or environmentalism. *Systems of frames* must, however, be in place in the receivers' minds, and the knowledge presented in the frames must be built up over time and make “common-sense” for the receiver, in order for the receivers to comprehend and support the frame (Lakoff 2010, 72-73). Effective communication must therefore include carefully and strategically worded narrative in order to build up an appropriate system of frames in the minds of the receivers (Lakoff 2010, 73-74). The dividing issue over environmentalism can be viewed in terms of overlapping value areas with environmentalism rather than an issue with the environment itself. Such overlapping value areas include market principles, economics, globalization of trade, security, energy, food and health, etc. Lakoff states that frames can be made real via institutions, industries, and cultural practices, which thus far have influenced reality through the facilitation and maintenance of established economic, religious, cultural and political practices (Lakoff 2010, 76-79).

2.2.3.2 THE THREE CONCEPTUAL LEVELS OF FRAMING

Lakoff states: *“Deep framing is the conceptual infrastructure of the mind: the foundations, walls, and beams of that edifice. Without the deep frames, there is nothing for the surface message frames to hang on.”* (Lakoff 2006, 12). Inspired by Lakoff and the conception of

surface and *deep frame types*, Dorfman, Wallack & Woodruff describes three conceptual levels for framing messaging in social or political issues, which are illustrated below.

Framing	Type	Constituent	Examples
Level 3	Surface frames	Policies, programs, strategies, tactics for achieving change	Environmental heritage protection programs, energy policies, Indigenous People's rights policies, social security, sovereignty and security programs
Level 2	Issue-setting frames	General or particular issues or morality categories	Environment, human rights, social welfare, health care, sovereignty and governance, poverty, mobility, connectivity, standards of living, sustainable economic development
Level 1	Deep frames	Ideologies, core values, principles (not) motivating change	Responsibility, equity, equality, prosperity, justice, fairness

Figure 6. The Three Conceptual Levels of Framing (Dorfman, Wallack & Woodruff 2005, 324-327)

Messaging can be generated from any level. However, Level 1 is connected most deeply with people, and therefore whether an issue wins support or rejection from people depends on the frame's connection with people's Level 1 values. In line with Lakoff's statement above, surface frames will not resonate with receivers without the reinforcement of deep frames. Level 2 frames setup the context and define the general and moral issue. These frames can carry the same values as Level 1 frames, although, their characterizing nature is more focused on conceptualizing the issue rather than highlighting underlying values or principles. Level 3 frames are the policy details, strategies, and/or tactics for achieving social change. Frames trump facts, when frames are set at Level 1, and social agents who make frequent use of Level 1 values and trigger their key audiences will have an advantage (Dorfman, Wallack & Woodruff 2005, 324-327).

Framing appropriately adds to the CDA framework, as it enables the present thesis to investigate how political representatives frame certain aspects of reality over others in order to influence the social practice.

2.2.4 ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

This section contains an outline of EJ and CJ, and, as mentioned previously, it provides a foundation for a pre-analysis, the purpose of which is to draw out the main themes and discourses relevant to a Canadian context from the CJ literature (See Appendix 1).

The origin of the first Environmental Justice movement is often traced back to the 1982 African-American community protests of PCB¹-tainted landfill soil in Warren County, North Carolina, United States, as the first merger of environmental and civil rights movements. However, urban environmental concerns have arguably been a major issue for the poorest in society since the beginning of industrialization in cities, the massive centralization to those cities and the resulting urbanization and in-city-division between social classes (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 360).

Looking at EJ as a field of study within social science, EJ theorists have focused on the ‘justice’-aspect of environmental justice, and while doing so they have traditionally proceeded from justice theory. Justice theory have focused primarily on (un)equal distribution of goods in a society. Continues acknowledgement of the importance of maldistribution processes have expanded the scope of EJ studies beyond distribution to include “(...) *intuitions and theories about recognition, participation, [capabilities,] and the way people function (...) [and] relate as much to groups as to individuals.*” (Schlosberg 2007, 4). In that respect, Schlosberg argues that EJ movements apply conceptions of justice that go beyond the “(...) *almost unanimous consensus of justice theorists that definitions of justice apply to individuals alone,*” but also apply them to groups and communities, such as entire Indigenous communities (Schlosberg 2007, 5).

To complex matters, EJ, which focuses on justice among humans on environmental issues and risks, is not to be confused with ecological justice, which focuses on justice to non-human nature. Schlosberg, however, claims that it is possible to “(...) *draw parallels between the application of notions of justice as distribution, recognition, capability, and participation in both the human and nonhuman realms.*” (Schlosberg 2007, 6). Schlosberg argues the term EJ in theory has been highly influenced by the expansion of the understanding of justice in and via

¹ PCB is the abbreviation of Polychlorinated biphenyls, which are industrial products or chemicals.
<https://oceanservice.noaa.gov/facts/pcbs.html>

movements, hence many theoretical propositions and discussions have been reflections of social movements from around the world, i.e. everything from civil rights, women's and gender rights to environmental rights, etc. Moreover, EJ can be both an organizing frame itself, which offers theoretical concerns, notions, and tools that can cover both EJ and ecological justice, and it can be incorporated as one organizing principle or demand among many with human organizations (Schlosberg 2007, 7-8, 45). Accordingly, we must distinguish between EJ as a social movement, which can be distinct social movements or organizations, such as NGOs, and as an interdisciplinary field of (social) sciences. EJ has grown both horizontally to cover new issues and geographical regions, and vertically as more comprehensive application to inter- and transnational issues, ranging “(...) *from the global toxins trade, to food sovereignty, to of course, climate justice.*” (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 362).

2.2.4.1 CLIMATE JUSTICE

EJ movements have significantly impacted the way that justice for the climate has been perceived and conceptualized, and according to Schlosberg, social movements display that it is possible to employ a multivariate notion of justice in comprehensive political projects. Schlosberg and Collins continue this notion and argue that, from the otherwise normative justice theoretical approaches, grassroots movements have pushed forward new distinct discourse, which outline a subfield of EJ, *Climate Justice* (Schlosberg 2007, 45-46; Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 359-360).

CJ was initially concerned with a “just transition” to a post-carbon economy, providing assistance to vulnerable local communities and eco-systems, and the battles with the fossil fuel industry. Following the UN's 2000 Summit and the adoption of the 8 Millennial Development Goals (in 2015 succeeded by the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)), the 2002 Earth Summit convened with the adoption of “The Bali Principles of Climate Justice,” which echoed the consistent demands of global EJ movements, and made a key link between EJ and CJ. In 2005, Hurricane Katrina solidified the confluence of the EJ framework and climate change with increased attention to preexisting injustices, unequal burdens, and inequality of climate vulnerability and climate relief. EJ scholars began to expand their scope and look at intercommunity issue-connections and to see “(...) *climate change as another environmental condition that demonstrates the broader social injustice of poor and minority communities.*” (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 362). To differentiate CJ from its principal EJ frame, Schlosberg and Collins describe CJ as focusing on “(...) *local impacts and experience, inequitable*

vulnerabilities, the importance of community voice, and demands for community sovereignty and functioning.” (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 359). Post-Katrina, the concerns of the CJ movement extended itself beyond human impacts, and both academic, movement and organization reflections connected the ecological damages of eco-systems to greater vulnerability of both human and non-human milieus. Importantly, the good health of the environment and its eco-systems began to be viewed as conditions for the achievement of social justice (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 362-363).

Diversity of approaches to justice and complexity of climate change responses have produced varied definitions of CJ and CJ movements, but an overarching description of CJ may be: “[*The Climate Justice movement*] it is based on principles of social justice, democratic accountability and participation, and ecological sustainability.” (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 370). There are however, three dominant and diverse conceptualizations of CJ; the academic ideal theories, the fairly elite NGO policy perspectives, and perspectives from grassroots movements. These conceptualizations sometimes overlap, other times disconnect. Nevertheless, their combined efforts led to several networks of organizations and people fighting for climate justice. The Climate Justice Action network was the manifestation of their combined efforts, which put pressure on the 2009 COP15 in Copenhagen (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 365-367). This network facilitated a 50,000 people attendee, alternative conference during COP15, called Klimaforum09. It delivered the Declaration of the Klimaforum, the purpose of which tried to condense the CJ principles from 2002 into a more simplified frame that was consistent with the basic historical CJ arguments:

“[CJ movements] focus on four basic issues: abandoning fossil fuels and leaving them in the ground, financial transfers from [Northern Hemisphere to Southern Hemisphere] for payment of ecological debt based on historical responsibility, food and land sovereignty for vulnerable communities including a transition to renewable and sustainable practices, and a critique of purely market-based policies to address climate change.” (Schlosberg & Collins 2014, 367).

Later declarations of CJ movements include concerns and demands, which sharply criticizes and put blame on the “dominant growth-based model of social and economic organization” for the development of climate change and the resulting unequal and adverse consequences. The

2010 Peoples' Climate Summit in Cochabamba, Bolivia, continued and directed the discourse of blame and anti-capitalism towards multinational energy companies and the governments dependent on them. In condensed form, the focal concerns of the CJ movements became inclusion, autonomy, transparency, compensation and sustainability. Noting differential accentuations between the EJ and CJ, CJ has accentuated its interest in restorative justice more so than EJ – transfer of resources from the actors responsible for climate change to those most vulnerable to it. In addition, CJ has been more assertive in its insistence in the complete abandonment of fossil fuels. Integral to CJ movements is an argument that climate change mitigation and adaption must be both reactive and reconstructive, and food justice and food sovereignty have become central issue of CJ. Food justice and sovereignty was connected to community-based local generation of renewable power, as the impacts of carbon-based energy industry poses a threat to local eco-systems, and thus the local food sovereignty. After Hurricane Sandy hit New York City in 2012, discussion on the subsequent local redevelopments merged with the evolving C40 Cities movements, which, from its start in 2005 as C20, had focused on tackling climate change through urban action to reduce emissions and risks, while increasing standards of living and economic opportunities for urban citizens. Urban planning was reconceptualized with the ideas of sustainable design, climate adaptation and integrated justice. From that point on, the confluence the climate justice framework, specifically that of the sustainable relationship between human and nonhuman systems, and urban and city-living environments were solidified. Thereby, these developments conceptualized a bridge over the gap between the human and nonhuman systems, in that a well-functioning environment was seen as necessary for any form of environmental, climate or social justice (Schlosberg & Collins 368-370).

As Skillington puts it: *“Poor countries and communities that have done least to cause climate change suffer first and worst from its adverse effects’ ... This basic and undeniable fact forms the basis of global climate justice campaigners’ moral critique.”* (Skillington 2017, 73). And thus, accordingly with climate change projections warning significant and increasing net damage costs over time, CJ movements will likely continue to expand their encompassing principles (NASA 2020). Therefore, this overview will in future projects have to be elaborated on in order to comprehensively encompass the principles and developments of EJ, CJ and other (social) justice movements, as this evolving justice scholarship will be *“(...) rearticulated and used to challenge, respond to, and rework the rapidly changing environmental, economic, social, and political contexts of our communities.”* (Agyeman et al. 2016, 330). Importantly,

the described CJ developments has taken place up until only shortly after the beginning of Stephen Harper's second period in office from 2011-2015, which makes it possible to measure all of the abovementioned CJ developments against the political discourse of both Harper's and Trudeau's governments from 2011-2019.

2.3 CONSIDERATIONS FOR FURTHER OR ALTERNATIVE RESEARCH APPROACHES

Social movement theory presents different structural approaches to understanding the collective actions of social movements, their rise and fall and their influence on society. These analytical avenues give more attention to the organizational characteristics and contextual factors, such as political and institutional environments, and their influence the climate change agenda. This thesis has chosen not to go down those alleys, however, such research would effectively add to the understanding of how the political process opportunities for social movements change over time and the readiness of the organizational vehicle for sustained collective action at any given time. Keohane's & Victor's (2011) application of "the regime complex" to explain the decentralized components of social movements around the world was considered, as a potential alternative direction. This approach would take the research in the direction of international relations and help understand how social movements develop complex organizational structures of mobilization in the absence of a centralized, unified, binding environmental policy regime, and ultimately influence the policy agenda. This thesis has made certain delimitations, beyond which further research can illuminate wider understanding of the CJ movements' or other alternative movements' impact on policy agenda-setting.

2.4 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

As states by Taylor (2000):

"Environmental problems" are social problems; they are socially constructed claims defined through collective processes. (...) That is, groups in a society perceive, identify, and define environmental problems by developing shared meanings and interpretations of the issues." (Taylor 2000, 509).

CDA offers a method for multi-dimensional analysis of discourse and social change i.e. micro-, meso-, and macro-level analysis of the effects of discourse production, consumption and interpretation on the wider social practice. Fairclough argues that a method of analysis must fulfill a minimum of 4 conditional requirements for it to be useful. The analysis would need to be *multidimensional* (micro, meso, macro), *multifunctional* (identity, relational, ideational), *historical* (intertextuality, interdiscursivity), and *critical* (“showing connections and causes which are hidden” between discursive, social and cultural changes (such as how CJ movements potentially affect social and discursive practices) (Fairclough 1992, 8-9). Fairclough’s three-dimensional model will be applied both as a method that provides a structure for the analysis and the thesis as a whole, and as theory, cf. CDA analytical tools above. Firstly, a pre-analysis has been conducted on the foundation of the EJ and CJ section, in order to lay out the most central discourses and themes of the CJ literature and relevant to the Canadian Arctic context. The findings from pre-analysis 1 (found in the Appendix 1) show the following four main themes (*See Appendix 1 for Summary: Themes and Discourses and Pre-analysis 1 – Climate Justice*):

- 1) “An Unequal Burden and Injustice”
- 2) “Indigenous Knowledge Systems”
- 3) “Practices and materiality in local everyday life”
- 4) “Climate Change, Risks and Responsibility “

Secondly, the method involves two pre-analyses of the going through discursive practices of the two different governments and selecting relevant empirical data from **speeches, statements and press releases**. The analysis is then divided into four main areas reflecting the four main themes of CJ movement discourse. Going through the different governments’ discourse separately, particular strips of relevant political text from the two governments are then analyzed with the entire palette of analytical tools, CDA, framing, Agenda-setting theory and NSM theory. The micro-level textual analysis will apply the chosen linguistic analytical tools, as mentioned above. The meso-level discursive practice analysis will apply Fairclough’s intertextuality and interdiscursivity concepts, as well as Lakoff’s Framing concepts. At macro-level analysis of the social practice, Fairclough’s conceptions of discourse’s three functions and his Ideology and Hegemony concepts are applied. NSM theory is applied to explore to identity-forming and (counter-)hegemonic function of discourse and its ability to form identities around

ideologies, issues and strategies for solving them, and their potential for mobilizing collective action. Agenda-setting theory is applied to assess what the governments are telling the receivers to think about (first-level agenda setting), what issues are being formed (agenda-building), and how the governments are telling receivers to think about issues (second-level agenda-setting and Framing). This approach thus includes both linguistic analysis and focus of discourse's effect on the social practice, lesser emphasis is put on the textual analysis relative to the discursive practice and social practice analysis. A sub-conclusion is formed at the end of each of the main section to compare the findings for each government, thereby assessing, firstly, what identities are constructed, if they are reinforcing or challenging CJ discourse.

2.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

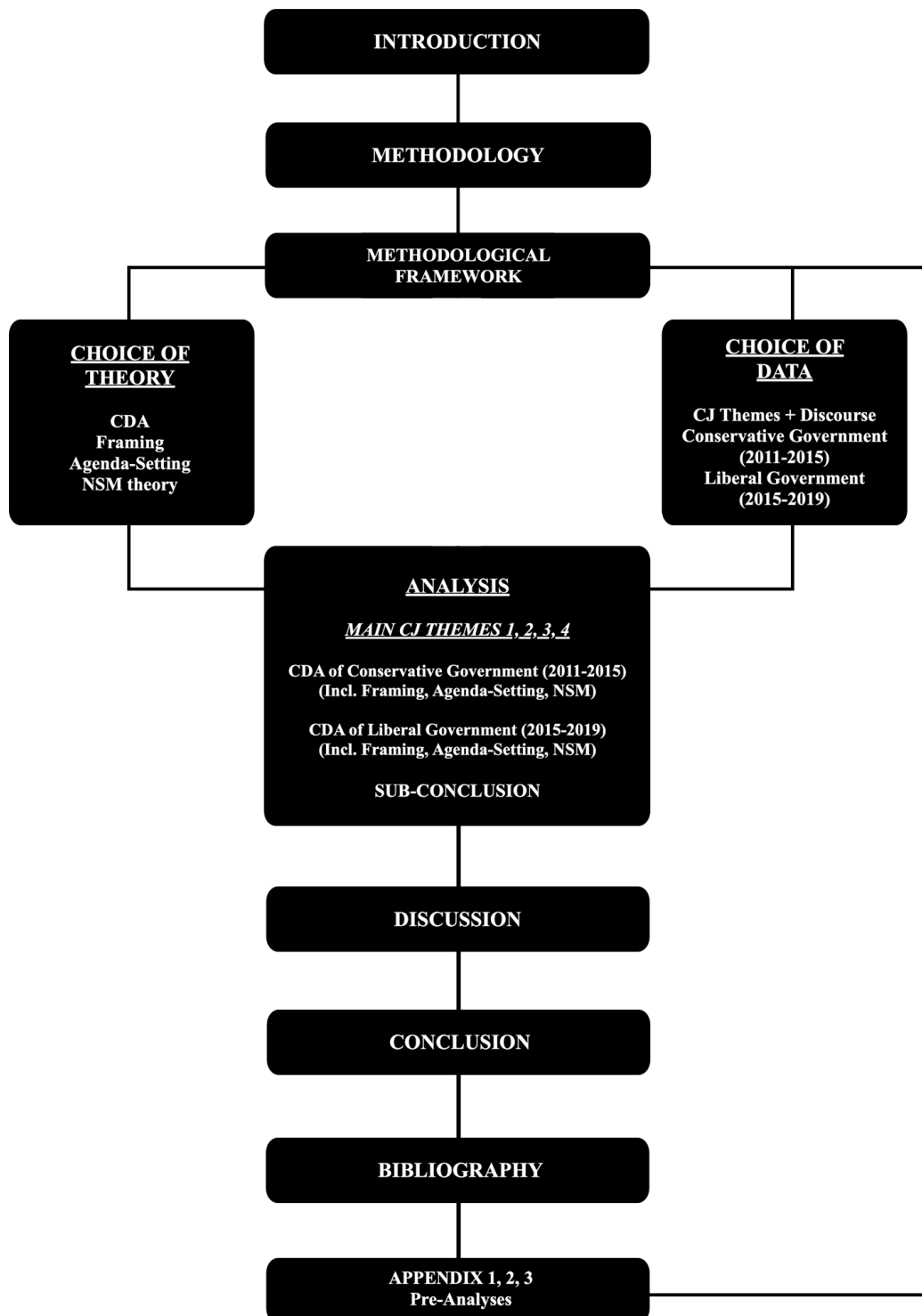


Figure 7: Thesis Research Design

2.6 EMPIRICAL DATA

The selection of empirical data for this thesis has been conducted in accordance with a limited and delimited scope of this thesis. This has involved, firstly, a delimited range of search-words to select the relevant literature for theory and CJ overview, which is elaborated in Appendix 1. Secondly, the author has selected data from central speeches, statements and press releases relating to the two governments' Northern policy from May 2, 2011 to October 19, 2015, under Harper, and October 20, 2015 to October 21, 2019, under Trudeau. (See Appendix 2 & 3).

2.7 RESEARCH STRATEGY: DATA SELECTION AND DOCUMENT ANALYSIS APPROACH

The data collection process can be described an abductive process, going from deduction to inductive several times during the thesis project (Blagden, 2016; 197). Thus, conceptualizing the analytical framework and conducting the analysis, including pre-analysis, findings themes and genres, reassessing the framework, and then continuing the analysis, is evidently an abductive process. This thesis will exclusively be using public records, consisting of official, ongoing records of speeches, statements, press releases (Bowen, 2009, 27-40). No quantitative analysis will be performed, which makes this thesis an exclusively qualitative study. As the documents are “non-reactive” data sources, and can be reviewed multiple times, the author is unable to influence or otherwise change the data during the research process, except by mistyping (Bowen, 2009; 31).

2.8 LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

The scope of this thesis is limited by the stipulations conditioning a single-student thesis writing at Aalborg University. The author has to be critical towards sources, and be aware of philosophical misalignment between selected authors, sources and ourselves. The success of the paper is likewise dependent on the coherent logic and rationale of argumentation alignment with the methodological stance in constructivism and social constructionism. The author has made several delimitations to the scope of this thesis. A few textual analysis tools have been selected, which can be elaborated with the inclusion of more textual tools. The method of empirical data selection has been delimited to cover only a selection of relevant data sets. A more thorough inspection of the entirety of the data produced by the two governments will obviously construct a more comprehensive perspective. Further research could have been done with a media agenda analysis, however, because of time and scope, this thesis has left this out.

THEORY

CHAPTER 3

3. THEORY

3.1 AGENDA-SETTING THEORY

The following theory chapter gives an account Agenda-setting. Thesis sets out to understand, whose agenda is reflected on the Canadian policy-agenda from 2011-2019, and thus explores the agenda-setting function of social movements. Rogers and Dearing identify three types of agenda-setting: public, media and policy agenda-setting. Of those, this thesis will focus on *policy agenda-setting*, “(...) because the distinctive aspect of this scholarly tradition is its concern with policy actions regarding an issue, in part as a response to the media agenda and the public agenda.” (Dearing & Rogers 1996, 6). However, the establishment of an agenda is “(...) [a] collective process in which media, government, and the citizenry reciprocally influence one another in at least some respects.” (Lee & Riffe 2017, 294). As Lee & Riffe puts it: “(...) [t]he media agenda in fact is the result of the influences that certain powerful groups exert as a subtle form of social control,” and therefore the social power of control of social movements are indeed to be found in the media (Lee & Riffe 2017, 293). The following outlines the relevance of agenda-setting theory in grasping the agenda-setting function of social movements and its role in answering the research question of this thesis.

“Agenda-setting” was coined by McCombs and Shaw (1972), as a tool to study the role of mass media in the 1968 US presidential campaign and was documented in the influential article also known as “The Chapel Hill Study”, from which an ever-expanding body of literature has emanated (Dearing & Rogers 1996, 6-7). They proposed that issues given extensive media coverage were inclined to be perceived by the public as more important than media given less coverage (Yang & Saffer 2018, 423). Two decades later, Dearing and Rogers described agenda-setting, as “(...) the study of social change and social stability,” and states that agenda-setting offers an explanation of why certain information is scrutinized over other, why some is made publicly available and some is not, how public opinion is shaped through certain publicly available information and issue agendas, and why only some issues are being addressed through policy (Dearing & Rogers 1996, 2). A fundamental assumption of agenda-setting theory is that any social system must have an agenda in order to prioritize the issues facing the system, and thus lay out a hierarchical sequential structure for action. Hence, “agenda-setting”. An issue topic is thereby in constant competition against other topics for the highest position on the agenda. Agendas are shaped through socio-dynamic interplay, and since agendas historically

change, they both reflect fluidity and provide a snapshot of what is historically important at a certain point in time and place – but important for who? Whose agenda do the public, media and policy agendas reflect? (Dearing & Rogers 1996, 1-4). Policymakers, media personalities, public and private individuals and organizations all fight and advocate for their respective issues. As Dearing and Rogers put it: *“People ‘co-construct’ what they see, read, and hear from the media with information drawn from their own lives (...) to create a meaning for some issue.”* (Dearing & Rogers 1996, 5). Thereby, Agenda-setting closely relates to CDA, cf. social constructionism, and framing, since all thinking and talking involves framing, cf. Lakoff.

Charter explains the connection between framing and agenda-setting/building as: “Frames can have first-level agenda-setting effects (i.e., “telling readers what to think about”), agenda-building effects (i.e., creating issues), or second-level agenda-setting effects (i.e., influencing people how to think about issues).” (Charter 2018, 585). Accomplishment agenda-setting largely depends on the occurrence of issues of interest (Salience) in discourse and the preferred attribution of those issue (Attribution Salience). *Priming* relates to the role of social agents in influencing how candidates for public office are judged as a function of the degree of issue salience, however this will not be focused on in this thesis. (Scheufele 2000, 305).

Yao, Liu & Stephens suggest that individuals tend to rely on memory-based processing of information and thus retrieve the most salient memory to make decisions (Yao, Liu & Stephens 2020, 16). Moreover, organizations can benefit from and/or lose influence by connecting with various types of social actors, e.g. celebrities or other prominent social figures that people can identify themselves with or feel positively associated with on some level (Yang & Saffer 2018, 424).

Measurement of the organizational agenda is usually done by assessing organizational discursive output channels and in this thesis, it is done through a literature review on CJ movements covering the main themes of discourse by CJ movements at large. Media agendas are often indexed through a content analysis focused at the issue salience, i.e. the number of times a certain issue appear in media during a specified period of time. This is not a focus of this thesis but poses an avenue for further research. While measures of media agendas are fairly standard, policy agenda measures often vary. Policy agenda is, however, usually measured by policy actions, introductions or changes of regulations or laws, etc. (Dearing & Rogers 1996, 17-19).

3.2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS THEORY

Central to the views of early scholars is the perceived underlying causal mechanisms that motivate and drive societal unrest, such as inequalities and pressure produced by unemployment, rapid industrialization followed by globalization, and centralization. Classical perspectives perceive involvement in unconventional political participation, such as protests, and social movements at large as displays of deviant human behavior, shared grievances and relative deprivation. Later structuralist approaches continued the view on social impact of established structures but rejected grievances and ideology as explanations for the dynamics of social movements. (Hassan 2009, 2). This thesis will focus on a third view that takes its offset from social constructivism; a late 20th century European approach to explaining the dynamics of social movements “(...) in terms of new constituencies with new needs, values and aspirations arising from developing post-industrial societies, producing what were dubbed *New Social Movements*.” (Hassan 2009, 29).

3.2.1 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT (NSM) THEORY

At the core of the *New Social Movements (NSM)* approach is a social constructivist paradigm, and an emphasis on identity, lifestyle and cultural changes in explaining social movements. NSM scholars argues that two groups of constituencies were formed from the processes of modernization and post-industrialization: a marginalized group, such as women and the elderly, and a post-materialistic group with new needs and aspirations, such as self-actualization, fulfillment of potential and participation as their goal. The social constructivist perspective that grew stronger through the 1980s in Europe and the US concentrated largely on individuals and group perceptions and interpretations of the material and socio-political conditions of society, as the central element in understanding why people protest and rebel. Namely, the aspect of a shared identity between individuals within a social movement became a centerpiece of attention for social-psychological studies, and thereby put the structural approaches under critical scrutiny, as individuals of the same structural position did not necessarily display identical behavior. Accordingly, they stated: “*A shared [structural] position can never provide sufficient explanation of individual behavior.*” (Hassan 2009, 29-30). Especially, European movements have been known for their overarching Marxists ideological characteristics, e.g. Conservative vs Liberal, right vs left, however, these NSMs are more difficult to characterize in such terms. In such, they transcend classical class struggles but do not disregard them. Consequently,

Laraña, Johnston & Gusfield explain that NSMs exhibit a pluralism of ideas and values that are pragmatically oriented towards institutional reforms and influence on decision-making. (Laraña 2009, 6-7).

3.2.1.1 CONSTRUCTING A “WE”

Essentially, individuals participate and not groups, and Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009) argue that sharedness of identity in social movements and collective action depend on individuals' group identification and a shared experience of commitment and solidarity (Hassan 2009, 31-33). Individuals identify themselves to group members through shared sets of beliefs, symbols, values, and meaning-creation, self-images, and *“new, socially constructed [and agreed-upon] attributions about the meaning of everyday life.”* (Laraña 2009, 7). NSMs identity-formation functions are especially evident in ethnic, separatist and nationalistic movements, e.g. the Inuit, which is proposed as a movement on a *“(…) quest for self-determination and autonomy [which is] a product of nationalism and a unique Inuit identity”* (Loukacheva 2007, 29). Thereby, NSMs often becomes personal and intimate aspects of human life, and because of their personal aspects, the organization and identity-formation of NSMs are driven and motivated by the possibility of moving away from what their deem dysfunctional conventional channels for participation in Western democracies and towards alternative forms of participation and decision-making to issues of collective interest. (Laraña, Enrique 2009, 8).

Differentiating itself from classical approaches, which likewise recognize personal emotions and cognition as important to collective action, NSM approaches question the nature of emotions, insofar as why some define their situation as unjust, while others do not, why some feel powerless and others empowered, etc. These approaches view perceptions of the world as unfixed and impermanent, and thus participation depends on both individual interpretation and is more than structural strain, i.e. it also depends *“(…) on the way these variables are constructed and framed and the degree to which they resonate with targets of mobilization.”* (Hassan 2009, 31). This implies that similar interpretations of issues may produce similar behavior. In that sense, NSM relate to framing, as frames as subjective interpretations of the world, which influence the way we act, cf. Lakoff. Social movements are themselves seen by some scholars (Eyerman & Jamison 1991) as having a meaning-constructing function, as their processes of interactional social mobilization towards dissemination of particular (environmental) issue definitions involve consensus building and/or framing. This implies that

social movements fight for hegemony on both the *diagnosis*, i.e. the interpretation, and *prognosis*, i.e. the action-plan of issues. Thereby, the degree of shared identity within a social movement depends on the level of congruency between individual orientation, values and beliefs, on one hand, and group activities, goals and ideologies, on the other. The shared identity aspect of social movement thus largely relates to both the identity and relational function of discourse, as discourse creates social identities and discourse or text enable the construction of social relationship between social agents, cf. Fairclough and CDA.

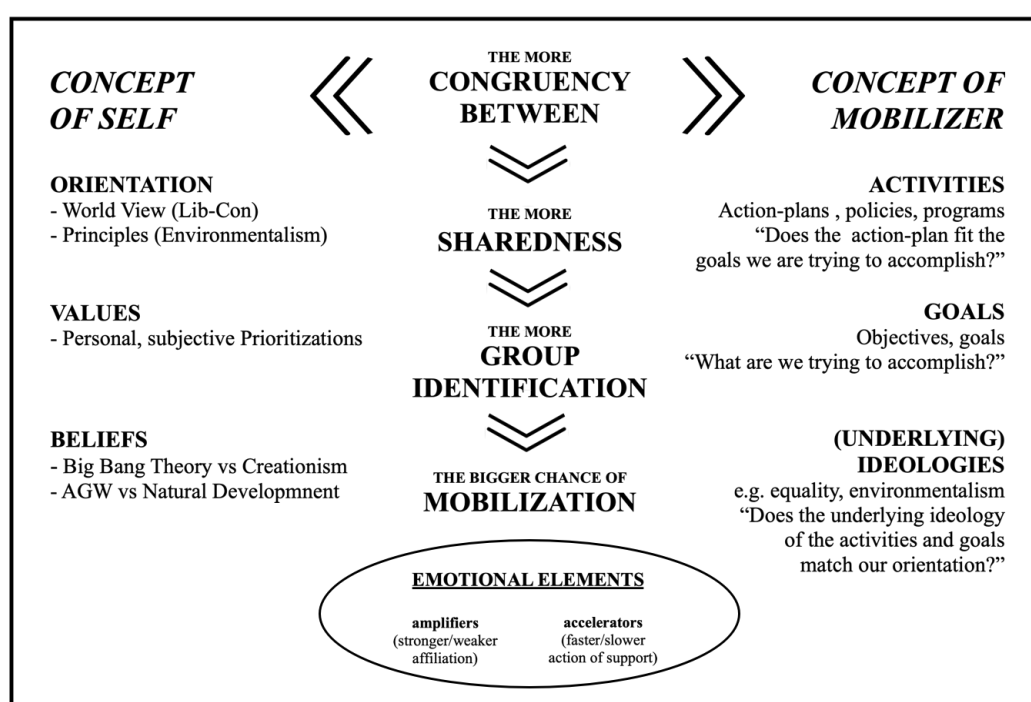


Figure 8: The NSM Identity-Formation and Mobilization Model

(This model is constructed for this thesis and based on Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg's & Bert Klandermans's conception of identity-formation as mobilizer of collective action within New Social Movements (Hassan 2009, 18-43)

Emotions can function as *accelerators*, i.e. affiliation or detachment to social movement can happen faster, and *amplifiers*, i.e. motives for supporting or opposing social movements can become stronger (Hassan 2009, 31-33). Framing also play an important role in the appeal to emotions, as they resonate cognitively with people, cf. Lakoff. In line with the social constructivist paradigm emotions can be manipulated, hence, activists work extensively to invoke moral outrage and anger towards their key advocacy issues. According to Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans, framing theory provides "(...) a way to link ideas and the social construction of ideas with organizational and political process factors," however, they

emphasize the need to include the (sometimes neglected) focus of emotional components of powerful frames on targets of mobilization, and ultimately on social change (Hassan 2009, 33).

3.2.1.2 NSMS - HEGEMONY AND COUNTER-HEGEMONY

Decreus, Lievens & Braeckman argue that for NSMs to be strategically effective, they must develop a counter-hegemonic political project and challenge the existing order. Both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggle is needed for such a pursuit, they argue, as their need to be a strategic position both within and outside of the established parliamentary and electoral system (Decreus, Lievens, & Braeckman 2014, 136-137). Inspired by Chantal Mouffe's concept of hegemony, they argue:

"[T]he concept of hegemony [is] first and foremost an articulatory practice whereby floating signifiers are fixed within a network of signifying chains (...) [Hegemonisation] is an attempt to suture a dislocated space and to create a new space of representation in which a variety of demands can be inscribed" (Decreus, Lievens, & Braeckman 2014, 136-137).

Similar to Fairclough's concept of hegemony, *hegemonisation* by NSMs involves both leadership and domination of the discourse on key issues, cf. CDA. "Dislocated space" concerns areas of social disparity and struggle as a consequence of environmental, cultural, social or economic developments, e.g. the financial crisis or the adverse impacts on society caused by climate change. NSMs' struggle over representation, diagnosis and prognosis, and ultimately hegemony on issues, essentially, involves an attempt to "suture" or repair these perceived dislocations by producing "*a new space of representation*," where their demands are "inscribed" or acknowledged and implemented in policy and in society at large. A key assumption is that power is located in the state or state-like institutions, and for NSMs to succeed on key issues they must build a counter-hegemony against these powerful institutions. The effectiveness of NSMs depends on their willingness to work "*(...) towards and within institutions, via representative agencies such as parties or trade unions*," (Decreus, Lievens, & Braeckman 2014, 140). It is thus partly through assemblies and partly through the actions and the discourse production of these within-institution representatives that NSMs build counter-hegemony.

ANALYSIS

CHAPTER 4

4. ANALYSIS

4.1 AN UNEQUAL BURDEN AND INJUSTICE

4.1.1 CONSERVATIVE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (2011-2015)

To commence the analysis, the following examines a speech by the Honourable Peter MacKay, Minister of National Defence, as he addressed The Arctic Council with a keynote on the Canadian Forces and Canada's Northern Strategy on 17 January 2012:

"As an institution, I believe the Canadian Forces have a long and proud history of supporting government activities in the North. (...) no department can deliver more immediate impact and face the enormous challenges as directly as the Canadian Forces" (Appendix 2, 9.1)

This quote is representative of much of the underlying messages provided in the speech, and MacKay creates a nodal point of "maintenance and exercise of Canada's Arctic sovereignty," around which he neatly constructs a narrative with the Canadian Forces and the Canadian Federal Government as the central and most capable actors to secure this sovereignty. He makes intertextual referencing to other Arctic Nations' strategies and highlights the (alleged) international recognition of militias as central and crucial for Arctic sovereignty (Appendix 2, 9.1). He presumes that "Canadian Forces have a long and proud history of supporting government activities in the North," which indicates his interpretation of the Canadian history. This shows high level of transitivity, since MacKay constructs a high level of association between the subjects and processes, Canadian Forces and its long and proud history, and objects and events, support of government activities in the North. His support of these events connects him as a social agent to the activities described, which forms his identity, as someone who positively acknowledge this "long and proud history" of activities, cf. Fairclough. This position on the Inuit and Indigenous history with the Canadian Forces and Government goes directly against the CJ and IEJ movements fighting for Indigenous rights and have been for decades.

MacKay creates a frame, in which not only the Canadian Forces activities but also the Government's activities are to be "proud" of, and only these actors are to be viewed as capable of "*fac[ing] the enormous challenges*". With his statement, MacKay implies that the Canadian

Forces should continue to be supporting government activities, as they are best suited. Thereby, MacKay indirectly devaluates the local actors, Indigenous actors, by producing a representation of self, and thus simultaneously indirectly a representation of other Arctic actors as less capable. This directly challenges the CJ discourse of the Indigenous fight for recognition of their capability, which reduces the importance of community voices, as “no [other] department can deliver more” than the Canadian Forces. This indirectly shows a lack of respect and a devaluation of the local capabilities, cf. CJ discourse. MacKay make use of interdiscursivity, as he refers to a particular account of history, namely, “a long and proud” history, thus rearticulating and reproducing the discourse of a “long and proud history”. He also reproduces a discourse of “enormous challenges,” which presumably (by the author of this thesis) is a reference to climate change and its impacts, thus acknowledging that climate is real. Climate change acceptance thereby becomes part of his frame, and as he uses “face” to describe the actions against climate change, his statement implies an aspect of “not-distant suffering,” but rather a nearby issue, which is consistent with and reinforces CJ discourse. Thereby, he also makes use of an issue-setting frame, as he refers to the “enormous challenges,” and a surface frame that describes the strategy for dealing with the issue, i.e. support from the Canadian Forces. This specific quote does not indicate any use of deep frames, core values, and will therefore not resonate with receivers on a deeper level, cf. Lakoff. However, MacKay both in a literal sense and in a perceptual framing sense try and make the frame of the Government’s central role real by, firstly, he himself exercising his entitled role out via his text production and the discursive practice of the speech, and thus also, in extension, the government’s discursive practice, thereby contributing to the maintenance of the established political practice and its hegemonic ideology. The effectiveness of this both short- and long-term frame becomes a self-fulfilling phenomenon, as long as the federal government is allowed to continue it hegemonic discursive and social practice in society, cf. Lakoff.

The entire speech is to a large degree characterized by MacKay attempt to establish and construct a perception of “(...) *a family of Arctic nations [where] we all share the same goals and aspirations for the care of the North and its people. And we all recognize the valuable role, albiet a supporting role that our militaries must play in achieving them.*” (Appendix 2, 9.1). Considering that MacKay is speaking in front of the Arctic Council, which is the very forum, within which Arctic governance is effectively discussed, it is understandable that he produces a frame that indicates within-country agreement over how to govern the Canadian Arctic, in order to display collective Canadian cooperation, authority and stability. Talking to an overall

theme of Arctic sovereignty and governance, he effectively frames most of the speech with a clear dependence between continued sovereignty and federal governmental governance. This message is both salient and the attribute salience of this message is also salient in this speech. Thereby, he builds an agenda that tells receivers what to think about (maintenance and exercise of Canada's Arctic sovereignty) and how to think about it (the Canadian Forces must play a supporting role in the government's northern activities, which are viewed as having a positive history), cf. first- and second-level agenda-setting. His discourse indirectly produces subordination of local department that are not the force to the Canadian Forces, which contribute to hegemony, leadership and domination, cf. Fairclough. He plays with the frame of "family" and a "we," in which he projects a presumption onto the receiver, as he states: "we all recognize" the "valuable" role of the military. Thereby, through the "we," his discourse displays a relational function, as we become related around the belief that the forces "must play" a "supporting role". Presumptions indicate interpretations and ideology, which produces identity, as ideology guides actions and actions shape identity, cf. Fairclough. Thereby, MacKay also constructs an identity of his self and of the we, us, the receivers, whose support for his statement depends on our underlying values, orientation, and beliefs, cf. NSM identity-formation and mobilization model, as there must be congruency between our concept of self and the concept of mobilizer. To make the connection between his concept of mobilizer and the concept of self of the targets of mobilization, he uses a clever coherence structure of argumentation, where he through interdiscursivity plays with the concept of "family". People have certain connotations of "family," which here will be assumed (by the author of this thesis) to connote a sense of sharedness and familiarity, and an organization of people, who support each other. Thus, as we are "a family of Arctic Nations," it rationally follows that we care for each other, "the North and its people," which MacKay then connects to "*we all recognize the valuable role, albeit a supporting role that our militaries must play in achieving them,*" thus situating his action-plan, prognosis, for accomplishing his goal (reproduction of social practice and hegemony) within this frame.

Triggering emotions is central to mobilizing collective action, cf. NSM, and in the following MacKay neatly utilizes emotional elements, which can work as accelerators of action of support or opposition and/or amplifiers of stronger or weaker affiliation:

“Now sadly this past summer the emergency portion of our exercise, the exercise itself, was overtaken by a very real emergency event (...) literally just kilometres from where the exercise was happening and tragically 12 people lost their lives in the crash. But the situation would have been much worse had we not been there”
(Appendix 2, 9.1)

This relates to the main theme of recognition and participation, in that MacKay underscores the importance of the presence of the military and the government in the Canadian Arctic. “Past summer” makes the event recent, “literally just kilometres from where the exercise was happening,” which makes it “nearby,” where this referenced “the exercise” is happening (here MacKay is talking about a military exercise conducted as training in the Arctic), and “tragically 12 people lost their lives in the crash”. By the word “tragically”, MacKay describes what may very well be considered a tragic event, the fact that 12 people have died. He could have chosen to leave out “tragically,” but by including it he connects himself to the event and the subjects of the narrative, whereby he as a social actor situates himself within this narrative frame. He shows his sympathy and commiserations for the people having lost their lives, trigger emotional elements in the receiver. Following directly after this emotional trigger, he introduces what could have been the savior of these dead people, namely himself, or the Canadian Forces. Because, who would not want to be saved, and the fact that they were “literally just kilometres” away makes it a perfect case for how effective the forces are, and why they should continue to be there. Because, again, who would not want to be saved? This makes logical sense to have them there, so brushing aside ideology and orientation, and preconceived ideas of the function of the military, which could stand against MacKay’s frame, then from a purely rational position it makes sense to keep the Canadian Forces present in the Arctic, when they are so effective in saving lives. Thereby, these emotional elements may serve to both amplify and accelerate affiliation and support, cf. NSM.

By reproduction, MacKay promotes the hegemonisation of Government influence in the Canadian Arctic, and anyone supporting the military, what it stands for and the rational position of wanting such a capacity close by at all times, may very well support such hegemonisation, as it is aligned with their orientation on state actions on security. He may not be reinforcing CJ movement discourse, but he does effectively produce discourse that constructs an identity of a strong government across all of Canada. From a nationalistic standpoint, such activity can

hardly be viewed as unproductive, and thus MacKay may invoke the values of some of the population with his discourse. Considering his emotional narrative may have profound impact on people, who can identify with the narrative and the sense of security needed in the Arctic for human survival, especially considering changing conditions. His framing is important for connecting his ideas to the political processes of continued government and military control, cf. NSM.

4.1.2 LIBERAL CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (2015-2019)

The following statement is by PM Trudeau on the release of the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which was initiated in 2008 after former PM Harper gave an official apology to the Indigenous Peoples, for the Government's detrimental historic treatment of them. It continued until its final report in December 2015, from where the following statement is from. Trudeau stated:

"The Indian residential school system, one of the darkest chapters in Canadian history, has had a profoundly lasting and damaging impact on Indigenous culture, heritage, and language. As a father and a former teacher, I am overwhelmingly moved by these events. (...) The Government of Canada 'sincerely apologizes and asks forgiveness of the Aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly'." (Appendix 3, 10.1).

By assessing Trudeau's first sentence, he makes two presumptions or choices of interpretation. "The Indian residential school system," the historical social and political artifact that is under scrutiny by the commission's report is viewed negatively as "one of the darkest chapters in Canadian history, which implies an understanding of other chapters of the history, something that may perhaps be expected by the PM. Thereby, he diagnose the issue as something negative, as well as presumes that it has had severe impacts on "Indigenous culture, heritage, and language. Granted, Trudeau's statement comes with some weight given his position, as well as referring indirectly to the report, which provide this interpretation, namely that the "*residential school system*" "*has had a profoundly lasting and damaging impact on Indigenous culture, heritage, and language.*". He reproduces the discourse of the report and reinforces what the CJ and the IEJ movements have been fighting for, recognition, elimination and reconciliation for the discrimination held against them for decades. This is as well an instance of intertextuality,

as “*The Indian residential school system*”, is a socially constructed and agreed upon social system, that imposed rules and social guidelines upon Indians through social artifacts, like its regulation. Thereby, the system is an instance of text that is referred to and used by Trudeau to build and reproduce the discourse of the report, and in doing so the statement is also an instance of interdiscursivity, which rearticulates the order of discourse of the report and anyone who supports its findings, in its course of social hegemonic struggle, i.e. to be accepted, cf. Fairclough. As a social actor, Trudeau closely associates himself to the events and processes (the system and the damaging impacts) of the text, by stating that he is “*overwhelmingly moved by these events,*” and thus also show high level of affinity to the message of the text, which indicates a high level of transitivity, cf. Fairclough. His discourse’s relational functioning becomes evident, as he positively associates himself with this particular interpretation of the historical events, which is associated with the social relation building of and via text, cf. Fairclough.

Trudeau’s interpretation of the system displays his underlying values of carrying or the well-being of others (indigenous peoples) over the continued display of domination towards Indigenous Peoples. His orientation towards equality displays his underlying ideology, which shapes his identity, cf. Fairclough. On the meso-level, this influences Trudeau’s production of text in the discursive practice, which can be viewed as Trudeau’s (political) struggle in the social practice over control of a particular discursive aspect of reality, namely the diagnosis and interpretation of Indigenous history, cf. Fairclough. The same interpretation of history may produce similar behavior, and through his position of seeking reform for Indigenous peoples, Trudeau seek cultural change and social change, which is highly associated with the construction of a “We”, cf. NSM theory. From this view, Trudeau is establishing an identity around the values and orientation of equality, which is perfectly aligned with the goal of reaching reconciliation through recognition, respect and reform. The underlying ideology matches the orientation of the Indigenous people and the CJ movement and so do the activities of fighting for reform, which he describes as the “post-apology progress on reconciliation.” Viewed against the present regulation of the time, Trudeau produces a counter-hegemonic discourse, through which he seeks to “suture the dislocated,” i.e. the inequalities of the establishment, by introducing a “new space of representation” in which the demands of the Indigenous Peoples are “inscribed”. Thereby, theoretically, Trudeau, via his displayed concept of mobilizer, discursively setup near perfect conditions for mobilizing collective action of CJ social movements and people with the same orientation, values and beliefs, i.e. same concept

of self cf. NSM. Trudeau even adds an emotional element by saying “*As a father and a former teacher, I am overwhelmingly moved by these events*”. He thereby includes all fathers, who care about equality, and teachers within his frame. As Trudeau, at the that time, represented his party and the entire government, his discourse reflects his personal position on the matter onto the government as a whole, which is clear by his statement: “*The Government of Canada ‘sincerely apologizes and asks forgiveness of the Aboriginal peoples of this country for failing them so profoundly’*”.

On a surface-level and an issue-setting level his frame provides the receiver with information about the report, the strategies in place to reach reconciliation and reform, which effectively tells the viewer what to think about, cf. first-level agenda-setting and Lakoff. By taking this emotional angle, and by referring to the damaging of culture, Trudeau constructs a deep frame, the purpose of which is to connect with people on core principles and a value-level, which is crucial for winning support from people, cf. Lakoff. Thereby, his discourse influences the reconstruction or of the government’s knowledge and beliefs systems on this specific issue, which displays discourse’s ideational function, cf. Fairclough. Trudeau makes no mistake in telling receivers how to think about the issue, what attributes to associate with the issue, thus through his framing participate in second-level agenda-setting.

Trudeau states:

“Moving forward, one of our goals is to help lift this burden from your shoulders, from those of your families, and from your communities.(...) We have a plan to move towards a nation-to-nation relationship based on recognition, rights, respect, cooperation and partnership, and we are already making it happen.” (Appendix 3, 10.1).

Associated directly to the main CJ theme, here, the first sentence reproduces the same frame and metaphor of a “burden”, as Trudeau states “*our goals is to help lift this burden from your shoulders*”. This similarly adds to the functioning of Trudeau’s overall discourse described in the above. He actually hits the entire palette of injustice issues put forth by the CJ movements, namely distributional, recognition, capability, and participatory injustice. The report is a reflection of decades of discrimination and inequitable distribution through the Canadian system, the voices of the Indigenous peoples is finally reaching a point where they are able to

challenge the “unstable equilibrium” of the established hegemonic structure of the Canadian society, cf. Fairclough. Specifically, through the discourse of the report, and the within-institution representatives of their message, such as Trudeau, who reproduces their discourse, and provide an avenue of expression within the Government, thereby pushing the hegemonisation of a counter-hegemonic discourse, cf. NSM. From a social constructivist perspective the perceptions, emotions and identity-formation that are evident through Trudeau’s discourse and thus him as an individual indicates a person’s with motivation to take part in contentious politics, which is exactly what is happening, cf. NSM theory.

4.1.3 SUB-CONCLUSION

MacKay discursively constructs an identity around the orientation of nationalism, a strong government and military that are present throughout the country, which through militarization and securitization of national borders best protect the sovereignty and interest of Canada. To this point, PM Harper, when asked about his prioritizations of military in the Arctic, reportedly stated to the Global News that: *“I just think we should not be complacent [about] Russia (...) rebuilding former Soviet-era military bases in its north, and has a fleet of nuclear-powered submarines and icebreakers patrolling its waters.”* (Global News 2014). This underscores the conservative identity-formation around the abovementioned values, with aligned activities. This identity-formation praise government intervention and thus, arguably, indirectly devaluates local actors, such as Indigenous peoples and their capabilities to govern their territories, which challenges the CJ discourse. MacKay state that the Canadian Forces have an “albeit supporting role,” which does recognize and acknowledge local stewardship. Which is consistent and reinforcing of CJ discourse. The inconsistency in interpretation of history and at the same time part-recognition of local actors, are challenging CJ discourse, and may arguably have little mobilizing effect on individuals of NSMs. MacKay’s discourse may, however, potentially “interpellate” already-always ideologically conservative or nationalistic inclined individuals, who are likely to support his discourse and the frame of government intervention in the Arctic, cf. Fairclough.

Concerning the main theme of recognition and participation, Trudeau’s text production in the government is aligned to a very large degree with the CJ discourse, as he reproduces what the Indigenous Peoples and the CJ movements have been fighting for

decades. Trudeau speaks directly to the main theme and metaphor of “burden” that has been placed upon Indigenous communities and peoples, which indicate values and orientation of equality, recognition. With a high level of congruency between concept of self and concept of mobilizer, cf. NSM, Trudeau is not only very likely to gain support from CJ movements but also from people connection and resonating with his deep frame of fatherly care for others’ well-being and his revulsion with the discriminating actions mentioned. Trudeau’s discourse quite clearly displays discourse identity, relational, and ideational function, which is connected to winning consent and hegemony, and to how discourse, or text, influence the social practice and create social change, cf. Fairclough. However, as Justice Murray Sinclair, the chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, said during the event: “[*Social*)] *Change, of course, will not be immediate. It will take years, perhaps generations.*” (CBC Dec 16, 2015).

4.2 INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS

4.2.1 CONSERVATIVE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (2011-2015)

Building on the previous section, in which part of the focus was on recognition and participation, this main theme similarly works around the theme of recognition, however, more specifically with regards to Indigenous Knowledge Systems. This CJ theme includes post-colonial legacy, discrimination, policy injustice, Indigenous culture and community identity. The following statement is from 6 months earlier than Trudeau statements above, by the then PM Stephen Harper, as he, in front of the House of Commons, was questioned by from all sides as to why he would not commit to any of the 94 recommendations outlined in the then almost concluded *Truth and Reconciliation report*. Both the Liberal Party and the NDP challenged Harper on the report findings and asked specifically to whether or not the government would fully adopt the United Nations’ Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which was referred to as the “framework for reconciliation” (CBC Jun 2, 2015). To which Harper replied that his government “accepts the UNN declaration as an aspirational document,” and thus directly declined a full adaptation of the declaration. Liberal party-leader, Trudeau, directly asked Harper: “*Will the Prime Minister match the sincere apology, he made seven years ago, with a commitment to real action, nation-to-nation on reconciliation?*” (Appendix 2, 9.2). Harper’s reply to Trudeau question were:

“Once again, Mr. Speaker, it was this government that for the first time in Canadian history recognized the full extent of the damage done by residential schools, not just the destruction of communities and families, and the abuse, but also for the loss of life in many cases. Mr. Speaker, that is why we issued the historic apology, that is why we signed the settlement (Appendix 2, 9.2).

The subject of Harper’s first sentence is “the government,” which, Harper argues, the one that “recognized the full extent of the damage done,” thereby at the same time distancing himself as an individual to this present statement, and, simultaneously, and ambiguously, also connecting himself to the statement, as he refers to an event that has happened previously, namely, where the government recognized the damages. Thereby, he uses intertextuality to refer to a previous discursive and communicative event, which is an instance of text and discourse, cf. Fairclough. The receiver of this statement must know two things to comprehend of the coherence in this statement, firstly, that Harper was PM at the time of the previous event, and the fact that such an event has happened. Harper, on the behalf of the Canadian Government, “(...) *formally apologized in the Canadian House of Commons for his country’s practice of sending Native Canadian children to church-run residential schools.*” (See full video via C-Span Jun 11, 2008). Where Trudeau creates a frame of “lack of “real action”” in critique of Harper’s activities on the matter from 2008 to 2015, Harper challenges Trudeau’s frame with a frame that “*applauds this government (...) for the first time in Canadian history*” to fully recognize “the extent of the damage done”. By referring back to this apologetic event of the government, Harper defends his aboriginal affairs record by reproducing the discourse of the previous apology, without apologizing in the present. Thereby, Harper commits and connects to previous events, but less so to the present. In fact, he does not “*match the sincere apology, he made seven years ago,*” which indicates a lesser level of affinity to the text.

He tries to indicate that his government’s activities are aligned with the demands of the opposition, however, in not answering and not committing to the present request of matching apology, his statement may be viewed as insincere. This insincerity mean that his discourse may fail in its relational function, as its identity function displays and indicates values of insincerity and show of unsympathetic behavior towards requests of apology. Thereby, he may have indirectly created a deep frame in which there is misalignment between his own and receivers’ values and core principles, which is associates with lesser degree of persuasive effect,

cf. Lakoff. Harper tries to establish a frame, in which his government is viewed as benevolent and shows its grandeur via this, granted, “historic apology”. However, former head speechwriter in the PM’s Office from 2006-2009, Paul Bunner has stated that Harper’s apology was a “strategic attempt to kill the story,” and thus influence public perception on the Canadian Government and a “*move (...) to a better relationship between Native s and Non-Natives.*” (APTN 2015). In this light, the adjective “historic,” which presumably (by the author of this thesis) is to underscore the nature and the significance of the apology, with the purpose of winning acknowledgement for the act and thus winning consent and support via the statement, rings empty. A point The Star also emphasized some years before the statement: “*Four years later, Harper’s apology for residential schools rings hollow for many, (...) [due to Harper’s] policy with small, unilateral measure and making [of] grandiose promises that amount to little else besides more procedures.*” (The Star 2012).

Harper’s reframing of the accusatory question from Trudeau may, however, be seen as sincere by his fellow conservatives and supporters, as he refers back to a historic event, in which his government “for the first time in Canadian history” actually “recognized the full extent of the damage done by residential schools, not just the destruction of communities and families”. Regardless of negatively connotations taken from his indirect rejection of answering Trudeau’s question, the apology was in fact a major milestone in the troubled Canadian-Indigenous history. The apology marked “*(...) nearly a decade of discussion and negotiations, (...) [and followed] a landmark near \$2 billion compensation package, called the “Common Experience Package” for residential school survivors,*” (Government of Canada 2013). Harper may interestingly enough simultaneously reinforce and challenge the CJ discourse. By directly arguing for the recognition of the damages done to the Indigenous Peoples, he reinforces the CJ discourse, and by indirectly rejecting to answer directly on Trudeau’s question, and thus does not match his previous apology, he may indirectly be challenging the CJ discourse. Clever move by the PM, if that is his intention, about which we can only wonder and conspiratorially theorize.

More evidently, he reframes the question, and thus tells what people should be concerned about on this matter, cf. first-level agenda-setting. Harper introduces an extra and emotional element to the narrative and frame: “*this government... recognized... not just the destruction of communities and families, and the abuse, but also for the loss of life in many cases,*” which, he argues, is the reason why his government back then “*issued the historic apology*” and ultimately

“signed the settlement” (Appendix 2, 9.2). Several things happen here. This is an instance of agenda-building, as he expands the narrative, whereby he takes control of the narrative, which is a form of domination and hegemonic struggle, cf. Fairclough. If the receivers are knowledgeable of history, they will know that the “destruction of communities and families, and the abuse” itself involves losses of life. The sentence creates a coherence, in which “not just” downplays the significance of *“the destruction of communities and families, and the abuse,”* which allows for a connotatively redundant message of *“but also for the loss of life in many cases”*. In the last part of his sentence, Harper makes a circumlocution or pleonasm, where he uses more words than necessary to convey the meaning of his message, which is associated with an attempt to be evasive and avoid commitment. In combination with the proposed insincere attempt to reframe the debate, his discourse may be unable to effectively influence how people think about the events and processes debated about, cf. agenda-setting. The second-level agenda-setting effect of his political discourse, therefore, depends on receiver’s detachment to his message and framing.

Nevertheless, his attempt to steer the attention of the receivers towards “the loss of life in many cases,” he creates emotional amplifiers, cf. NSM. Namely, because, if people overall support his government, they will potentially feel more attached and stronger affiliation to his message, which promotes sharedness, and the more sharedness the more group identification, which increases the chance of mobilization, cf. The NSM Identity-Formation and Mobilization Model. Conversely to social movements working for reform of the Canadian system on Indigenous Rights, Harper seeks to reproduce hegemony, in order to continue a conservative government. We know this did not happen, so some counter-hegemonic mobilization effectively happened. In the wake of these statements from Harper, Canadians were about to go to the polls. The election, which Trudeau won, suggested turnout increases in ridings (“electoral district”, also known as “constituency”) with large aboriginal populations, which gave *“(…) some indication [that] the Liberals may have benefited most from this increase in indigenous voting.”* (CBC Dec 16, 2015). According to the referenced CBC article, the overall turnout increased from 61.1 to 69.1%, which is the “biggest increase in turnout between elections in over a century”. All in all, the increases in turnout indicate a successful campaign of getting the indigenous vote out to the polls, from which some indications of the turnout data to some degree persuasively points towards a correlation between increased Indigenous turnout and Liberal voting increase. In this present thesis, we can but speculate about the potential correlation between Harper’s and Trudeau’s statements and general political discourse and these turnouts. Since, we know the

outcome of the election, it is fair to say that, at the very least, Trudeau's campaign was the most successful. Thus, Harper's political discourse did not mobilize as much collective action as Trudeau's, meaning that his parties discourse collectively did not influence the social practice as positively and effectively as the discourse of the Liberal Party.

4.2.2 LIBERAL CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (2015-2019)

This following statements by Trudeau relates to the overall CJ theme of "Indigenous Knowledge Systems," and the recognition thereof. In 2018 Catherine McKenna, Trudeau's Minister of Environment and Climate Change, stated the following about an upcoming (complex piece of) legislation (Bill C-69):

"[the law] will make it mandatory to consider Indigenous traditional knowledge alongside science and other evidence" (Appendix 3, 10.2)

McKenna acknowledges Indigenous knowledge on in two ways in the above statement. Firstly, she directly places Traditional Indigenous Knowledge (TIK) alongside natural science. Secondly, as she states, "other evidence" she indirectly compares and equalizes TIK and "evidence," – and as evidence is inherently acknowledge knowledge or factual, then TIK becomes factual and acknowledged. The statement is counterhegemonic as it introduces a completely new and natural scientifically controversial representation of factual knowledge, namely TIK. McKenna indicate through presumption how she interprets TIK, which is aligned with, if not in support of then at least, an acknowledgement of the significance of TIK by the entire Canadian-Indigenous population. This recognition of TIK constructs has a relational function towards the Indigenous community, and thereby also differentiates McKenna's identity in support of TIK. Through her entitled position as minister, her discursive practice and produced text influences the social practice in such that she signifies to the social practice how certain aspects of the world, its processes, entities and relations shall be interpreted, thereby influencing and constructing counter-hegemonic knowledge and beliefs systems, which displays both discourse's relational and ideational function of the social practice, cf. Fairclough. As she effectively tells people both what to think about when dealing with issues requiring the use of science, TIK or other evidence, and simultaneously how to think about it, namely to "consider Indigenous traditional knowledge alongside science and other evidence," she contribute to both first- and second-level agenda-setting. She is effectively announcing a

coming legislative reform, which is at the heart of CJ movements on the topic of TIK, thus reinforcing their discourse. The implications of McKenna's statement has helped social actors when assessing particular projects, and helped move the needle towards the greater reconciliation goal, regardless of the scientific community critiques, as the bill makes TIK consideration mandatory but not a requirement of implementation (Appendix 3, 10.2).

The following is a statement by Trudeau from 2018, which in several ways relates to the overall CJ theme of Indigenous Knowledge Systems:

"We need to get to a place where Indigenous peoples in Canada are in control of their destiny, making their own decisions about their future. (...) "We have a chance to develop new tools to support the rebuilding of Indigenous communities, nations and governments, and advance self-determination, including the inherent right of self-government," (Appendix 3, 10.3)

In the first sentence, Trudeau asserts a relation between himself, and the receiver, as he uses "We," thereby also connecting himself and the "we" to the events and processes of the statement, which are the "We" that *"need to get to a place,"* and the *"Indigenous peoples in Canada"* that *"need"* to get in *"in control of their own destiny"*. This implies a certain interpretation of what the future should look like, which evidently is orientated around equality and *"self-determination,"* so that everyone can be *"making their own decisions about their future"*. Trudeau constructs an identity around this orientation and aligns this concept of self with his concepts of mobilizer, as he directly tells how *"we"* are going to get to this destination of equality and self-determination for all, which reinforces CJ discourse. He provides the prognosis, the action-plan, for the diagnosis, his interpretation of the issue, cf. NSM. Trudeau introduces a new space of representation, in which Indigenous demands for controlling their own fates is inscribed. Thereby, he builds the agenda, in which *"we"* *"have a chance to develop new tools to support the rebuilding of Indigenous communities"*. This appeal to self-determination is a deep frame, as it appeals the fundamental orientation of humans towards freedom, embodied in the UN Human Rights, which include the right to life and liberty, freedom from slavery and torture - all the things the many Indigenous Peoples have been seeking (freedom) and sought to escape (torture) for decades, if not centuries. He outlines clearly what the issue is, how to deal with it and connects it to the underlying values of

presumably all humans, thereby combining all three levels of framing, which is associated with a high level of persuasive power and winning of consent, cf. Lakoff.

Trudeau introduces another frame in the last part of the last sentence: “*including the inherent right of self-government*”. It is the word “inherent” that is crucial, as it references the Canadian contextualization and conceptualization of CJ discourse, which acknowledges that “*Indigenous peoples have their own worldviews, theories, epistemologies, and methodologies,*” (Appendix 1, 8.2.2). Within this TIK and Indigenous worldview is the notion and conception of the “*more-than human world,*” which draw on the Indigenous metaphysical assumptions about human knowledge and existence in the world and beyond. The right the self-determination is central in the Indigenous knowledges systems, as man is connected to the lands of the tribes, which are connected to the meta-physical, and thus inherently grant certain lands to particular tribes to live and thrive in symbiotic and respectful existence with the natural eco-systems and the meta-physical, more-than human world. It is this complex connection Trudeau makes by simply including the adjective “inherent” in his statement. Thereby, his discourse displays its ideational function, cf. Fairclough, as it contributes to expanding the knowledge and belief system of the Canadian society. Trudeau’s statement is evidently reinforcing CJ discourse to a very large degree.

4.2.3 SUB-CONCLUSION

Harper is confronted by the opposition and the Liberal Party. To answer an accusatory question of Trudeau, Harper, in front of the House of Commons, construct a (re)frame, in which he may simultaneously be both winning consent on and promote detachment from his message, as he indirectly and ambiguously rejects to answer Trudeau’s question. This thesis acknowledges both that this may be deemed as insincere by opposing social actors, and yet, by supporting actors, may be deemed as congruent with concepts of self that merely reads and approve his appeal to his previous apology. Whether this is sincere or part of a sophisticated strategy of avoiding commitment, we can on speculate upon.

Both McKenna and Trudeau introduce a new space of representation in which they inscribe the Indigenous and CJ demand of acknowledgement of TIK as evidence. This process of hegemonisation involves a counter-hegemony to suture the dislocation of equality in the Canadian society. Their statements are instances of agenda-building, as they seek to establish a

new agenda, by which TIK can be introduced in order to recognize and enforce the right of Indigenous Peoples and their knowledge systems. They both construct identity-formations that reflect those of CJ NSMs on Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

4.3 PRACTICES AND MATERIALITY IN LOCAL EVERYDAY LIFE

4.3.1 CONSERVATIVE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (2011-2015)

The following remarks are from the Hon. John Duncan, Minister of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, on 25 April 2012:

“Our government’s Northern Strategy recognizes the opportunities that the North presents and positions us to seize them. It is built upon four key pillars that allow us to unlock the North’s potential. They are exercising our sovereignty, promoting economic and social development, protecting our environmental heritage and improving and devolving Northern governance.” (Appendix 2, 9.3)

Duncan’s statement represents the interpretation that there are opportunities in the North, and that it is possible to “seize them” with the right positioning. Duncan connects to the subject (Northern Strategy), which is recognizing these opportunities, as by using “us”, and thereby associates with the process of seizing said opportunities. He reproduces the discourse and viewpoint of the Northern Strategy through interdiscursivity and referencing the strategy he uses intertextuality. Thereby, Harper via Duncan make use of the genre-chain from internal negotiation, to discursive production of an actual strategy to these remarks, the receiver of which will be influenced in either an affiliating or rejecting sense. Just as with other representatives of Harper’s (and Trudeau’s for that matter), their discursive practices represent the “action at a distance” of social agents and contribute to the globalization of ideas and meaning-construction, cf. Fairclough. This is an instance of this exact effect of genre-chains, and it logically follows that these remarks will be picked up and reproduced fairly predictably, e.g. in media or by scholar, which is the case for the reference of this statement, thus underscoring the aforementioned effect of genre-chains.

Duncan make use of a surface frame as he explains that the tactics and “keys” to “unlock” “the North’s potential,” which it is presumed as having, involves “four key pillars”, which are, first, the act of “*exercising our sovereignty,*” *second, “promoting economic and social development,” third, “protecting our environmental heritage,” and fourth, “improving and devolving Northern governance.”* The clear lock and key metaphor emphasizes the exclusiveness of the Northern Policy, as the metaphor implies the pragmatic fact the without a key you cannot open the lock. Thereby the four pillars become both the preconditions for the existence of and the seizing of the potentials and opportunities of the North. This exclusiveness produces a kind of subordination to the Northern Strategy of anybody seeking fortune in the North, and subordination inherently necessitates domination, and thus impose hegemony on anybody seeking fortune in the North. This lock and key metaphor may itself thus be the “key” to “unlock” the hegemony of the Northern Strategy, and through it influence the wider social practice in Canada’s North. On a second level of framing, Duncan constructs a frame, which contains issues of sovereignty, development, heritage and governance, which effectively builds an agenda for how to “unlock” the potential of the North, cf. agenda-setting. We are also informed about these specific aspects, as the right and exclusive way of thinking about the unlocking of the North’s opportunities, i.e. the Northern Strategy, which contribute to second-level agenda-setting, and underscores the establishment of a frame for winning consent, cf. Lakoff and agenda-setting. Duncan constructs an identity-formation around these key issues, and especially the issue of environmental heritage, and the “devolving” of the Northern governance rings true to the discourse of the CJ movement. This also relates to the replacement of unsustainable practices with sustainable ones, which is at the heart of CJ. The word “heritage” connotes a range of things arguably very subjectively. From a CJ perspective, it speaks to the interpretation of the environment, as something that is inherited from generation to generation, and thus presumably may be considered as something to be cherished. At the core of the CJ and IEJ movements dwells an ever-blossoming environmentalist aspiration of respectfully spreading the appreciation of the Earth, as an environment where humans can “live, work, play, and eat”. As the fourth key pillar to unlock the North, “*improving and devolving Northern governance* must be acted out. Concentrating on the “improving”. And “devolving,” Duncan speaks to the wish of CJ in respect for the betterment of human living conditions in the North, and the handing over of the Northern governance to the local peoples and territories. This indicates a reformation over time, which is central to NSM, and through the four pillars, and the Northern Strategy, Duncan constructs a “We” that many can get behind or identify with. Aligned with the values and environmental orientation of CJ, Duncan establish a high level of

congruency between the concept of self the CJ movement and his own concept of mobilizer, which is associated with sharedness or group identification, and ultimately, potentially mobilization, cf. NSM. His statement does, however, not directly reflect any emotional element, which could have amplified and accelerated affiliation and support.

Duncan continues:

“Managed in a sustainable manner, the North’s oil, gas and mineral deposits will create opportunities for indigenous peoples and other northerners to prosper for many generations, leading to healthier, more self-sufficient communities.
“(Appendix 2, 9.3)

This statement is interesting in a number of ways. Firstly, he presumes that resources can be *“Managed in a sustainable manner,”* and when that is done, it *“will create opportunities,”* and that these opportunities enable people to prosper in *“healthier”* and *“more self-sufficient”* ways (presumably, by the author of this thesis, relative to unsustainable management. This make logical and tautological sense, as it will always be true that unsustainable management is unsustainable. In other words, as the Earth hold a finite amount of resources, and continued depletion of these resources is by definition unsustainable, in contrast to renewable sources. However, humans “need to see a near-total shift (...) from fossil fuels—coal, oil and gas—to renewable sources of energy like wind and solar” in order to safeguard the planet, rings the words of the UN Environment Acting Executive Director Joyce Msuya in retrospect (UNEP 2019). This scientific fact underscores the self-contradictory rhetoric of Duncan, as the use of oil, gas, and mineral deposits (managed in the ways humans since 2012, when Duncan’s statement is from) is realistically unsustainable. With growing world population and thus growing demands, which are underscored by the constant global fight for improvements of human living standards, which has historically shown to increase net consumption and impact. Conversely to the first statement, this self-contradictory statement of Duncan goes against CJ both in terms of sustainable production and consumption and food security and sovereignty. Food justice encompasses the challenges faced by disadvantaged and climate change exposed communities and emphasize that unsustainable extraction and consumption of fossil fuels impact local eco-systems to such an extent that the food security and sovereignty of these communities are threatened. This perspective then underscores the self-contradictory aspects of Duncan’s statements as regardless of how you extract *“the North’s oil, gas and mineral*

deposits,” it will always be unsustainable, as established above. Any extraction of fossil fuels pose a risk to the environment, the local eco-systems and thus the food security, which then, arguably, can hardly “create opportunities for indigenous peoples and other northerners to prosper for many generations, leading to healthier, more self-sufficient communities”. This ambiguity of Duncan’s statements effectively challenges CJ.

4.3.2 LIBERAL CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (2015-2019)

The following statement is by PM Trudeau’s Pipeline Announcement on November 29, 2016 in Ottawa, Ontario:

“We believe (...) that responsible resource development can go hand in hand with strong environmental protection. (...) Canadians value clean air and water, beautiful coasts and wilderness, and refuse to accept that they must be compromised in order to create growth. (...) We are here to announce the Government of Canada’s decisions on major energy projects, (...) [and] that Indigenous peoples must be respected and be a part of the process. We also said that we would only approve projects that could be built and run safely. These conditions address potential impacts on Indigenous communities, the protection of local wildlife, and the offset of greenhouse gas emissions during construction.”
(Appendix 3, 10.4)

Firstly, this quote from Trudeau exemplifies the governments fundamental assumptions that responsible resource development can go hand in hand with strong environmental protection. Trudeau makes an assumption about what Canadians value and what they refuse to accept. This assumption is not entirely rejected by CJ, as some resource extraction can and has to happen sustainably. The coherence of Trudeau’s statement enables him to connect two seemingly, and arguably from a historical perceptive, contradicting objects, i.e. “clean”, “beautiful” and “wilderness” vs “responsible” (and thus controlled and the opposite of wilderness), “resource development” (and thus polluting and “ugly”). From this perspective, the receiver has been primed to accept contradictions, which allows for both Government “decisions” on major projects simultaneously with respect for Indigenous Peoples and their participation. Historically, such successful collaboration has been minimal, cf. the 94 recommendations outlined in Truth and Reconciliation report (CBC Jun 2, 2015). Regardless, Trudeau establish relationship between the government and the Indigenous People around these major energy

pipeline projects: *The Kinder Morgan Trans Mountain Expansion Project*, extending from Edmonton, Alberta, to Burnaby, British Columbia, and *The Line 3 Replacement Project*, which replaces over 1,000km of an existing pipeline from Hardisty, Alberta, to Gretna, Manitoba. His interpretation of what can work in concert sustainably is evident from his statements, and he reproduces the hegemonic discourse of the energy industry, thereby reconstructing the established “truth” about sustainable development. From an NSM perspective, Trudeau does not reflect the contemporary and modernistic self-actualization beliefs of the post-industrial, post-materialistic population, that in fact are highly willing and able of compromising on conventional needs in order to attain fulfillment of self-perceived potential and participation. These post-materialistic people will, according to NSM theory, not seek a shared structural and materialistic position, which can be obtain through the pursuit of “these projects [which] will create thousands of good, middle class jobs for Canadians,” but rather seek influence on decision-making and reform in order to avoid what they perceive as the structural strain that materialism and consumerism impose on them, cf. NSM. Thereby, it is questionable how much support Trudeau theoretically will receive for CJ movements on the development of these projects.

From a framing perspective, Trudeau constructs a frame that has at least two levels. According to Lakoff, second-level framing on a moral issue level can invoke first-level values and can thus produce levels of persuasion. The moral aspect comes in the form of respect for the Indigenous peoples and their allegedly encouraged participation, as well as when he states that “*we would only approve projects that could be built and run safely*”. Because, who would manage the construct and running of approved projects in an unsafe manner? This appeals to a responsible rationale in Trudeau and his government, which can be associated with relation to first-level framing on a value-level. Thereby, he constructs an identify of self that is based on responsibility, respect and participation, which speaks directly into several values and key issues of CJ. He recognizes the adverse “impacts on Indigenous communities” by being so exposed, “*the protection of local wildlife, and the offset of greenhouse gas emissions during construction,*” which also reinforces CJ discourse.

Trudeau connects different, and arguably contradicting, issue and projects, in his frame and narrative of how to “create growth” without compromise, and thus builds the agenda, both of what to think about and how to think of these seemingly mismatching activities, cf. second-level agenda-setting. Thereby, Trudeau contributes to Canadians’ belief systems about sustainable development, which is his discourse’s ideational function in play upon the social

practice, cf. Fairclough. Trudeau constructs a “we” around his notion and understanding of sustainable development, and people with similar interpretation may feel a sharedness of identity, a sense of group identification with others of similar beliefs, and ultimately experience mobilization towards support of Trudeau’s statement.

4.3.3 SUB-CONCLUSION

With a clever lock and key metaphor, Duncan produces a perception of how to “unlock” the potential of the North, i.e. with the Northern Strategy of the Canadian Government. Its four pillars become both the preconditions for the existence of and the seizing of the potentials and opportunities of the North. Duncan constructs a “We” and an identity-formation that many can get behind or identify with, as he acknowledges several of the core issues of CJ. However, as he continues, his self-contradictory frame of unsustainable “sustainable” development may create such inconsistency and incongruency between concept of self and mobilizer that the sense of shared identity and group identification evaporates like dew in a (tar) desert.

Similarly, Trudeau accepts contradictory meaning-structures and reproduces the hegemonic discourse of the energy industry. He insists on his own and all Canadians’ uncompromising attitude towards environmentalism and growth. His identity-formation builds the sustainable development agenda, on a second agenda-setting level, as his framing make possible of these seemingly contradictory messages.

4.4 CLIMATE CHANGE, RISKS AND RESPONSIBILITY

4.4.1 CONSERVATIVE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (2011-2015)

The following statement is by Peter Kent, PM Harper’s Environment Minister:

“The Kyoto protocol does not cover the world's largest two emitters, the United States and China, and therefore cannot work,” It's now clear that Kyoto is not the path forward to a global solution to climate change. If anything, it's an impediment. (Appendix 2, 9.4)

Kent begins with a presumption that since the US and China is not covered by the protocol, therefore it cannot work. This implies interdiscursivity, and an underlying claim and discourse

explaining why it does work, if they are not covered. This is not explained. And the fact that they are not covered becomes the very argument for the protocol cannot work. At the most, this implies a gigantic contribution of emissions by the largest to emitters. It is, however, not a factor of causality in itself. On the basis of his first presumption, Kent declares rather definitely that the “Kyoto [protocol] *is not the path forward to a global solution to climate change,*” which logically lead to the conclusion that Kyoto is an impediment or obstacle. The argument’s coherence enables a tautological argument, which makes impossible to argue against – it will always be true that, if the action you are taking (Kyoto) does not lead to the desired outcome (global solution to climate change), then that action itself stands in the way of you reaching the desired outcome. Therefore, the action (Kyoto) may easily and without contestation be dismissed, since it, as established, will self-evidently never produce the desired outcome (global solution to climate change). The argument does, however, require certain interpretations of events in order to function, as described above. Brushing aside the tautological aspect of the statement, the interpretations made by Kent signals his position on the Kyoto Protocol and in extension the international collaboration, which may reflect badly upon the Government of Canada. With second-level agenda-setting and framing, Kent clearly tells receivers how to interpret and think about Kyoto and its impacts. He seeks hegemony through fracturing of alliance for the purpose of perceived personal gain of such actions, which is associated with how discourse impact social action in the social practice. The unarguable dimension of Kent’s declaration, the relational function that depicts a dysfunctional relationship between the demands of the protocol and the supporting actors, show the power of discourse on the social practice, as Canada’s withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol effects millions of Canadians, and billions internationally, as well as the non-human world. The discourse is designed to be incontestable, and, in so being, it becomes a tool of domination, which blows the unstable equilibrium and temporary counter-hegemonic discourse of the Kyoto Protocol, and return the order of discourse and hegemony of unsustainable conduct on climate change. In addition, Kent argues that committing to the protocol would be immorally costly for Canadian citizens:

“To meet the targets under Kyoto for 2012 would be the equivalent of either removing every car, truck, ATV, tractor, ambulance, police car and vehicle of every kind from Canadian roads or closing down the entire farming and agriculture sector and cutting heat to every home, office, hospital, factory and building in Canada” (Appendix 2, 9.4)

Within his frame of contestation to Kyoto, Kent includes a long list of things and activities that are hard to miss in everyday life, such “*vehicle of every kind from Canadian roads*” and the closing of *the entire farming and agriculture sector and cutting heat to every home, office, hospital, factory and building in Canada*. Again, he constructs his argument in a way that makes it hard to contest. He leaves no real room for negotiation maneuver. He effectively creates a frame of immorality, in which any support of Kyoto will be seen as immoral towards to peoples, who will suffer tremendously because of the immorally high cost on society the Kyoto demands and imposes. This immorality as frame is associated with deep framing, at a value-level, and thus holds high level of persuasive potential. Kent is effective in both first and second-level agenda setting, which is associated with higher level of impact on social change, cf. agenda-setting. He constructs a “we” and identity-formation around principles of morality, which is consistent with CJ, however, his statement indicates a belief that the benefits from support and acting upon Kyoto do not outweigh the costs and toll on society, which is inconsistent with CJ. Brushing aside that his activities do not match CJ, also the underlying ideology at work does not match the environmentalist ideology of CJ. Mobilization of CJ NSMs from Kent’s statement is therefore theoretically highly unlikely, cf. The NSM Identity-Formation and. Mobilization Model. Expectedly, Canada faced several bad media in the wake of Kent’s and Canada’s decision to withdrawal from Kyoto. Even China called the decision “preposterous,” Green Peace stated that the country was protecting polluter instead of people, and Canada was also called “reckless” and the decision “irresponsible”. This clearly indicate an international struggle for hegemony over the representation of how to interpret the Kyoto Protocol, a struggle Canada, at least for the time being, seemed to have won, considering its legal rights and its decision to withdraw (The Guardian Dec 13, 2011). Relevant to the theme on Climate change, Risks and Responsibility, the following is a statement by Stephen Harper in 2014, in response to a question about whether Obama’s (2014) decision to crack down on carbon pollution from coal plants was putting pressure on their own governments to increase efforts to fight climate change:

“No matter what they say, no country is going to take actions that are going to deliberately destroy jobs and growth in their country. We are just a little more frank about that, but that is the approach that every country is seeking.” (Appendix 2, 9.5)

Harper rather bluntly explains his interpretations and views on climate change actions, and how he believes other countries will act on the matter. His argument is based on the last part of the first sentence, where he points out that “*no country is going to take actions that are going to deliberately destroy jobs and growth in their country*”. He, similarly, to Kent, constructs an immorality frame, which supports his position. His presumption makes it clear, that he believes that this rationale is present in all countries, which construct relationship between Harper, Canada and “every country”. His matter-of-factly statement can be viewed, as a way of speaking truth to politics, in that speaking more frankly will likely invoke emotions and appeal to the ethos or moral system of receivers. As a matter of fact, in analyzing this particular statement, the author of this thesis feels the appeal to some extent, as the approach of Harper in describing the climate action or inaction, invokes the wonderment of whether he, in his position, knows something excluded from the public, i.e. the author, and thus whether perhaps Harper is actually speaking frankly or just strategically. Harper’s attempt to appeal to some moral system both through bluntness and his immorality frame is nevertheless in misalignment with CJ, which propose unprecedented action and compromise to protect human and eco-systems and climate change as well as seeking to mitigate it. Harper displays overlying capitalistic principles as his guiding ideological basis to guide his action, as he prioritizes growth over environmentalism. The diagnosis of climate change is not as present an issue as the security of growth in Canada. His identity-formation circulates around principles and activities that are not congruent with those of CJ. His statement draws up clear conditions for the impact associated with the choice of taking action, namely that actions “*are going to (...) destroy jobs and growth*”. Thereby, he indirectly frames the choices available as either taking action and cause destruction or not taking action and saving jobs and growth. This creates a sort of deadlock or impasse situation, where the receiver can hardly argue against the statement. With such argumentation, as shown above with Kent, discourse becomes especially relevant in term of social change. If social actors end in stalemate over arguments such as these, it hinders social change, and thus this kind of Catch-22 and no-win situation may produce potential passiveness which is anything but inaction, but rather continued regressive development of eco-systems, cf. CJ. Harper’s rhetoric exerts a certain aspect of domination over the debate, which is associated with the winning hegemony, cf. Fairclough. This emphasize the reciprocal relationship between the three conceptual dimensions of discourse, as the use of certain language via social interaction have a direct impact on people behavior and their ability to take action, e.g. on areas of the Kyoto Protocol and taking climate action.

4.4.2 LIBERAL CANADIAN GOVERNMENT (2015-2019)

Continuing on the main theme of Climate Change, the following is from PM Trudeau's pipeline Announcement on November 29, 2016 in Ottawa, Ontario:

"Climate change is real. It is here. And it cannot be wished or voted away. Canadians know this, and they know we need to transition to a clean energy economy. We owe it to ourselves to make our economy more competitive, and to our kids to leave them a cleaner environment. Canada is a country rich in energy of all kinds. Conventional and renewable. The energy of today and tomorrow."
(Appendix 3, 10.4)

Trudeau makes a line of declarations, starting with: *"Climate change is real. It is here. And it cannot be wished or voted away"*. This builds his identity, and at the same time indirectly build the identity of whose, who should be climate change can *be wished or voted away*. This is an instance of indirect interdiscursivity, as he reproduces what may be deemed the opposing discourse to his own, namely anti-climate change discourse, which some people vote for. Thereby, he also places himself and the issue within a second-level issue-setting frame of responsibility, where to principles of environmentalism is included, cf. Lakoff. He makes clear his position on climate change in support AGW, which is in favor of CJ. He makes a presumption that all *"Canadians know this, and they know we need to transition to a clean energy economy"*. He put the discourse of AGW in the "Canadians'" mouths, and the tells the receiver and Canadians that they already know that they *need to transition to a clean energy economy*. He provides the prognosis (clean energy economy) to the issue of climate change and declares consensus on this view, which reinforces CJ. He brings together "clean," "energy," and "economy," and by doing so, he insinuates that it is an economy that is needed and not just energy, which has to be "clean". To this line of thought, Trudeau states: *"We owe it to ourselves to make our economy more competitive, and to our kids to leave them a cleaner environment."* He again combines "cleaner environment" with the aspect of an "economy" that must be "competitive". These statements indicate an overlying economic principle based on capitalism. This dominant growth-based model of social and economic organization in the neoliberal economies, such as Canada is sharply criticized by CJ movements, for being corporate-led, leading to unsustainable globalization, which is based upon an assumption of unlimited growth-opportunity, which implies unlimited resources for such a pursuit. This is completely

inconsistent with both science, which clearly lays out that the Earth holds a finite amount of resources, as well a finite and maximum capacity for depletion and utilization. This is also the central critique of the neoliberal globalized capitalistic system, cf. CJ. Especially, international financial institutions are together with their supporting governments viewed as responsible for the majority of AGW, cf. CJ. Thereby, Trudeau's statement challenges some of the core principles of CJ movements, which then may decrease the sense of shared identity. There thus seem to be an incongruency between CJ's and Trudeau's concept of self and concept of mobilizer, cf. NSM.

Underscoring Trudeau's capitalistic prioritizations:

"I have said many times that there isn't a country in the world that would find billions of barrels of oil and leave it in the ground while there is a market for it. "(Appendix 3, 10.4)

Since there is a market for it, it (billions of barrels of oil) should not be left in the ground. That is the logic, and it prioritizes capitalistic gains over environmental preservation. Trudeau's argumentation is largely based on a logic "if others wouldn't leave it in ground, then we shouldn't either. The responsibility is projected onto other countries, who are extracting resources for capital gains. Canada stands to gain the cost of "billions of barrels of oil" and thrive because of it. The capitalistic gain is not at any point associated with a consequence of historical responsibility for extracting the oil, which is directly associated with unsustainable development, as established previously. The wealth the Canadian society and corporations participating are what counts, which stand in sharp contrast to CJ.

Finally, Trudeau explains:

"A state of the art pipelines provide the safest route to get our resources to market. This is not an argument. It is a fact. So from this perspective, creating new pipeline capacity is the most responsible decision we could make to ensure public safety and mitigate risk." "(Appendix 3, 10.4)

Trudeau makes use of a clever coherent sentences structure in this statement to argue for "creating new pipeline capacity". As though taking a chapter from the discourse of Peter Kent's

tautologically characterized rhetoric, Trudeau starts by declaring that new, technological advantage “state of the art” pipelines are “the safest”. Despite of the fact that new technology does not necessarily equals safety, e.g. self-driven cars, he declares this to be truth and “not an argument,” but rather a “fact”. Brushing aside that it is not necessarily true, the argumentation may work, as “state of the art” may very well connote “quality”, and thus “if high quality, then safe to use”. By deciding to argue the nature and function of pipelines from this view, Trudeau constructs a conception of pipelines under false pretenses, which is used to establish a second-level morality frame, which includes: “*creating new pipeline capacity is the most responsible decision we could make to ensure public safety and mitigate risk.*” Since this argument is falsely based, the entire argument become self-contradictory, as falseness arguably can be viewed as immoral and irresponsible. Trudeau’s choice of representation of pipelines then becomes crucial in argumentation, and therefore matters in terms of social change, since, if accepted, Trudeau’s message sets in motion material implications for the construction of pipelines, the mobilization of oil across Canada and “to market”, job creation, and of course naturally environmental implications.

4.4.3 SUB-CONCLUSION

Kent produces two very effective frames that are nearly incontestable. One that build around a tautological argument, which directly rejects and withdraws Canada from the Kyoto Protocol, and one that is constructed as a second-level immorality frame, which holds value-level persuasion potential, and effectively tells receivers how to think about the protocol and the implications involved for Canada and other supporting parties. Considering these statements, or text, and discourse’s three conceptual dimensions, cf. Fairclough, we may argue that Kent’s entitled and socially significant position influences his discursive production, in such that his discourse becomes both *constitutive of* the social practice, as he and his discourse determine the meaning of the socially constructed world and its social artifacts (The Kyoto Protocol, the representation of it and its influences), which then, as simultaneously an instance of discursive practice and a social practice, reflects back upon the social practice and the other dimensions, thus meaning that his discourse, at the same time, becomes *constituted by* the social practice. This precisely demonstrates, from the moderate social constructivist methodological perspective (proposed by of Fairclough), how discourse imposes its socially constructive effect on the social practice. Kent’s incontestable declaration on behalf of the Canadian nation weighs heavy on the social practice, it comes with very real ramifications for the environment, not

acting on the protocol. Kent's discourse thus wins counter-hegemony over the Kyoto protocol discourse, and effective immediately becomes a tool of power. Harper displays underlying capitalistic principles guiding his statements and action, since he prioritizes growth over environmentalism. The neoliberal capitalist principles promoting and enabling today's globalization is in neat congruence with the orientation displayed by Harper. Harper's capitalistic identity-formation may be viewed as appealing for anybody in favor of neoliberalism.

Trudeau clearly shows his support of AGW, however, he similarly to Harper and Kent display an orientation in favor of the neoliberal capitalism, in which growth and wealth is highly prioritized over environmental protection. Trudeau makes use of certain presumptions to build an argument for the development of pipelines, which he argues is the most responsible action towards securing public safety and mitigating risks. He constructs a frame of morality and responsibility. It matters, how he interprets the nature and functioning of pipelines, and how he uses this representation of construct his argument, since the acceptance of his discursive representation of the world has material influence on the Canadian society and its human and nonhuman population.

DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 5

5. DISCUSSION

This discussion will follow up on the analysis with an assessment of the findings, thereby answering the research questions:

1. *How has Stephens Harper's Conservative Government from 2011-2015 and Justin Trudeau's Liberal Government from 2015-2019 in their political discourse on the Northern Policy reinforced or challenged climate justice discourse?*
2. *How does the Canadian political discourse via identity-formations and agenda-setting influence social change and mobilisation in Climate Justice movements?*

The analysis identifies several areas of both congruency and incongruence between the Conservative political discourse and CJ

These areas involve MacKay's positively acknowledgement of Canadian Forces' "long and proud history" of activities for the Government of Canada. This position on the Inuit and Indigenous history goes directly against CJ, as well as IEJ movements fighting for Indigenous rights. MacKay also indirectly devaluates the local actors, Indigenous actors, by producing a representation of the Government's activities as the "most capable", and thus simultaneously indirectly a representation of other actors as less capable, which shows a lack of respect and a devaluation of the local capabilities. Whether MacKay's discourse about a strong government is in direct conflict with CJ is up for debate, as a strong government does not necessarily discriminate, however, the picture of the government MacKay paints is of a Government highly involved in the security of sovereignty in the Arctic, which may work against the IEJ and CJ movements views on self-determination. On the other hand, MacKay emphasises the governments' "albeit supporting" role in the Arctic, which is consistent with CJ. Harper indirectly rejects to answer directly on Trudeau's question, about if PM Harper at the time would "match the sincere apology, that he made seven years" prior, and thus arguably did not match his previous apology, which means he may or may not indirectly be challenging the CJ discourse. Duncan makes a self-contradictory statement that goes against CJ both in terms of sustainable production and consumption, as well as food security and sovereignty. This ambiguity of Duncan's statements effectively challenges CJ, which is clear in its position on these matters. Kent's statement indicates a belief that the benefits from support and acting upon Kyoto do not outweigh the costs and toll on society, which is inconsistent with CJ. This

underlying ideology at work does not match the environmentalist ideology of CJ. Finally, Harper makes an appeal to morality through openness, however, the message of his immorality frame is misaligned with CJ. Harper indicate a preference of security of Canadian economic growth over climate change and environmental action and protection.

So, where do the political discourse and CJ overlap, and how does the conservative political discourse via identity-formations influence social change and mobilisation in CJ movements?

Firstly, MacKay clearly acknowledge climate change, and his statement implies an aspect of “not-distant suffering,” but rather a nearby issue, which is consistent with and reinforces CJ discourse. Despite reinforcing CJ, MacKay fails to produce a deep level framing, which is associated with persuasion. Before the House of Commons, Harper argue for the recognition of the damages done to the Indigenous Peoples, whereby he reinforces the CJ discourse. Depending on the perception of Harper, this may positively mobilise CJ movements, however, Harper’s aforementioned insincerity may hinder support for his message, and thus stand in the way of positively influencing CJ movements. Duncan constructs an identity-formation around environmental heritage and the “devolving” of the Northern governance, which reinforces CJ movement. This also relates to the replacement of unsustainable practices with sustainable ones, which is at the heart of CJ which relates to the CJ discourse of “live, work, play, and eat”. Duncan’s discourse is neatly aligned with the values and environmental orientation of CJ, whereby, Duncan establishes a high level of congruency between the concept of self the CJ movement and his own concept of mobilizer, which is associated with sharedness or group identification, and ultimately, potentially mobilization. His statement does, however, not directly reflect any emotional element, which is associated with amplified and accelerated affiliation and support. The conservatives display several instances of potential for mobilization collective action, as they align values and activities congruent with those of CJ. However, it usually follows that a contradicting action comes with the messages reflecting JC, thereby decreasing potential of mobilization.

Turning to the Liberal political discourse, the analysis, likewise, identifies several areas of both incongruence and congruence with CJ

Trudeau's indicates a fundamental assumption that responsible resource development can go hand in hand with strong environmental protection. Trudeau makes an assumption about that people will not compromise, which is not entirely rejected by CJ, as some resource extraction can and has to happen sustainably. Trudeau does, however, not reflect CJ movement of self-actualizing individuals who seek to attain fulfillment of self-perceived potential and participation. His clean energy economy prognosis is in support of CJ, however, he indicates an overlying economic principle based on capitalism. This dominant growth-based model of social and economic organization in the neoliberal economies, such as Canada is sharply criticized by CJ movements, which challenges CJ and decrease the sense of shared identity. There thus seem to be an incongruency between CJ's and Trudeau's concept of self and concept of mobilizer. The wealth the Canadian society and corporations participating are what counts, which stand in sharp contrast to CJ.

And, where do the Liberal political discourse and CJ overlap, and how does the Liberal political discourse via identity-formations influence social change and mobilisation in CJ movements?

Trudeau's reproduces the discourse of the Truth and Reconciliation report and reinforces the the discourse on the fight for recognition, elimination and reconciliation The underlying ideology matches the orientation of the Indigenous people and the CJ movement and so do the activities of fighting for reform. There is high congruency between concept of mobilizer and self between Trudeau and CJ discursively setup near perfect conditions for mobilizing collective action of CJ. By adding emotional element, he improves the changes of amplifying and accelerating affiliation and support, NSM. Trudeau talks directly to the discourse of "a burden" and hits the entire palette of injustice issues put forth by the CJ movements, namely distributional, recognition, capability, and participatory injustice. He pushes for the hegemonisation of a counter-hegemonic discourse in support of CJ. McKenna tells people what TIK is at par with science and other evidence, and effectively announcing a coming legislative reform, which is at the heart of CJ movements on the topic of TIK, thus reinforcing their discourse. McKenna's statement helps move the needle towards the greater reconciliation goal. Trudeau directly tells how "we" are going to get to this destination of equality and self-determination for all, which reinforces CJ discourse. This appeal to self-determination is a deep frame, as it appeals the fundamental orientation of humans towards freedom, embodied in the

UN Human Rights, and is associated with a high level of potential for mobilization. Trudeau uses the word “inherent” which is crucial, as it references the Canadian contextualization and conceptualization of CJ discourse, which acknowledges that “*Indigenous peoples have their own worldviews, theories, epistemologies, and methodologies*”. Trudeau’s statement is reinforcing CJ discourse to a very large degree. Trudeau constructs an identity of self that is based on responsibility, respect and participation, and recognizes the adverse “impacts on Indigenous communities” which is in line with values and key issues of CJ. He clearly supports AGW, in line with CJ.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6. CONCLUSION

As stated, “agenda-setting is a collective process in which media, government, and the citizenry reciprocally influence one another in at least some respects.” This thesis explores the effect of Canadian political discourse on social change and mobilization in CJ movements and focuses on four identified Climate Justice issue-areas: *An Unequal Burden*, *Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Practices and materiality in local everyday life* and *Climate Change, Risks and Responsibility*. Without being exhaustive, the analysis, via selected relevant empirical data, representative of the Canadian governments’ political discourse on the identified themes, acknowledges several areas of incongruence and congruency between the political discourse and CJ discourse. These findings indicate that CJ discourse is more likely to be prevalent within Liberal discourse. However, on issues of high contention, there is little consolidation, and thus little influence from one party onto another. There seem to be lesser degree of CJ influence of policy agenda-setting for the Conservative Government compared to the Liberal Government. However, interestingly, on the matter of *Climate Change, Risks and Responsibility*, a matter, on which one might think that CJ and the Liberal Government would come close, there seem to be much more congruency between the Conservatives and Liberals, than between Liberals and CJ discourse.

The findings of this thesis are representative of a limited scope of discursive practices of the liberal and conservative governments, and therefore can only claim to represent a limited aspect of such political discourse’s effect on the social practice. However, when utilizing similar discourse, as represented in this work, certain identity-formations are likely to happen. Both Harper’s and Trudeau’s identity-formation across their parties’ discursive practices can be claimed to have been effective in mobilizing collective action, by the simple fact that they both have been able to mobilize support for a second term in office. They have different key agendas and differentiates their identity-formations around these issues. Both the conservative and liberal government challenges and reinforce the CJ movements discourse on different issues. From a pragmatic perspective both governments sometimes construct text, the message of which is self-contradictory, and can therefore hardly be claimed to be completely or not at all consistent with CJ discourse. However, concerning the main theme of “An Unequal Burden,” the liberal government reinforces the CJ discourse to a very large degree.

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CHAPTER 7

7. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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