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***A Qualitative Study of the Political
Discourses of Sustainable Development in
Greenland in relation to Nationalism and
Identity***

Written by Vessela Ventsizarova Milenkova

Supervisor: Lill Rastad Bjørst

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Abstract

Climate change has significant impact on human societies. On the one hand, it has a dramatic impact on the earth ecosystems bringing distortion to their balance and endangering the stability of the stocks of world resources. On the other hand, it opens opportunities for steady economic development. In Greenland as the climate changes intensified and the ice shield began to thin and to diminish with rapid tempo, the valuable natural underground resources became more easily accessible and attracted interest not only locally but on a global scale. It is estimated that under the ice of the world's largest island is located the second biggest trove of rare earths. This automatically makes Greenland an exclusively appetite piece of land from an economic point of view and directly threatens China's world domination on the rare earths market. Consequently, there are many foreign companies which would like to engage in mining activities and oil drillings in Greenland.

Furthermore, this interest gives ground for the opening of the debate on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals in the political and social realm in Greenland. Generally speaking, it is formulated around the dilemmas of what the acceptable access that should be given to foreign companies to operate in Greenland is and if opening Greenland for foreign investments will comply with the safety requirements for the nature and the human population. The debate runs in different discourses and the one that are of primarily importance for me are environmental sustainability and social sustainability discourses and their relation to nationalism and identity. The focus of this thesis is to discursively analyze the way environmental and social sustainability discourses are represented in the aforementioned debate and the way they are linked to nationalism and identity.

This thesis unfolds the strategies and methods which are used to construct these discourses. The analysis is to be understood in the framework of the three-dimensional approach to CDA of Norman Fairclough. First, are studied the discursive practices, then follows textual analysis and the last tackled level is the one of social practices. The analysis is conducted on the basis of the theoretical ground of sustainable development (SD), discourse analysis and more specifically CDA, nationalism, social identity theory,

national identity and social ecology. The scientific value which the thesis aims to achieve is to draw attention upon the means of using language employed at discourses, which are in alignment with the cultural and geographical characteristics of the society to influence and often even manipulate the public opinion. In addition, nationalism is explored as an ideology that could be empowered by environmental and social sustainability discourses and in this way to participate in social change, change of social practices and perhaps even in the process national identity building.

What the thesis concludes eventually is, that there is relationship between environmental and social sustainability, on the one part and nationalism and identity on the other part, maintained in the light of discourse as social practice in the form of ideology and hegemony, set out through specific discourse practices and text construction.

1. *Introduction*

This Thesis is built upon the idea to explore the political debate on SD, mining and extraction of natural resources and rare minerals in Greenland. The course that will be taken to study this debate will be focused on environmental and social sustainability and on the discourses they are represented through. Furthermore, I will elaborate on the influence and relationship between the aforementioned diverse discourses and nationalism and identity.

An appropriate way to introduce the structure of the thesis is to start with decomposing the concept of sustainability in order to get better understanding of its role in the modern human society. I will begin with the basic principles of sustainability which are coming from the first and second laws of thermodynamic, which are: that matter never disappears and that matter spreads (Redclift 2005: 2). Namely, this is a very good way to present the interconnectivity between all earth systems and explain the need to work simultaneously for minimizing the pollution in each one of them. This leads us to the next level of sustainability that is SD.

SD is abstract and to a certain degree resilient concept. A lot could be put into the concept of SD depending on the chosen point of view. It came into discussion in the political agenda, first, in the 70s of the last century. However, the most broadly accepted definition was been formulated after the publishing of the report “*Our common future*” by the Brundtland Commission (World Commission on Environment and Development). In the aforementioned report is entraped holistic approach towards development with regards to preserving the environment. It is implied that there should be balance between global economic and social development in order long term sustainability to be achieved (Jagers 2002: 114-116): “*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs*” (WCED 1987: 41). In reality, this is one of many concepts of SD which most importantly has also truly anthropogenic character. I have chosen it for my research as I intent to explore the link

between SD discourses formulated in the political debates in Greenland, nationalism and identity issues in modern Greenland. My aim is to follow the SD discourses in Greenlandic politics in national and international newspapers, official government documents regulating national policy about SD and in political speeches of Greenlandic politicians. Coupled with this, I will try to find out if there is a connection between the sustainable de SD discourses on a political level in Greenland and in the case the findings are positive, I will continue in defining and explaining how they are transformed into identity politics. Together with this I would like, in light of the debate of SD to track its influence on the process of creating modern Greenlandic national identity.

My research will be focused on the last five years since the consequences of the global climate change in the Arctic region are the most striking and significant in this period. The most concerning and current consequence is that valuable and rare resources are becoming available and unsurprisingly this is waking national and international economic appetites and interests. On the other hand, these processes are heating debates about sustainability and how to practice SD successfully and in the same time to achieve economic growth. Finding a solution of this dilemma is extremely important especially for newly emerging autonomous territories as Nanavut in Canada and Greenland. It is stated in numerous definitions of SD that it could be only accomplished if environmental, social and economic development are all present at once – and here comes the big puzzlement: Is this possible?; Could it work?; . Equally, this condition may argue for the connection between social and economic sustainability and allow us to view SD as a lever for identity construction and nation building which, indeed, is of great importance for autonomous territories, which are on their way to independence. Sustainability could be framed in different discourses of SD and there is a need of global change to end up with positive results (Jagers 2002: 117).

SD is equally needed in social development, economic development and technological development. It appears that development could be named sustainable if it raises the economic power of the population while in the same time it is keeping the exploitation of materials low. Ideally, human activity should exude as less as possible toxins, set resources in production cycles and support this with renewable recourses, biological processes and extensive recycling (Redclift 2005: 3). According Herman Daly,

whose field of study is environmental economy, a beneficial way of using resources would be subordinate to the following principles:

1. The rate of use of renewable resources should not exceed the rate of their regeneration;
2. The rate of use of non-renewable resources should not exceed the rate at which sustainable alternatives can be developed;
3. The rate of emission of pollutants should not exceed the capacity of the environment to assimilate them. (Daily, Chapter 8, Volume 1 in Redclift 2005: 3)

By the same token, even though these principles could be employed as guidance to human attitude towards nature, seeing them working in practice is a serious challenge. Particularly, challenging, in terms of policy, is to deal with impending threats and what is even more difficult is to preserve the environment in the long term (Boulding, Chapter 27; Daly, Chapter 31, Volume 2 in Redclift 2005: 4). Last but not the least, erupts the question about the balance that is very important to be kept between the 'stocks' of resources and the 'income' which is obtained from them. Another scientist Worster tries to find the answer of the question what quantity of natural resources needs to be conserved to allow people to receive income from environmental services, while successfully avoiding to destabilize the balance of the stocks (Worster, Chapter 20 , Volume 1 in Redclift 2005: 4). This is to say that, the most sustainable way to use resources is to satisfy the current levels of production and consumption without impeding with the opportunity of the future generations to use recourse of the same source. This led to the conclusion that if there is intention to employ sustainability in to the real world one has to reconcile to decisions that set politically suitable levels of consumption for human societies in the long term (Porrit, Chapter 12; IUCN/UNEP/WWF, Chapter 15, Volume 2 in Redclift 2005: 4).

In addition, it is relevant to mention the connection between globalization and sustainability. Studying phenomenon, which has its place on the international political stage and it is often accepted as a symbol of the need of integrity between the different systems on earth, inevitably link it to globalization. The Rio declaration (Agenda 21) from 1992 has emphasized on the significance of global environmental issues. It has

resulted in creating institutional mechanisms which are meant to take the responsibility of finding more effective way to deal with environmental problems. The next idea promoted on the 1992 world summit have been that both North and South are affected by the environmental changes and that there has been discovered common interest in controlling economic development and adjusting to environment friendly mode. Globalization is as modern term as sustainability itself and it is part of the road modern societies have to walk through and serves as their final destination (Redclift 2005: 12). In like manner, sustainability is an ultimate goal of modern societies and significant part of their everyday agenda. Sustainability is global, collective response to the constantly worsening environmental conditions. We can categorize it as a global necessity (Redclift 2005: 7-8).

In a way, globalization makes us aware for the global significance of local problems. As many others, Arctic nature and societies are affected by climate change and global economic development.

Especially climate change is viewed as active agent in the change of the Arctic nature and livelihood. For example, Arctic economy has significant share of the world natural resources ranging from petroleum and minerals to fish and forests (Winther 2010: 175). In the same vain, the indigenous people, called Inuit, have strong and ancient connection with nature. This makes them highly dependent from the “*well-being*” of nature. Thus, fishing, herding and gathering are still today the predominant sources of food. These traditional activities are also involved in uphold of social relations and cultural values. Therefore, it is central to have good knowledge of the climate changes in the Arctic in order to be able to point out conditions for economic, environmental and cultural sustainability and self-sufficiency in the Arctic, within the framework of the global economy (Winther 2010: 175-176). In addition, the ecological importance of the Arctic is entangled with cultural values and hereditary ecological knowledge which is needed for retrieving the information basis for SD (Winther 2010: 178).

It is not uncommon tendency to put the emerging economic development of the Arctic in the framework of sustainability. On the one hand, this pattern is related to the traditional culture of the indigenous people – Inuit living in the autonomous territories of Greenland and Nunavut. This is well formulated by Sejersen who argues that there is strong and healthy relationship between indigenous people and their connection with the

land and its resources (Sejersen 2004). This is perceived as common and striking trait of the indigenous people around the world. Consequently, it has been laid stress on the integral connection between their societies, economics, identities and their traditional lands and resources. The indigenous understanding of attachment to the landscape is clearly visible and transforms into local appurtenance to place which is controversial to the processes globalization neglecting of locality. Making locality central issue connects place identity and culture. The feeling of natural bound with certain place is also named as one of the major substances of the sustainability discourse (Sejersen 2004: 2 and Harvey 1996: 201).

Given this points, I will add in this last paragraph of the introduction ideas about national identity and nationalism. This is important considered that my thesis is searching for connections between SD discourses and nationalism and national identity. The discussion about national identity is part of the discussions about nationalism and national self-determination and I will give more comprehensive explanations about it in my theory part. Here, I will only elaborate what has awaken my interest in construction of national identity, namely Greenlandic identity. Nationalism is considered as strong power and legacy in the same time. It can trigger positive or negative developments. In my research I will emphasize mainly on the positive one. Though, I would not neglect the negative effects in order to avoid biasing my research. Nationalism has been used as “*benign*” force to motivate and unify considerable masses of people to create states and to develop their national identity within them. It is a way to serve the national interest (Viotti&Kauppi 2009: 404, 405, 426;). Further, national identity is not stable and derives as a product of culture. In the same time culture, is understood differently within diverse layers of society and social groups. It is defined by particular symbols and practices rooted and conveyed by historical narratives. Correspondingly, national identity may be defined as bounding with images of common experiences and history expressed through stories, literature, and popular culture and media (Barker& Galasiński 2001: 124). I will argue that national identity could be presented and manipulated by traditional discourses in particular culture as sustainability discourse in Inuit culture. As it is presented by Anderson it is established “...*through symbols and rituals in relation to territorial and administrative categories*” (Anderson 1983 in Barker 2001: 125). In like manner, an essential change of the world view is require in order a nation to be build. Therefore, an

image of nation is constructed and imparted in discourse mainly in stories of national culture: “*National identity is thus the product of discourse.*”(Wodak e.al 1999: 21-22)

1.1. Research question

In this thesis, I want to conduct a qualitative study of the political discourses about SD in modern Greenland. For this purpose, I have decided on doing a case study on the contemporary Political debate in Greenland about mining and extraction of natural resources and rare minerals. Consequently my intention is to answer the following question:

How is environmental and social sustainability introduced discursively in the debate about the future use of Greenland’s nonrenewable resources-and how does that relate to the process of nationalism and identity formation in modern Greenland?

This is an analysis on the discursive changes in the environmental and social sustainability debate in the years before and after the election of the Greenlandic parliament in March 2013.

2. Methodology

2.1. Credibility of the research of the question

The idea behind this project is to make an attempt to look upon SD as defined by different discourses and to explain how these discourses may be related to nationalism and identity. Most specifically, I would like to pay attention on how in the Greenlandic case different discourses of SD are formulated mainly from the political elite and to what extend and in what way they might influence the construction of national Greenlandic identity. I decided to research this relationship for couple of reasons.

First, even though, Greenland has not so long ago, on the 21th of June 2009, expanded its political independence from Denmark, even more, it has changed its status from home rule to self-government, it is still economically highly dependent on financial support from Denmark. Unless Greenland finds a way to sustain itself without external financial support it would not be able to reach full political independence.

Second, this interdependence between economic and political independence combined with the geographical uniqueness of the Arctic region, the breathtaking nature along with the rare natural resources that Greenland possesses, makes the discussion about the role of SD and the possible benefits from its impact over the society particularly valuable. In the same time, nation building in Greenland is an ongoing process as well as the formation of national identity. Having in mind the flamboyant yet, sometimes dark and destructive force of nationalism it is important to be employed in the right manner.

Consequently, this leads to the objective of this thesis namely, to lay stress on the discourses of SD and the advantages they may have by being incorporated in the modern Greenlandic national identity. We can say that Greenland is on a crossroad in many ways. It has to strengthen its economy and increase its GDP aiming to sustain itself economically. Moreover, it desires and it is closer than ever to its political independence. Though, with full political independence come big responsibilities.

Last but definitely not the least, Greenland civil society is burdened by serious social problems like alcoholism, unemployment, high suicide rate, home violence and health issues. The core here is that these problems could be related to the clash of the traditional Inuit culture and the external western (white man) culture. This could be explained as negative pattern deriving from alienation from their own culture and losing the connection with the nature (Dorias&Saerles Inuit Identities). In other words, defining the extent of influence of SD discourses in the construction of modern Greenlandic national identity and laying stress on their possible positive impact may be taken into account from contemporary members of the government in Greenland and policy makers in general for the importance of keeping course of SD in order to build healthy and sustainable society – aiming living in harmony with the nature and not against it.

2.2. Explanatory design

When starting a research it is important to decide what kind it would be – descriptive or explanatory which depends on the way the research question is formulated. Explanatory design is usually following from “*why*” questions (de Vaus 2001: 2) Even so, my research question is starting with the question word “*how*”, it is easily fitting in the concept for explanatory design since it is developing causal relationship between the both independent and dependent variable (de Vaus 2001: 2). In the research question of this paper the independent variable is SD discourses and the dependable is national identity. This implies that I am trying to measure to what extent are SD discourses involved in the construction of Greenlandic national identity and how they are influencing it. Thus, national identity can be changed by SD discourses or in the same manner as a cause of the discourses the Greenlandic national identity could develop in a certain way. Causes are also divided in two different categories: deterministic and probabilistic causes. When speaking about deterministic cause, we use them to set laws. It is expected that the impact of the independent variable always produces certain results in the dependent variable. In contrast, the probabilistic causes give more space for more varied explanations. There is option that something might happen as well it might not happen at all. In order to limit the broad range of probabilities we can name specific conditions under which the independent variable will produce specific outcome in the dependent variable (de Vaus 2001: 4-5). In my research, I will incline to the probabilistic causality.

The major reason of doing so is that it is very difficult to predict human behavior-either individual or of a community and national identity, as mentioned before and as will be discussed more in debt later, is not a stable construction. It is often argued that it is “*not a universal entity but a culturally specific discursive construction*” (Barker 2001: 29). Furthermore, in the same fashion, there are many definitions of SD and equally many discourses. This makes the option of producing one stable outcome very unlikely and the causality may not be direct and the impacts on national identity may vary.

2.3. *The qualitative research strategy*

Qualitative research is generally connected with inductive approach which means that during a research is conducted, theory is formulated as a result (Bryman 2004: 266). Thus, we can say that inductive approaches give more flexibility to the research. In qualitative researches often preferences are given to the data collected and the way to make use of it by building new concepts (Yin 2011: 94). Looked from epistemological point of view, qualitative research is taking interpretivist position. In particular, this is happening when a researcher is distancing himself from a natural scientific model in favor of showing extended interest in the social world and studying this world through interpretation of it by actors (Bryman 2004: 266). In addition, employing interpretative approach to data “*studies things within their context and considers the subjective meaning that people bring to their situation*” (de Vaus 2001: 10). The ontological position in qualitative research is named constructionist. Accordingly, this is understood as actors being active agents in creation of reality and in constant interaction with each other (Bryman 2004: 266). Worth to mention here are, the five features of qualitative research quantification by Robert K. Yin. He explains that qualitative research is exploring people’s lives within the conditions of the present reality. It is a successful tool of presenting people’s opinion. Similarly, it is giving clear picture about the context of the situation people are living in. Another important advantage of the qualitative strategy is that it is giving deeper knowledge which could be used in translating human social behavior. Lastly, multiple sources are much more valued as single one (Yin 2011:7-8).

Having in mind the aforementioned description of the qualitative research strategy, I will use it in my research to benefit as much as possible from the data collected. In the same vain, I will perform exhaustive analysis on the case I have decided

on, namely the study of sustainability discourses in Greenlandic politics. I will use theory to identify the frames of my research field and it will serve as basis for the coming conclusions from my analysis. I will conceptualize national identity, SD and use theory of nationalism and discourse analysis. I have chosen these theories as they directly pertain to the key terms of my research question. By giving more light upon them it will be easier to follow and explain the causality between them.

Despite that I have chosen inductive approach towards my research, the theory will be used in a deductive manner. This encompasses that the theory will guarantee more stability to the research and more content basis for the analysis of the empirical material on the grounds of relevant concepts. It is argued often that deductive approach can save time which is crucial in my case since I have a limited period of time to finish my thesis. It might as well highlight the importance of the study (Yin 2011: 95).

Correspondingly, Wodak & Meyer argue in favor of the use of theory when using critical discourse analysis (CDA) as method. According to them CDA is represented as soundly rooted in theory (Wodak & Mayer 2009: 23). For example, if we take the concept of SD and its increased popularity in the recent decades on the international political stage, it is closely connected with climate change narratives and emerging of new environmental policies. Thereupon, it is central to register the possible benign outcomes from the implementation of SD policies in national politics. Of course, theory alone cannot be enough for performing analysis. Therefore, it is acknowledged a need for credible empirical materials.

My empirical field will be the case I have chosen to analyze which is the discourses of sustainability into the Greenlandic politics and to be more specific in the political debate of mining, extraction of raw materials and rare natural resources in Greenland viewed through the prism of future political and economic independence of Greenland. Besides, the emergence of new independent political nation is parallel and integrant to the national identity formation process. For my analysis, I will use empirical material in the form of online newspaper articles, speeches of significant Greenlandic political figures-the most prominent of them being the former Prime Minister Kuupik Klejst and the incumbent one Aleqa Hammond; coalition agreement of the three parties members of the Greenlandic parliament - *Siumut*, *Atassut* and *Partii Inuit*; *Oil & Minerals Magazine*; WWF Statement to the Nuuk Ministerial Meeting of Arctic

Council May 12, 2011; Statement by Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) chairman Aqqaluk Lynge; and Report to Inatsisartut, the Greenlandic Parliament concerning mineral resource activities in Greenland.

First of all, I decided to include in my analysis some parts of the coalition agreement because of the parties, which participate in it and of which both prime ministers are members, belong to the political left which I find to be an interesting input to my thesis. If I manage to define sustainable discourses in the agreement, this will strengthen my argument for their existence and stout presence in the Greenlandic politics. Provided that, it is interesting to catch the way SD is discursively represented by the parties representing the political left.

To summarize, I will analyze the aforementioned empirical material by applying as a method CDA and will try to build a concept and emerge a hypothesis of the relation between SD discourses and more concrete the discourse practices of environmental and social sustainability in the political debate of extraction of natural resources and rare minerals and nationalism and identity. Given that, I will attempt to catch different discursive representations and will try to explain how they are perceived by the nation and to what extent they are reflected in the national identity. Altogether, I will draw the final paragraph by summarizing the results of my findings in the conclusion part and hopefully be able to give an answer to my research question.

2.4. Case study

In the event that, I have chosen case study as my research design, I would like to elaborate more on the basic construction of case study and the way it is instrumented. Case study is called a research concentrated primarily on a single case. This could be particularly conducted in a place like community or organization. Often it is very likely this research design to be related to qualitative research strategy, albeit this is not a must. Such a correlation emanates from the thought that it allows researchers to examine predominately one case in details and many of the methods that are used, traditionally are employed in qualitative research (Bryman 2004:49-50).

Further, Bryman mentions different types of cases. Here, I will include only the one named “*unique case*” as this applies best to the one examined in my thesis. It is built

upon clinical studies. That is, choosing a case by believing that it introduces a unique perspective or conditions in which a research problem could be handled. In particular, this corresponds to Greenland, which is part from the Arctic which has very different characteristics from other geographical regions. Greenland namely, has distinctive history and culture.

In addition, the local population is mainly Inuit which equally has specific cultural features. As I have already mentioned, theory is a crucial and important part from my thesis. This goes hand in hand with de Vaus emphasis on the importance of theory and his statement that case studies should be led by theory. Another key point is that case studies represent more content and clear explanations (de Vaus. 2001).

Finally, I would like to put my case in the category introduced by de Vaus named clinical case study as I relate the case selected in my thesis as such a type. It differs from the other case studies in its relation to theory. This type of case is “*case centered*” and the theory in it is used in order the case to be better understood (de Vaus 2001) In contrast, when in an usual case study is employed qualitative strategy, the approach is inclined to be inductive. This is to say, that it is most common to decide if the relation between the case study and the theory is inductive or deductive from the research strategy that is used (Bryman 2004: 50).

2.4.1. Choice of case

I have chosen sustainability discourses in Greenlandic politics traced in the political debate about mining and extraction of raw materials and rare natural resources because it is a topic that has been popular among scholars in the last decades and in the same time it is contemporary issue that can be observed directly or indirectly by the media coverage and in the scarce but recently published literature for development in the Arctic region. My choice can be categorized as “*strategic selection*”. It is avoiding the statistical selection of a case which is not very appropriate for a single case study since especially single case studies have weak ability to generalize findings. For this reason, the strategic selection of a case is working for better literal and theoretical replication (Yin 1989 in de Vaus: 238-239).

Furthermore, through this case I am able to research the connection between SD discourses and nationalism and identity since both are present in the Greenlandic concept. In fact, I am not simply trying to detect and to recognize that discourses of SD are present and active factors in Greenlandic politics. Instead, my puzzlement is to define what kind of SD discourses there are. How are they formulated and what is embedded in them?

2.5. *Discourse analysis*

When we are defining the meaning and purposes of discourse analysis it is a good to start with Michel Foucault thoughts about it. He is explaining discourse as part of combination of linguistic categories referring to an object and framing our comprehending of an object. Hence, discourse is creating versions of the object involved and these versions are responsible to give it a form. Following Bryman, there is no such a thing as single version of discourse analysis and in Potter words it is about laying stress on the method of putting in discourse “*versions of the world of society, events and inner psychological worlds.*” (Potter 1997 in Bryman 2004: 370) Essential to be able to grasp the nature of discourse analysis is to understand its post-modernist nature. It is anti-realist meaning that it doesn’t support the believe that there is fixed external reality and in like manner it is constructionist which implies that actors of society build their own versions of reality through the prism of their personal readings (Bryman 2004:370).

Consequently, discourse analysis argumentation lies upon indebt analysis of discourse within texts- both written and presenting oral communication. In order to conduct good discourse analysis is crucial to move over the traditional text analysis which pays attention on syntactic, semantics or lexical and grammatical levels of the language. This is to say that also “*the social actions accomplished by language users communicating within social and cultural context*” should be taken into consideration (Baker 2001: 62-63). Indeed, this is what I would like to analyze in the speeches selected as part of the empirical material. It is important to elaborate on the context which has major role in discourse analysis. Discourse is exanimated in global and local context and often it is integrative part of it. For example, this could be settings, goals, participants and their communicative a social roles, aiming appropriate social knowledge. By the same token, discourse could be recognized as social practice within socio-cultural context. The

next three fundamentals that I am going to mark here are arguing for my decision to use discourse analysis as my main method (Barker 2001: 63).

First, discourse is “*socially constitutive*”. This conveys the notion that discourse is social practice. It is formed and influenced by social and political realities (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; van Leeuwen and Woak 1999 in Baker 2001: 65).

Second, discourse is “*a system of options*”. The idea is that discourse is “a system of options” from which the actors using the language can choose. In other words, there is strong selective nature of ways to represent reality, which includes choices of what part of this reality to include and how to set it. Thus, representation is socially constructed as well (Hall 1997; Hodge and Kress 1993 in Barker 2001: 65).

Third, “*discourse is ideological*”. What is inferred here is that discourse serves to constitute, reproduce and reinforce ideologies (Baker 2001: 65). We can as well, by having in mind the social construction function of discourse, to extend this to attitudes, opinions and political positions. This could be related to the official position of the Greenlandic government towards the mining and natural resources debate. To the end of this argumentation for the computability of discourse analysis as a method for my research, I would like to add my choice of version of discourse analysis that I will employ in my research.

Particularly, I am having in mind the three-dimensional approach to CDA of Norman Fairclough. This approach is aiming to collide linguistically-orientated discourse analysis and social and political thought corresponding to discourse and language. It is, as well appropriate to be used as a framework which would be adequate to be applied in social scientific research and particularly in the close examination of social change. The three-dimensional approach consists of three levels/dimensions of analysis: linguistic characteristics of text, discursive practice and social practice. The end goal is to try to understand the discursive change in connection to social and cultural change (Fairclough 1992: 62). In order to introduce the approach, I will start by bringing in a brief manner the three dimensions according Fairclough typology. First, when he is speaking about discourse he is meaning all forms of spoken and written language which would mean text as well. I am going to mention more about this reciprocal identification of text as

discourse later on in my theory part when I will be presenting discourse as part of my theoretical framework. However, the main stress on the subject will be laid here. Further, I want to emphasize that when I am using here the term language it equals the term discourse, as it is responding to the meaning that Fairclough implies to as well.

Significant is the two-sided structure of language. It is perceived as individual function, as it is dependent on the individual preferences and hence unpredictable. At the very same time in Saussurean manner, it is described as systematic knowledge and therefore is expected to be studied as system (Saussure 1959 in Fairclough 1992: 63). Sociolinguists, on the other hand, have different view about language and argue that it is socially constructed, not individually constructed. Yet, they support the position that language is best to be studied as a system. Fairclough himself is more inclined to consider language as social practice. Such a stance directs us to the understanding that there is a dialectical bound between discourse and social structure and in the same vain, if we look in a more wide perspective, we can say that there is similar connection between social practice and social structure where the latter is both a requirement and result of the former (Fairclough 1992: 64).

At this place, it is worth to enumerate the three constructive effects of discourse. The first is the formation of social identities, subject positions for '*social subjects*' and images of the self. Next effect is the establishment of social relations between people, and the last one is to create systems of knowledge and belief. Correspondingly, these three effects of discourse are expressing the three functions of language and dimensions of meaning which are integral parts of all discourse: '*identity*', '*relational*' and '*ideational*' functions of language. The '*identity*' one stands for the modes in which social identities are introduced in discourse, the '*relational*' explains the way social relations are agreed and work between discourse participants and the '*ideational*' expresses the methods by which texts display the world and its processes, entities and relationships.

Discursive practice is organized simultaneously in standard and innovative way. In the same contradictive nature it is responsible for both reproducing and transforming society. What is significant here, is the need to look dialectically over the relationship between discourse and social structure. This is central to let us to be able to evade the overemphasizing the social determination of discourse and the formulation of the social in

discourse. The former could present discourse just as simple reflection of deeper reality and the later could end up as taking a utopian position about discourse being the source of social, where we perhaps should consider the later as more serious danger in accordance to the building up principles of discourse.

Social practice has several different bearings like economic, political, ideological and cultural. Peculiarly, discourse can be incepted to all of them without none of them being equal with discourse (Fairclough 1992: 64-66). In this same realm of social practice figure political and ideological practice which are both relevant to my project. I am trying to define social and environmental sustainability discourses in the Greenlandic political debate being understood as a political practice. Therefore, I will give short introductions to them as well. Political practice is related with relations of power between collective entities of classes, communities and groups. Discourse as ideological practice is loaded with the task to build, neutralize, maintain and change utterances of the world from various positions within power relations (Fairclough 1992: 66).

Now as I have already introduced each of the three analytical traditions of the three-dimensional approach to CDA (discursive practice, linguistic characteristics of text, social practice), I can come to the essence of the approach: to link them as they are inseparable parts of discourse analysis. It concerns close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics connoting the macro-sociological tradition of analyzing social practice regarding social structures and the interpretivist or micro-sociological tradition of understanding social practice as something that people intensively produce and increase comprehension based on shared commonsense rituals. Identically, Fairclough affirms that from an interpretivist point of view, it is important to study how members of local communities produce their explicable worlds. Moreover, in doing so, member's practices are formulated in modes of which they very often don't have a clue for the social structures, relation of power and the social practice they are involved in whose interest always go beyond creating meanings. Hence, their procedures and practices could be politically and ideologically influenced. They could, as well, be installed as subjects and members. Fairclough arguments continue in the same direction by claiming that this same member's practices have consequences and results upon social structures, social relations and social struggles around them for which they are often not informed. Lastly, there is an

argument that the procedures which members apply are controversial and heterogeneous and casted in conflicts that have to some extent discursive nature. All in all, this is to say that the analysis of text should be called descriptive part of analysis and the analysis of discourse practices and social practices in which the discourse is integrated should be called '*interpretation*' (Fairclough 1992: 66-72).

My choice upon this version of discourse analysis derives from the notion that it has good structure, develops logically and presents the opportunity of conducting fruitful analysis with the end goal answering the research question proposed by this thesis. More specifically, I will use this structure as a framework of my research. However, I will go more in debt in the discourse sciences and I will apply CDA with discourse analysis. This has the purpose to enhance the quality and scientific value of my analysis. While I can't avoid entirely linguistics and syntactics, I have more interest in the role of language in changing social practices. It is fundamental to point out that there is a serious difference lying between discourse analysis and CDA. It is namely to be found in '*constitutive problem-orientated, interdisciplinary approach*' of CDA. Further it is explained that: "*CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and this require a multi-disciplinary and multi methodological approach.*" (Wodak&Meyer 2009:2) What is more and has as well to be taken into consideration, is that the meaning of the adjective 'critical' should not be taken in strait forward meaning implying negative connotation to the term. In fact, this term is used to indicate a challenge towards a phenomenon or event and the notion of not taking it for granted. CDA understands language as social practice (Fairclough&Woodak, 1997: 258-284). Likewise, it emphasizes on the importance of the context. Based on tis characteristics of CDA Fairclough and Woodak came to the following definition which as well defends very well my choice of CDA as main method for answering my research question:

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is sharpened by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects

of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. (Fairclough&Woodak 1997:258)

This definition gives more light upon the way CDA studies discourse. This indeed is important because it is telling the reader how this method will be applied to answer the research question and will highlight the relationship between SD discourses as a political discourses and nationalism and identity.

2.6. *Limitations*

The most striking limitation is that I have chosen to write for country which national language is different from English. This is perceived as complication especially when a literature review is done and when empirical materials are gathered. However, I have mastered Danish language to some level (which is the second language in Greenland after Greenlandic) and this allows me to use documents and newspaper articles in Danish in my thesis in order to get more insight view into the research field. Furthermore, the case study as research design could be limitation itself. This is defined in terms of reliability, reflexivity and validity. Specifically, Bryman points out that this is very sensitive area for case studies. External validity suffers the most as it is not easy to generalize upon one case (Bryman 2004: 50). Though, in my thesis the research question is exactly targeting the selected case. Internal validity is also contested in case studies or there is doubt that other variables than the key variable can cause some of the changes we have noticed (de Vaus 2001: 233). Alongside with the already mentioned limitations, I will add the central limitation of the discourse analysis which sends controversial message and could be understood in the same time as advantage and limitation – the interpretative nature of the discourse analysis. On the one hand, it accepts the “*subjective meaning of social action*”(Bryman 2004: 13). On the other hand, it can't represent one absolutely correct interpretation of a text (Barker 2001: 64).

Lastly, in this section, I would like to defend the use in my thesis of the preposition “we”. I will include it with the purpose to avoid the overwhelming and

sometimes odd use of the passive form. It will imply the meaning of me and the reader if nothing else is specified.

3. Theory

In this chapter, I will present the theories that are going to be the backbone of my research and which are going to enable the reading, understanding and explaining the conclusions of my analysis. Theory is very important for answering my research question for it is employed as central instrument in my research design. As it is already mentioned in the methodology part, my research is concentrated on the case that I have chosen (i.e. the construction of discourses of sustainability representing social and environmental sustainability in the political debate in Greenland and their relation to nationalism and identity). This means that the theory is used as an instrument for explaining the case (de Vaus 2001). The theoretical framework will be introduced in the following order: Sustainability and SD, Conceptualizing Discourse, Nationalism, Social Identity Theory with a subchapter National Identity and Social Ecology.

3.1 *Sustainability and Sustainable development*

In relation to the question of practicing sustainability, I will pay attention mainly on the question: What is to be sustained? In doing so, I will try to further unscramble the basic ideas behind the term sustainability. A question that sustainability is often posing is how development activities should be adjusted to assist environmental friendly processes as soil fertility, assimilation of wastes and water and even more important conservation of genetic materials in order to preserve the fragile systems of biodiversity. Consequently, we can conclude, that natural resource base have to be protected because of its vital value (Bouding, Chapter 27, Volume 2 in Redclift 2005). In the same time, there are other significant approaches towards sustainability. From the view point of some environmental economists the ‘critical natural capital’ (meaning natural resources) should be granted with higher value than the flows of income subordinate to it (Ekins, Chapter, 58 Volume

3). The strong point that they support here is that ‘human – made capital doesn’t have the capacity to fully and effectively supersede natural capital.

Next question, which is particularly relevant for the case of Greenland is: Subject of what principles is managing the use of resources? This is part of the discussion about property rights of the environment, which is organizing the ownership and governing of the natural resources (Miller, Chapter 72, Volume 4). This leads us to the notion that the environment is seen as strategic resource and this may frame grounds for dealing with it as under ‘non-aligned’ status or extending property rights over the national level to supra-national one. Thus, this could be explained with ‘the global interest’, which follows from the idea that environmental sustainability is a shared problem both for the developed and developing world (Barnet, Chapter 64, Volume 4). In the same time, this decreases the validity of the claims in ‘relists’ political tradition which is that countries have predominantly the say for resources on their own territory (Redclift 2005: 15).

In addition, there is the other side of the coin of answering the question: Who is to be sustained? Some scholars claim that levels of production are the one actually needing to be sustained. They defend their ideas by pointing out that there are expectations for rise in the numbers of the global population and this will be a pressing demand for the environment and that it has, as well, to be included in the definition for SD. Further it is considered that the consumption practices will simultaneously change. If a nation experiences significant economic growth it increases its levels of consumption as well. China and India have been given as an example (Redclift 2005: 7).

The above mentioned different answers of the question: “What is to be sustained?” inform us about the significance of the different discourses of SD, which identify diverse ways to understand sustainability. The varied ways in which sustainability is perceived, result in distinct modes of everyday behavior. When people satisfy their needs, they often do this at the expense of others people needs and respectively pose a threat to the sustainability of the others existence. Indeed, this pattern is often overlooked and not so easily noticeable in the everyday and yet, it is extraordinary important in order people to develop more conscious attitude towards more sustainable behavior (Martinez – Alier, Chapter 40 , Volume 2).

Now that, I have been talking about the different discourses of sustainability and their different influence over people, I would like to continue with the shift in the sustainability debate from human needs to human rights. One of the reasons for this has been the transposition of environmental economics into more popular policies. The stress on both human rights a non-human rights, directed the conversations of sustainability towards more traditional concerns of the social sciences: discussions of power, of distribution and equality (Mason, Chapter 66 and Barnet, chapter 64 in Volume 4). In the same vain, there is an assumption that the borders between the environment, social justice and governance has almost vanished and turned almost invisible in some SD discourses and that it is not uncommon to observe replacement of the discussion of environmental discourses with political rhetoric (Schnaiber, Pellow and Wainberg, Chapter 68, Volume 4). This change followed after the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, which for the first time laid stress on the importance of the discourses surrounding the concept of sustainability. Moreover, recently, an idea has become popular that the power of the concept of sustainability itself is placed in the discourses around it (Redclift 2005: 10). Thus, the discursively studying of social and environmental sustainability may be of a great value for understanding the power of sustainability while studying its influence on other social phenomena like nationalism and identity.

Sustainability has been paired with development for the reason of linking environment and development (Adams in Redclift 2006: 69). Besides, SD has become worldwide accepted term and basic and sufficient element present in the World Conservation Strategy and the Brundtland Report, where it is defined as:

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts:

- the concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and
- the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs." (Brundtland Report 1987)

After citing the Brundtland Report definition of SD it is worthy to take a look at the history of SD with the purpose to understand better the emerging of the concept and

its importance. The history of SD has a strong connection to the idea of preservation of the environment and people's relationship to nature. Together they are showing different patterns of changing scientific understanding, changing knowledge about the world and changing thoughts about society. What is different in the histories of SD is the geographical framing, where, for example, Europe and America have the longest existing tradition of environmentalism. However, a long lasting common feature, which existence dates back to the 1960s and 1970s, is globalism and it has had strong impact for the collision of environmentalist and developmental strategies, which also has had an effect on the building of diverse concepts of SD (Redclift 2006: 70).

After explaining exhaustive first the concept of sustainability and then its connection with development, now I would like to focus likewise on development too. Attention was drawn upon it in the middle of the last century. The American president Harry Truman gave the status of "*underdeveloped areas*" to some parts of the world and proclaimed that it would be desirable the population of the world to move in the same direction – namely towards development. At that time seeing the world as economically intertwined in rivalry has been relatively new. The colonial powers claimed that their primarily mission in other continents had been to maintain cultural progress and to civilize the local population. More or less there has been desire for economic profit, yet achieving more advance level of civilization has been point out as more urgent goal. Later on, it has been accepted that the degree of civilization could be estimated by the level of production. Accordingly, this resulted in expanding the area of development beyond resources to people, even to whole societies (Sachs in Redclift 2006:149). Nevertheless, the idea of development has been quite complicated and a subject of controversy in relation to sustainability. As Sachs states, development might be losing its predetermination as inspiration for combining in positive relation social progress and economic growth (Sachs in Redclift 2006 " 151-153).

Finally, I will conclude the theory on SD with a level of criticism upon it, which will give us more completed picture of the concept of SD. A core criticism towards the concept of SD is its low level of consistency in its interpretation. Furthermore, the concept is loaded with sufficient political power although, the way it is presented in the mainstream of SD thinking has some clear weaknesses. For example, we can observe

incompleteness in the way SD deals with poverty and environmental degradation. There is also a tumble in the understanding of the function of economic growth and about the concepts of sustainability and participation. Correspondingly, this may lead to discontent and controversies in the policy making. This urges us to conclude that if we want the concept of SD to be successfully implemented in modern society, we need more structured approach towards it (Lele in Redclift 2006: 165). It is important to have more unitary perception for SD in order to be able to use it more effectively as a variable in research papers as it is the case with my thesis or at least to be informed for SD unstable semantics and to try to present it theoretically rigor. Now the question is not if development and environmental concerns match together but if SD can be achieved at all. Sure we need first to know what we are going after. Though, the fact that the concept of SD is too broad can be advantageous, as well. It is allowing controversial positions part of the environmental-sustainability debate to be aiming at common ground and in the same time not to contradict to them. In a similar matter it is interesting to look upon the concept of SD as a ground where social and environmental phenomena meet and cooperate.

First, contradictions emerge from the interpretation of SD. One way to understand it is to give meaning to sustainability as ecological sustainability which would categorize SD as process of transition and change in sustainable terms. On the other hand, SD is viewed as “*sustained growth*”, “*sustained change*” or in general “*successful*” development (Lele in Redclift 2006: 166).

In very simple terms SD means “*development that can be continued*”. Development by its own is viewed as GNP growth thus, what is more important is that SD is recognized as “*direct change*”. Still, it often occurs a mistake of mixing objectives and means of the concept. This is leading to the bases of the controversies. If SD is to be understood as “*sustaining the growth in material consumption*” this would not be in line with the other basic idea of SD to set limits of the use of resources. It only could be accepted as compromise that growth per capita consumption could be beneficial for some basic goods in particular regions just for short period of time. In fact, one can avoid strong contradiction by presenting SD as “*a process of socio-economic change*” (Lele in Redclift 2006: 168).

Sustainability, in the same time, is formulated around the managing of renewable resources and it is generally captured as “*the existence of the ecological conditions necessary*

to support human life at a specified level of well-being through future (Lele in Redclift 2006: 168)”. So the focus of sustainability is on the two-way relationship between environment and human action. This is adding the notion for more integrity between environmental and social sustainability and it is to say that there are social conditions that influence the environment and similarly there are environmental conditions that influence the society. Be that as it may, there are cases when sustainability is mainly used in a social context as: *“the ability to maintain desired social values, traditions, institutions, cultures, or other social characteristics”* (Barbier 1987).

Finally to wind it up, ecological sustainability is welcomed to any human activity which is in the core of the developmental process. That is to say that SD is societal change entangled in the same time with the objective of ecological sustainability. Further it is important to keep in mind that the conditions for achieving sustainability will be always changing, yet it will continue to be extremely important. Since ecological sustainability and development are connected in the concept of SD they are dependent to one another. Hence, the objectives for ecological sustainability might get undermined sometimes in order to match with the one of development. However, often, the ecological sustainability objectives and development objectives will totally overlap with each other, which *“could be mutually reinforcing”* (Lele in Redclift 2006: 170).

3.2 Conceptualizing discourse

So far I have been talking about discourse analysis and then specifically about CDA in my methodology part, I would rather elaborate on the concept of discourse. However, at some parts, I will include thoughts about CDA as basically it is the same literature being employed for both of them. Namely, CDA stands for studying of social phenomena in a critical, problem orientated and interdisciplinary way (Wodak and Mayer 2009:2) and defining different discourses. In order to avoid confusion, I will include in this part thoughts of Chouliaraki & Fairclough about the doubt, what CDA is - theory or method. According both authors, CDA is to be accepted as both theory and method. When it acts as a method it is used for analyzing social practices in connection to their discourse moments, being connected with the theoretical and practical concerns and public spheres, which has been suggested.

Further, there are discourses constructed theoretically in social life and the analysis aims to the development of the same theoretical constructions. On the other hand, CDA would be employed as theory in the process of connecting theories and exchanging synthesis of other theories. However, to what it is giving theoretical framework is the mediation between the social and linguistic – the order of discourse or in other words the social construction of semiotic interdiscursivity. In addition, both authors are trying to avoid theoreticism – “*theory for its own sake*” and methodologism – viewing method as theory free way of reaching certain goals, by utilizing simultaneously CDA as theory and method (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 2009: 16). In the first place, one of the central goals of my research is to try to define the discourses of SD being present in Greenlandic political debate. Furthermore, as Jørgensen & Phillips explain it, comprehending the meaning of discourse is deriving from the thought that language is built upon different modes of the way people express themselves while being in different domains of social life. Discourse analysis is respectively the analysis of these modes (Jørgensen & Phillips 1). With this in mind, I find it important to clarify the meaning of discourse in the social sciences. In the same fashion, I would like to elaborate on the distinction that Fairclough is making between ‘*discourse*’ (abstract noun) and ‘*discourses*’ (countable noun) and explain how I have chosen to use both terms in my thesis.

I will begin with imputing what the meaning of discourse is in politics. With this intention, I will start with the definition of politics. There is essentially embedded contradiction in the nature of politics (Chilton 2004: 1). Generally it is defined as struggle for power between the one who want to poses power and the one who want to stand against it. Yet, there is another way of understanding politics namely, as cooperation. The meaning of cooperation here is the practices and institutions that are granted to a society to manage with conflicts of interests over money, influence, liberty and other similar categories (Chilton 2004: 1). When we try to find a crossover point between these two different patterns in politics, we come upon another distinction of micro and macro level. The macro level acts for the space where conflicts of interest, fights for dominance, and endeavors of cooperation between individuals, genders and different social groups find place. At the micro level, on the other hand, we have the practices allowing us to achieve our goals like persuasion, rational argument, irrational strategies, threads, manipulations and etc. (Jones et al. 1994: 5 in Chilton 2004:1). Exactly this micro level is

a sort of linguistic action and this makes it indeed a discourse. In the same light the macro-level institutions can be categorized as specific discourses. This particular conclusion about what is viewed as discourse in politics goes hand in hand with the statement that politics is about rethinking differences through debates and persuasion which implies the core meaning of communication in politics (Hague et al. 1998 in Chilton 2004: 4).

In essence, what has been added to the thesis in this section about discourse is unscrambling what could be considered as sustainability discourse in Greenlandic politics and how it is communicating its messages to the public and influencing it. Assuming this, I feel there is a need to explain how communication between texts takes place and the link to ideology. Exactly this communication is called mediation and in line with Silverstone it is:

Mediation involves the movement of meaning from one text to another, from one discourse to another, from one event to another. It involves the constant transformation of meanings, both large scale and small, significant and insignificant, as media texts and texts about media circulate in writing, in speech and audiovisual forms, and as we individually and collectively, directly and indirectly, contribute to their production...Mediated meanings circulate in primarily and secondary texts, through endless intertextualities, in parody and pastiche in constant replay, and in the interminable discourses, both on screen and off screen, in which we as producers and consumers act and interact, urgently seeking to make sense of the world...(Silverstone 1999: 13)

This quotation makes us think in couple of different directions. To begin with it lays stress on the flexibility of texts for transformation by moving meanings from text to text. Changing of meaning is characterized by the quantity of continuity and change which is attached to the events and texts that hosted the mediated meaning. Next thing that comes out of the definition above is that these already mediate meanings become part of the '*meaning-making*' process and a kind of funds for '*meaning-making*'. Further these funds of '*meaning-making*' are in the same time specific and general, abstract and concrete. As an illustration we might have concrete event represented in abstract way. Lastly, in the definition is understood that there are media texts and the other texts and that they are connected with each other (Fairclough 2010: 72-73).

In addition Fairclough is explaining what makes media text different from the other sorts of texts. I will use this explanation because my empirical material consists

predominantly from media texts. They are described as texts created primarily for transferring funds of ‘*meaning-making*’ from one text to another and more general between different social practices, fields, domains and scales of social life (Fairclough 2010: 73).

When we are talking about discourse, we simultaneously refer to language . We are by nature predetermined to live in ‘*polis*’. In other words, we are social animals and we need interaction with one another and not by accident we have the gift to use speech. In line with Aristotel’s thoughts, speech serves us as a tool to distinguish what is good and what is deleterious for us and what is just and unjust (Chiton 2004: 3-4). Further, political actors acknowledge the significance of language for its influence and for its disseminated application in politics. Politics itself it is very much explained as the ‘*use of language*’. Though, not always when we use language we associate it with politics (Chiton 2004: 15).

Consequently, it is essential to emphasize on the connection between political action and language action. Due to our ability to use language, we are able to give commands, threads, to ask questions and to negotiate. Language is beneficial for measuring the conditions of the community. It is argued, as well, “*that language always reflects the conditions of the community at large*”. Under conditions here it is implied the institutions created by people for themselves. In these institutions certain agreements are reached and traditions recognized and all this is expressed in language by symbols. (Mey 2001: 115-116 in Chiton 2004: 30). Adjacent to this, follows the assumption that language builds institutions which inclines to thoughts about the power of language achieved through interaction (Chiton 2004: 31). As shown above, discourses are creating our reality by being a product of consistence chains of prepositions. This is the way how ‘*discourse world*’ or ‘*discourse ontology*’ is created (Chiton 2004 : 54).

Finally, in this part I will include Fairclough conception of discourse. The term discourse could have many abstract meanings and applications. So far I have discussed discourse in political context. Now I will go in to the more general description of discourse. The main reason to use Fairclough theory of discourse is that he together with Foucault has impinged considerable part of discourse analysis in social sciences. Their strategy is to distance a little bit from the linguistic features of a text. For example, Fairclough tries to keep separated the two following parts: working on a text by counting

on social theory which is concentrated on the text and working with the language of the text. As he emphasizes it is not a matter of choice in which part to engage when we are performing discourse analysis. We need both of them to be able to see the full picture and to analyze in depth.

Thus, text analysis is fundamental part of discourse analysis and discourse analysis itself is different from only pure linguistic analysis. It is maneuvering between the content of the text and the '*order of discourse*'. The latter stands for to some extent abiding social structuring in language which is part of the comparatively stable building of networking and social practices. CDA for that matter is, a discourse analysis conducted on a deeper level. Predominantly, it pays attention to continuity and change at a more abstract and structural level. Discourse marks particular idea of language in usage. It is an element of social life in full bond with other elements (Fairclough 2003: 3-4). Further, Fairclough treats discourse as an element of social practices.

There are three main ways in which discourse may be represented in social practices: genres (ways of acting), discourses (ways of representing) and styles (ways of being). Namely, discourse as representation stands for projecting the material world and representation has a discursive function. In addition, I will insert Fairclough's distinction between '*discourse*' (abstract noun) and '*discourses*' (count noun) as intended earlier. '*Discourse*' is carried out as language or other semiotic modes whereas '*discourses*' stands for '*ways of representing*' (Fairclough 2010: 69 ; 75). With this in mind, I have used the former in some parts of the methodology part, but mainly in the theory part to clarify the relation between discursivity, texts and language and to present how discourse is understood in linguistics. The latter I use more often and will continue to use until the end of the thesis meaning different representations of social actions and social reality and applying '*discourses*' (count noun) as term in the social sciences. We should also recognize that there are different discourses that could describe the same area of the world from different angle (Fairclough 2003: 30).

3.3 *Nationalism*

In this section I will present a review of the theories of Nationalism. Nationalism will be used in this thesis as the frame within to clarify national identity which will be part of the next section of my theory. As will be explained further in this chapter there is significant difference between the terms nationalism, nation, nation building and of course national identity. In relation to the relevance of this theory to my research paper first thing to remember is that nationalism is ideology (Jaffrelot 2005: 11). Jaffrelot begins his review of the theories of nationalism by pinpointing that it is extremely difficult to present a compact and clear theory of nationalism. In line with this follow Calhoun's thoughts which express that nationalism is too variable and this is further making it complicated to come up with a single definition. Much of the ideological content of nationalism is produced by historically distinct cultural traditions, the creative actions of leaders and the unforeseen events within the international world order (Calhoun 1997). In hand with this goes the statement related to the nature of social sciences which is to apply and create concepts workable in different contexts and situations (Jaffrelot 2005: 11).

Another key point in studying nationalism is to distinguish between nation and nationalism. Nations represent the people born in one territory (Jaffrelot 2005: 2). It has also an institutional level that is the state and thus the product is the nation-state. On the other hand, we have nationalism which as recently mentioned is an ideology. This is to say, that nationalism is involved mainly into the control of the nation and it singles out the difference of one's own identity in comparison to '*Others*'. Thereupon arises the notion, that its fundamentals are connected with identity politics. Consequently, it could be concluded that theories of nationalism and theories of ethnicity are interconnected (Jaffrelot 2005:11).

Since Greenland is my choice of case and it is still in a nation building stage, I will include ideas of the nation building school. Central consideration in the nation building school has the process of modernization which has first began in the sixteenth century framed in a socio-economic outlook. Stain Rokkan used a '*comparative macro-history of the territories of western Europe*'. It is built upon analysis of economic, territorial and cultural

differences traced back to the mediaeval times. This method of studying nation building is dependent on the collection of large amount of statistical data. Another scholar Charles Tilly looked upon nation building from a macro historical perspective. His claim was that wars are the engine of the process of nation building for wars force the emergence of fiscal administration or setting the bases of territorial administration. Some decades latter Michael Hechter decided to derive the theory of nationalism launched upon the phases of state formation. Hence, he supported the idea that nationalism is the outcome of political activities that are directed towards drawing the borders of the nation, which is to resemble a culturally defined community reaching out for self-governance equal with the one of the state. For this reason nationalism is categorized as a '*side-effect*' of the modern state (Jaffrelot 2005: 12).

Correspondingly, Karl Deutsch strives to build a full developed model of nationalism founded on the grounds of the '*cybernetic approach*' to society. He tended to explain nationalism with modernization as it has been done before. Yet he chose another period of modernization, namely, the era of the technological revolutions of the industrial era. Based on his '*functional definition of functionality*' nationalism reflects the effective communication of diverse variety of subjects predominantly, with members of one group then with others not being part of the same group. In addition, he argues that this could be measured by speed of urbanization, the proportion of the active population in the secondary and tertiary sectors, the number of newspaper readers, students, migrants and etc. Therefore it could be summarized that he is emphasizing on the otherness between the traditional and industrial societies or in other words the change from the one to the other by intensive '*mobilization of society*'.

By the same token, Benedict Anderson elaborates on the issue of nation building. He established the similar to Deutsch's connection between nation building and communication. In the main, he relates the imputes of the development of collective identity and nation building with the emergence of the press which on a further stance is responsible for the allegiance to an '*imagined community*'. This emanates from the idea of provoking the same thoughts, simultaneously among members of a national culture and builds on the foundations of language (Jaffrelot 2005: 14-15).

So far I have introduced the theory of nationalism in the light of concepts as nation and nation building. However, I think it is necessary to pay attention to economic social and political conflicts as act of *pouring the oil in the fire* of nationalism.

Gellner is one of the authors writing about the socio-ethnic conflicts and the emergence of nationalism. He introduces '*an efficient educational apparatus*' as the basic precondition for existence of a nation and on a larger scale he has puts the '*cultures*' pre-existing the nation-making process as basic features of emergence of nationalism. According him race and religion can initiate self-transformation of '*an inferior culture*' into '*superior culture*' while socio-ethnic conflicts are present. Gellner also supports the idea that material interest is one of stimulants used to wake up interest in education which forms the nation. Gellner continues by pointing out the significance of distinction dimensions as culture, pigmentation etc. implemented as tools of exclusion in favor of the privileged and tools of identification for the underprivileged. The last point of Gellner's theory of nationalism that I am going to mention is that he believes that nationalism has nothing to do with awakening the nation's self-consciousness, rather that it is about creating nations, where they do not exist (Jaffrelot 2005: 20-21). Here, I would like to use this conclusion of Gellner to lay stress on the enormous force of the ideology of nationalism to empower societies and to provide them with the ability to conduct social change. With this in mind, Gellner is orientated towards the economic conflicts by stating that both intelligentsia and proletariat are necessary for establishment of active national movement. Thus, this shows that Gellner is interested mainly in the socio-economic processes which he has framed as active elements in the emergence of a conflict which becomes a reason for the formation of nationalist movements.

In the light of socio-economic and cultural or ethnic caveats it is crucial to include Marxism which has often served as inspiration in this area although, the relationship between Marxism and nationalism is controversial. Even an opinion has been expressed that nationalism is an obvious prove for the failure of Marxism (Tom Narin in Jaffrelot 2005: 22). Marxism is arguing for the class solidarity through state borders which undermines the emergence of nationalist identities. Nevertheless, Marxists have included the ideas of nationalism but incorporated in the theory of international relations. These ideas have been presented in the dichotomous relationship between imperialism and anti-

imperialism. Nationalism played a role as a cover for the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, contemporary Marxist writers are contesting the overwhelming focus on the social classes. Their field of interest is primarily connected with the issue of underdevelopment, which is introduced as negative side of the capitalist world political economy. Often nationalism is perceived as ideological instrument of dominant states to secure the unity of their population and to increase their control over it. With this in mind, we can recognize nations as well-thought products of dominant states participating in the today's world order (Jafferlot 2005: 23).

In relation to the last part of this chapter, namely national identity, I will embody in my research theories of ethnicity. Then again, the relationship between nationalism and ethnicity may appear to be ambiguous. There is a risk that the qualitative transformation between the both terms might be let to slip away as there are several basic criteria for distinguishing ethnicity from nationalism. Hechter, for example, uses the different attitude to territory of the ethnic groups and the nationalistic groups. The former are '*territorially concentrated ethnic groups*'. In contrast, the latter are scattered in particular state. Max Weber suggests in the spirit of the qualitative difference between ethnicity and nationalism that the ideas if an ethnic group matching to the one of a nation but only laying stress on the ethnic solidarity is not enough to be recognized as a nation.

To put it differently, many authors describe ethnicity as a phase in the evolution of nationalism which, in the same time, is a good contra-argument to the concept of primordialism. Clifford Geertz is one of the social scientists who have announced their support to this theoretical position. Primordialism could be called contra-constructivist theory for it puts emphasis on '*primordial bonds*' as blood, race, language, region, religion and custom and underestimates the influence of material progress, social reforms, civil culture and etc. (Jafferlot 2005: 39).

In addition, Anthony D. Smith has also contributed with valuable thoughts to the discussion of ethnicity. He divides nationalism in ethnocentric and polycentric. Ethnocentric is allocating power and value to particular cultural group. This group is put on a higher level than others and demonstrates supremacy. Polycentric nationalism, on the other hand, is presenting a more open position of cooperation with other actors in the same area. In that case, there would emerge recognition of more than one center of power.

Other groups have, as well, interesting and beneficial ideas that can be implemented in the policies of the main culture. Ethnic groups that practice polycentric nationalism are willing to become part of the '*family of nations*' and are more self-critical and eclectic (Smith 1983: 158). Anthony D. Smith's '*Theories of Nationalism*' is one of the classical readings when studying nationalism. Therefore, I will add here some of his attempts to define nationalism in order to present fully developed and content overview of the theory of nationalism. He as other social scientists, trying to work our definition of nationalism, distinguishes nationalism from nation. For him nation is "*ethnical-cultural group of people*" whereas nationalism is "*self-centered collective resistance to foreign rule to preserve the group and its culture*" In the same time, there are many '*nationalisms*' with enormous differences. Thus, Smith acknowledged the need of more concrete definition. Eventually, he concluded that the modern polycentric definition of nationalism is: "*An ideological movement, for the attainment and maintenance of self-government and independence on behalf of a group, some of whose members conceive it to constitute an actual or potential nation like others*". (Anthony D. Smith 1983:171)

Finally, it is my intent to round up this subchapter of my theoretical part by complementing it with Anthony Giddens theory of the consequences of modernity. In so doing, I will look upon how modernity changes our world and what new discourses are coming with it. This is also relevant to my research question since significant part of my research is dedicated to modern Greenlandic identity and given that I need to have definition and understanding of modernity. Modernity was mostly discussed in debt by social scientists as Marx, Durkheim and MaxWeber. All of them have been worried more or less about the era of modernity and in the same time still fascinated and positively tuned to the consequences of modernity. According Marx the class struggle is the main conflict of the capitalistic system. Nevertheless, he predicted the establishment of a social system being more humane. Durkheim held the belief that the continuous process of industrialization would build a harmonious and replete life by incorporating in the habits of the society division of labor and moral individualism. Last but by no means the least important of the fathers of sociology Max Weber expressed his thoughts about modernity in a more pessimistic tone. He viewed the modern world as complex and contradicting entity in which the individual creativity and autonomy would be suppressed by the development of bureaucracy. Even so, none of them could really predict and visualize the

dark side of modernity (Giddens 2004: 6-7). There are many negative effects being a consequence of modernity. A fact that could be taken as the sign that modernity is a challenge as well respectively there is a need to develop effective strategy and appropriate attitude to minimize the dangerous side-effects and actually to make modernity be healthy for us. Such negative outcomes of modernity are labor exploitation, environment degradation and development of military power (the invention of the nuclear weaponry). I will use the example of Giddens about the consequences of modern industrial work particularly the one on the environment. He argues that the steadily developing forces of production have turned to be devastating and destructive force especially if we take a look upon the material environment. Again in relation to environment he explains that in reality social sciences are not much prepared in their theories to meet environmental issues and therefore it is difficult for them to set systematic valuation of environmental challenges (Giddens 2004: 8).

For this reason, using a modern method of analysis, one as CDA, gives the opportunity to adequately and critically consider how environmental and social sustainability are discursively presented in the political debate in Greenland and how institutions are approaching sustainability in Greenland in general. Altogether could be explained with the linked collaboration between sociology and modernity. It is quite dangerous to try to generalize when we are trying to define sociology.

Nevertheless Antony Giddens has left us with three well accepted concepts upon which I will go briefly through in order to explain the nature of sociology which will further give us better understanding of the place and possibility of inception of environmental science in the field of sociology and what would be the appropriate way to connect it with nationalism and identity in the field of sociology.

The first concept is working with the institutional diagnosis of modernity. Considered from theoretical point of view one of the main employments of sociology is to examine the role of transformation in the process of interpretation of the essence of modernity. There are two different explanations about the main driving force of modern society, according the famous fathers of sociology - Marx, Durkheim and Weber. Marx and Weber are both seeing capitalism as the main force organizing the modern world. However, Weber adds rationality to the kernel of capitalism, which is holding to the

economic mechanisms named by Marx plus the converting of waged labor into commodity. We have also to specify that “*capitalism*” in Weber’s writings have different meaning from the one that Marx expressed. “*Rationalization*” is to be implemented in technology and the order of human activities in the form of bureaucracy (Giddens 1990: 12). The other stimulating force of modern society is industrialization and this wakes questions as if the main force influencing the institutions is the one of modernity. Giddens suggests that “*modernity is multidimensional on the level of institutions*” and many other elements may be adjusted to play role in building modern society (Giddens 1990: 12).

The next concept, which Giddens is analyzing, is the view of society as “*distinct system of social relations*”. In line with the non-Marxist writers such as Durkheim the definition of society is closely tightened with the definition of sociology i.e. “*sociology is the study of modern societies*”. Namely, an interesting though derives from this definition. It is implied that scholars, who write about sociology as a study of societies do have in mind modern societies as contradistinguished systems homogeneously interlinked, what equals them to nation-states. Respectively, it is crucial when emphasizing on the nature of modern societies to take notice of the specific characteristics of the nation state - a social entity significantly different of the pre-modern versions of communities.

Lastly, I will turn to the third conceptualization of sociology as gathering knowledge for modern social life, which could be employed with regards to prediction and control. Given Giddens thoughts there are two ways to explain this. One is when we think about sociology as a tool that supplies us with information about social life which empowers us with control over institutions. This comes out from the instrumental relation between sociological knowledge and the social world to which it pertains. Marx and Marx’s followers on the other hand, take rather the stance of “*using history to make history*”. The main idea here is that social scientific findings cannot be simply introduced to inert topic, yet they have to be strained through the self-understanding of social factors. What Giddens supports is to try to catch the relationship between sociology and its subject matters in terms of ‘*double hermeneutic*’ which is characterized with lack of strait forward, transparent representation of the social world (Giddens 1990: 13-15).

As shown above, what is to be concluded here is the possibility of analysis of environmental and social sustainability viewed as empowering information transmitted

through institutions and utilized to influence nationalism and identity in the framework of social sciences. That is, as well, to defend my choice to analyze environmental issues through social scientific methods and to link them with terms and ideologies from sociology as nationalism and identity.

3.4 *Social Identity Theory*

I will use social identity theory as a frame work for introducing national identity. Before presenting the relevant aspects of social identity theory I will go back to the beginning of identity studies, namely the one concerned with personal identity to reach inchmeal to social identity theory and to round up with the phase where both meet and start interacting, which is the field the of national identity.

Identity became part of the social sciences and humanities in the middle of the 20th century. In its very essence identity could be categorized as the inquiry of “*names and looks*”(Brah 1996 in Wetherel& Mohanty. 2010). Even if we try to simplify this relationship, at the end we will again end up with an obligation to look upon categorizations of “*us*” and “*them*”-two sided in and outward movements of subjectivity narrative and memory and political acts of strong solidarity and sadly, sometimes as extreme violence.

Further, there is a suggestion of three paths existing through the study of identities. The first one is discussing identity as a subjective achievement. It is about the sense of who you are. What has changed recently is that personal identities are no mere perceived as ‘*solitary*’ and ‘*static individual*’ achievements but rather as “*mobile flexibility negotiated, practically orientated and jointly accomplished with others*” (Wetherrel & Mohanty 2010). Dating back to the onset of identity studies identity is connected with group membership and exactly this is the second path that we mentioned. Here the studies are concentrated on social division and social solidarity and processes of marginalization, exclusion, inclusion which are also associated with belonging. Finally, there is a third path which is following the interest in political and ethical issues. One of the current questions in identity studies is about “*how to live*” and “*how to act*”. This is to say, that

identity is still or even more than ever a space in which the attention is primarily shifted to collective action, social movements, issues of inequality rights and social justice (Weherrel . & Mohanty 2010)

Now, when we have more exhaustive idea of the nature of identity we can continue with elaborating more on social identity. Social identity theory is a core theory of group identity and has been developed by Tejfel and later Turner in the 70s of the last century. This theory is built to explain the individual identification with a group. This process could be described in two phases.

First, comes the reciprocal identification of group membership and then emerges the emotional attachment to the group or, in other words, the sense of belonging. The stress is laid down upon the socio-cognitive process. In the same time collectivities, are not so much of an interest themselves as a part of the theory, rather the means of sustaining and triggering belonging. Indeed, in the center of social identity theory lays the emphasis of the difference. So to say, the reality consists of out-group and intra-group. The intra-group is the one we belong to and the out group is the one alien to us. We use this division with the purpose of creating social categorization and, as well, for maintaining positive identity of the group we belong to.

Another important part of the social identity theory is that it is much easier to describe out-groups than in-groups. Often in-group identification may create strong stereotyping and prejudice towards out groups (Bethan&Stokoe 2006: 25-26). To summarize, the key points of the theory is self-enhancement which is responsible for comprehending social motivation and the significant meaning accounted to identity. By the same token, we continue with the group distinctiveness from other groups that is a consequence of the unique meaning given to an identity part of particular in-group (Schwartz et al. 2011).

As aforementioned, I will end the part about social identity theory by laying stress on the junction of the personal and social aspects of identity. The discussions about personal and social identity are having their roots in the distinction between interiors and exteriors and in result emerge two categories of '*social determination*' and '*individual agency*'. Accordingly, one part of our identity reminds free whereas, the other becomes

more specific and conform to the social world and constructed by it. In that case, people have the role as agents who have the ability to change, yet they are reflecting the expectations and opinions of important others and the surrounding social world (Schwartz et al 2011). It is important to keep the last conclusion in mind and to relate it latter to national identity and the way the social environment could influence the national identity or provoke change. This, indeed, may turn out to be beneficial for my analysis and help me explain the relation between SD discourses and modern Greenlandic identity.

3.4.1 National Identity

In the attempt to give definition of national identity it is necessary to explain what nation is. However, there hasn't been developed, so far, one single definition of a nation. Very often nation and state receive the same definition. Though, many consider it as a controversial issue since state refers to a certain territory populated by a nation. On the other hand, nation has considerably more abstract definition. As Richmond points out, there should be a clear division between state and nation for states can be inhabited by couple of nations and nations can be polytechnic, as well (Richmond 1987: 4). Anthony D. Smith gives definition of a nation which has ethnical and cultural inclination and presents nations as cultural units or *“named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members”* This definition derives from the idea that ethnic communities are the source of emergence of nations meaning that there have been existing ethnic communities before the birth of the first nation. In the light of this definition nation is seen as a representation of particular culture, where culture according the definition of Geertz could be understood as *“a set of control mechanisms, plans recipes, rules instructions for the governing of behavior”* (Geertz in Wodak et. Al 1999: 20-21). I use this definition with the intention to collide it with identity which itself is a construction of human behavior.

When introducing the term nation, one could not go without mentioning Benedict Anderson's projection of a nation as imagined community. Anderson claims that nations didn't existed before but got created recently. He sees nations as imagined communities and separates them from one another by the way they are imagined. He points out religious communities and dynastic empires as the primarily cradles birth of nations. Yet,

there is another important component for the development of a nation and this is the essential change in the way we espouse the world aiming at enabling the process of envisaging a nation in people's minds (Anderson 1983: 15-16). Basically, what Anderson's theory tries to explain is what makes people to act as one and to be ready to die in the name of it, to develop a sense of belonging to an imagined community. And again this leads us to the idea of the discursive construction of identity. The answer given by some scholars is that the thought for imagined community is transmitted to our minds in the form of discourse namely in narratives of national culture. Consequently, national identity is indeed the product of discourse (Wodak et. al 1999:21-22).

One thing that is not difficult to notice is the distinct and stable national identities in Europe that have their ground deep in history. National identities are a product of the end of the 19th century and are constructed with significant endeavor and represent a shift in the intellectual environment. Ironically, the outcome of an intensive international exchange was an aggregate model for creating differences. Heterogeneity used to be the base of existence of the pre-nation societies. Later on these identities continued to exist but they have been transformed and reintroduced as secondary features subordinated to the national identity. There has been strong call for cultural originality which has been supposed to deliver material bases for the formulation of new identities and new 'hook' to knit into a coherent net and to serve in the same time as motivating force on people. This has resulted in the creation of national ideal as a boosting political force and ground for new state organizations. Hence, the emergence of nations is the product of closely intertwined cultural and political processes (Deickhoff&Jaffrelot 2005: 122).

In contrast to the common perception, in the beginning the future nations weren't so clearly opposed to other foreign groups. They had first to deal with the differences among the group which were outcome of their mind. The construction of national identity was the effect of establishing common collectivity and serious educational effort to present certain traces of this collectivity and to make it possible for people to find them. As a result because of this '*educational and national ideal*' the newly created common heritage developed in to the basis for sense of belonging. When discussing national identity, we very often discover a similarity in the characteristics prescribed to different national identities like founding fathers, a history tracing the existence of the nation

through long periods of time, national heroes externalizing national values, a language, cultural and historical monuments, and range of memories, landscape and folklore. I will, however, in a little while concentrate mainly on landscape and folklore which has its relevance to the case of Greenland. The just mentioned characteristics may be comprehended as a template of the nation's construction of beliefs. In the same line of thoughts, the so called cultural standardization is interconnected with considerable technologic, economic and social transformation. This cultural discourse has an active role in the construction of national identity namely performed by the so called cultural contractors as newspaper editors, publishers and art dealers (Deickhoff&Jaffrelot 2005: 122). With this in mind, we can allude to empirical field such as newspaper articles and academic articles as a fruitful ground for following discourses embedded in particular culture and their impact on a given national identity.

National folklore had an active role in the formation of national identity. It has been revived in the end of the 18th century. It simultaneously managed to survive and to develop in fruitful environment for nation unification. Sometimes, scholars question the essence of folklore. They doubt if it has been present in time or has been created in order to give voice to the national spirit. Nevertheless, it has fulfilled its task to serve as an authentic example for the new national reality (Deickhoff&Jaffrelot 2005: 134).

Likewise, nature has its prominent influence on national identity. Often we recall an image of a nation according to the landscape that it inhabits. This appears to be a consequence of incorporating nature in the cultural discourse of building national identity by describing it in paintings, novels and poems. This has happened through attaching concrete patriotic feeling to the nature. Additionally, nature has become connected with national identity together with historical monuments and traditions. In relation to this we can recognize an emphasize on the nature frailness and endangerment by the destructive forces of modernity. Thereupon, arises the idea that the attempts to save the nature are having nation banding effect. Nature is perceived as a heritage, as a collective good that has to be preserved (Deickhoff&Jaffrelot 2005: 138).

Finally, I would like to comprise some of Wodak's reflections on national identity and its '*habitus*'. National identity embodies a combination of collective or close beliefs or opinions incorporated in the course of socialization and respect to aspects as emotional

attitudes and behavioral dispositions. Particularly, these behavioral dispositions reflect the national character '*habitus*'. In sum, we can conclude that the national identity of people who see themselves as being part of national collectivity is exhibited internally in social practices, predominantly discursive practices. Moreover, national identity is constructed by state, political, institutional, media and everyday social practices and as well material and social conditions as result. The discursive practice as a distinct model of social practice and thus has a specific contribution to the formation and demonstration of national identity (Wodak et. al. 2005:29).

Another subject that I would like to touch upon is the constant need of reviving the process of nation building through identification with the nation – state which highlights the significance of national identity in the process of nation building. For an example, the influence of different political discourses on national identity could empower or depower politicians and political parties. The mechanism works when a considerable amount of people has identified themselves with their nation-state. As a consequence, later family and different social groupings will lean to socialize new generations into the same identification. Important to remember in relation to this is that nation-building is not a fixed process. Not only every new generation has to be introduced into the national community, but it is also a constantly changing process within the lives of people, the state of affair of socio-economic and political realities (Bloom 1990: 71). In general it is of a great importance to have understanding of the relationship between the mass national public and the government decisions (Bloom 1990: 76).

For this purpose we can look upon the national identity dynamic. Bloom writes that we can consider the process of nation building successful, when every citizen is able to connect and recognize sameness with the other citizens using shared national identity. If this is achieved and every individual feels related to the nation, there should be present main pattern of these individuals to stand behind and work for enhancing the shared national identity. Exactly this just above mentioned pattern is called '*national identity dynamic*'. Furthermore, according Bloom, if the mass population identifies with the nation and in the same time this same nation is endangered, the mass population should act as one and should be ready to fight and increase their shared national identity. Having in mind this behavior of the mass public we can acknowledge that it is accountant for the

social-psychological dynamic by with the mass national public will be motivated to act according to its international environment, which also shows that this same national population has developed clear and psychologically consistent relationship with international affairs (Bloom 1990: 79). Thereupon, I will employ Blooms concept for '*national identity dynamic*' in my research since I am very much interested in the relationship between the mass public and the government and how the appurtenance to particular national identity could be used from the political elite to manipulate or motivate the population. What interests me more in the case of Greenland is in what way are the sustainable development discourses represented in the political debate about SD. This leads to further investigation of the political decisions about extraction of natural resources and the way these could influence the population and enhance the national consciousness. The interesting kernel that Bloom presents relevant to my thesis is that a mass national public can be motivated for action on one hand, when national identity is being endangered and on the other hand when national identity is being promoted.

Finally, we may be able to conclude later on thought the analysis that the population of a country will always show negative attitude towards policies that can turn out to be dangerous for the national identity. Contrarily to this, the population will always express positive adjustments towards policies that are aimed at boosting the national identity. Simultaneously, Bloom analyzes the domestic political competition and the national identity dynamic or in other words the power of the political discourses and their influence on national identity. Following Bloom we shall consider the political conditions and look upon them from a more general point of view. It is significant to keep in mind that it is in the essence of domestic politics to engage in competition and to dominate the national identity dynamic.

National identity dynamic is enjoying a strong political interest mainly because of its strong potential to organize the national population in the borders of the state. Eventually, if a politician manages to connect himself with national identity and stimulate it, he will soon find himself winning monopoly over the popular support. As already mentioned there is an embedded competition in domestic politics to decide over the national identity dynamic. That is to say, that political parties often compete with each other to be accepted as the party who has positively developed national identity and

secured it against foreign treat. Thus, no politician who wishes for the sympathy of the mass population will go against the dynamic of the national identity.

Another key point is to bear in mind the different faces of the political reality. It is constantly changing which calls for strong need for contemporary nation building. Henceforth, some of the fruitful products of nation building are the presence of political integration and stability. Thus, this also results in a trend for governments to perform nation building by employing the nation identity dynamic in connection to the international environment.

And lastly to summarize it, the two above explained dynamic political factors – domestic competition and the need for nation building ends with the drift that no government can venture to neglect the national identity dynamic unless it could accept its opponent to be chosen and favored by the mass public instead (Bloom 1990: 79-81).

3.5 *Social Ecology*

The main themes that build the scientific field of social ecology are environmental sociology with the study of natural resources use and environmental problems and rural sociology with the investigation of land use and food production. Major concern is the society-nature interaction and the controversies embedded in the ecological discourse. These controversies are expressed in the following direction of thoughts. First to come is the relationship between men and nature. What is of interest there is the way they are connected and in the same time the way they are dissociated.

Second area of investigation is human nature and its determination, whether it is sociological or biological. Lastly, the bounds between society and nature are discussed, which include social and ecological systems, if their modes of activity are individual, terms of reproduction and development and the extent to what they are subordinate to each other (Bruckmeier 2013: 44).

On the ground of the above mentioned concept, I will later analyze discourses of environmental sustainability and social sustainability. I will employ social ecology as social practice by NGOs, civil society and government. Environmental and social sustainability are both controversial to economic development and the current capitalistic

cycle of production (Vincent 2012) which is also an issue in the political debate in Greenland on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals to which I am going to come later in my analysis. Social change is another main field of study in my thesis and how it is achieved through discourses practices. As Bruckmeier claims, sustainability could not be realized through simply relocation of environmental damaging production and consumption practices. More is needed like changes in everyday culture and lifestyle in the direction of “*environmental-friendly and resource saving social behavior*”. This should be visible also in the way social environmental movements act. Furthermore, there is a strong need of emphasis on transformation of societal systems with a deeper accent on economy (Bruckmeier 2013: 70).

4. Analysis

I will carry out my analysis by working with different texts like newspaper articles, speeches and opinions of important Greenlandic politicians, Greenland Oil & Minerals magazine, The Coalition Agreement between the parties members of the Greenlandic Parliament *Siumut*, *Atassut*, *Partii Inuit*, Report to the *Inartsisartut*, Statement of the Parliament of Greenland, concerning mineral resource activities in Greenland and WWF Nuuk Ministerial Meeting of the Arctic Council – May 2011 as part of my empirical materials. I will not just analyze discourse but I will as well concentrate a on “*systematic transdisciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of social process*” (Fairclough 2010: 10).

I advocate this manifold choice of empirical materials with the intention of grasping more extensively the debate on extraction of oil and minerals in Greenland mainly on local political level, yet covering to some extent some global discourses of sustainability conveying mainly western point of view. Moreover, another good justification is that in my thesis I am working mainly with language, the power of language (discourse), representations (discourses) used in politics and their impact on social processes and change, more specifically nation building emphasizing on nationalism and identity. In addition, I will critically take a normative stance upon the research problem I am approaching, the one just above mentioned. Likewise, I intend to explore from a rather different angle the recent extremely popular debate on extraction of non-renewable natural resources, its controversial relation to sustainability and how the formulation of sustainable development discourses by the political elites can be introduced to the mass population through official political documents, speeches and newspaper articles with further focus on the effect these have on the perception of issues like mining activities. Moreover, I will try to uncover how through discursive practices nationalistic ideology and the ongoing process of nation building could be misused by the political elite in Greenland in changing of the mass population attitudes to predominantly positive (in terms of giving green light to foreign companies to invest in the Greenlandic mining industry). Finally, I would like to find out how the employment of social and

environmental sustainability discourses is supporting the reproduction of the mutual bound between Inuit identity and nature. For the purpose of the research, this would be qualitative research on the presumptive relation between discourses of SD, nationalism and identity with implication to enhance the replicability of the project (the aforementioned thesis) and to make possible the use of the potential to apply the results to other cases where power of political discourse is discussed.

In order to do so, I have chosen Greenland as a case and the political debate on resource extraction, which has come into existence with the climate changes. The aforementioned debate is existing in politics both on global and local level. On the one hand, troves of natural resources exist as precondition for economic development. On the other hand, it is worrying that natural resources are scarce and their extraction can lead to environmental degradation. In the case of my thesis I want to research how the political debate on the newly opened opportunities for extraction of natural resources and rare minerals in Greenland is obscured under discourses of SD and how this is used as a national population's opinion manipulation strategy. I am doing my analysis base on the theoretical basics of scholars writing in the field of critical linguistics and social semiotics as Fairclough, Wodak, Schultz and van Dijk. All of them agree that CDA is to high extend convenient and efficient way to explore social problems and social change. It has broadly been accepted as a way to analyze language and its participation in the function of contemporary capitalist societies. CDA is aiming to explain how the contemporary neo-liberal order is constraining human well-being and progress. Further strengths of discourse analysis are that it is relational, dialectical and transdisciplinary.

The above mentioned characteristics of CDA clarify the process and purpose of employing it in my analytical part. I will analyze my empirical material in three sections, where the empirical material itself will be divided upon the different parts and will be used to support concepts and illustrate theories. For the purpose of the analysis of the empirical material I will apply the three-dimensional approach of Norman (explained in the methodology part).

The first part of the analysis will be presenting the political debate about extraction of natural resources and rare minerals wrapped in the discourses of SD in Greenland. It will be brought in with reading trough and analyzing quotations from the

empirical material to draw the framework of the debate and to detect and distinguish the different discourses.

The following two parts will separately focus upon the two discourses of environmental and social sustainability which in the same time are responding to the angles of sustainability highlighted in the research question – environmental and social sustainability. For better coherence of the analysis both parts will have the same structure, namely they will be further divided in three more parts responding to the structure of the three dimensional approach to CDA of Fairclough: discursive practice, textual analysis and social practice.

4.1 The Political Debate on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals in Greenland

I will begin this first subchapter of analysis with brief introduction of the political debate on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals in Greenland and by defining and showing evidences for its existence and popularity. I will do this by going through different parts of my empirical material and presenting it. Afterwards, for the two additional points of this subchapter, where the purpose is to disclose and detect discourses of environmental and social sustainability, I will start conducting CDA of the empirical materials.

The initial opening of the debate started with the accelerating of the climate change and its serious impact on the environment. This discussion around the extraction of natural resources could be categorized in the field of new social ecology that has come into existence in the mid-1980s. It is, namely referring to exploiting nature and describing it within critical connotations as “*colonization of nature*”, “*societal metabolism*” and “*societal relations to nature*”. In other words the regressive relationship between humans and nature became reason for empirical research studying “human use of natural resources and its impact and limits, with prominent interest in late modern society (Bruckmeier 2013: 12). Another reason that triggered the debate is the change of the status of Greenland from home rule to self-rule which recognized the right of self-determination of the Greenlandic people and transferred more executive and legislative power to the Greenlandic

Parliament (Act on Greenland self-government, see appx. 10). However, the extraction of natural resources and rare minerals is related to international politics since its main purpose is export in order to use the profits to develop the economy of the country and in this way to take more assured steps towards full independence from Denmark. International politics are still decided by Denmark, which is indeed controversial point creating some of the discourses in the debate. The source of conflict here is the zero tolerance of Denmark towards the radioactive element uranium, which is inevitably educed as waste product of mining activity.

Another controversial point which is part of the building pillars of the debate is the consequences from such an activities on the environment and if this can be performed in a sustainable manner.

To support the aforementioned emergence of the debate on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals and to go more in debt in analyzing it, I will use some of the data about the link between climate change and natural resources of Joan Nymand Larsen which is part of the project on Political Economy of Northern Regional Development edited by Gorm Winther (Whinter, G. 2010). The consequences of global change are noticeable in the whole Arctic. Clear signs of this process are the industrial development and the increasing role and presence of multinational corporations.

In addition, there is the climate change which is more intensively redounding to contemporary changes of our time in physical, ecological, sociological and economic aspect. From a sociological point of view it is evident the pressure that this changes are creating mainly with the large scale resource exploitation. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that the way this ongoing change will affect the Arctic, follows from the adaptive abilities of the region, which is often questioned on the grounds of constrains deriving from insufficient or not enough developed technology, wealth, institutions, infrastructure and human resources (Larsen in Gorm 2010: 205).

Thereupon, after the framework of the debate is drawn, there is ground to go ahead with reading through the empirical materials and detecting the debate as actual topic primarily for media and institutions. I will start with the newspaper articles. In relation to them I would like to underline that they are mainly representing different opinions about the debate on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals, this is relevant especially for the one that are collected from foreign media and it is most of the

material that is at all accessible for Greenland in English. Likewise, different authors of different genres of text express opinions on the extraction of natural resources and rare minerals and this tendency is true to a large extent for the Greenlandic media. From the Greenlandic newspapers, I have picked up articles from the section *Politics* and there I have also noticed that the extraction of natural resources and rare minerals is the predominant topic. From the foreign newspapers sometimes it is not quite salient to notice right away from the heading of the article that it will be related with the debate on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals. However, even from this first look upon the capital letters in bold we can find couple of words making the connection. The two words most often present in the headings are ‘*mining*’ and variations of the word ‘*sustainability*’. Both of them are responding directly to the already aforementioned content of the debate, namely how to deal with the recent newly discovered troves of resources to support the economy and in the same time to protect the vulnerable Arctic nature.

In like manner, we run across other supplementary words to “*mining*” and “*sustainability*” upon the newspaper articles like “*oil*”, “*natural resources*”, and “*SD*”. All this words are building the semantic framework of the debate on exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals and their repetition in the majority of the foreign and local newspapers is supporting prove for the central place which the debate occupy in the political and social Greenlandic space, including relations with the international political space, where it has also taken relevant position. As one proceeds forward with the Danish articles, one meets there similar words mainly, derivative to mining, though words caring the meaning of sustainability are not so easy to spot on a first stance. It is happening to read headings including words as “*minerallicens*” (mineral license) , “*olieboringer*” (oil drilling), “*oliejagt*” (oil hunt) , “*olieselskaber*” (oil companies) and *uran*. They all indicate exploitation activity. Their link with verbs like “*stope*” and “*bremse*” (brake) and the alluding of environmental activism with the presence of “*Greenpeace*” trace out in a similar way as in the international articles the framework of the debate of exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals. In the same way, there is similar progression in the outlining of the aforementioned debate in the remaining part of the empirical materials-documents or statements related to the mining and extraction of rare minerals and political speeches of significant Greenlandic politicians. What is peculiar here is that

apart from their genre all of them include words bearing semiotic load of topics constituting the debate on exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals like the one attached to the process of mining itself and sustainability. As an illustration, I will list the one being the most semiotic incepted some in English and some in Danish with translation in English. Some of the words are repeated in the different texts, others bear similar meaning. Unlike my approach with the articles, I had to use words from the main body of the texts since the titles are more technical of specific and they are usually aimed to indicate the purpose of the document rather than what it is about. Identically, speeches often don't even have titles. Essential is to say that this is just a brief textual analysis concentrated on the choice of words in order to introduce the debate on mining and extraction of rare minerals and to track the way it is framed.

The actual CDA will begin with the analysis of the next two parts. Back to the words and phrases, we come upon some like *“mining industry”*, *“mineral potential”* and *“Rare earth elements”* which are clearly standing for the natural resources gaze. Next there are words as *“climate change”*, *“environment”*, *“warming”* and *“wellbeing”* which are indicators for inclination towards sustainability issues. There are others that attract attention like *“offshore oil”*, *“gas drilling”*, *“oil pollution”*, *“råstofferne”* (raw materials), *“royalties”* (royalties), *„råstoftilsyn“* (mining supervision), *„råstofudvagt“* (raw material selection), *„råstofområdet“* (mineral resource), *„råstofdirektorat“* (mining directorate), *„sikkerhedsplaner“* (security plans). They serve mostly like milestones marking the core same topic, which brings together the diverse texts from the empirical material namely the debate on exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals.

My successive step will be to start the tracing first of the environmental sustainability discourses in the empirical materials and second the social sustainability discourses. In order to do so, I will employ my main method of research - CDA. First thing to do is to concentrate on the discourse practices in the texts. As Fairclough has mentioned in his guide of using the three-dimensional approach for CDA it is a decision of the researcher to take from which dimension the analysis will begin. This chiefly depends on where the emphasis of the research would be – micro textual level - texts or macro level focused on discourse and social practice.

In my case, I am primarily interested in issues of power and identity and social change which is rather related to the macro level of CDA. Nevertheless, the textual

analysis which is the micro level is active element in the three-dimensional approach. Therefore, I will as just above suggested make a round trip through the dimensions - starting with interpretation of the discourse practices, describing the characteristics of the text and finishing with interpretation of the social practices. Following Fairclough, discourse practice has three main elements which are genre, style and discourse. All of them have their role of mediating meaning. Genre can tell us more for the production, distribution and consuming of texts. (Fairclough 1992:126). In relation to genre, a strong advantage of my empirical material is that it is combining couple of different genres like newspaper articles, political speeches, documents, reports and interview. In every one of them there are distinct modes of expression and structure. In the newspaper articles we have more narrative and distanced way of serving information. It is often reporting an event or present someone elses opinion. In terms of text production, we can see that there is a different social context in the different articles. However, we can start using some textual structures with repeating information as a '*bricks*' building the '*skeleton*' of the environmental sustainability discursive practice.

4.2 *The discourses of environmental sustainability*

4.2.1 *Discursive practice*

Such textual structure could be recognized in the discussion about uranium which is to be found in some of the articles. It is connected to the *Zero Tolerance Policy on Uranium* which is practiced by Denmark and it is valid for Greenland as well. As it is well known uranium is radioactive material with possible dangerous outcomes for the environment if released by accident. Hence, it is imposing environmental concern. For example, we have in one article reminder that uranium is used for nuclear power and atomic bombs. Nuclear power has controversial representation in relation to environmental security and atom bombs are evidently destructive weapons with totally dreadful consequences for every living organism. In another article we have suggestion that Greenland may turn to become "*a large exporter of uranium*" which is a worrying perspective for a region which has an image as sustainable and in the same time is promoting its nature as a unique resource (Breum, M. & Chemnitz, J. "No, Greenland

doesn't belong to China" In: The New York Times, Feb. 20, 2013, see appx. 1, article N48). As we are speaking here about text production, important thing to have in mind is the source and the author of the text, which is playing a central role in the direction that the future discourse will take. One direction of discourse is uranium as a material that is dangerous for the environment and that especially the strong interest from foreign countries (for example China) can disturb the sustainability of resource consumption. In other words, it has negative connotations. If we take another article written by one of the most influential investor for exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals "*Minerals and Energy A/S*" we will see uranium depicted in positive light. From there we get the idea that resolution exists and if certain rules are enforced and followed uranium as by-product will be harmless for the nature and the elimination of the debate on uranium will open the ways to social and economic development:

It is important that we distinguish between two things Uranium policy and work with applications to extract minerals...", "The question is whether we are about to make the wrong decision that will come to affect the country and its people or [...] if we are about to make the right decision for the good of the economy for the country. (Greenland Minerals and Energy A/S, KNR news, Sept 6, 2012)

Another seed of discourses of environmental sustainability is the discussions surrounding the mining activities in general. One of the articles is reporting the environmental friendly and orientated towards sustainability position of the present Greenlandic Premier Aleqa Hammond. When we look at the heading of the article we notice that it is in active grammatical form and it is expressing the personal opinion of the Greenlandic current Greenlandic Premier. This is showing more humane attitude of a politician on issue that is intertwined primarily with profit and economic interests. Her position as a political leader is giving her political power her voice to be heard and access to national media. Her presence in the media gives more popularity to her opinion (Van Dijk 1993b). The verb „*ripped off*” in the beginning of the article is indicating doubt upon the positive outcome and the honest intention of the investors towards Greenland which is indeed common pattern in sustainability discourses. The words of the Prime Minister: “*protect the people, our environment and our health*” bear upon meaning of sustainability as a central goal. Again if we pay attention on the production of the text, we would find out that it is transformed text from interview which by itself is producing more intimate and close connection between the text and the reader (Olsen, M.J. In: *Greenland leader*

worries about life after mining in: Associated press, Apr 17, 2013, see appx. 1, article N49).

Next article is promoting further the environmental sustainable behavior of the government by positioning its policies contrary to the mining industry. It is focusing on the election of the new government as a popular vote and manifestation of the will of the people to preserve the nature on the first place and to deal with natural resources and rare minerals in a responsible way (Jacobsen, H. New Greenlandic government vows changes for raw materials industry. In: Euroactive.com. *Apr., 3 2013*, appx. 1, article N1). The same pattern which constitutes the discourses of environmental sustainability could be observed in many of the other articles. I will not go in debt with each article as the empirical material is quite big and I would like also to be able to pay attention to the other genres and to explain the role of distribution and consumption of discourse practices and their role in structuring discourses.

However, I will quote some of the more significant sentence structures from different articles building the skeleton of the discourses of environmental sustainability in the political debate on exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals. As an illustration, there is an implied meaning of putting other priorities before mining apart from that it might be a good choice for reaching economic independence and increasing the chances for political independence, the protection of the uniqueness of the country is considered more important: *“Mining is the most obvious choice, but it would also require Greenland to face reality, “We need to choose our steps carefully. Otherwise, we risk being rundown by globalization.”* (Primary source Sermitsiaq, reported in Copenhagen Post, June 14, 2012, appx. 1, article N10). Additional quotation supporting the claim of building a distinct discourse of environmental sustainability around mining is the subsequent one: *“He did not rule out mining altogether, if done in a sustainable manner but said that current plans were unclear and Greenland’s government will need substantial help in order to set up the right standards that would avoid the dangerous consequences.”* (Harvey, F. *Europe looks to open Greenland for natural resources extraction*. In: The Guardian, July 31, 2012, appx. 1, article N20) It is showing that mining is perceived as an acceptable option only if it is save for the environment which once again puts the environmental sustainability as top priority in the Greenlandic political debate.

Before continuing further, I would like to add here, for more lucidity of the analysis for the reader, that in different parts of my analysis I will implement and use

different texts included in my empirical material for different phases of the three dimensional approach of Fairclough in order to avail the full content of the chosen materials. They all are preferred because of their inter-discursive connection and coherence in relation to environmental and social sustainability discourses and their impact of the social dimension of society, social change and primarily issues of ideology-emergence of nationalism in Greenlandic society and formation of identity.

Distribution practices of different texts, which is another important part of the discursive practices, is performed through distribution networks and intertextual chains. Intertextual chains are related with the expectations which texts wake up in the audience. By being acquainted with them the author is able to manipulate the public and on the other hand the analyst to detect them (Fairclough 1992: 132). For an example, intertextual chain may be discourse representation that is “*a form of intertextuality in which parts of other texts are incorporated in a text*”(Fairclough 1992:105-107) or simply put quotation. It is connected with the communication of discourse. It is mostly employed in newspaper articles, sometimes also in political speeches. Correspondingly, distribution practices vary from one to another text genre. Different text styles are used as tools of the ongoing text transformation in such a cases (Fairclough 1992: 120). I will demonstrate how text distribution works by distinguishing the diverse forms in which the environmental sustainability discourses are represented in various genres which compound my empirical materials. Where the materials are in Danish, I will give a translation in brackets after the quotation.

Notably sapid is the speech of the former Greenlandic premier Kuupik Kleist from the from the New Year's reception of the diplomatic body January, the 13th 2011 in Copenhagen. All most all the speech is dedicated of the emerging mining industry in Greenland. Mr. Kleist is clearly announcing his excitement by the development of projects for exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals and the future opportunities they open for Greenland economy and self-sufficiency. Interesting is the context in which the discourse of environmental sustainability is introduced in the speech. Namely, the recent at that time environmental disaster in the Gulf of Mexico, where a massive oil spill occurred:

With the Gulf of Mexico disaster in mind, I was very pleased to see that the exploratory drillings of this summer proved that our logistical and organizational

capacity does live up to the highest safety and emergency preparedness standards. I was also assured that we do apply the highest standards at all times and use the best available technologies. (Kuupik Kleist New Year's speech, 2011 available in appendix)

This context gives the impression of serious consideration and conscious attitude towards possible negative outcomes from off shore oil drillings. It is good and surprising strategy to start by admitting the dangers and to state after that that you have overcome the challenge of these worrying events by providing the best "*antidotes*" in the form of strong security and best technology. The mood of the speech is indicative, especially in the parts where it is pointed out Greenland's decision to exploit its natural resources, which is often used to make indicative statements and shows determination. As a result there is evident a discourse of environmental sustainability constructed in terms of security and advanced technology. In the same speech and the one from New Year 2012, there are other discourses of environmental sustainability which I would like to mention briefly.

Next one is built around global warming. The discourse is represented in the attempt to avoid the dichotomy existing between economic development and protection of the environment. The former Prime minister is trying to highlight his concern for the deteriorating climate conditions by including in the speech his visit to *COP 16* in Cancun, Mexico where the main discussion has been circulating exactly around the very same issue of merging and placing on the same side development needs and calls for global reduction of emissions:

The fact that the oil and mineral sector is becoming a strategic investment area for diversifying our economy does not mean that we are not concerned about global warming. I would in this context like to commend Mexico for the hosting of the recent COP 16 meeting in Cancún. In my opinion Mexico set new standards within international cooperation and diplomacy in its vigorous efforts for integrating the development needs of countries with the necessity for effective global reductions of emissions. (Kuupik Kleist New Year's speech, 2011 available in appendix)

In the New Year's speech from 2012 we can observe one more environmental sustainability discourse initiated through the transition to sustainable fisheries. There the stress is laid upon the need of negotiations to find a cross point between the needs and requirements of the different sides. The issues about the changes related with the

administrative and legislative changes needed to be carried through for the fish industry works as a gate to the debate on the country's resources.

Further, in the speech we can see a broadening of the idea of environmental sustainability to other sectors like agriculture and the smooth transfusion with the discourses of social sustainability like education and in general better conditions of life for the population. In the same positive tone and in a consistent manner mining activities are to come into the picture: *"Thirdly, we hope that mineral mining operations will open at Qeqertarsuatsiaat and Killavaat Alannguat. Certainly, our country has plentiful mineral riches, but as long as they are lying in the ground and not being used, they are of no benefit to anyone."* (Kuupik Kleist New Year's speech 2012) The coherence is achieved with transition words for sequence (firstly, secondly, thirdly...) In line with the above mentioned importance of exploitation of all country recourse and the benefits ensuing from it Kuupik Kleist is putting on the table the need to use what is available especially the abundant underground resources.

Correspondingly, there is an intriguing discourse to be found in the interview with the present Prime Minister of Greenland Aleqa Hammond. One of the environmental sustainability discourses embedded in her answers is speaking about the exploitation of the natural resources and rare minerals as a global good. She is entering the topic by emphasizing on the convenience of developing the mining and oil industry for the world which is hungry for natural resources: *"We not only have gold, we have many other valuable resources in Greenland that are of great economical interest not only for us but also for the countries outside. So it means that focus on minerals we have is rising"* (**interview with Alequa Hammond, July 11, 2013, source the official site of the Greenlandic Government, available in appendix2**)

Finally, I will finish the analysis of the discourse practices of the sustainability discourses or the first dimension of the three-dimensional approach to CDA of Fairclough with couple of words for consumption of such a discourse practices. When we talk about text consumption practically we have to deal with intertextuality. It is significant to remember that it is about to concentrate not only on the one text but to keep track on the other texts connected with the text we are working with in the moment. This has particularly impact on the interpretation of texts. The idea of intertextuality is to look upon a text in historical terms and pay attention on the methods used for transforming the past into present. This could be done in creative and conventional way in the same time.

Moreover, it is about dislocating the order of discourse resulting in discourse change which is in the same time tightened to political and social change. On a later stage this maintains also discursive change in the framework of social and cultural change (Fairclough 1992: 85). One of the common ways to do this is by discourse representation or as recently afore mentioned-quotations. This is a method of maintaining change in the discursive practices by advocating secondary interpretation by incorporating the primary source. A good example is an article concentrated with quotations of Aleqa Hammond on the topic of extraction of natural resources, with the purpose the author of the article to be able to defend his thesis and sell it to the reader (see appx. 1, article N 11)

4.2.2 *Textual Analysis*

Doing textual analysis is accepted as being a descriptive dimension of the CDA three-dimensional approach and it is covering the micro level of analysis (Fairclough 1992). I will concentrate on the grammatical category of modality, word meaning and wording. Henceforth, I will start with examining the interesting grammatical category of modality, which I have mentioned before but will elaborate more on it now. After Fairclough's considerations, modality indeed has turned out to be very substantial dimension of discourse.

One thing that makes it to be so is the extent to which the modality of a sentence is amenable to change and transformations. The transformational qualities of modality are mostly used by media, thus it is best to demonstrate the significance of modality for the social dimension of discourse by critically studying different media utterances. To be more specific, in newspaper articles, it is usual practice to present information that might not be from a reliable source or confirmed at all as a fact (Fairclough 1992: 160-161). Correspondingly, I will take a closer look at some sentences from my empirical material: *"The potential gold rush is being welcomed by some in Greenland, but has raised fears of environmental damage, pollution and despoliation across the Arctic that could destroy one of the world's last wildernesses"* (Harvey, F. The Guardian, *Europe looks to open up Greenland for natural resource extraction*, July 31, 2012, appx. 1, article N20). In this one the modal verb could expresses the author intention to live space open for diverse outcomes. There is an idea inferred that damaging the arctic environment with resource extraction might

not be the case. Hence, this kind of modality constitutes a discourse of environmental sustainability circumvented by the presumption the resource extraction might turn out to be also positive and not so dangerous. In another newspaper we meet the following types of sentences:

Slips during test drilling are particularly potent and can easily spill up to 30,000 tonnes of oil per day, so should a serious slip occur up there [Greenland] all we can do is hope for the best"; "Oil companies should not be drilling in Greenland..."; "The environmental consequences of an oil disaster in the Arctic region could potentially be even worse than in other regions because of the vulnerability of the ecosystem in the area".(The Copenhagen PostArctic oil-spill preparedness called into doubt, June 25th, 2013, appz1. Article N15)

The modal verb *can* is a subject of '*epistemic modality*' which is related to the world of knowledge and reasoning. The use of it is indicating the introduction of a fact, a thing that is tested. The verb '*should*' has two diverse connotations in two different sentences. In the first, it is setting up '*intrinsic modality*' which is expressing the play of circumstances over events whereas the second pertain a '*detonic modality*' purporting '*directive attitude*'. Lastly, '*could*' go under the category of '*intrinsic modality*' too (Radden&Dirven 2007). Given that, through modality in this article and what could be caught through the chosen examples discourse that shows through is an attempt to moderately express that the danger of oil drilling should be taken serious and actually oil drilling could lead to ecological catastrophe.

In relation to textual analysis and particularly grammar, I will analyze two more elements word meaning and wording. Word meaning is of special importance when it comes to text interpretation. As Fairclough states one could concentrate on the meaning of the word by itself or with connection to others. As the next thing to do is to look for particular wording or how different positioning of words would change the meaning of the text, which is more conjunct to context and link of one word to another, I will rather follow Fairclough's choice and will interpret some words aiming to manifest word power to insert meaning and to influence the social and cultural process. So far I have analyzed sentences. Words can as well represent distinct discourses in texts serving as pieces of a puzzle. To illustrate tis I will pick up words from different texts from the empirical material and I will explain what kind of discourse they project. Fruitful material from this

point of view is Aleqa Hammond speech. I will emphasize on a paragraph in the speech where the Greenlandic Prime Minister begins to speak about the mineral resources. In the thesis I will quote only the beginning of this discussion (the whole speech is to be found in the appendix) which is the source of several environmental sustainability discourses and some social sustainability discourses as well:

So, Greenland has been spotted in many ways. But due to climate change, the ice retreating has given new opportunities for other countries, has given new challenges for other countries to be part of and that is our hunt for the minerals. The world demand on minerals is rising and Greenland is country that is very rich on minerals. We not only have gold, we have many other valuable resources in Greenland that are of great economical interest not only for us but also for the countries outside. (Aleqa Hammond speech, July 11, 2013, see appx. 2, p.14)

Words that are singled out and repeated often not only in this passage but throughout the whole speech are “*climate change*”, “*change*”, and “*challenge*”. The repetition of these words signifies the emergence of new sustainability discourse in relation to climate change and to change in general. One of the meanings of “*change*” in the dictionary is “*to undergo transformation, transition or substitution*” or “*to make a shift from one to another*”. Challenge, in addition, is defined as “*to arise or stimulate especially by presenting by difficulties*” or “*to dispute especially as being unjust, invalid, outmoded*” (Merriam Webster dictionary online). There are many more meanings. Yet, these seem to be the one implied in the speech and the accumulation of ideas that they produce works by formulating certain discourses. As I have recently mentioned Fairclough claims that meanings of words are influencing social and cultural process. Though, words are used further as tools for displaying more extensively this social and cultural process (Fairclough 1992: 185). This is to say, that when Aleqa Hammond is using “*change*” or “*challenge*” in her speech besides the dictionary definition, she expresses her personal opinion about the way the future should look like-future social reality of the Greenlandic and insets cultural determination in it.

On the other hand, ‘*wording*’ is another aspect of analyzing the role given to words in texts compared to ‘*meaning of words*’. The latter is related with the other words and is building different contexts and every different ‘*wording*’ alone is changing meaning, whereas the later laying stress on the meaning of every single word. Different wordings

give us different possibilities for interpretation. One particular type of ‘wording’ discussed by Fairclough is ‘nominalization’.

Moreover, when new words are created by ‘nominalization’, for example, this leads to changes in the cultural and social space and to the establishing of new cultural categories. Consequently it is influencing the present discourses in texts (Fairclough 1992: 190-192). To illustrate the use of ‘wording’ in relation to discourse, I will take a closer look at the essay of the former minister of Culture, Education, science and Church in Greenland and politician with long experience in Greenlandic politics Henriette Rasmussen. In her essay which is focusing on sustainability and SD in Greenland and the difference between them, as well as, on the significance of the Earth Charter in terms of Greenlandic environmental politics and its reception by the Greenlandic population. At several places in the text we stumble across the nominalize phrase “*awareness-raising*”. As explained above by Fairclough this will mark the emergence of new cultural category. In the same line of thought, it will formulate new environmental sustainability discourse of first gathering knowledge to adjust sustainability: “*For the last few years, the Greenland government has sponsored a campaign aimed at the hunters, working on a new kind of awareness-raising with regard to the sustainability of a number of hunting practices.*” (Henriette Rasmussen Essay, available in appendix)

4.2.3 Social Practices

This part of the analysis of discourse is the one that I am most interested in my research. It is touching upon themes of ideology and hegemony and how they are incorporated in discourses representation. Another inquiry arising is related to what the influence of discourse is over social change. Fairclough explains this level of analysis by underlining that its purpose is to distinct the social practice to which the discourse practice appertains, which is a method to dispose the mutual characteristics of the discourse practice itself and most of all to show how the discourse practice affects the social practice (Fairclough 1992: 237). In order to do so, I will take some of the discourse representation positions in the different texts I have selected for analysis and will link them to the social practices that correspond to them. I will begin by studying the statement of the WWF to the Nuuk Ministerial Meeting of the Arctic council. The texts that constitute my empirical materials are not only different genres and styles they also represent different social practices in different domains of society. I will use them

as a basis to analyze discourses of environmental sustainability and their relation to social practices from NGO, civil society and government perspective. I will also take account of the roles which ideology and hegemony play in discourse. As the main discourses studied in my thesis are of environmental sustainability and social sustainability, I will look upon them in connection of social ecology as social practice in the statement of WWF. There we can differentiate several discourses:

We are just past the first anniversary of the catastrophic oil blowout off the Gulf Coast of the United States. There is no evidence that oil companies and regulators have yet fully absorbed the lessons from that blowout and are ready to transfer those lessons to the much more difficult working conditions found in the Arctic. (The Statement of WWF, available in appendix)

From these sentences we can deduce that the implied environmental discourse is related to the rising of security measures and the prioritizing the wellbeing of the population and the nature over economic revenues.

Another noticeable discourse can be traced in the following part of the statement: "*Climate change remains the most urgent issue in the Arctic. We need to set the world on the path to an equitable and low carbon future, with the long-term goal of 80% emissions reductions by 2050 to ensure the safety, sustainability and prosperity of people, places and species.*" (The Statement of WWF, avail. in the appendix) It is focusing on the need of environmental sustainability from the point of climate change, which should be handled with change of everyday life, production and consumption practices for the sake of people and environment.

Both above discussed environmental sustainability discourses are situated in the social practice of social ecology. As explained earlier in the theoretical part, social ecology is studying the relationship between society and nature. The concept first started as an interest in the interaction between humans and their social environment. Later, it has been developed to include ecological thinking in every aspect of human life and to examine the links between individual, social, spiritual and ecological aspects of the human state. The transformation of the concept continued further to reach of form, where social ecological approaches are combined in "*trichotomic*" theoretical framework of nature, men, culture/society. This recent version of social ecology deriving from the German political discourse in the field is the one I will include as social practice in my critical CDA (Bruckmeier 2013: 11-12). I argue that it is

appropriate for my research as it exactly comprises the theoretical scope of my thesis and relates to the discourses in the texts of my empirical material.

Going back to the analysis in the statement of the WWF to the Nuuk ministerial meeting of the arctic council from 12th of May 2011(see appx. 3), one can find different discourses of environmental sustainability orientated predominantly to preservation of the nature and the ensuring of good conditions of life for the population. Thus, extraction of natural resources ranks on second position. It is recognized as important for the social and economic development of the Arctic region, still not more important than the protection of the environment and the healthy conditions of life of the human population.

In like manner, these discourses exist in other global and local political institutions as in Greenlandic political institutions responsible for the mining activities and protection of the environment. They are part of new discourses, new ideology that struggles for hegemony over the old ones and it acts for the motivation for change of discourses in the political institutions and aims to reach society and succeed in social change, which may practically be considered as demonstration of Fairclough's concepts of social practices, ideology and hegemony (Fairclough 1992: 86-96). As shown above, the effect of the statement of the WWF is assumed to be a tool for strengthening the basis of the new environmental sustainability discourses and in the same time used to open space for them.

By the same token, we can look for discourses of social sustainability in the realm of civil society. For this purpose I will use for analysis some newspaper articles reflecting the opinion of the national population. Especially convenient are the articles organized around the topic about the results of the Greenlandic parliamentary elections from March this year: *"Many of Greenland's inhabitants fear change may be coming too fast, however. Development also carries with it worries of environmental damage that could undermine Greenland's traditions of hunting and fishing"* (Weaver, R., *Greenlanders vote for change. Cph Post, March 13, 2013*, appx. 1, article N13). The discourse is again situated in the area of social ecology as social practice. It is representing change as a challenge arising fears that more might be lost than gained from natural resources extraction. Especially strong is the fear of losing traditions and of neglecting own cultural roots. This discourse has evolved into powerful one being able to change the political

preferences of a social event that will in the long run result in different social practices, for example new environmental policies.

Next article introduces a social sustainability discourse on the debate of foreign labor and to what extend compromises should be allowed or how much is too much to sacrifice in the name of extended autonomy. In addition, as element of this discourse we can diversify generation of nationalistic moods. Hence, through discourse change, we can observe new ideologies embedded in the new discourses and the new discourses transformation into social practices. In support of this pattern Althusser claims that ideologies are in fact materialized in the practices of institutions and facilitate the implementation of discursive practices as “*material forms of ideology*” (Althusser 1971: 161).

Further, in line with the above stated reasoning Fairclough elaborates on a tendency to comprehend ideologies as symbols and formulations of reality. Under reality is implied the physical world, social relations and social identities which in the long run become part of different levels of meanings of discursive practices and simultaneously take part of “*production and reproduction of relations of domination*” (Fairclough 1992: 87).

However, at the same time, Fairclough points out that ideology cannot be extracted directly only from text analysis since texts are interpretations themselves and are having sometimes more than one interpretation. He suggests that we should look for ideologies into social events and order of discourse. In other words, this would mean to have coherence between results of past events and the requirements for current social events (Fairclough 1992: 89). Corresponding to the aforementioned, the above analyzed newspaper articles are reflecting journalist’s opinions related to social event which through the media is distributed to the society and results in change of the discursive and social practices and opens space for hegemony of new ideologies-in this case nationalism. These ideologies have their effect over social practices and social identities and result, for example, in the change of institution practices.

Lastly, in this part of the analysis I will analyze environmental sustainability discourse in the social practice of social ecology from the angle of the Greenlandic government. With the intention to do so, I will analyze official political documents. There I will try to underline the diverse discourses of environmental sustainability that

I have found and the ideologies embedded and introduced with them. As a final step I will try to identify the power they accumulate over the society, meaning social practices and social identities.

I will particularly refer to the speech of Doris Jakobsen member of the Siumut party in Greenland one of the Greenlandic members appointed to the Danish Parliament at the last summarizing session of the parliament on the debate on natural resources: *“I den sammenhæng har vi et ønske om at bruge råstofferne i vores undergrund i fuldt omfang.”* (In this context, we have a wish to use the resources in our land to full extent). In this sentence which is situated in the beginning of the speech we have introduced the extraction of natural resources which we have already shown that it is part of diverse environmental discourses. What is more in the focus of my analysis here is the use of the pronoun *“vores/our”*, which is as well possessive pronoun. It clearly expresses a state of ownership and combined with the substantive *“land”* depicts nationalistic fringes. The adverbial construction of manner at the end of the sentence *“i fuld omfang/to full extent”* gives impression of determination and legitimation characteristic for nationalistic utterances, which corresponds to A. Smith claims that structures of nationalism are often accepted today without even being questioned as nation-states, for example (Smith 1993: 3).

Sapid is another part of the speech, as well: *“Vi ønskede en større inddragelse af det grønlandske folk i vort lands omstillingen til minedrift, og vi ønskede strammere krav til de selskaber, der får lov til at udnytte vores lands ressourcer.”* (We wanted a greater involvement of the Greenlandic people in our country transition to mining, and we wanted stricter requirements on the companies who get to exploit our country's resource). Here is underlined the importance of preference of Greenlandic people as workforce in the mining industry combined with subordination to stricter rules for exploitation. The environmental sustainability discourse transparent here is loaded with nationalistic ideology.

To sum up, environmental sustainability is represented in different discourses, through different discourse practices and eventually reflected in different social practices. The texts I have analyzed, so far, have diverse authors and sources and belong to various genres and styles, which contribute to the divergent representation of discourses. In some, mining is reckoned as dangerous and there are recommendations

and alarming messages to avoid it. On the contrary, in others, mining is depicted as positive and busting the general development of Greenland in all directions. In both cases extraction of natural resources and rare minerals is connected with the national interest.

Moreover, as the above conducted analysis of environmental sustainability discourses points out, language canalizes its power through discourses. After all, if we translate the dynamics between the three-dimensions of Fairclough's approach for CDA through the prism of the case of Greenland, we will conclude that the different discourses singled out from the empirical material track the change in the discursive practices that result in new social practices and influences society. Yet, I will come to my final conclusion about discourse change in relation to ideology, new social practices and identity in Greenland after I finish the following chapter as only then I will have the full analysis of the environmental and social sustainability discourses.

4.3 The Discourses of social sustainability

This part of the analysis will follow the structure of the one before with the only difference being the discourses that are traced, which are positioned in the sphere of social sustainability. Having this in mind, I will go through the three dimensions of Fairclough's approach to CDA, namely discourse practice, textual analysis and social practices.

4.3.1 Discourse practices

Discourse practices as we are already familiar have three important phases: text production, distribution and consumption which are determined by the discourses and the social practices that influence it. Text production varies most of all from the author and then from the choice of genre. The latter is also connecting the production of text with the social context (Fairclough 1992: 76-78). Thereupon, I will focus more on how the social sustainability discourses are represented in the different text genres. In newspapers, especially around the parliamentary elections this year, there is often comparison between the social sustainability discourses during the last and the new government:

The results were viewed as a stinging rebuke of Kleist's policies. "There has been too much secrecy about mining projects and too many problems for fishermen," Hammond told the press". vs.: "The results were viewed as a stinging rebuke of Kleist's policies. "There has been too much secrecy about mining projects and too many problems for fishermen," Hammond told the press ... (Rey Weaver. Greenland votes for change. Cph Post. March 13, 2013)

and

[i]n particular, the Siumut party is looking to introduce immediate royalty payments for mining companies, rather than the Inuit Ataqatigiit coalition's plans to allow companies to retrieve a large part of their initial investments before having to pay royalties. (Arab News. Opposition wins Greenland vote on calls for mining tax. March 14, 2013, appx. 1, article N22)

By putting the controversial discourses so close to each other it is easier to perceive discourse change. The policies of the government of Kuupik Kleist seem to be more influenced by economical sustainability discourse than social sustainability discourse. In the media his government is represented as putting serious effort in attracting investors, however at the expense of social development of the population as for instance to work for minimizing the unemployment and securing more jobs for Greenlanders. In contrast, Ms. Hammond emphasizes on the need of imposing royalties over mining activities and on the maintaining equality among the population. The article from *Arab News* is interpretation of an external source. This is already a method of creating new discourses since the previous source has already been a text with established discourses within it (Fairclough 1992: 78). Further, the policies on mining of the former and current government are represented in incongruity to each other, where it can be noticed the dominance of the latter over the former salient in the framework of the results from the parliamentary elections in March, 2013. Namely, this domination moves the power from IA to Siumut and provides them the victory of the elections. As a different party they have different ideology and under the discursive changes this ideology has become popular, accepted and naturalized as a common social practice-meaning nationalism. This has been supported by the media by distributing particular discourses, focusing on them and giving them power to change the public opinion and consequently the social practices.

In addition the election of new government has sequel in changing the practices of institutions and respectively contributes to onset of new social practices. In speeches of members of Siumut we can distinct couple of divergent social sustainability discourses which are entangled with nationalistic ideology and are aiming at the reinforcement of the nation building process. Notably fruitful for studying in the light of the just aforementioned discursive constructions is the interview with the present Prime Minister Aleqa Hammond. Already, in the very beginning of the conversation before entering the realm of politics, she is introducing her place of birth with high excitement: *“I am from Uummannaq, which I consider to be one of the most beautiful places in Greenland, maybe also on the Earth.”* In line she continues: *“But I have learned to see it with new eyes that I actually come from very great place.”* In these two lines she emphasizes on her connection with her birth place and especially with the nature. She is happy to be born there because she feels that it is a special place. This impression is further enhanced by the unusual combination of the adverb “very” and the adjective “great”.

The way Ms. Hammond expands her answer and the way she extols the nature of the place, where she has been born, may be taken as indication of romantic and mystical nationalism ideology. It is influenced by a mix of historical ecology and social anthropology, which is to present a belief that a concrete geographical situation and a certain ecological relationship are responsible for forming local cultures (Bloom 1990: 60). Further on, she is often mentioning her being proud to be Inuit which shows intention to preserve and popularize it: *“I’m very proud of my traditions, I’m very proud of my culture. It has made me strong.”*

This fits to Erikson’s theory of identification and in the same time can explain the prime minister’s attachment to the natural habitat, as well as, the easy adaptation of the new discourses being a consequence of the Greenlandic identity, which is in an active process of construction. When there is a case of feeling a threat to the national identity, strong defense instinct comes into play and results in intensive attempt to preserve the already possessed identification or in some other cases to rebuild a reliable new identity (Bloom 1990: 46).

Furthermore, in the interview we can observe a very smooth collision of social sustainability discourses and nationalistic ideology covered under the salient expressed

desire for independence. From the interview we get a lucid impression that the peak point in the development of social sustainability would be accomplishing independence. This can be supported by the following quotations: *“And sexual abuse and neglect of children were agenda one”*; *“Thriving for more and wanting to achieve greater achievement and taking more responsibility of our own country of all actions at all levels. We could grow as people. It makes us stronger.”* She has come into politics by engaging with a social problem the neglecting and sexual abuse of children in Greenland and she has accepted as a priority task to make change in society (Interview with A. Hammond, see appx. 2, p10.)

The participation in the elections, of the party she is member of, changed gradually the order of the political discourse which is mostly visible in the most popular debate in the last five years, namely the extraction of natural resources and rare minerals, which simultaneously is entangled together with the other central political issue-the strive for independence. They are both constantly reinforcing each other and this could be particularly traced in the relationship between environmental and social sustainability discourses building the debate on extraction of natural resources and rare mineral and issues of nationalistic ideology and identity, which in addition are mirroring the process of nation building and are standing behind the political campaign for independence.

It is interesting to unravel how discourses, especially the social sustainability discourses work. We can elaborate on this when we handle it in the light of discourse distribution. As it was mentioned on an earlier stage in the thesis, this is very much connected with intertextual chains from which actually depend the consequences that texts have on the social environment. For instance, political texts create policies and change the social practices (Fairclough 1992: 79). Texts of this sort are the coalition agreement between the parties in the Greenlandic parliament and the speech of MP and member of Siumut party Doris Jakobsen in front of the Greenlandic Parliament at the end debate on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals. The essay of Heriette Rasmussen is a little bit different text, which in contrast to the former is not normative, still it is aimed at altering public opinions and attitudes. One of the social sustainability discourses that we recognize in Doris Jacobsen speech is about the importance of

providing work places for the Greenlandic population: “*Og ikke mindst skaffer arbejdspladser til grønlandske medarbejdere*”(And not least, provide jobs to Greenland employees). This sentence, although short, can be an example of the way discourses achieve domination of ideas and how this is employed by politicians. First important thing is the power of discourse and who has access to it. In order to make a speech in parliament one should be MP. If there is just an ordinary citizen he won't be able to use the discourse so effective unless he is not part of active social group. In other words, some kind of individuals namely, members of the political elite have “*privilege access to discourse and communication*” (Van Deijk 1993b).

Often, political elites and social groups have the opportunity to access particular discourse genres and styles, as well as, communicative events and contexts. With this in mind, it is useful to pay attention on the relationship between discourse access and social power. Observations lead us to the conclusion that the more access to different discourses, the more social power is obtained. In relation to this, as I have used a lot of newspaper articles as part of my analysis, I would like to emphasize on the role of media as an important and powerful mediator of discourse which is also part of the discourse distribution.

Correspondingly this explains why many politicians and political parties secure their access to the media as it is giving them significant role in the control of public opinion (Van Dijk p.7-8). Thus, if we go back to the aforementioned speech by presenting the exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals as a social strategy for opening more work spaces, this discourse would be able to manipulate the public opinion in favor of the mining industry. Similar effect could be found in other social sustainability discourses presented in the coalition's agreement: “*Eksisterende økonomiske muligheder samt nye muligheder skal være til grundlag for det videre arbejde. Der skal skabes nye arbejdspladser i mineindustrien og samfundet skal sikres indtægter via royalties.*” (Existing economic opportunities and new possibilities must be the basis for further work. The creation of new jobs in the mining industry and society must be guaranteed revenue through royalties). In this one we have social sustainability presented in the semantic framework of the mining industry. It has the purpose to encourage the Greenlandic people to grab fast the offered opportunities and to look forward for even

more profits. Lying on this plane, it is noticeable again an attempt to win support of the national population.

What is to be concluded from the analysis of the dimension of discourse practices is that discourses vary most of all from the author, the genre, the style and the access to discourse of a text. All of these characteristics determinate the power and the roles, which the diverse discourses will play in society. As Van Dijk pinpoints all dimensions of discourse are subjects of diverse choices, which can later result in manipulation of the choices of the mass population and shift in the social practices (Van Dijk p. 12).

4.3.2 *Textual Analysis*

Textual analysis is the micro level of CDA, even though it is good to keep in mind that very often we can observe overlapping between textual analysis and analysis of discourse practices. This could lead to confusion between description and interpretation. One cause for this may be the central position of analyzing text production at the both levels (Fairclough 1992: 74). I am working here mostly with modality, word meaning and wording and I will try to elaborate on the consequences of the conscious and sometimes unconscious choice of these structures over the formulation of discourses and their effect on social practices. Once again, I will go through some of the texts I have focused on in my research. This time I will look upon social sustainability discourses and the way textual elements are utilized in the construction of discourses and the meaning they produce. Peculiar source is the report of the former government of Greenland concerning mineral resource activities in Greenland. In this document we can find section relevant to the topic of social sustainability. Nevertheless, that this is a report and not an official document setting new policies, it tries to exercise domination through reference to such a document namely, the “*Mineral Resource Act*” (see in appendix):

Some of the most important requirements (section 76(1) and (2)) for companies in relation to ensuring social conditions is that they have to carry out a social sustainability assessment (SSA). Briefly, companies have to examine their positive and negative impacts for society. In the event that there are negative impacts, they must draw up proposals for how these can be minimized (Report to the Parliament aval. in appendix)

Exactly, this part of the report aims at presenting some of the foreign investors in mining activities in Greenland as proponents of the development and preservation of social sustainability in Greenland. The structures of the sentences demonstrate *root modality*, more specifically '*deontic modality*'. This type gives credit to the author to emphasize the need of something to be done (Rudden&Driven 2007). It is underlining a condition. So to say the idea inferred here is that foreign investors are supposed to take care for the social sustainability in order to be given license to operate. Hence, this discourse has the purpose to put mining activities in the range of social sustainability. Another part, following the one just discussed, is explaining how the collaboration between mining industry and social sustainability will function in reality:

The cooperation agreement should account for how the project will contribute to the development of Greenlandic society, primarily with jobs (directly with the licensee or via subcontractors), involvement of local enterprises, knowledge transfer and education, work experience, and other initiatives in sociocultural areas. The cooperation agreement should be accompanied by detailed plans for how the targets in the cooperation agreement are to be reached. (Report to the Parliament avail. in Appendix)

The modality implied in this passage is called '*disposition modality*' which is concerned with the existence of inherent ability. Furthermore, it is depicting the entity of having the ability to do something and the only thing to do is to apply it, to take a decision of using your potential (Rudden&Driven 2007). Thus, the meaning of this in the light of the political debate of extraction of natural resources and rare minerals through the prism of social sustainability discourses creates representation that mining companies have an inherited predetermination of acting in a social sustainable manner. In this way by looking closer at the levels of discourse and decomposing its structure, we can learn what discursive structures and strategies are involved in the process of formulating public opinion. This single report puts in practice the power of social transition in this case demonstrated by social sustainability discourses. One of the ongoing transformations is to minimize the controversy between "*we and the others*" (Van Dijk 1993b). In other words there is an attempt to situate the Greenlandic nation and the foreign investor companies on the same side and present them as working together for the further development of social sustainability in Greenland. By doing so, such texts turn the opinion of the national population in favor of exploitation of natural resources and rare minerals.

Different stage of text analysis is studying word meaning. Every word gives its own contribution to the formulation of discourse. Choosing various words when producing a text is connected with the ideational meaning of the language and the process of creating social reality. What is mainly underscored here is the functions of discourse to reproduce and reformulate reality (Fairclough 1992: 169). In the same fashion Fairclough argues that there are always key words in texts, which have certain meaning potential. Namely, this meaning potential is involved in cultural and social struggles. What is happening is that the meaning potential of some words could become unstable and consequently would be overwhelmed by other meaning. This may change the hierarchy of discourses and one new might take the place of an older one (Fairclough 1992:186).

The examples I will give here will focus on word meanings and wording of meanings (where the difference is that the latter is more concerned with the role of the context). My goal is to investigate the power of words in relation to discourse formulation. Provided that, it is worth to study the meanings of words and wordings in building a social sustainability discourses in the confines of the political debate on Mining in Greenland in the statement of the (ICC) at The Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting in Nuuk. Even though, the framework of the above mentioned debate is not so visible on the surface, some words have strong meaning potential in that direction and work as key words forming the social sustainability discourse. They are transferring power to it and are giving rise to it in comparison, for example to the environmental sustainability discourses. Such words are “*healthy*”, “*resources*”, “*industry*”, “*well-being*” and “*industrial development*”. Interesting wordings are to be seen with the word “*health*” (The Statement of the ICC, see appx. 4, pp. 1-2) In a way it can be accepted that there is a symbolic link between *health* and *sustainability*. For example, wordings like *physical health*, *mental health*, *healthy Arctic environment*, *healthy Arctic* and *healthy communities* emphasize on the idea of social sustainability and its significance for the Arctic.

4.3.3. Social Practices

Social practices, as emphasized in the analysis of environmental sustainability discourse, are exploring ideology and hegemony and their involvement in discourse

representation. Correspondingly, social practices are interested in the impact of discourse on social change. In addition, the link between social practices and discourse practices is in fact the discourse representation of social practices (Fairclough 1992: 86). In this part I will try to do as it has been previously done in this paper for the CDA of the environmental sustainability discourse to proceed with analyzing social sustainability discourse in the frame of the social practice of social ecology from NGO, civil society and government perspective. Discourses of social sustainability from the perspective of NGOs social practices in the more general social practice of social ecology in society could be best studied in the statement of ICC and the WWF statement to the Ministerial Meeting of the Arctic council in Nuuk: “ *Inuit believe, however, the key indicator that encompasses these and other measurements of a healthy Arctic environment is the state of well-being of Inuit and other Arctic peoples*” (ICC, available in appendix) . In this sentence, the possibility of interpretation of *healthy* as *sustainable* is visible. Further, we have condition of well-being of Inuit people which equally is related to sustainable environment. Hence, the social sustainability discourse is represented in a try of promoting the establishing of policies to maintain environmental sustainable environment subordinated to the Inuit way of live. Often the representation of the social sustainability discourse results in the social practices of NGOs as declarations, which serve as normative proposals to governments for higher respect for nature and human beings than for businesses working with mining activities and targeting rather at economic sustainability.

With the same intention we continue investigating the representation of the social sustainability discourses in the social practices of the civil society. Benign field for studying this is the depiction of the results of the parliamentary election this year in newspaper articles. In the chosen article, first, we have presented in opposition the two leading parties Siumut and IA and their attitude to importing of foreign work force: “*The IA - headed by Prime Minister Kuupik Kleist - is in favour of importing cheap, foreign, mainly Chinese labour to mine iron ore.*”/ “*Siumut - led by Aleqa Hammond - is opposed to the plan, which could see Greenland's population increase by 5%.*” (BBC News Europe. *Mining question dominates Greenland pool*, 12th of March 2013, appx. 1, article N24)

Since the article gives further information that the latter has won the election, it is to be understood as indication of hegemony of social sustainability discourse concerned with the desire to give privilege first and foremost to the Greenlandic citizens in all areas of social and

economic life. In the same vain, this discourse shows to be dominant and results in the election of the party supporting it which latter has as an outcome in establishing of laws giving preference to local work force. The last part of the newspaper article brings together the environmental sustainability discourse and social sustainability discourse explaining the results of the election: *“There are concerns that opening up Greenland's resources for exploitation may pose an additional threat to the environment and traditional ways of life.”* (BBC News Europe. *Mining question dominates Greenland pool*, 12th of March 2013, appx. 1, article N24)

The sustainability discourse practices have resulted in withdraw of the support for one of the major policies of the government of Kuupik Kleist, the encouragement of foreign company's investment in mining projects in Greenland and in the same time have transmitted political power and opened space for the hegemony of the ideology of the social democratic party-Siumut which demonstrates inclination to nationalistic attitudes.

Another key point in the analysis of social practices and their relation to discourse representation is the social practices of the government. With intention to explore more in debt this relationship and the outcomes of it I am about to utilize some parts of Kuupik Kleist New Year's speeches and Aleqa Hammond's interview. In relation to this part of the analysis I believe it is possible to detect the strategies and methods used by the political elite in Greenland to misuse nationalistic ideology connected with the intensive contemporary momentum of nation building in Greenland which indeed has strong reach throughout the public opinion. First thing to do here will be to point out the social sustainability discourses present in the speeches and the interview in order to demonstrate the discourse change that has occurred. Then, I will concentrate on the collision of the social sustainability discourse and nationalistic ideology in the answers of the current prime minister in the interview trying to unravel how this ideology is used as a tool for manipulating the civil opinion.

The main social sustainability discourse in the New Year's speech of Mr. Kleist from year 2011 is concerned with positive impact of license distribution for mining on the Greenlandic population:

For Greenland it will not make sense to venture into resource extraction that does not have immediate benefits to the involved communities. We therefore put contractual obligation on the licensees in order to insure the use of the local labor force. We have also established a school for Mining and Engineering that will train and educate the workforce for jobs in the oil and minerals sector.

Hence, giving licenses is presented here as social sustainable decision. On the other hand, we have the opportunity to study the way social sustainability discourses are constructed in Ms. Hammond answers:

It is important that we make it a win-win situation both for the Greenlanders, for the country and also for the companies that have shown an interest to Greenland. It is very important to me that we find a fair solution; we find a solution that is both sustainable for the culture and the people but also for the companies coming from outside. (Interview with Aleqa Hammond, see appx. 2, p. 15)

In this way A. Hammond and other members of Siumut party like Doris Jakobsen use the nationalistic ideology which is embedded in the social sustainability discourses and has gained hegemonic influence over the social identities of the national population to manipulate its opinion and more specifically the acceptance of the mining industry as sustainable.

To put it differently, the CDA of the diverse texts from the empirical materials shows that they send the message to the mass public that investment in mining and mining itself, as well oil drilling and all exportation of natural resources and rare minerals is assisting Greenland to become a strong nation which will be politically and economically independent with its own unique and diverse culture preserved and promoted. In the discourses just discussed above investors are often depicted as the one investing directly in Greenland's development. Contrarily to this artificial salience of the advantages of mining there is very weak expression of concerns about environmental security, albeit in one of Kuupik Kleist speeches we can find him underlining the consequences of environmental catastrophe in the Gulf of Mexico because of oil drilling. The strategy here is to acknowledge the danger and to show acquaintance with the other case in order to differentiate the two cases and to imply that in the case of Greenland even double security measures have been taken. In sum, these

are just two of the strategies target at manipulating the public opinion and by discourse change and empowering of the nationalistic ideology to achieve political success and support of the national population in the light of change of the social practices which has an impact on social identities, as well.

Lastly, I will make an attempt to locate the role of identity in the analysis of sustainability discourses in the context of the mutual bond between Inuit identity and nature. However I will not go into debt in studying this relationship as I am soon reaching the limit of the number of pages allowed for this format of study paper. I will rather outline the framework for a future problem formulation and conduction of a study by other researchers or me. It has often been laid stress on the Inuit ability to adapt and survive harsh conditions. Aleqa Hammond emphasizes also strongly on this in the above examined interview that Greenlandic identity is distinct, with strong traditions (**Interview with A. Hammond, p.2**). In the same time, she is making a parallel between Inuit identity and the surrounding nature. In doing so, she is pointing out the beautiful nature of North Greenland and the deep roots of the Inuit traditions as core elements that have built her identity-Inuit identity, indeed (**interview with A. Hammond, p.1**).

What is more known about Inuit Identity is the strong sense of community which is making it sustainable. Even in today's world Greenland has managed to distinguish itself from mainstream and global tendencies in relation to environment, politics and economy. Social sustainability discourses could be recognized in many legal documents like laws and conventions adopted by governments of Inuit autonomous territories as Nanavut and Greenland promoting respect to human rights and multiculturalism (Doubleday p.2). For example, a social event triggering the constitution of social sustainability discourse in the politics of Greenland is the decision taken from Greenland to leave the European Union in 1985. Peculiar is that this was an outcome of a referendum where 70% of the population supported this decision.

5. Conclusion

In my thesis I have mainly dedicated my research to environmental and social sustainability on the one hand, and to nationalism and identity on the other hand. I explain my choice of tracking social and environmental discourses in the political debate on extraction of natural resources and rare minerals is vindicated, on the first place, by my interest in the relationship between society and nature and second it has been directed to contribute to the scientific knowledge in the area of environmental and social sustainability and its trans disciplinary placement in social sciences. More often attention is centered on economic sustainability which is mainly discussed from neo-liberal perspective. It is concerned with economic growth and is supporting the belief that environmental problems would be best resolved with economic and technological development and is putting more emphasize more specifically on the benign impact of economic growth over human society.

On the contrary, environmental and social sustainability have their controversial relation to each other, yet they are both primarily concerned with the preservation of the nature and the human society than with the preservation of the global neoliberal economic system. Ecological sustainability is predominantly occupied with the maintenance of human life on earth. Next to be added to the scope of ecological sustainability is the healthy existence of environment and ecosystems and to support in the long run the availability of biological resources and productivity of agricultural systems.

Further there is still a point where environmental and social sustainability are meeting which is where the environmental concepts are becoming social in nature. They are focused on stability of human populations, on the goal to achieve limited economic growth and on the underlining of the local self-reliance (Paton 2011: 18-19). Likewise, social sustainability is allocated on two levels. The first one is concerned with the basic human needs and the second one is interested in the human hopes for good and dignified life (Jegers 202: 118).

This brief revision of the concepts of social and environmental sustainability is precisely aiming to advocate and emphasize the existence of a ground on which the study of environmental and social sustainability discourses in relation to nationalism and identity are laid down. Namely, the population of Greenland is predominantly Inuit and the Inuit culture has strong bound to traditional way of live closely dependent on the wellbeing of the nature. Thereupon, I conclude that studying exactly these discourses presents the opportunity to make this relation evident. As a main method to achieve this I have employed CDA which is not only analyzing discourses but it is also adding critical view upon them and their impact on society and more specifically social change. I investigated the discourses on three different levels: discursive practices, textual analysis and social practices.

As an outcome I managed to track in different texts from newspaper articles to political speeches the different social and environmental sustainability discourses and the strategies and methods that the political elite has employed in them to influence the public opinion. The power of language has been canalized on the different levels through choosing between diverse genres and styles, creating intertextual chains, discourse representation interdiscursivity and order of discourse on macro level and modality, words meanings, wording and cohesion of the text on a micro level.

When we speak about culture, one of the main elements of it that we mention is language. Thus, language is circulator of particular culture and what is more national identity is a product of culture, as argued by Ruth Wodak (Wodak et.al 1999: 22). The formulation of national identity is, as well, outcome of nationalism. Continuing in the same line nationalism as supported by Anthony Smith and advocated by Kant has aroused as an incentive of self-determination (Smith 1983:32-33). From here on and the CDA through the three-dimensional approach of Fairclough of the chosen empirical material I came to the conclusion that the employment and the specific construction of the social and environmental sustainability discourses by the Greenlandic political elite has the purpose to touch upon the sensitivity of the striving of self-determination which is the source of the nationalistic ideology. In other words, the hegemony of the nationalistic ideology which is achieved through the administered discourses is

supporting and working in favor of the manipulation of the mass population through the political elite.

What could be mainly categorized as novel contribution of my master thesis to the scientific knowledge is the light set upon nationalistic ideology, identity as a field of social practice and social and environmental discursive practices, where most of the interest is concentrated on the notion that nationalism could further empower discourses to influence public opinion.

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