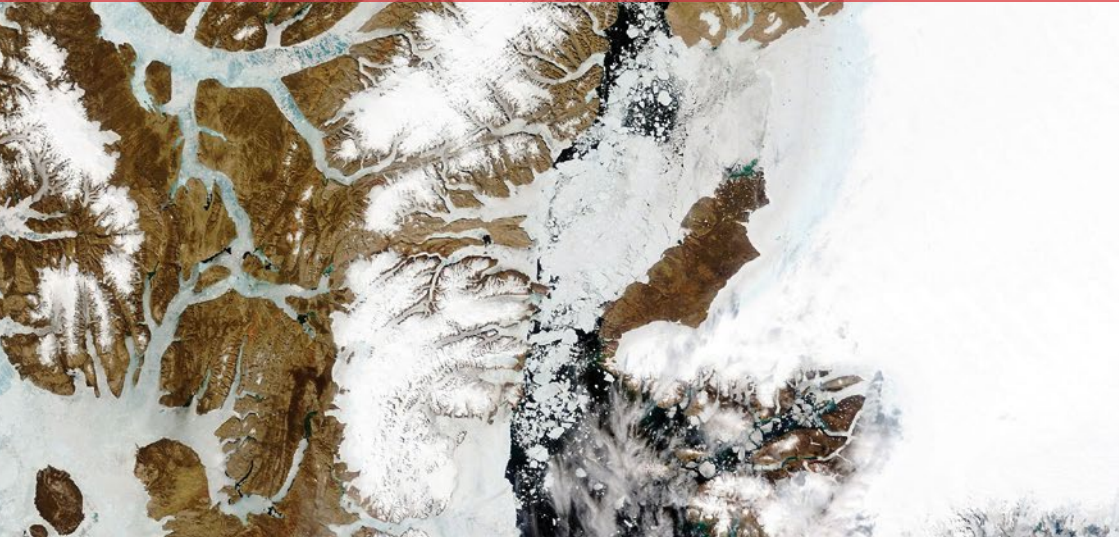


# INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES AND CULTURAL IDEAS IN THE CANADIAN ARCTIC

ARCTIC SOVEREIGNTY IN THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS



Danita Catherine Burke



# International Disputes and Cultural Ideas in the Canadian Arctic

Danita Catherine Burke

# International Disputes and Cultural Ideas in the Canadian Arctic

*Arctic Sovereignty in the National Consciousness*

palgrave  
macmillan

Danita Catherine Burke  
University of Southern Denmark  
Odense, Denmark

ISBN 978-3-319-61916-3      ISBN 978-3-319-61917-0 (eBook)  
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-61917-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017949880

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018, Corrected publication  
February 2018

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: Cover Image Stocktrek Images, Inc. / Alamy Stock Photo  
Cover Design by Ran Shauli

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature  
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG  
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This book was a six-year journey which was possible because of the support and feedback of many people to whom I am extremely grateful. I would like to acknowledge the assistance of both the Rothermere Foundation and the Carlsberg Foundation for their generous financial support for the completion of this book and to the interviewees who participated in the research. Many special thanks are extended to my colleagues in the international politics section at my department and the staff at the University of Southern Denmark's Department of Political Science and Public Management for their guidance and feedback. Similarly, I would like to offer specific thanks to Professor Ian Clark, Dr. Huw Lewis and Dr. Jennifer Mathers for their advice during the research of this book and to the reviewers and those that endorsed the manuscript for their help in the publication process. Lastly, I wish to acknowledge the unwavering help and support provided by my family, particularly my parents, as I completed this book.

# CONTENTS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <b>Introduction</b>  | 1  |
| <i>Addressing a Puzzle</i>   | 2  |
| <i>Canada and the Arctic</i>   | 3  |
| <i>A Look at Foreign Policy and National Identity Literature</i>                             | 8  |
| <i>Ideas, Case Studies and Sovereignty: The Core Research Questions and Arguments</i>        | 16 |
| <i>Undertaking the Research</i>  | 20 |
| <i>Chapter Overview</i>  | 22 |
| <i>Bibliography</i>  | 26 |
| <br>   |    |
| <b>Chapter 1: No Canada Without the Arctic</b>   | 33 |
| <i>What are the Predominant Romantic Ideals?</i>   | 33 |
| <i>Origins of the Predominant Romantic Ideas</i>   | 36 |
| <i>Romantic Ideas in Canadian Culture</i>  | 53 |
| <i>The Foreign Factor in the Development of the Canadian Romantic Ideas About the Arctic</i> | 60 |
| <i>Projecting Canadian Arctic Diversity: Going Beyond Franklin</i>                           | 64 |
| <i>Conclusion</i>  | 73 |
| <i>Bibliography</i>  | 79 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Chapter 2: Riches in the Wilderness</b>  | 87  |
| <i>Tapping into the Riches of the Arctic Frontier: The Predominant Economic Ideas</i>                     | 87  |
| <i>Origins of the Predominant Economic Ideas</i>  | 90  |
| <i>Liquid Gold: Oil in the Beaufort Sea and Arctic Shipping in the Twentieth Century</i>                  | 96  |
| <i>The Canadian Arctic Frontier in the Twenty-first Century</i>   | 102 |
| <i>Conclusion</i>   | 109 |
| <i>Bibliography</i>   | 111 |
| <br>  |     |
| <b>Chapter 3: Protecting the Home Front</b>   | 117 |
| <i>What Are the Predominant Security Ideas?</i>   | 118 |
| <i>Origins of the Predominant Security Ideas</i>  | 122 |
| <i>Traditional Security Ideas and the Arctic No-man's Land</i>  | 126 |
| <i>Use It or Lose It: The Inuit and the Idea of Sovereignty Through Occupation</i>                        | 134 |
| <i>Dawn of a New Age: Stewardship Security Ideas and Environmental Protection</i>                         | 137 |
| <i>Conclusion</i>   | 145 |
| <i>Bibliography</i>   | 149 |
| <br>  |     |
| <b>Chapter 4: Who Owns the Northwest Passage?</b>   | 155 |
| <i>Brief Background of the Northwest Passage Dispute</i>  | 156 |
| <i>Get Out of Our Waters!</i>   | 160 |
| <i>Influencing the Dispute in the Twenty-first Century</i>  | 178 |
| <i>Conclusion</i>   | 185 |
| <i>Bibliography</i>   | 190 |
| <br>  |     |
| <b>Chapter 5: Get Off My Property! Approaching the Boundary Disputes in the Arctic Archipelago Region</b> | 197 |
| <i>The Beaufort Sea Boundary Dispute</i>  | 198 |
| <i>The Lincoln Sea Boundary Dispute</i>   | 211 |
| <i>Conclusion</i>   | 219 |
| <i>Bibliography</i>   | 222 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>Concluding Thoughts</b>  | 227 |
| <i>Contribution to Canadian Studies and Arctic Studies</i>              | 231 |
| <i>Adding to Our Understanding of Foreign Policy</i>                    | 232 |
| <i>Adding to Our Understanding of Nationalism and National Identity</i> | 234 |
| <i>Final Thoughts: Implications Beyond the Canadian State</i>           | 236 |
| <i>Bibliography</i>   | 238 |
| <br>  |     |
| <b>Erratum to: Chapter 1: No Canada Without The Arctic</b>              | E1  |
| <br>  |     |
| <b>Index</b>  | 241 |



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Danita Catherine Burke** is a Carlsberg Foundation Distinguished Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of Political Science and Public Management at the University of Southern Denmark. She is part of the International Politics Section of that department. Dr. Burke's research focuses on the fields of international relations and Arctic politics.

# LIST OF FIGURES

## Introduction

- Fig. 1 2011 \$50.00 Canadian polymer bill (reverse image)  
(Banknote image used with the permission of the  
Bank of Canada) 21

## Chapter 1

- Fig. 1.1 Example of a map that includes sector theory (Government  
of Canada 1987) 45
- Fig. 1.2 International Polar Year 2012—Circumpolar region  
(Government of Canada 2007) 46
- Fig. 1.3 Canada's National Parks (Government of Canada 2007) 52
- Fig. 1.4 Modern Treaties and Self-Agreements. (Courtesy of  
Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada) 67

## Chapter 5

- Fig. 5.1 Map of the Beaufort Sea's disputed area (Image used  
with permission from IBRU, Durham University,  
UK; Gray 1997) 199
- Fig. 5.2 1984 – Natural gas pipelines (Government of Canada 1980) 208
- Fig. 5.3 Map of the Lincoln Sea's disputed area (Image used  
with permission from IBRU, Durham University,  
UK; Gray 1997) 212

# LIST OF TABLES

|           |  |     |
|-----------|--|-----|
| Chapter 1 |  |     |
| Table 1.1 | Canadian population origin chart 1871–1911         | 71  |
| Chapter 3 |  |     |
| Table 3.1 | Canada’s Arctic Expedition – 1884–1910             | 124 |
| Chapter 5 |  |     |
| Table 5.1 | Overview of the Beaufort Sea dispute               | 199 |
| Table 5.2 | Overview of the history of the Lincoln Sea dispute | 213 |

# Introduction

For Canada and its relationship with the Arctic region, understanding the relationship dynamics between culture and politics is essential for deciphering state behaviour and policies at the domestic and international levels, since “the cultural is political”.<sup>1</sup> According to Harold Lasswell in his seminal work, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*, the “study of politics is the study of influence and the influential”,<sup>2</sup> out of which “findings of political analysis ... vary when different characteristics of the influential are chosen for emphasis”.<sup>3</sup> This book illustrates that the complex nuances of the evolution of cultural ideas are both a product of, as well as an influencer on, state domestic and foreign policy formation and its implementation.

This work acknowledges that systemic influences play a role in how states relate to one another. Concentrating on the case of the Canadian relationship with the Arctic region, this book addresses two overarching central research questions: (1) how have the dominant cultural attitudes about the Canadian Arctic emerged and evolved within Canadian society and (2) how these cultural ideas about the Canadian Arctic region affect, and are affected by, Canada’s international disputes in the Arctic region? The purpose of this book is to develop upon Arctic studies literature, by conducting a detailed analysis of how interests and disputes in the Arctic region, at the regional and international levels, are affected by domestic political factors.

## ADDRESSING A PUZZLE

In 2011, the Bank of Canada introduced its plans for a new \$50.00 bill, bearing the distinctive image of the Canadian Coast Guard vessel *Amundsen*, ploughing through ice sheets under an Inuktitut spelling of the word “Arctic”. This image conveys specific elements associated with Canadians’ ideas about the Arctic region, which are explored in this book: pristine, ice-covered Arctic wilderness; Canadian indigeneity and the protection of Canada’s sovereignty all shown upon the most symbolic aspect, and means, of commerce—currency. This is the first time such a profound and detailed Arctic-focused image has been on one of Canada’s bills, and as the market research for the bill image indicated, “the image of an ice breaker was suggested as a way of expressing sovereignty”.<sup>4</sup>

As the bill’s imagery suggests, ideas about the Arctic have taken root in the collective imagination of Canadian society, with the Arctic representing something perceived and promoted as fundamentally Canadian. The most puzzling aspect of the Canadian relationship with the Arctic region revolves around the split between the appearance of absent-minded governance, bordering on indifference towards the region, and the raging nationalism and assertive discourse during moments of actual and perceived challenge towards the imagined “Canadian Arctic region”. This dynamic has been discussed by some journalists and academics, as the result of reactionary anti-American sentiments and the desire to distinguish Canada from the United States. Yet these accounts fail to account for the ways in which the cultural and political interpretations of Canada’s relationship with the Arctic region have affected the pendulum of public and political sentiments in Canada on domestic and international Arctic issues.

This book focuses upon the overarching concept of the Canadian Arctic as a frontier. The majority of the explicit discourses on the Arctic as a frontier are associated with the idea of the Arctic as an economic space. Yet, this work argues that the idea of the Canadian Arctic can be divided into three key frontier ideas: a frontier to be revered as a pristine space; a frontier to be forged into for economic gain; and a frontier in need of protection. The link between the concept of the Arctic as a frontier and Canadians’ association with the region speaks to the important relationship which has developed between Canadians and the landscape. Some scholars have even argued that “landscape is the primary stimulus of the Canadian imagination, it is commonly asserted, and has been so at least since Confederation in 1867”.<sup>5</sup>

This book develops upon the idea of the Arctic as a frontier and highlights that the Canadian association with the region most commonly comes through in three main predominant ideas sets, which this book categorizes as romantic, economic and security. In international relations, the term ideas has been used to describe different “sets of beliefs held by decision-makers (or prevalent within institutions)”.<sup>6</sup> Ideas are not solely the construct of interests, but rather the perception of what might be of interest is in part influenced by the ideas held about a subject or thing, area or person. This book demonstrates that the three predominant idea sets are linked to Canada’s origins as a colony and the impact of the colonial relationship between Canada and Great Britain on the budding national identity within the Canadian state, and with the Canadian peoples’ identification with the North and the Arctic region. It also demonstrates that the national identity cultivated and associated with the Canadian Arctic region influences how the state formulates its international positions on the Arctic region and pursues its foreign policy agendas.

### CANADA AND THE ARCTIC

There is a wealth of academic literature, across disciplines, about the Arctic region and Canadian Arctic politics that addresses a range of topics, such as the legal aspects of the progression and establishment of jurisdiction and sovereignty,<sup>7</sup> traditional security concerns,<sup>8</sup> the Arctic region’s position within Canada–United States defence relations,<sup>9</sup> the Arctic’s cultural and symbolic significance for Canada,<sup>10</sup> indigenous peoples and rights,<sup>11</sup> eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Arctic exploration,<sup>12</sup> economic development,<sup>13</sup> the influence of cartography,<sup>14</sup> and environmental protection and politics.<sup>15</sup> Other work covers a variety of the above-mentioned topics in detail, such as Franklyn Griffiths’ edited volume, *Politics of the Northwest Passage*,<sup>16</sup> Richard Sale and Eugene Potapov’s *The Scramble for the Arctic: Ownership, Exploitation and Conflict in the Far North*,<sup>17</sup> Michael Byers’s *Understanding Sovereignty Disputes in the North: Who Owns the Arctic?*<sup>18</sup> and Philip Steinberg, Jeremy Tasch and Hannes Gerhardt’s *Contesting the Arctic: Politics and Imaginaries in the Circumpolar North*.<sup>19</sup> There is, therefore, no shortage of discussion about various aspects of the Canadian relationship with, or attributed monetary or cultural value to, the Arctic region.

Some of the best assessments of the relationship between Canadian society and the idea of the North are made by Sherrill Grace and Shelagh Grant. Grace explores in detail the idea of the North and Canadian identity and representations of it throughout Canadian society. Numerous works by Grant examine various mythologies of the North, and the Arctic to a lesser degree. Grant's mythologies are invaluable sources of information that explore the historical aspects of Canada's ingrained relationship with the North. These works provide a foundation for a discussion about the intricacies of, and changes within, the social construction of the idea of the North and the Arctic in Canada and its implications.

In her book from 2001, Grace presents an unparalleled amount of evidence and examples of how ideas about the North are manifested within Canadian society, for example, through comics, paintings, radio and television programmes, songs, poetry and literary works over the span of decades. However, she does not sub-divide the North into the Arctic and the sub-Arctic, nor does she account for the popular, parallel public discourse about the idea of the Arctic which emerges from the idea of the North. She does discuss the dual construction of the North, noting that the Arctic and sub-Arctic differ somewhat in terms of history, but with both concepts having blurred boundaries between them making it difficult to tell where one begins and the other ends.

Grant, on the other hand, reflects on the broad concept of the North in her work from 1989, where she observes that “[t]he ‘real’ north keeps moving north, but never ceases to exist”; a social phenomenon made possible because “the north can also be merely a ‘state of mind,’ directly related to one’s own experience”.<sup>20</sup> Grant’s work was an enormous inspiration for this book’s design, particularly her acknowledgment of Canada’s indigenous historical narratives and experiences that have run parallel with the predominant settler-based ideas and experiences, but have been marginalized for centuries. This book distinguishes the Arctic from the North and delves into the Arctic portion of the North and its role in Canada’s Northern legacy. Grace’s work helped to illustrate how much, and for how long, the concepts of the North and the Arctic have been featured as mainstays in Canadian culture and society.

The value of using and developing upon Grace’s and Grant’s work in political studies is reflected in Kristy Michaud, Juliet Carlisle and Eric Smith’s cultural studies work. Michaud et al. conducted a survey to assess the influence of political knowledge on cultural research when researchers

are investigating the worldviews of communities or social groupings.<sup>21</sup> Michaud et al. found that

[a] critical finding from the political science side is that people's opinions and behaviour depend on their level of political knowledge. In particular, people who know little about politics generally do not hold consistent opinions or have coherent worldviews, while people who know a great deal about politics generally have consistent opinions and worldviews.<sup>22</sup>

This research raises the valuable point about people's belief that they know something is not necessarily based on concrete evidence. There is a link between political knowledge and opinion, and the cultural side of how those opinions form and are informed.

This research demonstrates that the consistent Canadian support for the concept of Canadian Arctic sovereignty can be traced to an overarching political and cultural belief within Canadian society that the large portion of the Arctic region, north of Canada's mainland, is Canada's. The development of this belief is very illustrative of the types of relationship which develop between culture and politics. In the Canadian case, support for this cultural-political relationship existed and was inadvertently encouraged by the Canadian government, although politicians up until the late 1960s, largely mistook Canadians to be indifferent about the region and underestimated what the region meant to the identity of the nation-state. By the 1970s, however, Canadian politicians realized that the Arctic mattered to Canadians at a core level of self-identification. A consistent cultural view emerged and was articulated that a large, but unclearly defined, portion of the Arctic region belonged to Canada to the exclusion of others became a fixture in Canadian politics with international political implications.

Steinberg et al.'s research helps to situate this book within the existing literature and to further demonstrate the value of this book for Arctic studies. They argue that the Arctic region is more than a socially constructed imaginary, that it is a geographic and political space filled with "Arctic imaginaries",<sup>23</sup> which "are not stable", but in a constant state of flux.<sup>24</sup> Steinberg et al. highlight different Arctic imaginaries that cross the national borders of the Arctic states, instead of conducting an in-depth analysis of the national or local imaginaries of one of the five Arctic coastal states.<sup>25</sup> A primary aim of Steinberg et al.'s research design is to forward the argument that the "contestation among and within imaginaries is itself



a normal state of affairs, in the Arctic as elsewhere ... [and] [t]hat focused effort is needed to understand the mosaic of Arctic imaginaries".<sup>26</sup>

Much in the same way, this book focuses on a specific Arctic state—Canada. It presents a political history of the state's evolving ideas and the interplay and overlapping development of the predominant ways in which the Arctic is seen within Canada, and the political reflections and implications of these ideas. These ideas are later applied to the evaluation of three disputes involving Canada in the Arctic region.

Though this book diverges from Steinberg et al.'s work by focusing upon Canada and its relationship with the Arctic, the two works complement each other. They both adhere to the common themes of the multiplicity of imaginaries/ideas. This multiplicity affects state relationships and identification with the Arctic region and the necessity to account for the importance of belief, value and history in the formation of an Arctic state perception of the "exceptionalism" of the region within domestic, regional and international politics.<sup>27</sup>

Another point is that the Arctic is more than a socially constructed idea, which again draws upon a paper by Philip Steinberg in which he discusses the sea as a social (or human) space, using a similar logic. Steinberg acknowledges that the sea is an entity through which experiences are had and feelings are projected via encounters with it and these encounters bring about the sea's construction as a social space. The limitations of human experience with the sea, however, affect how it is framed and remembered, because "our encounter with the ocean necessarily creates gaps, as the unrepresentable becomes the unthinkable".<sup>28</sup> As with the sea, the entity of "the Arctic" does exist, though the Canadian public has limited direct experience with it. Steinberg's frame of reference, the sea as an existing entity and a socially constructed idea/series of ideas, is a useful way to think about the Arctic: the Canadian Arctic is a socially constructed space, but it is more than that—it is a place upon which these social constructions are projected.

The Arctic is a part of Canada's core national myths. Some authors argue that it helps define Canada as a unique northern nation comprised of vast wilderness that sets it apart from the United States.<sup>29</sup> There is no consensus on the definition or boundaries of the Arctic, but a lot of its cultural and symbolic value to Canadians stem from its incorporation into the broader established idea of, and discourse about, the North. Both the Arctic and the North lack clearly defined boundaries—for example, geographically, culturally, historically, visually and jurisdictionally—but it

was generally agreed in the interviews conducted for this book that the Arctic is part of the North, although some see the North as more than just the Arctic. This distinction is sometimes made through references to the High North or the Far North to describe the “Arctic” portion of the North.<sup>30</sup> The literature about the Canadian construction of the myth of the North is applicable to a study about the ideas of the Arctic, because as Elizabeth Elliot-Meisel states “the definition of the Canadian North changed and moved further north in the post [Second World War] era”.<sup>31</sup>

According to Robert Page, the views about the North held in Southern Canada are a mix of “development goals and idealism” that are displayed through romantic visions, “deeply implanted in the national consciousness”, and economic goals driven by “greed and economic exploitation”.<sup>32</sup> Grant argues that what is presently seen as the North is linked to the history of the French voyageurs, trading outposts and fur trade, with the notions of the upper reaches of the provinces, the so-called cottage country, rather than the specific history of the Northwest Passage and high Arctic exploration.<sup>33</sup> This version of the North is an area more broadly seen as the near North or the sub-Arctic.<sup>34</sup> Ideas about the retreating Northern region have become further intermingled with the ideas about the Arctic, thereby adding to the discourse on the importance of the Arctic to Canadian identity. The distinction between the geographic Arctic and North and the idea of the Arctic and North also adds to the confusion about where the boundaries and history of the North and the Arctic differ and what exactly is being referred to in literature, reports, documents and other mediums when the two words are used.

Regardless of disputes and international disagreements and the malleable definition of the region, the concept of the Arctic is an emotive subject in Canada under certain circumstances. Canadians have come to view the area as Canada’s with a flaring sense of possessiveness, protectiveness and pride at the slightest indication that others do not agree with this assessment.<sup>35</sup> The perceptions of the Arctic are a mixture of fantasy and reality, but the imagery of an area literally frozen in time has root in much of Canada’s mythology and representations about its northern frontier. The importance of the idea of the Arctic and the idea of Canadians as a Northern people, however, has blurred the lines between the use of the words “Arctic” and “North”.

From the numerous sources used for this book, an undercurrent of different ideas about the Canadian Arctic emerged that suggest that the “region” being discussed is perceived in many different ways. The book

explores the cultural-political dynamics of Canadians' relationship with the Arctic region, by reflecting on what is meant by the word "Arctic" to describe Canada's most northerly region at different stages and periods of Canada's relationship with the region. As a result, the Arctic of today is not necessarily the same imaged Arctic that existed, for example, 40, 70 or 100 years ago. The Arctic, therefore, is a malleably defined geographic area as well as a constantly, though slowly, changing imaginary space.

## A LOOK AT FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY LITERATURE

Constructivism is a debated approach/theory that is considered a social theory that emphasizes the social construction of world affairs as opposed to the claim of (neo)realists that international politics is shaped by the rational-choice behaviour/decisions of egoist actors who pursue their interests by making utilitarian calculations to maximize their benefits and minimize their losses.<sup>36</sup>

Constructivists argue that domestic and international events, actors and politics influence one another,<sup>37</sup> and this is the theoretical perspective towards which this book leans.

Constructivism challenges the "assumptions underpinning the study of IR (international relations)". It criticizes "the static material assumptions of traditional IR theory" and emphasizes "the social dimensions of international relations and the possibility of change".<sup>38</sup> Anne-Marie Slaughter claims that while

some Constructivists would accept that States are self-interested, rational actors, they would stress that varying identities and beliefs belie the simplistic notion of rationality under which States pursue simply survival, power, or wealth.<sup>39</sup>

As such, Robert Putnam's two-level games model is a useful tool in this book's analyses, despite not being a constructivist model.<sup>40</sup> Once it is approached using the context and social elements highlighted by constructivism, Putnam's model helps to explain how states operate at the international level, while balancing and being restricted by domestic interests. Putnam describes the dynamics of negotiations as two board games, a domestic one and an international one, where

[t]he political complexities for the players in this two-level game are staggering. Any key player at the international table who is dissatisfied with the outcome may upset the game board, and conversely, any leader who fails to satisfy his fellow players at the domestic table risks being evicted from his seat.<sup>41</sup>

Putnam's model supports the notion of perception-dependent rational decision-making processes that must account for the cultural impact on information interpretation. Putnam states "that moves that are rational for a player at one board (such as raising energy prices, conceding territory, or limiting auto imports) may be impolitic for that same player at the other board"<sup>42</sup>

In discussions about how constructivism explains international relations, however, some question the relationship between constructivism and the concept of identity as "this very concept threatens to undermine the possibility of ... constructivism".<sup>43</sup> Though this book acknowledges that some do not agree with constructivist explanations for international politics, within the context of this book, aspects of the theoretical outlook provide a good framework for formulating an explanation of the Canadian relationship with the Arctic region. The book demonstrates that explanations of Canada's management of, and approach to, its Arctic disputes would lack substance without an understanding and account of the role of national identity, and factors which influence it, in the country.

Literature on cultural norms and media culture covers topics like the media's agenda-setting capacity, the power of dominant cultural institutions,<sup>44</sup> the implications of distorted portrayals of cultural groups or events in entertainment,<sup>45</sup> the role of conformity in media portrayals of heroics<sup>46</sup> and encoding of messages in media and audiences' response to them.<sup>47</sup> All these elements of cultural norms and media culture help to understand how state foreign policy is formed and complement and aid theoretical interpretations of international relations outcomes. Research on geostrategic priorities evaluate factors like the implications of the international system's polarity on military and economic power,<sup>48</sup> balancing the demands of border protection—land versus maritime,<sup>49</sup> the implications of a state's physical and political geography,<sup>50</sup> the detection of threats and their implications for the allocation of "political, financial, military and intelligence energies".<sup>51</sup>

Research on economic development initiatives is also tied to geostrategic priorities and considerations about their impact on foreign policy in

the sense that there are overlapping discussions, for example, about how international organizations “play an important role in the international distribution of wealth and power” and the influence of, and influencers on, those institutions.<sup>52</sup> The literature about economic development covers themes like the role of institutions in the economic and political development process,<sup>53</sup> the implication of colonial history—either as a colony or as a colonizer—on the development interests, relationships and capacity to negotiate agreements,<sup>54</sup> and the impact of differences in income and standard of living on economic development initiatives.<sup>55</sup>

Literature which highlights issues of internal political divisions has generated thematic discussions about challenges to political unity such as religious, racial, regional, linguistic and economic wealth divisions,<sup>56</sup> debates over who should represent the interests of sub-state groups at the international level,<sup>57</sup> and how internal political divisions are managed or suppressed during situations of actual or perceived external threat to the state entity and its citizens.<sup>58</sup> Literature about nationalism and national identity are also relevant to this book’s analysis of the relationship between the cultural and the political, particularly, how people frame their national identity.

Anthony Smith proposed that nationalism is “an ideological movement for the attainment and maintenance of autonomy, unity and identity for a human community some of whose members deem it to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’”.<sup>59</sup> Ernest Gellner defines nationalism as “a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent” of which a

[n]ationalist *sentiment* is a feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment. A nationalist *movement* is one actuated by a sentiment of this kind [Italics in text].<sup>60</sup>

Benedict Anderson alternatively defines nationalism and nationality as “cultural artefacts” that arouse “deep attachments” and “emotional legitimacy”, despite their relatively recent development starting in the eighteenth century as a result of the “complex ‘crossing’ of discrete historical forces”.<sup>61</sup> Finally, Michael Hechter argues that there is one analytical definition of nationalism that does have a broad consensus: “nationalism consists of political activities that aim to make the boundaries of the nation – a culturally distinctive collectivity aspiring to self-governance – coterminous with those of the state”.<sup>62</sup>

When it comes to the formation of a nation-state around which nationalism is frequently associated, John Rawls interprets the arrangement as “a cooperative venture for mutual advantage; ‘a system of cooperation designed to advance the good of those taking part in it’”.<sup>63</sup> David Miller reflects that Rawls’ interpretation does “not depend on the idea that the rules of the practice are coercively enforced; they would apply in much the same form to a system of voluntary co-operation”, such as neighbours establishing a group for local environmental improvement.<sup>64</sup> Miller suggests, in his work on what distinguishes a nation-state in the context of justice, that a nation-state is special in at least three distinct ways.

[1] The people who belong to it are subject to a common set of coercively imposed laws; [2] they are engaged in a co-operative practice regulated by a common set of economic and social institutions; and [3] they share a common national identity that binds them to each other and gives rise to particular obligations not owed to humanity at large.<sup>65</sup>

While a nation-state is distinct in at least three ways, what its citizens see as their common identity can frequently exist as part of the routine practices of their society.

The concept, banal nationalism, which is closely associated with Michael Billig’s work, helps define nationalism and explains how culturally engrained symbols, ideas, beliefs, words and actions demonstrate social attachments to concepts on a routine basis without the typical emotional outburst commonly associated with nationalism. The usefulness of this concept within the broader discussion about nationalism is that it helps explain Canada’s occasionally perceived indifference towards the Arctic region. In Canada, as in most other states, many features commonly seen as identifiers of the state, its culture and its people are routinely acted out, expressed and/or experienced with little thought to its explicit messages these actions convey about identity. That does not mean that a lack of outwardly expressed emotional actions equals indifference to these stimuli, rather an assumption that others agree with these symbols, behaviours, beliefs and ideas.

Banal nationalism is “embedded in the ordinary lives of millions of people” and comes through in familiar habit, for example, through language and the use of words like “we”, “this” and “here”.<sup>66</sup> This is in contrast to Billig’s definition of nationalism as something that “threatens the established states and its established routines ... [and] is extraordinary,

politically charged and emotionally driven ... striking at extraordinary times".<sup>67</sup> Instead, banal practices are not a conscious choice, but they are required for the reproduction of a nation,<sup>68</sup> with symbols of banal nationalism, including ritual school room national flag saluting ceremonies,<sup>69</sup> and the naming of units of currency.<sup>70</sup>

Whether identification characteristics of groups are explicitly expressed or part of daily routines, it is very important to understand that there are multiple characteristics and factors about groups around which nationalistic sentiments are cultivated and associated.<sup>71</sup> Religion, for example, is a very well-known characteristic used by people to formulate or impose a sense of, or perception of, solidarity and unity. In discussions about the impact of religion on the formation of national identity, it has been presented in many different ways, for instance, a cultural group's core values, such as French Canada's traditional use of its Roman Catholic origins as a mark of its cultural distinctiveness from the traditional English-speaking parts of the country.<sup>72</sup> It has also been a means to unite large, diverse groups of people, for example, in the Ottoman Empire and the present-day application of the label "Arab World" to denote a number of countries with a broadly common link to the Islamic faith, in combination with a generalized ethnic sense of "Arab-ness".<sup>73</sup>

Language is another major characteristic that underpins national identity for many groups and expressions of nationalism.<sup>74</sup> Language is important to expressions of nationalism and forms of national identity. Identity is based upon aspect(s) of sameness and commonality. Language, for example, is one type of characteristic that is commonly used to help convey a sense of similarity between people. As such, "we can see that the concept of the nation presupposes shared experiences, cultural unity and a degree of commonality among its citizens".<sup>75</sup> An implication of the desire to maintain a perceived or actual distinctiveness of languages and maintain their insularity, groups within linguistically defined communities, such as some intellectual groups, "worry about modifications to – in their view, the corruption of – their mother tongue by foreign influences, influences from other languages or even other dialects of what is officially the same language".<sup>76</sup> In other instances, language can be a means to exclude people who are not fluent or do not speak it, such as migrant labourers, thus disadvantaging them in relation to the native-speaking society they are trying to operate in.<sup>77</sup>

Another overarching set of contributing factors that underpins national identity are messages about groups and their physical and cultural sur-

roundings as portrayed in literature, artwork, radio, film and television. Themes such as the role of literacy in the development of societies and their economies,<sup>78</sup> the role and impact of the development of print media in the creation and cultivation of images, myths and memories about nation-states,<sup>79</sup> and the impact of the imposition of a colonial language on colonized groups,<sup>80</sup> have all emerged in discussions about the role of literature and literacy. Michael Mann suggests that the spread of different forms of literature facilitates social identity. Mann states that social identities “could be standardized across larger social spaces and to a limited extent across the classes” through the use of literature and increased literacy.<sup>81</sup>

Artwork and the interpretation of geography, people, places and ideas are another means of generating symbols, beliefs and ideas about groups and communities which can encourage, and have encouraged, a sense of unity and bonding. Employing the concepts of “belonging” and “identification”, Anthony Smith argues that one way a sense of belonging is attributed to artwork comes for the “identification of an artist with a given community”, meaning that aspects of the person’s identity and history can be interpreted as being displayed in their work.<sup>82</sup> By the nineteenth century, the self-identification began to emerge as concepts and this “is a stronger form of identification in which artists feel the other, in this case, the land and its people, as their own, as part their selves”.<sup>83</sup> Artists’ interpretations of their own relationship and identification with their group are expressed in their selection, depiction and promotion of imagery and symbols, such as landscapes and architecture. Representations of select aspects of the world around the artist are thus immortalized in their work, and the artist’s popularity and exposure, both the artwork and information about the artist, can be incorporated within the evolution of ideas about the group.

Through depictions of geographic landscapes, artists have played a unique role in conveying and preserving an important indication of how national identity is sometimes framed.<sup>84</sup> There are debates about landscape depictions which question the thought processes which go into what it included and excluded within artwork. For example, “if a group is excluded from these landscapes of national identity, then they are excluded to a large degree from the nation itself”,<sup>85</sup> and what lies beneath the appearance of landscape depictions and their surface is viewed as “innocent traces of the past” because understandings about landscapes “sustain particular ways of seeing the world”.<sup>86</sup> Landscapes, therefore, are often



complex artistic depictions of actual or imaged spaces, which convey much more than its immediately apparent image. The artist's opinions, experiences and intentions are expressed in landscape artwork, along with information about other contextual forces, such as the intended audience and the society within which it was created.

With more contemporary artistic and news-conveying mediums, such as radio, films and television programmes, there are an increasing number of sources that convey interpretations about group identities to large numbers of people within and outside legally recognized state boundaries, often in the guise of entertainment. Discussions have abounded about the implications of entertainment for the framing of national identity. Such discussions include how influential means of entertainment are in shaping public opinions about symbols of their national identity and external groups<sup>87</sup> and how, how much and in what ways or form the media influences other societies.<sup>88</sup>

With these mediums, “[s]eemingly innocuous vehicles of entertainment, such as television programs, motion pictures, novels, and comics, help promote the image to unsuspecting audiences”.<sup>89</sup> As for the direct role of the media, “the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling people what to think about”.<sup>90</sup> Overall, the multifaceted ways in which media and other popular means of cultural expression (e.g. television programmes and comics) portray groups, symbols and ideas help to perpetuate stereotypes and beliefs about a subject.

Ethnicity is another notable aspect around which people frame their national identity that also impacts how people come together and express their perception of unity. Ethnic nationalism is the assertion of a group's identity, based on a myth of common descent and territory. Thomas Hylland Eriksen's work is linked to the idea of an ethnic group. Eriksen states that an ethnic group “suggests contact and interrelationship ... [and] are in a sense *created* through that very contact” [Italics in text].<sup>91</sup> The implication being that “[g]roup identities must always be defined in relation to that which they are not – in other words, in relation to non-members of the group”.<sup>92</sup> Thus, “[t]he first fact of ethnicity is the application of systematic distinctions between insiders and outsiders: between Us and Them”;<sup>93</sup> a fact that can be irritated by disputes over control and profit from territory.

Territory is another very important aspect around which groups formulate their national identity.<sup>94</sup> The literature on the implications of territory