

Destination Arctic: Bureaucracy, Tourism, and Identity in Canada

by

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Abstract

The framing of the Canadian Arctic by federal civil servants often bound to currents in discourse that frames the Arctic as: ‘open for business,’ a remote wilderness filled with threats and risk, and a region that needs to be governed by the Canadian South. It is through policy and its enactment by civil servants that these southern-Arctics are built and projected onto The North. Through discursive analysis of policy, government papers, and interviews with civil servants, this thesis explores the above themes to illustrate the cultural dimensions of Arctic policy. The project uses the expedition cruise tourism industry—which in Canada is primarily based in Nunavut—as a site of analysis. I analyze how agencies and departments interact with this industry to construct the idea of multiple Arctics, each with their own unique impact on the regions present and future. I interrogate how expertise and authority is spelled out and performed by actors to create such Arctics. Environmental transport policy is based in a southern-Canadian logic and is used as a means to control discourse and territory in the Canadian Arctic. Federal civil servants and cruise ship operators produce and perform many ‘Arctics’ that allow Southerners to control the Arctic via discourse and new technologies of power.

Preface

This thesis is an original, unpublished, and independent document authored by Colin Robert Sutherland. The fieldwork conducted for this thesis was approved by the UBC Behavioral Research Ethics Board, identification number H14-01118. The Principal Investigator was Dr. Merje Kuus.

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List of Abbreviations

AECO – Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators

AWPPA – Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act

CanNor – Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency

CCG – Canadian Coast Guard

IPO – Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (An Arctic Council Working Group)

NCR – National Capital Region

PCA – Parks Canada Agency

TC – Transport Canada

UNCLOS – United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my friends and family who supported me during the duration of my studies.

Chapter 1: Introduction

When I step out of the city bus, I am greeted by Ottawa's humid air and harsh sunshine. All around me are signs that we are in the thick of summer: blue skies with a slight haze that comes with the humidity, office workers in short sleeves, and the droning sound of air conditioning systems running full blast. As I look up and down Laurier Street, searching for the address of my next interview with a respondent from the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (CanNor), the peculiarity of the context of my research seems to hit each of my senses one by one. How is it that I am conducting research on the Canadian Arctic in the middle of Ottawa-Gatineau's unrelenting heat? In some ways though this is the place where the Arctic, and the rest of Canada, exists. It is through a federal bureaucracy employing thousands of civil servants that the management of one of the largest landmasses in the world beckons those individuals to define and frame Canada through its regulation.

For the duration of my research I am unable to shake the bizarre nature of my work; somehow being so deep in the 'the South' and talking about 'The North' never becomes a natural conversation. This internal conversation will be continued a number of times as I speak with *Southerners*¹ in Canada's National Capital Region (NCR), whereby the slight absurdity of the context of my research rears its head in the questions I ask and the answers I receive. This awkwardness persists as I unpack the way in which those with so much control over policy and its enactment conceptualize such a physically and socially distant place. What perseveres in every interview is a distancing between my interviewees and the subject of their files, a separation and politically ripe performance of a southern perspective on the Arctic that continues

¹ 'Southerner' or being 'from The South' is a common way of referring to those that are not *from* the northern territories.

to orient this region on the periphery. Interestingly, these conversations do not just frame The North as a place for economic development, but also as a place where the maintenance of a distinctly *southern*-Canadian Arctic, an Arctic that is regulated by a bureaucracy located in the Canadian South.

My research reveals an assemblage of people, policies and discourses that produce not a single common Arctic, but many. These Arctics, these discursive places, while bound to similar ideological roots, are seen to be diverse and burdened with their own implications for a future for those people and environments. Before delving into an analysis of these ideological roots, it is worth setting the stage on which my evolving relationship with these concepts unfolds. This chapter introduces the suite of contexts, as well as conceptual and methodological approaches, that have prompted this investigation.

1.1 The Great White North: Project Goals

In the introduction to *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness in Canada*, Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron, and Audrey Kobayashi said: “[t]he physical North establishes a point of reference, ameliorates cartographic anxiety, and grounds Canada’s spatial imaginary as both location and expanse. In both Cartographic and mythical terms, “The North” is a mutating landscape whose horizons seem forever in retreat”². They go on to highlight how the meaning of this place has shifted and coalesced around different events through time but today “draws together cultural value and identity to produce a metaphor

² Baldwin, Cameron and Kobayashi “Introduction: Where is the Great White North? Spacializing History, Historicizing Whiteness,” 1-19.

of imperial grandeur, innocence, and sovereignty”³. While the authors of this introductory chapter are more concerned with the *whiteness* of the ‘Great White North’, I am more interested in their hint of the genesis of this idea of The North and their placement of the Arctic. The Arctic in realist geopolitics and Canadian Studies,⁴ it seems, is always sought through a southern lens. It is not generally bound to an Arctic conceptualized by those in the Arctic looking down to their southern neighbors, but rather, is imposed upon Northerners by those in the Canadian south via a wide range of exercises. As Stephen Bocking comments, “[the] North has long occupied a privileged place in the Canadian imagination, whether as a pristine but fragile wilderness, a terrifying and foreboding landscape, a place for moral regeneration, or a land of economic opportunity”⁵. This Canadian imagination has in many ways produced an imagined place, a version of reality that speaks to southern preoccupations via a suite of discursive practices.

For those concerned with the Arctic, geopolitics often becomes the center of the conversation.⁶ From the region's euro-genesis, the control of space has been central as companies and militaries attempted to beckon the region into the fold of euro-control. The Hudson Bay Company would make arctic tundra and the Arctic Ocean a stage on which euro-economic expansion would play out and set the context for a future full of exercises in development and

³ Ibid.

⁴ Authors Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron, and Audrey Kobayashi paint us a powerful image of the role of Canadian celebrities in exploring the idea of the Canadian North. They cite Canadian pianist Glen Gould’s radio program on the CBC, entitled ‘The Idea of the North’ as one of these exercise. Ibid: 2-4.

⁵ Bocking, “Indigenous Knowledge and the History of Science, Race, and Colonial Authority in Northern Canada,” 43.

⁶ This comment is based on my interaction with friends, family, and other scholars. Whenever I say I am a geographer who studies the Arctic it is suggested that I *must* be studying Arctic Geopolitics. While this is actually quite fair, they are often referring off hand to realist understandings of geopolitics in the region. Somehow I am expected to be concerned with ‘Canada’s’ claim to the Arctic.

control. The race for the North West Passage, made most famous by the now infamous Franklin Expedition would make the Arctic more than just a route completed for bragging rights, but a link between Europe and Asia through the Americas further establishing the control of the British Admiralty, the precursor to the British Navy, upon the oceans of the world. The desire to explore and penetrate would not only play out in history books but would return again to haunt us in the rhetoric of politicians to this very day. As Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper celebrates the *discovery* of HMS Erebus in 2014,⁷ he also reminds Canada and the world of the legitimacy of Canadian claims to the Arctic Archipelago. Harper says finding *HMS Erebus* “ultimately isn't just about the story of discovery and mystery and all these things...It's also really is (*sic*) laying the basis for what's, in the longer term, Canadian sovereignty”.⁸ This is quite a change from the type of politics that preoccupied Canadians during the Cold War. Instead of a region of nuclear anxiety where The South sees the Arctic only as a place of potential nuclear warfare,⁹ Canadians seem to have returned to celebrate a colonial past when territory was not about controlling air space, but was enveloped in the land and sea. With exercises like the *discovery* of the Franklin Expedition in mind we must also note that Canadians live in the era of oil discovery and the looming realities of climate change, where the Arctic seems more open due to shrinking sea ice and economic possibilities¹⁰. This once frozen impenetrable landscape¹¹ is now a field where the process of extending territory, enshrining Canadian sovereignty, and defending national borders must be made in new ways so as to recognize the new status quo that

⁷ HMS Erebus is one of two ships that went missing in the Canadian Arctic under the command of Sir John Franklin, a British explorer searching for the North West Passage. The ship wreck was located in 2014 with the help of Inuit oral testimony.

⁸ CBC “Franklin find as much about sovereignty as solving a mystery.”

⁹ Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 2-4.

¹⁰ Ibid. *see Chapter 4*

¹¹ With the exception of the odd Russian submarine and commercial flight

is complicated by new technologies, shifting climates, and the emergence of a new Arctic Mediterranean.¹²

The use of the word “government” as a blanket term for elected officials is a term to be quite critical of as it rarely gets at *who* is really being spoken of. My distrust of the term is rooted both in my lived experience working as a student within the federal public service¹³ and with my readings of the relatively uncritical work done in tourism studies.¹⁴ Generally ‘government’ is used interchangeably with legislature, civil servants, crown corporations, federal agencies, and as an all-encompassing term. The use of more specific terms does not only make conversation on these bodies more accurate but also makes space for how the culture of these federal bodies may be interrogated. One of the primary motivations and goals of this research is to provoke a more thoughtful conversation on how research can be conducted with regards to bureaucracies such as the federal civil service, if geographers and researchers at large can show that policy is not developed in a political vacuum there could be the possibility for improved and representative policy. I am interested in contesting the singularity and mechanistic conceptualization of the federal civil service and replacing it with an approach that acknowledges and theorizes within the network that this organization exists within.

This research is also a response to the notion that the Arctic is ‘open for business.’ This theme, often prevalent in the discourse of politicians such as Stephen Harper, is also reflected in

¹² Eva Keskitalo in her discussion on the Arctic as an international region is actually quite critical of this term *Arctic Mediterranean* as it is not clear who belongs to this collective and because it is based on Western notions of political divides. ECH Keskitalo *Negotiating the Arctic: The Construction of an international Region*. (New York: Routledge, 2004)

¹³ I have worked as a student employee with the Parks Canada Agency and Veterans Affairs Canada.

¹⁴ See Patrick Maher “Cruise tourist experiences and management implications for Auyuittuq and Quttinirpaaq national parks, Nunavut, Canada” In: Hall M and Saarinen J (eds.) *Tourism and Change in Polar Regions* (New York: Routledge, 2007)

the interpretation of policy and the actions of civil servants. This research considers how the conceptualization of the Arctic is attached to distinctly southern notions of development. It is not a critique of development in Northern Canada *per se*, but a conversation that speaks to how this development is unfolding. This notion that the Arctic is a site of southern consumption is not new, as highlighted by the framework of governance that positions Canada's northern territories as an asset of sorts to the federal government. While the territories are certainly seeing increased political authority over their land, the federal government via a wide range of policies and funding frameworks holds a tight grip on the resources and, in this way, the future of the Canadian Arctic.

Third, this research aims to provoke and make room for multiple Arctics. An acknowledgement that there is more than one *Arctic* within southern federal policy makes the critique of these policies more nuanced and more effective because it makes room for critique *but also* change. It speaks to the discourse of a few important policies rather than becoming diluted by an attempt to acknowledge all of the Arctics that exist in the many policies impacting The North. By refining our understanding of the conceptualization of the Arctic, we are also able to better articulate the diverse implications of these multiple Arctics. This objective also makes room for Arctics conceptualized in The North, which could be used to challenge the southernness of the Arctics present in southern Canadian policy, especially in an era of increasing calls for further forms of self-governance in The North. The North in most policies and conversations with civil servants tends to refer to the Canadian territories. This said, it is complicated as more nuanced conversations bring other regions like Labrador and northern Manitoba into the fold.

Finally, tourism is brought into the arena of critique. Tourism, like other industries within the resource development spectrum, is bound to a diverse assemblage of policies and relationships. Tourism, specifically Arctic expedition cruise tourism, is in conversation with both land and ocean-based policy, not to mention territorial and international law. This makes it an interesting avenue for engaging with diverse agencies and departments about their conceptualizations of the Arctic. As my interviews showed, tourism is also a ripe subject in policy and local communities. Thus, Tourism is not only a useful way for exploring bureaucratic assemblages but it is also a worthy industry for critique. The final chapter of this thesis is in some ways an answer to multiple calls for political ecologists and geographers to take the critique of tourism more seriously. My aim is thus to reinvigorate the critical analysis of the industry often cited as having overwhelming global reach.

1.2 The Case Study: Marine-based Tourism in the Canadian Arctic

One way in which the Arctic is being led into the global market, and the hearts of travellers everywhere, is via the Arctic expedition cruise tourism industry. Every year thousands of tourists descend upon the Arctic to experience its raw wilderness and rich cultures, celebrating some of the themes of the *Great White North* such as northern exploration and *empty* natural environments. This is still a relatively small operation in Canada, led by a handful of North American operators and their contracted ships. These vessels, often of a retired Russian Arctic fleet, are unlike their cruise ship counterparts in the Caribbean or Alaskan coast. Carrying no more than 250 visitors, these ships, like the one from G Adventures pictured below, are able to visit relatively remote regions of the circumpolar Arctic and carry zodiacs, kayaks, and all of their own supplies needed to show a spectacular region to a wealthy clientele. With a season no

longer than a few warm months, these ships then head to Antarctica for the other half of the year, either contracted by another company or as part of a set of separate expeditions booked privately.



Figure 1.1 MS "Expedition", a US polar cruise ship at anchor in Adventfjorden, by Longyearbyen, Svalbard. Registered in Monrovia, Liberia. Photo by Bjoertvedt, used with permission.

While the industry is far more popular along the coast of Greenland and Svalbard, Canada saw the expedition tourism peak in 2007. Since then the number of trips has remained steady with the same companies exploring similar routes each season. This said, respondents noted that the entrance of even one larger cruise ship capable of bringing as many as 5000 passengers to shore could completely alter the trajectory of those numbers. The Canadian Arctic is limited with regards to ports, fuel stations, tourism infrastructure, and major airports thus constraining the number of ships that are able to visit Arctic communities in Canada. Many of the itineraries designed by operators are around ten days in length and always include visits to two separate countries to avoid taxes. These trips feature artists, scientists, and local ‘culturalists’

who tend to be representatives of the region featured on that voyage. Once aboard the ship's visitors are invited to take part in zodiac trips ashore to visit muskox herds, spot polar bears, and buy locally made crafts and gifts. There is generally a large focus on education which for operators distinguished this form of tourism from cruise operations in warmer regions around the globe.

This industry has been reviewed and documented by scholars in Tourism Studies via a series of publications born out of a multi-year project that ran from 2008-2012. During this time *Cruise Tourism in Arctic Canada* (C-TAC) lead by Margaret Johnson, Jackie Dawson, and Emma Stewart, produced an extensive study of the stakeholders involved with the then growing industry in the Canadian Arctic. Many of their findings would inform decisions within industry organizations such as AECO, the Arctic Council working group in charge of tourism, and even Transport Canada. Some of this research was focused on the development of the industry and looked at the challenges and opportunities that lay before it. One finding from C-TAC that would become central to my project would be the extensive permitting process required to operate in the Canadian Arctic waters, which these scholars called particular attention to.

It is within this permitting structure that a unique project would evolve. While geographers have considered mining when it comes to development in the Arctic I use tourism as a means to access new avenues of research. Using expedition cruise tourism as a case study, I explore the world of policy and its influence on this industry. Cruise tourism is a relevant case because, due to the nature of the operation, companies are forced to experience governance at multiple scales and through multiple jurisdictions. This interaction of which I speak takes place upon land and upon the sea as the exercise of permitting beckons operators into a series of governance structures. In just an hour, as an operator descends upon the beaches of Sirmilik

National Park, she has already encountered the Canada Border Service Agency when her vessel docked at Pond Inlet, she has already requested archeology permits at both the federal and territorial level, she has hired a polar bear guard from the local community, she has ensured her vessel is in line with the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, and follows the operation guidelines for protected areas as set out by AECO. Using expedition cruise tourism industry to root my interrogation of the Arctic concept, I consider how such a seemingly benign industry could be part of a much larger and dynamic set of socio-political projects and exercises that all connect to a series of southern conceptualizations of the Arctic.

1.3 Changing Contexts, Changing Theory

This research takes direction from a broad range of rich literatures that engage with, or lend the tools to consider, the conceptualization of an ‘Arctic.’ In this thesis the literatures of particular relevance include: Arctic geopolitics, policy studies, and the work that considers the social construction of nature. While tourism studies research lends contextual data and nuance to my work, it is not a primary literature that I engage with on a theoretical level.¹⁵

As expressed by Michael Byers in his book *Who Owns the Arctic*,¹⁶ academia and popular culture’s obsession with the Arctic or at least within the context of northern Europe and North America, goes back to a time where the Arctic was considered the last frontier; when a search for the Northwest Passage was done with sails in an era of colonization. This book, written for a popular audience, was well received and hailed as a road map to the Arctic for the average reader as an Arctic fever continues to fester in the minds of Canadians. The year 2007,

¹⁵ Chapter 5 will look closer at the relevant tourism studies literature

¹⁶ Michael Byers, *Who owns the Arctic: Understanding sovereignty disputes in the north*. (Vancouver: Douglas &McIntyre, 2009).

the summer with the greatest loss of multi-year sea ice, was a distinct moment in Arctic history and the public's interest in the region. It was in this instant that the Arctic transformed in the minds of actors from a frozen and inaccessible region to a thawed Mediterranean of possibility as the Arctic Ocean becomes a meeting place of many nations around a common Arctic Ocean.¹⁷ Often, state and media discourses work the public imagination into a state of frenzy over issues like Arctic sovereignty, using phrases such as 'the new Cold War' or noting the latest developments in the 'race for the Arctic.'¹⁸ In the same breath, there is a tendency for authors to frame the Arctic as existing in a state of oncoming threat. This is captured in the title of the journalist David Fairhall's book *Cold Front: Conflict Ahead in Arctic Waters*.¹⁹ Fairhall's gloom and doom account of the Arctic is balanced by Byers' latest text that considers the Arctic through a legal lens that contextualized many of the legal claims that are often spun out of control in media and political discourses. What persists, as explained by Gerhardt et al., is the continued framing of the Arctic as emerging.²⁰ The authors explain that due to a thawing of the Arctic Ocean, there is a need to reassert political authority over a formerly frozen space where security and authority is threatened.²¹ These authors lend useful groundwork for accessing politics in state-centered conceptualizations of the Arctic.

This thawing is of course triggered by climate change. Outside of realist geopolitics, our attention to climate, considered by Simon Dalby in his book *Security and Environmental*

¹⁷ Jason Dittmer, Sami Moisiö, Alan Ingram & Klauss Dodds, "Have You Heard the One About the Disappearing Ice? Recasting Arctic geopolitics." *Political Geography* 30.4 (2011): 202-214.

¹⁸ Elana Rowe "A Dangerous Space? Unpacking State and Media Discourses on the Arctic" *Polar Geography* 36.3 (2013) 232-244, 232

¹⁹ David Fairhall *Cold Front: Conflict Ahead in Arctic Waters* (Berkeley:Counterpoint, 2010)

²⁰ Hannes Gerhardt, Philip Steinberg, Jeremy Tasch, Sandra Fabiano, and Rob Shields "Contested Sovereignty in a Changing Arctic" *Polar Geography* 100.4 (2010) 992-1002.

²¹ Todd Sharp "The Implications of Ice Melt on Arctic Security" *Defence Studies* 11.2 (2011)

Change, marks an important moment in the broader political geography literature.²² A changing climate, and thus changing political context as the ocean becomes navigable, sets the stage on which new technologies of power are implemented. Dalby highlights the unique qualities of the Arctic when one considers the magnified impact climate change has on this region and the need for appropriate tools of analysis.²³ These changes become opportunities for testing territory in a less stable climate as was seen with the planting of a Russian flag on the Arctic Sea floor in 2009.²⁴

While the security of communities is a potential research topic, it is security in the geopolitical sense that persists in both the mainstream media and research unfolding in this vein of political geography. Elements of sovereignty and territory can be considered through a lens of politicization of space. Van Dommelen in a discussion that frames a ‘new Arctic’ in a post-ice reality provides us with a helpful means of understanding this process.²⁵ What can be done to acknowledge this change in the materiality of the Arctic Ocean as tactics and embodiments of control are forced to change in this new cryo-reality? One timely concept raised in Dalby’s 2013 article, responding to the notion of a volumetric approach proposed by Stuart Elden earlier that year.²⁶ The volumetric approach challenges political geographers to analyze how actors secure power over volume rather than area. The future possibilities of this approach are new and exciting and mark an important turning point in the field as the understanding of territory,

²² Simon Dalby *Security and Environmental Change*. (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2009)

²³ Simon Dalby “The geopolitics of climate change” *Political Geography* [published online] (2013)

²⁴ Klaus Dodds “Flag Planting and Finger Pointing: The Law of the Sea, the Arctic and the Political Geographies of the Outer Continental Shelf” *Political Geography* 29.2 (2010): 63-73.

²⁵ Dorn Van Dommelen “After the Ice: Life, Death, and Geopolitics in the New Arctic” *Polar Geography* 32.3-4 (2009): 161-163.

²⁶ Stuart Elden “Secure the Volume: Vertical Geopolitics and the Depth of Power” *Political Geography* 34(2014): 35-51.

authority and territorialization in critical geopolitics and political geography more broadly. It moves beyond land and the ocean surface and into an arena that considers the impact of discourse, expertise, and legal frameworks and their impact upon more fluid arenas. This approach to territory is explored in more detail in Chapter 3. For Elden, territory is maintained in the air. It is maintained in a volume, rather than an area, where there is a vertical element to control. Quoting Stephen Graham, this ‘vertical geopolitics’ allow us to extend our imagination of where the maintenance of territory can take place. Without delving too far into the history of the emergence of verticality, I want to extend the use of this verticality—this thinking in volume—to the ways in which we think about the Arctic Ocean. Territory, as noted by countless authors in cases of dispute throughout the Arctic shelf, always returns to a conversation that extends below the surface of the ocean.

Like the discussion of an Arctic in crisis or danger, the Arctic is also framed as becoming a place where political power is exercised through actions such as the creation of international linkages and the systematic watering-down of the local. Here, authors that bridge a gap between political geography and policy studies become increasingly relevant to my work. As Eva Keskitalo explains, the Arctic has become a place that *needs* to be administered at an international level and *needs* to be developed.²⁷ She puts forward the idea of the Arctic existing in a process of being structured as an international region as states bordering the Arctic Ocean take on new relationships.²⁸ These themes run deep and are embodied in international actor forums such as the Arctic Council of which some of my respondents were involved. This

²⁷ ECH Keskitalo *Negotiating the Arctic: The construction of an international region*. (New York: Routledge, 2004)

²⁸ ECH Keskitalo “International region-building” *Cooperation and Conflict* 42.2 (2007): 187-205.

international region making could possibly be looked at as a neocolonial form of governance; perhaps this is another possible avenue for analysis that is often lost in analysis in International Relations.

This ‘Arctic region making’ is not performed by a single actor but instead by a collective of individuals and institutions working in a network of relationships. The work of Merje Kuus²⁹ and Karen Ho³⁰ become central in my interrogation of institutions, and the federal civil service more broadly, as I consider the culture behind discourses such as those of the Arctic. Their inspiration and impact on my research is considered in greater detail in the next section.

This region making is also performed and imparted on stakeholders in the Arctic tourism industry. I am not the first author to make use of tourism as a means of pointing to uneven discourses of nature. In the realm of the political ecology of tourism, the industry becomes a site of struggle that may appear somewhat benign and harmless to some. As Stonich, and more recently, Douglas, have provoked us to consider, tourism should be at the forefront of our research.³¹ In their call to arms, tourism is shown to be an industry that engages with both the social and *natural* spheres, showing that the complexity and interconnection between these often polarized realms of the nature-culture divide are worthy of the attention of political ecologists. My approach to considering tourism practices has been inspired and directed by political ecologists and critical tourism scholars. Of these the work of Bruce Braun occupies a place of particular relevance in my research. Part of his work on the Tofino region of British Columbia considers how adventure tourism is connected to the displacement and erasure of native peoples

²⁹ Kuus, Merje “Foreign Policy and Ethnography: A Skeptical Intervention.” *Geopolitics*. 18,(2013): 115-131.

³⁰ Karen Ho *Liquidated: An Ethnography of Wall Street* (Duke University Press,2009)

³¹ Stonich 1998, Douglas 2014

and the construction of an empty and pristine wilderness in this popular tourist destination. Braun identifies the rainforests around Tofino as a site of territorialization. As he suggests, “To speak of the rainforest is thus necessarily to speak of colonialism and its aftermath, to follow the reach of the past in a so-called postcolonial present.”³² The Arctic, I argue, is very much like the rainforest in Braun’s work. This fabled space that tourists seek and that operators attempt to package and sell to their clients, is also wrapped in a historical legacy of colonial relations, neoliberal development, and is an embodiment of a postcolonial present through the invocation of their discursive practices. For the operators in Braun’s research the world around the tourists is edited of its First Nations and forestry histories. It is repackaged as a wilderness destination for the consumption of an elite seeking to escape the city. An acknowledgement of colonialism, especially in the Arctic, can signal to us whose interests and identities have traditionally been represented in development practices and if this has indeed changed with the entrance of the tourism industry. Braun cautions us that when we consider the context of the west coast of Vancouver Island we must look at *whose* identities are reflected in these models of development,

The notion that nature is socially constructed, rather than pure identity external to society, forces us to take responsibility for **how** this remaking of nature occurs, in **whose** interests, and with **whose consequences** for people, plants, and animals alike.³³

³² Bruce Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002): 8.

³³ *Ibid*:13

Nature itself becomes a powerful construct from which to engage with these themes. This notion of nature that Braun deals with is also prevalent in the Arctic context, as reflected in the way nature is described and mandated in the AECO guidelines that are examined in Chapter 4. Nature, as has been indicated by countless scholars, is highly politicized and in no way a standard across cultural contexts. As William Cronon imparted upon us in his classic chapter entitled: *The Problem with Wilderness: Getting Back to the Wrong kind of Nature*, we should be critical of where these natures are situated, who benefits from them, and who loses. For Braun tourism can also be seen as one of many “technologies of displacement”³⁴ used by settlers in Canada. These acts and industries that are seemingly built to be genuinely positive economic and social forms of development for local communities are intrinsically attached to a broader reassembling of territorial discourse. Braun takes his case study of tourism further by looking at the tourist subjects themselves, “What I wish to suggest...is that adventure travel and ecotourism are best viewed as practices through which subjects both perform and reaffirm the present—and their own identity—as modern.”³⁵ While I am unable to consider tourists themselves in this thesis, it is a theme worth considering in the broader southern discourse prevalent in approaches to Arctic development. It is not just the tourists that are part of this restructuring of discourse and physical territory, but also operators and state-actors as well. Braun’s discussion gains more depth when he brings forth the concept of mourning as part of the tourism experience, speaking within the context of logging and development on Canada’s west coast. This theme that he identifies is that tourism becomes an act that is a “reconfiguration of the region’s economic,

³⁴ Ibid:32

³⁵ Ibid. 112

political, and cultural geographies”³⁶ that puts tourists in a position to mourn an imagined wilderness that never existed. Their act of mourning at once displaces First Nations realities and territorializes place via a discourse and lived experience of a tourism-nature. For the Arctic, it is worth considering the implications of how tourism might impact these geographies and what may come from those changes. For those mourning the oncoming of climate change, the Arctic is framed as a responsibility of a global commons where people must see the Arctic *before it’s too late*. This mourning is not always a dramatic cry for change but a much more problematic pity that escapes action. This reframing of the Arctic as a place for southern peoples to experience it on their terms is explored in the final empirical chapter. These elements that make up an authentic Arctic become the sites from which value is extracted and in some cases how these experiences are consumed. As Braun reminds us “The notion that nature is socially constructed, rather than pure identity external to society, forces us to take responsibility for how this remaking of nature occurs, in whose interests, and with whose consequences for people, plants, and animals alike.”³⁷

All of this said, the economic dimensions of this nature proved to be an essential avenue of analysis as signaled by my respondents. What my interviews gestured to was very much aligned with a restructuring of Arctic discourse that accentuated themes that were tied to neoliberal discourses, especially when discussing how the environment becomes part of the tourism experience and in how protection of the Arctic is framed. Neoliberalism defined by Jim Glassman is: “A doctrine, loosely conceived, that argues for the desirability of a society organized around self-regulating markets, and free, to the extent possible, from social and

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Braun, 2002:13

political intervention”³⁸—takes on a different quality in the Arctic. It is through regulation that the Arctic is opened up. It is not a pure neoliberal logic that is embodied in the Arctic because its remote quality and history requires more effort in order to bring about the wealth that could be had. This culture of an ‘Arctic open for business’ has either spilled over or festered in many departments and agencies and have thus been engrained in the culture of various federal bodies via legislated policy or through directives that have been ‘handed down’ from above. Whatever the case this theme of development has manifested and been expressed in different ways. As explored in later chapters, it is though a neoliberal logic that this conceptualization of the Arctic as being in need of capitalist expansion is seen as the only way to achieve federal goals and improve the livelihoods of Northerners. Development and expansion into the Arctic is seen as the only alternative and a driving force in bureaucratic Arctics.

All of these literatures identify the importance discourse surrounding the Arctic bears for providing an incredibly rich opportunity for theoretical analysis and discussion. This is a region that is as much relevant to current geopolitical discussions as it is useful in the interrogation of southern-Canadian bureaucratic power.

1.4 Establishing a Field: Bureaucracy

My focus necessitates a more nuanced approach to exploring Arctic politics and calls for a broader understanding of my field; a place alluded to in the very first lines of this thesis. The Arctic as a region has a profound presence in academic research. Every summer, researchers

³⁸ Jim Glassman “Neoliberalism” In *The Dictionary of Human Geography* Edited by Derek Gregory et al. 5th edition (Wiley Blackwell, 2009): 497.

descend upon the Canadian Arctic to study everything from climate change to the impact of an expanding cruise tourism industry. As Arvid Viken has noted, much Arctic research in tourism is a vein of research dominated by ‘southern’ scholars and not always an arena where Northerners are given the opportunity to speak for themselves.³⁹ This project is in many ways a reaction to this sentiment; rather than turning my eyes to The North like so many scholars, I am turning my gaze onto those in The South in an attempt to not only relieve some of the pressure on informants in The North, but also to provoke scholars to reconsider who else should be made uncomfortable by this process of research. Moreover, in the realm of science, this attraction to do scientific research, and thus its very practice, is bound to a history of colonial power relations.⁴⁰ Bocking explains that “[s]cientific knowledge – as both empirical information and source of authority – has been a consistent presence in the history of imperialism. A prevalent image has been that of superiority, implying the task of “civilizing” colonized people, with scientists assisting in annexing territories into imperial forms of political and economic rationality.”⁴¹ The choice of studying those in The South is also a choice to study those with authority and to ponder this authority and the uneven impact discursive practices from The South have on a politically faint—within the realm of bureaucratic politics—North.

This project turns its attention to federal civil servants and their policy because it is this collective of individuals and policy that has the most control over policies impacting the future of the Canadian Arctic. They exercise this control through their discursive management of the

³⁹ Viken, “What is Arctic tourism, and who should define it? : Implication of an Anglo-American hegemony in academic writing,” 37-50.

⁴⁰ Bocking, “Indigenous Knowledge and the History of Science, Race, and Colonial Authority in Northern Canada,” 39.

⁴¹ Ibid.

idea of the Arctic and the physical actions of those in the Arctic. Through the governing of the ocean, air space, the national economy, foreign affairs, border management, etc. the federal civil service extends its ability to define place to every perceived corner of the Canadian state and beyond. While there is certainly room for resistance and nation building in the northern territories (namely Nunavut) it is policy makers in The South that are left to build, carry out, and in some ways enact policy that through their existence negates the agency territorial government and people may have.

The field in this thesis is similar to what Karen Ho experienced in her ethnography entitled *Liquidated: An Ethnography of Wall Street*.⁴² This field she approaches is not a singular community or site but instead a field that transcends those of past projects in anthropology. These fields were seen by scholars to be rooted in a definable space and a definable people. Ho's approach to the field speaks to how ethnography as an approach is reshaped by the entities and people one studies. Instead of focusing on one sequestered community or village, Gusterson's notion of 'polymorphous engagement'⁴³ is employed so that participants from a number of sites in these various financial institutions can be interviewed or looked at in the context of a larger field of New York's Wall Street. Attempting to challenge what is meant by 'ethnography', Ho encourages scholars to contest where ethnography can be conducted by showing that the 'culture' of Wall Street does not exist within a singular location but over a multitude of sites that can be accessed using diverse sources.⁴⁴ She jokes saying, "[t]he very notion of 'pitching tent' at Rockefeller's yard, in the lobby of J.P. Morgan, or on the third floor of the New York Stock Exchange is not only implausible but also might be limiting and ill suited" to studying people

⁴² Ho *Liquidated: An Ethnography of Wall Street*

⁴³ Gusterson, "Studying Up Revisited," 114-119.

⁴⁴ Ho *Liquidated: An Ethnography of Wall Street*

like this⁴⁵. The very same could be said for the offices of the NCR. For Ho, what is meant by ‘Wall Street’ is not a singular place, company or person but “the concentration of financial institutions and actor-networks.”⁴⁶

It is in this vein that I want to situate the NCR as a field. I am interested in these various civil servants, who are linked both through their employment by the federal government, and through their connection to the Arctic via the policies they control, write, engage with, and enforce. The field I am interested in thus becomes not only where these interviews—which I will speak about in the next section—took place but also everywhere these policy relationships take unfold. The field of my project is at once in a CanNor cubicle, over the telephone between myself and a respondent in Iqaluit, a piece of policy, and the waters off of Baffin Island where a cruise ship exists in encounters that dictate the ship’s. This field is a network of places, people, and policy and is constituted by the various relationships they become part of. As Peck and Theodore note when reflecting on the nature of studying policy:

This calls for a methodological approach sensitive both to movement (for instance, transnationalizing policy models, peripatetic modes of expertise) and to those variable experiences of embedding and transformation underway in ‘downstream’ sites of adoption/ emulation. Together, these constitute a distended policy ‘field’, the uneven development of which routinely acts as a spur to further experimentation and adaptation. The methodological problematic, then, is not simply one of accounting for transactions or transfers, but encompasses the

⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.

origination and reproduction of multisite policy networks or fields, which as 'transnational policy communities' may become social worlds in their own right.⁴⁷

While finding the absolute origin of Arctic discourses is not the core of this project, these ideas help contextualize the ways in which critical policy scholars have taken up the work of analysis in today's global context. Policies are shown to not exist within a vacuum but are instead part of a global discursive narrative and a far more dynamic field than simply an office somewhere in Ottawa.

My work is not ethnography,⁴⁸ however this work does attempt to make use of interviews with civil servants to compliment discourse analysis in policy, agency/department objectives, and comparisons with other stakeholders, in this case expedition cruise ship operators. What my work also has in common with Karen Ho and Merje Kuus's work is that it is a project interested in studying-up. Laura Nader turned anthropology, quiet literally, upside-down by urging researchers to "[s]tudy the colonizers rather than the colonized, the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless, the culture of affluence rather than the culture of poverty"⁴⁹ While Ho and Kuus look at arguably far more inaccessible elites, bankers and EU technocrats, I was interested in speaking with representatives that on a policy level were having profound impacts on the Canadian Arctic. While not all Canadian civil servants are on par with the elites of Wall Street or Brussels, they are, in a sense, elite due to the expertise (whether deserved or not) they have over the development, maintenance and enactment of Arctic policy.

⁴⁷ Peck & Theodore "Follow the policy: a distended case approach," 21–30, 24.

⁴⁸ Kuus "Foreign Policy and Ethnography: A Skeptical Intervention," 115-131.

⁴⁹ Nader "Up the Anthropologist--Perspectives Gained from Studying Up," 284-311.

1.5 Methods

This thesis situates the Arctic, and the production and embodiment of this concept, as the outcome of a set of relationships and discursive practices. This bureaucracy is more a hierarchy of working groups, ministers, and directors; it is a complex web of interactions and relationships that work and rework concepts such as the Arctic. This research does not try to map out the intricacies of all of the different dimensions of this network; it highlights some of the *parts* of this network of people, policies, and relationships. The parts that I foreground here are those that are taken for granted or simplified.

While the more refined dimensions of policy networks are assessed in the respective chapters, some common threads are worth acknowledging here. First, while civil servants and politicians produce policy, that policy—through its interpretation and its existence—has a life of relationships. An example of this would be the way in which policy such as the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act is administered by a number of parties and is constantly being reworked, reinterpreted and enacted by different people in a multitude of contexts. While some people aid in the creation and definition of the policy, the policy also becomes a site of reference, a site of commonality. Second, looking at the federal civil service one notes that this organization is not static but rather, dynamic. By acknowledging the fluid nature of the federal civil service I unmask the assumed singularity of departments and policy and therefore highlight the shakiness of it all, which could make room for change of any sort from outside of the federal civil service more attuned. As Peck et al. remark:

In practical methodological terms, this means connecting the (rarely pristine) places of policy invention not only with spaces of circulation

and centers of translation, but also with the prosaic netherworlds of policy implementation. The latter are persistently overlooked (or downplayed) in those orthodox approaches that variously rationalize or scientize the policy-making process, but as the sphere in which policies and programs 'become real', they are in fact crucial to the manner in which the conjoined process of policy mobility/mutation occurs.⁵⁰

This acknowledgement also complicates critique of policy and the civil service because it promotes an understanding that could potentially frame critique as impossible since we will never *know* the whole networks as they exist. If the whole nature of the networks cannot be completely known, how might we move forward with thoughtful change?

By acknowledging the very social nature of federal bureaucracies the illusion of a machine with politicians at the helm is dismantled and replaced with more diverse actors bound to diverse contexts. I consciously made an effort to draw boundaries, to pick out parts of the network that are accessible to me and in some way *useful* to my research questions. In the end what this project accomplishes is to treat my sites of analysis as parts of a complex institution, rather than to situate the bureaucracy in its entirety—an impossible task. This is not just about accessing a more complex field, but acknowledging the relationships that exist in this field. This approach creates a number of challenges and methodological choices specific to a project that answers Nadar's call to 'study-up' while also complicating what counts as *elite*. This eliteness is extended to policy and other sources of discourse.

⁵⁰ Peck & Theodore "Follow the policy: a distended case approach," 21–30, 24.

The majority of each empirical chapter in this thesis bases the majority of its analysis on policy, department/agency directives, and operation guidelines.⁵¹ Each piece of policy is considered for how it creates or responds to a conceptualization of an Arctic. I look to sift through the various definitions and prescriptions the policy makes to find a root for how the Arctic is conceptualized. Generally, what this means is an interrogation of the framing of the Arctic as a place. This could mean an analysis of how the Arctic is framed as a physical place, what meaning is prescribed to this place, how the Arctic is understood within a network of relationships, or how this policy might be related to other policies and actors. Each chapter interrogates the conceptualization of the Arctic by considering how three themes are enacted. The first theme is the notion of the Arctic as a site of development; policies frame the Arctic in diverse ways via this theme but tend to be bound to a common neoliberal logic even though the end framing may not be consistent across the board. The second theme is the way in which the policies utilize the *natural* dimension of the Arctic. The diverse set of Arctic Natures conceptualized in this bureaucracy build on this neoliberal logic coupled with North American wilderness ideals, but are once again extended into the world in different ways. A final theme I take up is that policy is built and maintained for a reason: the presence of risk. This risk, this anxiety associated with the Arctic is fluid and results in diverse conceptualizations of a risky Arctic. This risk could be attributed to the threat of lost territory, the coming implications of climate change, and even the tremors of indigenous resurgence. My reading of policy looks to

⁵¹ Chapter 4 considers operation guidelines within the AECO, while not policy per se, it is used to contrast the ways in which discourse may materialize within a bureaucracy and also how oddly similar the ideological roots of these guidelines are with those policies considered in earlier chapters.

find patterns and relationships among policy while also leaving room for a discussion on the multitude of discourses that manifest to produce not one Arctic, but many.

My analysis of policy discourse is complemented by expert interviews. Policy is a dynamic social object that exists within many social relationships and cannot be captured by a single narrative. Interviews with civil servants give the research both a more human element and a more temporal solidity, showing that those engaging with policy within the civil service are indeed human actors and are working within a specific socio-temporal context. These interviews allow me to speak to those civil servants that exist in this institution and unpack how they are redefining and executing the goals of these policies. It is these elite figures that enact Arctic discourse. Over the period of a year, from May 2014 to June 2015, I conducted eleven expert interviews with civil servants, often high ranking directors, and interviews with representatives from North American expedition cruise operators working in the Canadian Arctic.⁵² While this is a relatively small number of interviews, there are a number of things worth considering. One is that this research was conducted during a time when access to federal civil servant experts was notoriously difficult under the Harper Government. While over fifty respondents were contacted I was often greeted with resistance from some who did not see themselves as experts in the topic I was researching, namely the arctic expedition cruise tourism industry, and/or referred me to one of their superiors. While my original goal was to consider how the *average* civil servant conceptualized the Arctic in order to get a sense of how they saw their relationship with this industry via their department's policy and directives, I was instead referred to someone with more authority. In some ways this was a great advantage. This political context meant that those interviews that were conducted would be with high-ranking civil servants or directors within the

⁵² There are only three operators that spend the bulk of their time in the Canadian Arctic

various bodies considered. While this meant fewer interviews it was also an interesting exercise in expertise itself, the maintenance of who had the authority to speak to me on the topic in some ways did some filtering of authority for me. I return to this small number of interviews in later chapters.

Each respondent was contacted via email; most, if not all, federal civil servants have their contact information posted publically online. Respondents were found via searches in this public directory, by referral,⁵³ and through a directory from a Transport Canada-led workshop on arctic marine shipping and tourism. Respondents were asked to take part in an in-person interview lasting up to an hour. Most interviews were conducted in-person in Ottawa-Gatineau, but some were conducted over the phone. Phone interviews were conducted in cases where I could not be in the NCR, when the respondent was based in another federal civil servant hub such as Quebec City, and if it was the method preferred by the interviewee. One interview with an operator was conducted in Toronto. These interviews were semi-structured whereby I had a set number of questions but created a space where respondents were free to speak to the questions that interested them. This approach also allowed for respondents to share insight that may have gone beyond the scope of my initial questions. I asked respondents to speak to how their respective department or working group framed the Arctic, what policy or department directives were important to their relationship with the Arctic, if their organizations had a relationship with the expedition cruise tourism industry in the Canadian Arctic, and I often asked them to situate themselves within the wider federal civil service. All interviews were conducted in English, a point I believe is important as all of my analysis focuses on the English translation of policy. This is worth mentioning because discursive practices vary across linguistic boundaries and in

⁵³ Referrals were made both via email and in person.

Canada are steeped in rich cultural histories. Future research could certainly speak to how the bilingual nature of policy and the federal civil service provokes and speaks to different discursive pedigrees, especially when it comes to colonial relationships with various regions in the Canadian Arctic. In the case of Quebec, the importance of nationalist discourse is likely to have some fascinating impacts on how Arctic Quebec is framed.

This work, while about the conceptualization of the Arctic, is far more preoccupied with the Canadian South, namely the hub of federal bureaucracy embodied in the NCR. This approach provokes a number of challenges and limitations. One that I personally return to again and again is the blindness this project has to people and bureaucracies of The North. While Southern Canada is scrutinized, it is not held up against an alternative *Northern Canada*. This project also does not try to compare the Arctic to other peripheral regions in Canada. It does not try to compare southern policy made for The North with southern policy made for the Canadian South. While an interesting approach this would go beyond my resources and perhaps the scope of this project. While I strongly believe in the need to address erasure of northern ways of knowing, my interrogation is bound to understanding unpacking how a southern Canadian bureaucracy *knows* the Arctic.

1.6 Outline

This thesis continues in the next chapter where I begin to speak to the project goals outlined earlier. Chapter 2, the first empirical chapter, surveys a number of federal agencies and organizations that impact expedition cruise tourism in the Arctic to illustrate the diverse conceptualizations of the Arctic. Through the analysis of federal policy and the use of expert interviews, I distill what makes federal policy distinctly *southern* in quality. A number of

agencies and departments were considered, with three being the focus of Chapter 2; namely the Parks Canada Agency (PCA), CanNor, Infrastructure Canada and the Department of Fisheries and Ocean (DFO), I illustrate how what gives these entities a southern quality can be linked to a neoliberal understanding of economic development, a colonial/neoliberal conceptualization of Arctic Nature, and diverse conceptualizations of risk that are often specific to the Arctic case study. These departments, chosen because of their interaction with the expedition cruise tourism industry, set the stage for the next chapter, which takes a particular articulation of the arctic and looks at the implications of this conceptualization.

Chapter 3 looks to the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, an act under the care of Transport Canada and other federal bodies, to take on the idea of southernness more seriously and explore how this distinctly southern conceptualization of the Arctic encourages the territorialization of the Arctic Ocean. A volumetric approach to exploring arctic political geography attempts to disrupt mainstream arctic geopolitics by exploring how the articulation and enforcement of this policy territorializes the Arctic, and the concept of the Arctic in new ways. The arctic environment is consistently invoked across disciplines and this chapter urges the reader to consider how the particularity of the arctic environment has pushed the federal bureaucracy more broadly to consider new ways of asserting control, going beyond the current suite of tactics employed.

Chapter 3 then brings the conversation to a different scale. This southern Arctic discourse is also bound to an international assemblage of geopolitical relationships. Chapter 4 thus builds on the inclusion of the international dimension of state control by considering the operation guidelines of a network of expedition cruise tourism operators, under the name of the Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators (AECO). While the organization is

headquartered in Norway, the guidelines are compared and contrasted with those policies considered in the earlier chapters. The goal of this chapter is to consider how tourism often employs many of the same discursive themes as Canadian federal bodies but with some fascinating differences that create an Arctic that is a tourist destination. While there is a great deal of overlap with federal organizations with regards to the acknowledgment of various hazards and conceptualizations of an Arctic Nature, the operation guidelines articulate the common discursive themes in different ways; producing a slightly different Arctic. This chapter is complemented with perspectives from federal civil servants who have been directly involved in activities with these operators and the AECO. I invite the reader to read on and to keep their minds open to the multiple conceptualizations and embodiments of the southerly-oriented Arctics explored in this thesis.

Chapter 2: Southern Arctic(s) - Expertise and the Conceptualization of the Arctic by a Southern-Canadian Bureaucracy

Southern Canada has always experienced the Arctic through its bureaucracies. Whether it be the penetration of the so-called Arctic hinterland by various colonial corporations such as the Hudson Bay Company, the search for the North West Passage by the well known Franklin Expedition, or the continued patrol of Arctic waters by various naval ships and personnel, these institutions have been part of northern-Canadian history that paints the Arctic as peripheral. Canadians have and continue to orient themselves to this place through an assemblage of people, policies, and technologies that attempt to know, govern, and reconstruct a region far-removed from Canada's primarily southern population. For Canadians, living in southern Canada, the Arctic is peripheral. The implications of this orientation to federal civil servant conceptualizations of what constitutes 'the Arctic' are the subject of this chapter.

Research on the Canadian Arctic has spoken to the impact of governments, mining companies, and explorers have on the Arctic and its people. Few have taken the bureaucracies that serve these institutions seriously. While many eyes have turned northwards to understand the Arctic, I invite the reader to turn their eyes South. The Arctic that persists in policy and government rhetoric is a product of a southern bureaucracy that looks from Ottawa-Gatineau to The North, not *from* The North. While the sitting government is certainly employing a broad range of tactics that provoke a (re)conceptualization of the Arctic, the federal civil service has rarely been considered when it comes to an interrogation of the *conceptualization* of various Arctics and the expertise that gives weight to these framings. I aim to look at this bureaucracy through a focused analysis of a few specific agencies and departments. It is in this chapter that I take on the task of showing how the federal civil service, its policies, and servants are not simply

mouthpieces or pawns for the ruling political party of the time—although this is a dimension worth exploring—but are indeed actors part of a far more complex network of relationships and place makings. I urge the reader to consider how the civil service and the rest of its bureaucratic institutions have a culture of their own and are not a empty receptacles that fully embodies the will of politicians. This complex network of actors, meanings, policies, and relationships, which I explore in this thesis, have produced conceptualizations of various Arctics that speak to the construction of place for those various pieces of the bureaucracy. I argue that there is not a singular imagined Arctic, but many. These conceptualizations are operationalized through performances of expertise and the carrying-out of policy. This said, I found that these Arctics, while diverse from individual to individual and from agency to department, can be said to be rooted in some key themes that speak to some common currents in this wider bureaucracy which is mad up by federal agencies and departments. While there are certainly commonalities with regards to how the Arctic is defined they have manifested in different ways.

2.1 Distilling a Southern Bureaucracy

At the center of his chapters is the idea of *southernness*, a way I chose to describe the southern quality of the federal bureaucracy's approach to conceptualizing the Arctic. For Canadians to consider what it means to be southern can certainly be a complicated conversation. This theme, this label, is not just a product of my own work, but was also recognized by the experts I spoke with. They too used identity signifiers like *Northerner* and *Southerner*, an identity that tends to be quite dualistic. Further, these terms are engrained the discourse of websites and various

documents, you will note that the term ‘The North⁵⁴’ is embraced in policy language and on websites. Those I interviewed were well versed in this conceptualization of what constituted *Southern* Canada, coming to our talks with an acknowledgement that that South was far removed from the *remote* Arctic North, but made distinct by what they seemed to say were to me, obvious differences. Furthermore, the NCR becomes The South in much of the discussion I had with civil servants. Respondents would continuously mark themselves as southern saying things like “We here in The South” and continuously framed Ottawa-Gatineau as most definitely on the southern half of this divide. One respondent from The North remarked that people in The South “just don’t get it.”

While I am certainly interested in exploring these differences between what is *North* and what is *South*,⁵⁵ I am preoccupied and bound by my greater project, to suggest that we can only distill what constitutes a *southern* quality based on the type of field work that I have completed, that which focuses on a bureaucracy based in The South exerting control over an imagine North. This southern quality is essential to unpack in this chapter because political responsibility has been divided between a southern federal bureaucracy, a vast and powerful organization that is mostly located in the NCR, and the arguably less powerful territorial governments. To speak of a southern bureaucracy is to also acknowledge the sheer breadth of the bureaucracy that exists there. What we have is a geography of power, a bureaucracy that is constantly turning to The North as its periphery, by a southern concentration of people, commerce, authority and expertise.

⁵⁴ Further discussion on this concept could certainly be had. There are many paths to which this term could be engaged with, in the future I hope to consider this concept through a colonial lens.

⁵⁵ I capitalize these terms to signal to the reader that I am speaking of a place, not a vague orientation. It is also consistent with territorial and federal language around the region.

2.1.1 Considering Bureaucracies

I turn our attention to bureaucracies because I find them to be genuinely fascinating machines of control. As Merje Kuus remarks, “Bureaucracy is not simply a structure but a structuring structure: an orienting machine that channels individual thought and action.”⁵⁶ If we are to consider the Canadian civil service as a bureaucracy we have to look at the networks of relationships that exist in these institutional relationships. These multifaceted tangles of power not only control territory in the traditional sense of the word—the control of land, resources and people bound within often-arbitrary lines—but also move to control the very meanings of place. In Canada, as I have argued, bureaucracies are at the center of a colonial history which has altered the trajectory of this place and has continuously asserted dominance not only by force but through the establishment of authority and expertise.

Irene Silverblatt, in her book *Modern Inquisitions*, shows how the Spanish colonial bureaucracy was able to conceptualize the category of race in the New World. It was through this assemblage of relationships between the colonizer and the colonized, through the use of documentation, and through the creation of policy that a complex set of beings and technologies were able to reassemble power relations via discursive tactics and embodied relations of these discourses.⁵⁷ Silverblatt is able to establish that it is not just Kings and Queens, but rather it is the Bureaucrat at the center of the narrative. In her research, it is the control of knowledge, and the discursive elements implanted upon policy, documents, and relationships that alter the trajectory of the conceptualization of *race*. She explains, “bureaucrats control knowledge

⁵⁶ Kuus, *Geopolitics and Expertise*, 4. referring to M. Barnett 2003

⁵⁷ Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*.

and...therein lays a source of their power”.⁵⁸ This wholesale control of knowledge in the present Canadian context could certainly be contested, especially in an era of think tanks, large-scale research institutions, and a watering-down of the Canadian public service in recent years. What persists is that these institutions still have a profound impact on how policy is developed, how it will be enacted, and how it will connect to the existing bureaucratic assemblage. It is essential to remember that bureaucrats not only hold control over knowledge, but also that they are an elite class in the realm of public life in Canada. While certainly not on the same level as those in the EU, those bureaucrats with which I spoke occupy positions that have a profound impact on Canadian livelihoods and futures. These respondents I interviewed spoke to the impact they had on transportation, the control of international borders, development projects, and job creation, all of through knowledge of the Arctic. These knowledges would be negotiated during my interviews as respondents outlined their goals and mandates, showing what knowledge they had and that I did not.

This power that Silverblatt speaks to can, in today’s context, be understood within the realm of expertise. Kuus explains expertise as:

“...not in terms of right or wrong answers but in terms of the social processes by which certain knowledge claims come to be considered authoritative. Viewed through this processual lens, expertise is not a thing but a social relation: not something that one has but something one uses or performs. Expert authority functions as such only when it is

⁵⁸ Ibid.,18

accepted by both sides, and distinguishing some claims as expert necessarily designates others as non-expert”⁵⁹

Expertise within this bureaucracy is not only accepted by Northerners (via the compliance, though there is certainly resistance) but also in the case study of expedition cruise operators, accepted by travellers, trip organizers, and international NGOs and interest groups. This expertise is not only ‘used or performed’ by civil servants themselves but can be spotted in other discursive products such as policy, websites, and government run workshops.

Expertise it seems is distorted by geography, a geography that magnifies expertise from The South. As Arturo Escobar found with environmental organizations, discourse that surround environmental protection can signal to us *whose knowledge* is represented.⁶⁰ Policy becomes more than just a technology of power for a hegemonic power but more personal, a more geographic rendering of power. For Escobar, knowledge is controlled by an elite that alters and renders knowledge in such a way that it erases others. This concept is particularly relevant given the colonial context of the Arctic, a region that has seen relocation, settlement, as well as more brutal means of assimilation. It is not always present in policy and often disregarded. I found Expertise is concentrated in The South, especially in the NCR.

2.2 Southernness: Unpacking Southern Discursive Themes

One method to explore expertise is through the discourse of policy in bureaucratic networks. While I make use of interviews with bureaucrats, I root my discourse analysis in policy because

⁵⁹ Kuus *Geopolitics and Expertise*, 3.

⁶⁰ Escobar “Whose knowledge, whose nature? Biodiversity, conservation, and the political ecology of social movements,” 53–82.

as Kuus explains “policies have social lives and those lives are geographically patterned.”⁶¹ It is via policies that I can assess southernness, consider expertise, and unpack the discursive patterns that exist across the bureaucracy and beyond. But what exactly is this southern flavor to the discourse that I speak of? I turn to Lisa Williams who, reflecting on Canadian Foreign Policy in the Arctic, says: “[t]he language, symbols and meanings within [...] policies and speeches [which] form their own Arctic Discourses: system[s] of representation that appear unchanging and structure knowledge about the Arctic.”⁶²

By delving into the policy landscape and also considering interviews with civil servants I consider how these systems of representation help build, maintain, or enforce federal Arctics. This said, these federally conceptualized Arctics of which I speak are considered through the prism of tourism, I am reading, considering and unpacking policies that are linked to this industry. Through my analysis of policy, interviews, and other discursive objects and sites such as websites and department mandates, I identified three discursive themes that pervade the discourses I analyzed. The first is the notion that the Arctic is ‘open for business’, a theme that is particularly relevant under today’s ruling political party and its various initiatives to re-center economic development throughout the country.⁶³ Here the Arctic is framed as being yet another region where Canada’s economic strength must be bolstered. The second theme is the centrality of Arctic Natures. With many agencies and departments having an interest in different dimensions of the terrestrial and marine arctic environments, there is a general appreciation for the uniqueness and raw character of Canada’s north. A final theme that repeatedly comes up is

⁶¹ Kuus, *Geopolitics and Expertise*, 40

⁶² Williams “Telling an Arctic Tale: Arctic Discourses in Canadian Foreign Policy,” 240-58.

⁶³ Canada’s Northern Strategy, accessed May 2015, <http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/index-eng.asp>

the notion of risk. It is not only a discussion of who was responsible for the Arctic, but how responsibility could be tied to grander themes of political authority. Interestingly, these three discursive themes closely resemble the priority areas identified in Canada's Northern Strategy, a document outlining Canada's approach to the Arctic's future (appropriately titled 'Our North, our Heritage, Our Future'). This hints that it is not necessarily this single government that has embodied neoliberal values with regards to development and the environment, but that the culture of governance has much deeper histories in neoliberal notions of development.

2.2.1 An Arctic 'Open for Business'

From the development of world-class diamond mines and massive oil and gas reserves, to a thriving tourism industry that attracts visitors from around the globe, the enormous economic potential of the North is on the cusp of being unlocked.

The Government is taking action to encourage future exploration and development by improving Northern regulatory systems and investing in critical infrastructure to attract investors and developers to the North.

At the same time, the Government wants to ensure that development happens in a sustainable way and that Northerners benefit directly from economic growth.

The Government is also working with Northerners to increase access to skills training and education, better housing, and improved health care.

Together with its partners, the Government is helping to create a vibrant Northern economy, with safe, healthy and prosperous communities.

-Promoting Social and Economic Development- Canada's Northern Strategy website⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Promoting Social and Economic Development- Canada's Northern Strategy website, accessed May 2015, <http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/soc-dev/index-eng.asp>

This excerpt from the Government of Canada's Northern Strategy website clearly outlines the logic of the potential for the opening of the Arctic to the global market. It speaks to the discursive theme of the need for development in the northern territories through a neoliberal logic, one that emphasizes the lack of alternative economic development. Philip Steinberg, in his book *The Social Construction of the Ocean*, explains that the World's oceans have long been undergoing a transformation whereby they have been beckoned into the fold of the global economy in various ways throughout human history.⁶⁵ This process is of particular interest in the case study of Arctic expedition cruise tourism, explored later in this thesis but signaled to in this chapter by the choice of federal departments. From this departure point the Arctic Ocean, an arena that will see increased traffic as ice thaws,⁶⁶ is in the process of being transformed by the global economy on multiple levels. For a representative from the Canadian Northern Economic Development Agency (CanNor), development in the Arctic is embodied in both actual and potential development projects.⁶⁷ For this respondent the economic future of The North existed both in current projects and those potential developments that were in the process of being assessed. These possibilities and actual projects include major resource extraction, but are also embodied in smaller industries such as tourism, where locals might have more direct contact with increased wealth. This region is not only brought into the fold of domestic shipping from resource extraction and tourism but also the *possibility* of international shipping. The expansion of the global economy into The North via resource development, shipping, and tourism is more than just the infiltration of The South via policy narratives dictating mobility and development in the Arctic, but also an expression of globalization fuelled by the viral expansion of the capitalist

⁶⁵ Steinberg *The Social Construction of the Ocean*.

⁶⁶ Ho "The Implications of Arctic Sea Ice Decline on Shipping," 713-715.

⁶⁷ An Agency within the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development

economy. Interestingly the respondents from CanNor and from Infrastructure Canada note that both of their organizations relied on actors and companies in The North to make use of their bureaucratic resources. Here we see the complexity of this network as it depends on actions from parties outside of the bureaucracy to take advantage of incentives. It beckons actors to help open the Arctic to the world. These individuals are not just set apart from these developments but are intimately involved. These individuals involved in development must carry out this logic and share it with those who seek to take part in these projects. They become involved in a relationship that extends from The North down to The South, becoming part of the process of development through their work.

The Arctic, particularly Nunavut, is framed as being a place where its potential needs to be ‘unlocked’. The inevitable entrance of the Arctic into the global economy is at once part of the Arctic rhetoric of the Canadian government, and embodied in the practice of the Canadian civil service as they invite, interact, and carry out the administration of development. A representative from CanNor saw the role of the agency as being responsible for connecting communities with economic opportunity. The person said her organization:

[Works] with communities to help them build up enough capacity to be able to get the best opportunities out of development projects that are happening in their vicinity. [We] help them to develop a community economic development plan and to help them have enough capacity to make sure the Impact Benefit Agreement that they sign with the major mining companies benefit them to the greatest extent possible.

CanNor builds up these possibilities for benefiting from resource extraction by working as advisors, but not administrators, of economic opportunity. In a power point presentation that was shared with me, most of CanNor's projects in resource extraction are taking place in the North West Territories and the Yukon. They also run a number of programs that are designed to allow Northerners to partake in development once an agreement has been made. A representative explained:

What I find interesting about CanNor is that even though it's an economic development agency, because of the situation in the North where you're looking at 40% of the landmass and 113,000 men women and children across the entire region, by necessity it becomes a bit of a socio-economic development agency, which I always found really interesting because the economy effects so many areas of life, you can't really participate in the economy if you don't have a decent basic education. So the first program that CanNor developed since it was developed in 1999 was an adult basic education program, you can't work on a mine site if you can't read a safety sign.

At the root of my conversation with CanNor was that this development was going to happen no matter what, their goal was to make sure the Northerners had an opportunity to profit.

In the realm of the marine economy the expansion of shipping has been acknowledged by a number of organizations. Headed by Transport Canada, a meeting in 2014 gathered over 20

stakeholders to discuss the impact of the cruise ship presence and ship presence in the Canadian Arctic. Shipping has also been on the radar of the Arctic Council, currently chaired by Canada, and its priorities have been expressed in the content of an Arctic Council publication.⁶⁸ Generally the Arctic Ocean, with specific reference to the Arctic Archipelago, has become the site of interest. Ports in this region provided a fascinating example of the underlying feeling that the Arctic needs to be developed:

The infrastructure question is a funny one because if you don't build it then they won't come but if you build it is it going to be worthwhile, will we ever get enough traffic to justify it? I mean right now the problem is there's no ports in the North so like there's really nothing there, you got to start somewhere.

For some organizations such as Fisheries and Ocean, economic development and increased shipping at once signals the possibility for new fishing sites in the Canadian Arctic and the risk that comes to a region that is under equipped to deal with marine accidents, search and rescue, and spills. The Arctic is seen at once as a site that needs to be thought of as a site for possible disaster. The same respondent said quite simply: “What happens when you’re in trouble?” Respondents from Infrastructure Canada, Parks Canada, and Transport Canada echoed this sentiment that the Arctic is a risky place but also a place they are charged with developing. Generally the disaster, the perceived risk identified by a number of organizations, is seen within the confines of risk to economic development and also passenger safety. With the exception of

⁶⁸ Arctic Council, *Arctic Marine Shipping Assessment 2009*. Printed Document, 2009.

respondents from Parks Canada and Infrastructure Canada, the safety of Northerners was rarely cited as being at risk within the context of expedition cruise tourism. For various organizations, the creation of an Arctic tourist destination is an opportunity. For Infrastructure Canada the opportunity to partner with communities could help all kinds of projects get off the ground. A respondent from this department saw this as an opportunity for communities to use this perceived booster of economic development for positive change. For Parks Canada, increased development in expedition cruise tourism is seen as an opportunity to connect visitors with Parks Canada places, particularly National Parks. For CanNor it is an opportunity for communities to diversify their local economy, and for them to build a strong northern economy.

Sometimes the economic opportunity of the Arctic is framed in such a way that it is in line with the rest of Southern Canada. An excellent example of this is the manner in which northern parks are absorbed into the *Canada National Parks Act*. The Act is quite straightforward when highlighting its purpose:

The Minister shall, within five years after a park is established, prepare a management plan for the park containing a long-term ecological vision for the park, a set of ecological integrity objectives and indicators and provisions for resource protection and restoration, zoning, visitor use, public awareness and performance evaluation, which shall be tabled in each House of Parliament.⁶⁹

While the Canada National Park Act frames National Parks as areas of protection and restoration, it is also described and managed as a place for visitor use and possible

⁶⁹ National Parks Act (S.C. 2000, c. 32), 11.1.

zoning. All National Parks, some more than others, are framed as for the *use* of Canadians. While each National Park, especially those in the Canadian Arctic, have specifications that highlight unique qualities like co-management with Inuit or First Nations, continue to highlight the ability for *all* Canadians to use this space. The Arctic in this way is a place where southern policies are also enacted in contexts that are relatively unique but forced to accept the same discourse of tourist use. Somehow even in the far-off reaches of the Canadian Arctic, southern tourists have a right to visit these destinations. This idea of destination is revisited in Chapter 4.

For some organizations this notion of developing the Arctic via tourism seems rather straightforward. But there is at least a slice of anxiety from operators and civil servants, especially after the sinking of the *MS Explorer* in Antarctica. *The MS Explorer*, which was the first vessel to be specifically designed for arctic tourism, was ironically also the first to sink in 2007 off the coast of the Antarctic Peninsula.⁷⁰ This sinking, and the grounding of another ship in the Canadian Arctic, signaled to a number of civil servants and federal bodies the lack of search and rescue capability, not to mention spill response, available in Canadian territorial waters. It seems as though this anxiety surrounding search and rescue is prompted not by an interest in communities living in The North *now* but on the potential hazard traffic from The South could prompt. While my interview questions did ground the conversation in the realm of expedition cruise tourism it was almost exclusively the guests to The North that were the topic of conversation, not the hosts. Here there is a red flag as to who policy in the Arctic is really intended for. Is it really too simple to retort that these agencies are looking at a bigger picture

⁷⁰ Stewart & Draper "The Sinking of the MS explorer: Implications for Cruise Tourism in Arctic Canada," 224-228.

that is not concerned with the local dimensions of place? From what I've seen there is an assumption that northern policies should be rooted in southern interests. For most respondents, the Arctic is a place that needs to be developed and is grounded in a logic that seeks to encourage Northerners to profit from a global economic system, not one that is based and rooted in a local economy of their own choosing, they being Northerners of all backgrounds.

2.2.2 Arctic Natures

Canada's North is home to some of the world's most spectacular scenery, unique wildlife and pristine wilderness. However, the North also has fragile and unique ecosystems which are being affected by the impacts of climate change.

Canada is taking a comprehensive approach to the protection of environmentally sensitive lands and waters in our North, ensuring conservation keeps pace with development and that development decisions are based on sound science and careful assessment. As part of this effort, the Government has enhanced pollution prevention legislation in Arctic waters and is taking steps to clean up abandoned mine sites across the North.

Canada is already at the forefront of several international efforts to study the impacts on both the Arctic and Antarctic of a changing climate, and is investing to help Northerners adapt to these impacts.

-Protecting Our Environmental Heritage, Canada's Northern Strategy
website⁷¹

The notion of an Arctic wilderness is ever-present in the discourse of civil servants. It is a way that policy and civil servants characterize the vastness of the Arctic. This idea of wilderness is tied to the pristine nature, the unique wildlife, and sometimes the homeland of Northerners. In general, wilderness is seen as something to be tamed and tapped into. Nature is framed as separate from humans and designed for human consumption. The notion of wilderness has been interrogated countless times, but William Cronon's work is helpful when contextualizing the relevance of this interrogation and the ways to best access it. He explains:

...[The] trouble with wilderness is that it quietly expresses and reproduces the very values its devotees seek to reject. The flight from history that is very nearly the core of wilderness represents the false hope of an escape from responsibility, the illusion that we can somehow wipe clear the slate of our past and return to the tabula rasa that supposedly existed before we began to leave our marks on the world.⁷²

The Arctic wilderness is called on to continue the painting of a Canadian national identity, to frame the Arctic as an empty space and a frontier, as well as a place where development can take

⁷¹ Canada's Northern Strategy, accessed May 2015,
<http://www.northernstrategy.gc.ca/env/index-eng.asp>

⁷² William Cronon "The problem with wilderness" In Cronon W (ed.) *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York, Norton, 1996): 69 – 90.

place. While Inuit are certainly not erased from current policies that deal specifically with the Arctic, a northern conceptualizing of Arctic wilderness is not as present as that of The South. Notions of adaptation, the *need* to develop, and uniqueness of ecosystems and wildlife are rooted in a framing bound to the Canadian South. Development, as illustrated by conversations with bureaucrats in a number of departments is *missing*, Arctic wildlife is unique because it is *not from* The South, and *Southerners* are the ones that will *help* Northerners adapt. Nature as something separate from culture is a Western conceptualization according to Cronon, and this framing is forced onto the Arctic as well as we see with the framing of resource development by CanNor and Infrastructure Canada. This is not necessarily a negative dimension in that for these actors and institutions this separation is intimately tied to development and improved life for northerners. This is not a national framing but a southern one, bound to the NCR as both a hub of knowledge and thus a hub of authority, that frames federal bureaucrats as those most apt to aiding northerners in the development of their natures. For those I spoke with, the Arctic environment was continuously framed as something that needed to be overcome and rendered profitable in some way, shape or form. For policy makers, especially those connected to tourism and shipping, agency and department goals are about reassembling the environment in such a way that it becomes useful or controlled enough for economic development.

One example where the environment is brought to the forefront and not seen as a challenge is in the Canada National Parks Act. The discourse of the Parks Canada Agency, while embracing the inherent value of the environment, misses the opportunity to include humans as part of this value, at least in its overarching definition. For this agency the idea of “ecological integrity” means:

With respect to a park, a condition that is determined to be characteristic of its natural region and likely to persist, including abiotic components and the composition and abundance of native species and biological communities, rates of change and supporting processes.⁷³

Unsurprisingly humans are not part of what it means to have ecological integrity. This idea is ingrained in the Act, it outlines rights for specific peoples in various parks to collect and harvest traditional foods:

The authorization of the use of park lands, and the use of park lands, and the use or removal of flora and other natural objects, by aboriginal people for traditional spiritual and ceremonial purposes,⁷⁴

While native peoples may have access to National Parks and the natures that exist there, they must gain authorization from the park and the PCA. The ability to harvest on traditional territory is limited and policed by an assumed expertise over the ecology of the land. According to respondents from the PCA, most arctic National Parks in all three territories have some of the best agreements and co-management schemes in the country, if not the world. One respondent noted that the PCA has the best hiring record for Inuit people when compared with any other federal or territorial government. The respondent explained that the positions with the PCA are coveted because they are one of the only positions where Northerners are invited to live on the

⁷³ National Parks Act (S.C. 2000, c. 32) :2.(1)

⁷⁴ National Parks Act (S.C. 2000, c. 32) :16.1.w

land. In situations where there is a co-management strategy this expertise in Arctic knowledge is also extended to whatever peoples are working alongside the PCA. While still based on the establishment of National Parks governed by a federal bureaucracy, these were certainly some of the best examples of where southern authority and expertise was being tested and reworked. As a respondent from the PCA also noted, the Inuit are seen as part of the environment under the Nunavut Land Claim, an important point which has forced agencies and departments like the PCA to redefine what its relations will look like. Inuit people have full harvesting rights in National Parks in Nunavut.

While creating an Arctic wilderness is part of the PCA mission, other departments and agencies have other priorities. CanNor and Infrastructure Canada framed the Arctic wilderness, seas, and land as a land of opportunity. When speaking about climate change a respondent from CanNor explained:

Climate Change opens up opportunities, it will open up accessibility through some of those trade routes...the stuff that's easy to get we've already got. We're going to the places where its not easy to get so the melting ice will open things up in terms of accessibility through the water which I've mentioned, however the downside is the roaming pieces of ice, the lack of mapping which is exasperated by the traditional knowledge that back up some of these maps, those are changing because [locals and business leaders] can't count on an ice bridge or road being there, so that makes an issue. People know how to build on permafrost,

people know how to build on no permafrost, how do you build on melting permafrost?

For these agencies and departments where investment in infrastructure and development is enshrined in their missions, nature is something that holds opportunity. For this respondent from CanNor nature is also a challenge, something that must be overcome in the quest to exploit the region of natural resources. In this realm climate change is signaled as a concept complicates how challenging this process may be as the materiality of the Arctic ice (both aquatic and terrestrial) compels civil servants to react.

2.2.3 Risk

With this framing of challenges and opportunities, a number of respondents and policies speak not only to challenges in the Arctic, but actual risks. Risk is enacted in different ways, here it is attached to an anxiety of the loss of control. Risk, for departments interviewed, especially within the context of Arctic cruise tourism, and was often linked to the risk that is present in the Arctic wilderness.

A number of respondents, including those from CanNor, Parks Canada, Infrastructure Canada, Department of Fisheries and Oceans, Transport Canada, and cruise operators, noted that one of the primary risks was that associated with the lack of search and rescue infrastructure, especially during a time of thawing ice due to climate change. As one DFO respondent put it “The Canadian Arctic is a risky place...what happens when you're in trouble?” With very few ports and the closest rescue personnel coming from Trenton, Ontario or a ship that could be

stationed just about anywhere in the North Atlantic, the resources are sparse. Within the realm of tourism the same respondent noted:

The infrastructure question is a funny one because if you don't build it then they won't come but if you build it is it going to be worthwhile, will we ever get enough traffic to justify it. I mean right now the problem is there's not ports in the North so like there's really nothing there, you got to start somewhere.

Speaking to the context of the expedition cruise tourism industry and small ports, this respondent explained that infrastructure responses to this risk is costly and something that is engrained within the DFO mandate. In this sense risk is something that can and should be overcome so as to maintain authority and expand development. Again the economic returns within the context of these various risks, the Arctic is not something that could be developed but something that *will* be developed.

Respondents also noted the remoteness of the Arctic. This characteristic of the region is reflected in how bodies are forced to go about their operations. Few agencies and departments have substantial presence in the Arctic and rarely have satellite offices based in the region. It was noted by a number of civil servants and operators that agents from the Canada Border Service Agents must be flown in to various villages and towns to allow cruise tourists to enter Canada. CanNor on the other hand does not have offices in the three territorial capitals as its existence hinges on its ability to act as liaisons in northern development schemes. The Arctic is also a difficult place to get to for southern visitors, a reality noted by Parks Canada respondents. This agency is forced

to extend its reach in The South so as to find visitors capable of exploring this region while on holidays. This remoteness was always framed during interviews within the context of southern Canada whereby the Arctic was reasserted as peripheral as difference was contextualized through the abnormalities that existed in relation to The South. This remoteness of the Arctic, in many ways hints at how their authority might be challenged in the region, a characteristic that also compels them to development and strengthens their presence via the lens of their mandate.

Control is also framed through this remoteness. Like remoteness, various risks associated with the Arctic frame the context of how the maintenance of Canadian sovereignty unfolds. In a set of presentation slides, CanNor describes its northern strategy as including four main directives: “exercising our Arctic Sovereignty, prompting social and economic development, protecting our environmental heritage, [and] improving and devolving Northern governance.” For bodies such as this, defending Canadian geopolitical claims lends more reason to their work at *developing* the region. For other agencies and departments not interviewed, this theme is present as well. For the Canada Border Service Agency, Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, the RCMP and even Parks Canada, management of lands, people, and resources are ways of performing Canadian claims. Borders in this sense do not just exist on paper but need to be performed in a variety of ways to ensure it is a southern-Canadian Arctic that persists.

These themes also came up in research by Johnston et al (2012) who surveyed many of the same federal departments. In their work they highlighted the risk that comes with the unpreparedness of these communities and how federal bodies were reacting to the expansion of the industry.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Johnston, Johnston, Dawson & Stewart “Challenges of Arctic Cruise Tourism Development in Canada: Perspectives of Federal Government Stakeholders,” 335-347.

For Parks Canada this was embodied by a perceived unpreparedness for incoming visitors, for the CBSA it was the control of the border in an expanding industry, and for TC it was the sense that climate change would eventually bring increased shipping in the region. Generally this unpreparedness is more about the risk of missing the chance to capitalize on the economic opportunities to come, not about the safety of the natures that exist in the Arctic.

2.3 Bureaucratic Cultures: Expertise, Bureaucracy, and Management

While economic development, the environment, and the conceptualization of various risks manifest and are understood in different ways by the government organizations, they are still part of a larger bureaucracy which has a central aim, to bring the Canadian North into the fold of the greater, primarily southern, Canadian state. If we are really to consider whose policy this belongs to, especially if we are to resist or engage with neoliberal, southern, and/or colonial discursive themes present in the discourse, the question to be asked is where does this knowledge come from and what does it enshrine? While civil servants are by no means independent of politicians, interest groups, private consultants etc..., they do engage with these discursive themes in the context of a bureaucratic culture. Bureaucracy needs to be understood as more than something ‘out there’ and instead as made up of real people who have a culture that rationalizes, in essence contextualizes, the way the Arctic is conceptualized. It is simply too easy to critique ‘Harper’, ‘the government’, ‘Southerners’, or ‘Inuit’ in this process. If we are to critique, resist, or challenge the status quo, a deeper, more nuanced understanding of the bureaucracies that shape the Arctic is needed. I agree with Silverblatt when she states that “bureaucrats control knowledge

and...therein lays a source of their power”,⁷⁶ but I also think we need to understand the dissemination and defense of that knowledge, of that power.

Throughout the interview process the notion of expertise was continuously invoked. It was always *someone else* who was the expert, but always someone within the bureaucracy. While policy gave civil servants what they understood as the authority on a subject or file, the actual expertise on that subject became murkier. In the process of setting up interviews, I was in contact with over thirty individuals who would share tidbits with me over email but would rarely agree to an interview because they were not experts in expedition cruise tourism policy. While it was clear that nobody was an expert in this realm, as I completely expected given the size of the industry, finding the expert became a game of sorts where respondents and email respondents would maintain that *somebody* within the federal civil service had expertise in this area, but that it wasn't them. The performance of expertise in my interviews included this game, but was also coupled with a sense that it was civil servants who had *access*, to expertise within their ranks. In this sense, the federal civil service's knowledge of the Arctic was never contested, it was simply who exactly had that knowledge that made things murky and perhaps protected their knowledge from scrutiny. This said it was interesting to watch as my respondents tested my knowledge of the Arctic. In a number of cases my interview questions had to be structured in such a way that I showed that I was worthy and perhaps even shared similar framings of the Arctic with them. Knowledge was thus always shared through the lens of their agency or department as they embodied the framing gifted to them by a broader institution but also that of their immediate institutional organ. In some instances their responses came off calculated. Without revealing the identity of respondents, I had at least two interviewees make a point of reciting their agency's

⁷⁶ Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions*, 18.

mandate word for word rather than summarize it. They were also careful to explain what was considered their organization's responsibility and their area of authority. Thus what these conversations revealed was not their own personal beliefs on the matter, although this did come up in a few interviews, but rather an articulation of their institutional line. They enacted their worldview not just through the carrying out of their policy but through the very action of participating in an interview with me.

2.4 Conclusion

Expertise in the federal civil service, it seems, cannot be limited to one person or policy but instead must be seen as a network, an authority and knowledge that exists only when put in the context of a broader bureaucracy. These discussions with federal civil servants revealed that their conceptualizations of the Arctic were by no means static and differ across the network. In the context of climate change, funding, territorial politics, land claims, and new industries, the Arctics I encountered via the federal bureaucracy were in a state of change and flux. A respondent from the DFO explained how she saw the future of the Arctic:

I mean a lot of the headlines you hear, especially about the ice melting, you know sort of becomes such regular news that you're like 'oh yeah another record ice year, but people should really be quite shocked if you really stop and think about what's happening up there its really a dramatic change and people, even scientists, don't know what could happen. Will things carry on as usual or will things change dramatically? It could go either way, but its not that far off now, it used to be a far off possibility

that we would have ice free summers and now they're saying it could be in the next five years.

For this respondent, the changing environment is one way in which the Arctic will change, highlighting dimensions that will impact her organization's mandate in the region. Thus not only can multiple Arctics exist but they can also evolve. This said, the most important dimension of these Arctics that we should be left with is that not every Arctic has the same importance; not every Arctic has the same authority. In the federal realm, it is southern Arctics that persist, whereby development, nature, and risk are oriented in such a way that The North continues to be on the periphery, a frontier maintained by discourse and its enactment by policy and civil servants alike.

The next chapter will explore a piece of policy in much greater depth. Whereas this chapter took a surface-level approach to considering the various themes present in discourses about the Arctic, the next chapter, will explore how a particularly southern perspective of the Arctic is articulated within the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act. I will show how use of discourses can also aid in the territorialization of the Arctic Ocean itself. I will show how these policies have social lives through civil servants and the networks through which the policy ignites compliance, building and maintains authority in this Arctic context.

Chapter 3: Environmental Risk, Arctic Mobilities, and Sovereignty

In the previous chapter I investigated how various conceptualizations of the Arctic are bound to common *southern* themes that are enacted in different ways by various federal agencies and departments connected to expedition cruise tourism in the Canadian Arctic. These conceptualizations of the Arctic have diverse implications and are embodied in policy, the actions and words of federal agents, and various documents and websites. As per Keskitalo's research on the international discourse of "The Arctic" this type of framing requires close attention:

[R]egion-builders attempt to make the region natural and unquestionable, the role of the analyst is thus to expose the way it has been constituted in a historical scope. The Activations of certain cultural or other traits as meaningful constitutes a political act and should be exposed by the analyst in this form.⁷⁷

This thesis centers on federal bodies that impact Arctic expedition cruise tourism, an industry that interestingly straddles the policy realms of ocean and land-based federal policy, international shipping regulations, and actively sails through marine borderlands. The main intention of my thesis thus far has been to destabilize the narrative that there is a singular federal vision of the Arctic and to illustrate that bureaucracies like the federal civil service of Canada are a network of actors that, while bound to common southern discursive themes, operationalize these themes in varying ways. In this chapter I take the time to call attention to a particular piece of policy so as

⁷⁷ Keskitalo *Negotiating the Arctic*, 9. quoting Neumann 1999:116, 140

to unpack how southern conceptualizations are embodied in what may appear to be a well-intentioned piece of environmental policy. This chapter is also intended to convey how a southern Arctic is in fact exported and enacted in the Canadian North. This chapter is not only designed to highlight the relative power southern bureaucracies have over The North, but how the Arctic actually becomes southern through the articulation and execution of southern policies over this place.

I have chosen to focus on the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act (AWPPA), a piece of environmental policy created in the 1970s in the hopes of protecting the fragile Arctic ecosystem. This policy regulates shipping practices in the Canadian Arctic and is used as a means of contemplating many of the similar arguments from the previous chapter but through the analysis of a singular policy. By provoking a more thoughtful discussion on this piece of policy this chapter will not only underline my argument that there are diverse Arctics conceptualized in policy but will also provoke further discussion on how in this policy is used to (re)assemble claims to the Arctic Archipelago. This piece of policy is worth considering for a number of reasons. First, this is a relatively old piece of policy that has existed for over thirty years under successive governments and perhaps embodies southern characteristics that some would only associate with Harper-era policies in the Arctic which emphasize sovereignty over Arctic territory. Second, this policy is becoming more relevant in an era of a thawing Arctic Ocean, where traffic will, if not immediately, increase. With possibilities for increased shipping and tourism, the enforcement and relevance of the risk of environmental destruction are looming. Transport Canada, the agency with the closest ties to the AWPPA, will have to face this new reality. The AWPPA, through its articulation and conceptualization of risk, waste, and claims to protect the Arctic Ocean, conveys an Arctic bound to southern priorities. I will show this by

discussing what is considered acceptable and unacceptable waste, and how the policy has become part of a suite of tactics to secure territory. This chapter is a response to Keskitalo's 2004 study showed that the environment is often used as a means of promoting cooperation between Arctic states,⁷⁸ a finding that is complicated by the themes present in the AWPPA.

3.1 The Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act

The Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act is a piece of policy that builds on existing Canadian policy regarding territorial waters and has existed in its present form since 1985. The Act in its current form was brought into power during the 33rd Canadian parliament, which stood from November 5 1984 to October 1, 1988. The Progressive Conservative majority government, led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, existed in an era characterized by the emergence of neoliberal policy doctrines that were emerging in the UK and the USA at the same time. Canadian scholars generally include Brian Mulroney as an unofficial member of the neoliberal political parties that swept through western democracies during this period.

While this policy emerged in its current form, amendments and new regulations have been made to the policy since this time, and it is not necessarily a reflection of a single political party but rather a suite of players of many political stripes and positions within Canadian bureaucracy. Rather than focus on how this policy was developed, my interest lies in how it exists today and how it is operationalized by today's bureaucrats, and to some extent make a connection to the current parliament. What follows is an outline of sorts that characterizes the structure, intended purpose and bodies in charge of administering and building this policy further.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 37

3.1.1 Tangible Elements of the AWPPA

The AWPPA builds on the original piece that was enacted in 1970, which according to a legislative summary from 2008,⁷⁹ was created in as a response to the US icebreaker, *The Manhattan*, which crossed the North West Passage in 1969 without Canadian permission to do so. Seeing the infiltration of the icebreaker as a threat to Canadian sovereignty, the Act was created on the back of the Territorial Sea and Fishing Zones Act,⁸⁰ which at that time was the Act defining Canada's territorial water. This version of the policy was brought in under the leadership of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of the Liberal Party of Canada. This same legislative summary notes, "the United States and some other countries denounced the AWPPA as contrary to international law." This exception the summary notes was eventually avoided due to an amendment of UNCLOS that cited the unique case of frozen Arctic waters,

Coastal States have the right to adopt and enforce non-discriminatory laws and regulations for the prevention, reduction and control of marine pollution from vessels in ice-covered areas within the limits of the exclusive economic zone, where particularly severe climatic conditions and the presence of ice covering such areas for most of the year create obstructions or exceptional hazards to navigation, and pollution of the marine environment could cause major harm to or irreversible disturbance of the ecological balance. Such laws and regulations shall

⁷⁹ Legislative Summary on the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, 2008.

⁸⁰ Territorial Sea and Fishing Zones Act, S.C. 1964-65, c. 22.

have due regard to navigation and the protection and preservation of the marine environment based on the best available scientific evidence.⁸¹

The summary explains that:

Article 234 also permits Bill C-3's proposed extension of that application to 200 nautical miles, which reconciles the definition of "arctic waters" and "exclusive economic zone."

Today, the AWPPA exists within the realm of other policies and builds upon them or reinforces them by acting as a network of governance and a structure of relations for civil servants working on this policy. These include, but are not limited to: the Ocean Act,⁸² Canadian Environmental Protection Act,⁸³ and the Canada Shipping Act.⁸⁴ The Act cites that in the event of an inconsistency between AWPPA and the Marine Liability Act, the latter "will prevail to the extent of the inconsistency."⁸⁵

The Act has a number of sections which speak to its interpretation, the application of the act, the deposit of waste, shipping safety control zones, and punishment. The Act is also embodied by a number of regulations, which create more tangible elements of the Act by highlighting the more technical embodiments of the acts. These include navigation regulations, details on the shipping safety control zones, equipment relations etc. The Act describes itself as

⁸¹ United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea, Article 234

⁸² Oceans Act (S.C. 1996), ss. 13–14.

⁸³ Canadian Environmental Protection Act, 1999, S.C. 1999, c. 33, s. 122(2).

⁸⁴ Canada Shipping Act, 2001, S.C. 2001, c. 26, s. 136.

⁸⁵ Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, 1985 s, 2.1.

“[a]n Act to prevent pollution of areas of the arctic waters adjacent to the mainland and island of the Canadian Arctic”.⁸⁶ The ways in which it does this are through the formal articulation and regulation of what constitutes the Arctic Ocean, what constitutes waste, how it will be enforced, and what escapes being subject to this piece of policy.

3.1.2 Transport Canada

While a few other agencies and departments⁸⁷ have an interest in the Act, notable entities include: Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, Transport Canada, the Department of Fisheries and Ocean, the Department of National Defense, and Environment Canada. My interest lies in Transport Canada, the department with the most authority over the policy and what is generally charged with its development and enforcement as noted by a respondent from the department.

Transport Canada is a Canadian federal department that oversees a wide range of policies and regulations that apply to transportation infrastructure and regulation in Canada. With an incredibly broad set of responsibilities, marine transportation has remained an important dimension of its work since its establishment in 1935. Employing over 4700 civil servants at its headquarters in Ottawa and its five regional offices,⁸⁸ Transport Canada oversees domestic transportation networks and their relationships with international regulations and actors. While Transport Canada has in the past been involved in the tangible operation of ports and entities

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Environment Canada, The Department of Fisheries and Oceans, and Department of national Defense were identified by a respondent from Transport Canada as having a part in the articulation of the AWPPA.

⁸⁸ About Transport Canada, Government Website, accessed May 2015, <http://www.tc.gc.ca/eng/aboutus-menu.htm>

such as the Canadian Coast Guard, today it embodies a role that is chiefly based in policy and regulation. Interviews with various departments, particularly my attempts to interview the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development, continuously noted the expertise and authority Transport Canada has over both the domestic and foreign dimensions of shipping policy in the Canadian Arctic. Representatives from Transport Canada have seen themselves involved in the creation of guidelines for the Arctic Council working groups on marine transportation and thus leads the conversation with diverse actors, or stakeholders, involved with the Arctic cruise tourism industry. Their definition of the Arctic is also rather complicated, accentuated by the diverse ways in which they govern transportation in the region. A respondent from Transport Canada explained:

I think we could go on ad nauseam and talk about what the Arctic is, but as you know, there's no set definition. And every Arctic Council working group has their own definition of the Arctic. Strictly speaking, because we focus primarily on the AWPPA we use its definition, and that is north of 60 to the extent of the exclusive economic zone. We sometimes use NORDREG's definition but that comes down into Hudson Bay and James Bay and a bit of an exclusionary around the McKenzie River. When we work at the IMO on the Polar Code obviously the definition of the Arctic is a circumpolar one, and it's a bit of a unique definition, it includes everything north of 60 but with certain inclusions and exclusions, so you know the coastal waters of Iceland are not considered Arctic under the Polar Code, the coastal waters off of Norway are not

considered Arctic, the USA considers all of the water north of Aleutian chain as Arctic, a lot of the Arctic Council countries cut that off[...]

Thus the definition of the Arctic for Transport Canada is at once engrained in policy but also contested and complicated by the assemblage of relationships, chiefly international in nature, that bring other nation-state conceptualizations of the Arctic. It is the link of shipping, resource extraction, and fishing that seem to alter these Arctics that are also altered by local and national conceptualizations of what constitutes *real* arcticness.

Oceans, or in the language of the policy *Arctic seas*, occupy a fascinating position in the sphere of Canadian federal policy. In both the literal and metaphorical sense, policy related to Arctic seas occupies the periphery of the policy world. Unlike the tangible hard surface of land-based territory, water is more difficult to define in relation to state-sovereignty. As was alluded to earlier, the context of frozen-sea ice has complicated and contested international policy relating to international waters, but as the AWPPA asserts, “Her Majesty in right of Canada has the right to dispose of or exploit, whether the waters so described or those adjacent waters are in a frozen or liquid state, but does not include inland waters.”⁸⁹ Federal policy on the ocean, in general, operates in the context of a complicated mosaic of policy directions, competing authorities, and rights. The example put forward by this respondent was the continual relevance

⁸⁹ Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, 1985 s, 3(2).

of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement,⁹⁰ which has the potential to impact a large number of federal policies, creating unique contexts for policy operation in near infinite contexts.⁹¹

The AWPPA is connected to processes through which the state—defined here as the diverse actors that produce, edit, and enact the policy—control the Arctic. In the following sections of this chapter I will give further context to the Arctic that exists in this policy. I am by no means attempting to dictate this Arctic as a singular idea but to unpack some of the more weighted elements of how the Arctic is presented here. For the AWPPA there is a re-visioning of the Arctic as a place that needs to be governed, not only in an environmental sense but through an act of territorialization in an era of thawing seas ice.

This piece of policy is not new, rather, it was written in a different historical, political and economic context. Canadian culture, the regions position in the worldview of political parties, the state's overall interest in the Arctic, and the physical materiality of the Arctic Ocean have changed over time. This change has made the policy more relevant as increased travel by ship becomes a reality in times of environmental flux. As outlined by Joshua Ho, Arctic sea ice has receded steadily over the last few decades as a response to climate change.⁹² While scholars in the field of ice sciences have underlined the fact that intensive shipping in the Arctic Archipelago is not in our near future, it is in *a* future. This new cryo-reality, whereby arctic sea ice is fundamentally altered from a frozen ice sheet with multi-year ice to a relatively thin

⁹⁰ Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act S.C. 1993, c.29

⁹¹ An example of this would be how land claims can be linked to benefit agreements. These are agreements that as a representative from Parks Canada notes, creates unique agreements and expressions of the National Parks Act in Nunavut.

⁹² Ho, "The Implications of Arctic Sea Ice Decline on Shipping," 713-715.

covering, has also opened up space for the emergence and movement of ocean going vessels that are not built for such conditions.⁹³

The Arctic has frequently been a site in which the Canadian state continuously performs its sovereignty and it seems that this process will continue as new political, economic, and climatic realities descend upon the region. As pointed out by Lisa Williams's assessment of Canadian Arctic Foreign Policy under Liberal governments, the state uses a suite of tactics to celebrate Canadian sovereignty, which while certainly pronounced in the era of Stephen Harper, is by no means limited to today's partisan politics.⁹⁴ What's remarkable is that the Arctic Ocean, a now thawed space, requires new approaches, new technologies of power to meet the changing materiality of this space. My analysis thus also takes this dynamism and expected change into account.

Current claims to the Arctic have been made by Canada in a number of ways. Arctic legal scholar Michael Byers highlights interpretations of the United Nations Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), historic Inuit presence, and legacies of British exploration as different tactics used by the Canadian administration and government to lay claim to the Arctic Archipelago and surrounding Arctic waters. Byers notes that the claim that the archipelago creates internal waters rather than an international straight is sometimes contentious in the eyes of other powers such as the United States of America.⁹⁵ What's unique about the AWPPA is that, unlike these tactics listed above, it is much more fluid and is based around the mobility of ships, the fluidity of Arctic waste, and approaches territory by asserting authority over the volume of the waters

⁹³ Lasserre & Pelletier "Polar Super Seaways? Maritime Transport in the Arctic: An Analysis of Shipowners' Intentions," 1465-1473.

⁹⁴ Williams "Telling an Arctic Tale: Arctic Discourses in Canadian Foreign Policy," 240-58.

⁹⁵ Byers *International Law and the Arctic*.

without taking on the traditional border discourse. It is in this cryo-present and future that I argue that the AWPPA becomes a piece of policy that the Canadian state employs to re-territorialize ocean space in an era where the thawing of ice requires new forms of governance. I say re-territorialize because the need to extend and assert territory is only needed in a context where there is a lack of sea ice, where the ocean becomes more navigable due to thawing ice in the face of climate change.

It is at this point that I wish to turn our attention back to engaging with the production and operationalization of Arctic discourses via policies such as this. As we saw in the last chapter, Arctic discourses are not necessarily consistent across departments and agencies. What *is* consistent is the control with which Arctic bureaucrats, southern civil servants, have over the production and enactment of these discourses. These discourses and policy control what can become in the Arctic, who can traverse this region, and dictates how they do it. They in a sense control one way to access an Arctic reality. They can also be tied to some common discursive roots (see Chapter 2) that are bound to the creation and maintenance of a southern-nature and sense of risk. Williams explains:

Arctic discourses found within foreign policy, don't just constitute Arctic identity, they also constitute the identity of the rest of Canada...Canada must be protected from perceived threats to its unproblematic and seemingly unified identity, an identity linked to the protection of a spatially distinct and bounded Arctic territory. Therefore, Canada outside of the Arctic needs the Arctic in order to build up its identity. Seen in this light, the Arctic other becomes dignified in policy only in terms of what

it can do for the southern self; policy facilitates this constitution of identity and in turn, Canadian identity is used to rationalize policy in the Arctic.⁹⁶

It is in policies along these lines that we can look for the Arctic *Other*, it could manifest as Inuit but also as waste. With this message from Williams in mind, what follows is a deconstruction of the AWPPA, which will bring a particular Arctic discourse, and thus a southern-Canadian self, into sharper focus. I move forward by asking the question: How does a discourse of environmental protection prompt a discourse of territorialization?

3.2 Natures and Arctic Futures

In the AWPPA the Arctic Nature that is of interest is that of a unique ecosystem, one that *does* include humans. The policy is quick to recognize Canada's responsibility to the people of this region:

Canada [is responsible] for the welfare of the Inuit and other inhabitants of the Canadian arctic and the preservation of the peculiar ecological balance that now exists in the water, ice and land areas of the Canadian arctic.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Williams, Lisa "Telling an Arctic Tale: Arctic Discourses in Canadian Foreign Policy," 250.

⁹⁷ Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, 1985.

Throughout the document the reader is left with the sense that the Inuit are considered important, at the very least, when it comes to the reasoning for protecting this ‘peculiar ecological balance.’ A respondent from Transport Canada also underlined the centrality of Inuit and their relationship with the land and sea. What can be said is that the way the environment is used by Inuit is not reflected in a nuanced way, not because I found an attempt to do so but because there is an absence of it. Whether this was an authentic sentiment or just actors taking on the logic of impact benefit agreements is beyond the scope of my project.⁹⁸ This same excerpt suggests that ice is at the center, if not on the same level as land and water when it comes to distinguishing a particularly unique arctic ecosystem. How will the thawing of Arctic sea ice and its eventual disappearance impact the AWPPA and the conceptualization of an Arctic Nature? While this cannot be answered here, what can be said is that sea ice is seen as part of a balance that maintains territory; its changing state requires new tools of control. This is reminiscent of the pristine nature spoken to earlier. The Arctic Nature described in terms of what could potentially be harmed, is said to be the areas where sea and land meet. This is especially important in the realm of the possible spill of waste or cargo. The threat of pollution is truly felt, in the language of this document, at the moment when that material reaches the shoreline. This language is not consistent with how waste is controlled in the document and is a decoy distracting onlookers from the implications of control beyond the shore. The natural world is also framed here as a ‘natural resource.’ This policy is designed in a reality where there is potential for exploitation even though its attempts to frame itself as a policy designed to prevent pollution and harm to natural resources and Inuit livelihoods. The introduction to the policy explains:

⁹⁸ Emilie Cameron’s forthcoming book *Far Off Metal River: Inuit Lands, Settler Stories, and the Making of Contemporary Arctic* (Forthcoming)

Parliament recognizes that recent developments in relation to the exploitation of the natural resources of arctic areas, including the natural resources of the Canadian arctic, and the transportation of those resources to the markets of the world are of potentially great significance to international trade and commerce and to the economy of Canada in particular⁹⁹

This Arctic Nature of the AWPPA also seems to have a *future* value, not just for Inuit but for all Canadians. It seems that from the beginning of the document the policy establishes that value is assessed within a capitalist framework. It is based on the assumption that there is value to these resources that will only be recognized once integrated into a global network of consumption. Unlike the *wilderness* mantra of Parks Canada, the AWPPA is more likely to frame this Arctic Nature in how it can be exploited, specifically how humans can exploit it.

This policy has a theme that I found to be relatively distinct from some of the others considered in this thesis. This theme is that of a *future* nature. As a precautionary piece of policy it is not a reaction to a spill, or to protest, but a reaction to political events. It paints an image of nature that could *become* and a nature that could be *ruined*. This tainted nature that is bound to the fluidity of the ocean and the way waste moves in marine and frozen environments creates an Arctic Nature that is at once happening and yet to arrive. Given this, we learn that the act not only engages with current discourses of Arctic Natures but also looks to the future, preparing for a challenge to the status quo.

⁹⁹ Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, 1985.

3.3 Risky Business

This sense that nature could be altered for the worse, that it has yet to be achieved, and yet to be ruined is explained by an obsession with *risk*. Risk seemed to be around every corner in the Arctic, I want to use risk as a means of assessing the construction of the Arctic. If we can discern what is at risk perhaps we can see what an ideal southern Arctic would look like. Underlying the AWPPA is a sense of responsibility, an impression that there is something worth protecting in Canada's Arctic waters. While I generally agree that there is something worth protecting, I want to use this section of the chapter to turn our attention to a discussion on what is *really* understood as needing safeguarding. As Keskitalo boldly states after reviewing Arctic discourses in a range of organizations such as the Arctic Council,

In comparison to other areas, the Arctic environment is however not seen as particularly threatened-despite the main role the environment and environmental vulnerability (e.g. pollution) were given early on as motivation for cooperation¹⁰⁰

In Keskitalo's research, the Arctic was consistently framed as being one of the most at-risk ecosystems in the world, which according to her is not the case. Her research suggests that the environment has and will continue to be operationalized in the political sphere by a wide range of knowledge holders and state-actors, in her work she looks specifically at how the environment is mobilized by the Arctic Council. By accessing what is described as being at risk, and how it is

¹⁰⁰ Keskitalo, 2004: 37

done in the policy itself, we can flesh out the discursive themes that underlie the mandate of the AWPPA. What this section aims to do is ask the question: What is *really* at risk according the AWPPA? Is it environmental destruction, or is it territory?

3.3.1 Waste

Relying on definitions from other policies, such as the Canada Water Act, the Nunavut Waters and Nunavut Surface Right Tribunal Act, the AWPPA situates the concept of waste as:

(a) any substance that, if added to any water, would degrade or alter or form part of a process of degradation or alteration of the quality of that water to an extent that is detrimental to their use by man or by any animal, fish or plant that is useful to man, and

(b) any water that contains a substance in such a quantity or concentration, or that has been so treated, processed or changed, by heat or other means, from a natural state that it would, if added to any other water, degrade or alter or form part of a process of degradation or alteration of the quality of that water to the extent described in paragraph (a),

and without limiting the generality of the foregoing, includes anything that, for the purposes of the Canada Water Act, is deemed to be waste.¹⁰¹

It is the usefulness that I am concerned with. Is the *man* in this definition a man that lives off the land? Or is it a man who uses such ‘resources’ for capital gain? In theory, waste that impacts the

¹⁰¹ Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, 1985 s, 2(a-b).

rest of the “peculiar nature” of the arctic that which is not bound to man, escapes protection. With the centering of man, I question the environmental ethic behind this policy. Unsurprisingly, there is no room for the wellbeing of ecosystems that do not benefit man. Waste as an environmental concept here establishes that the nature spoken to in the Arctic is one that is sub-human, hinting that there could be room for wastes deemed safe and acceptable.

Thus, what this act does is not only label what kind of pollution and waste is illegal, but outlines that which is sanctioned, or how to ensure that future development can happen within these constraints. With this said, this policy is far more aggressive at controlling waste than those acts protecting southern Canadian waters. A respondent from Transport Canada explained:

In southern waters you're able to discharge waste generated on board so long as it meets certain criteria, so you got to be moving at a certain speed, you've got to be a certain distance from shore, your garbage has to be ground up to a certain size, you can't throw over plastics, but that being said, you can throw a lot of crap over the side of your boat. That is not the case in the Canadian Arctic. It is completely zero discharge; there are very few exceptions.

It cannot be left out that this policy exists in the context, at least on the surface, of an assumed (rightly or not) expansion of the natural resource industries. These resources are part of the Arctic Nature and also a threat to human existence. As I have argued, it is the existence of human consumption that must persevere, and in a sense the existence of Inuit, but also the means

through which the Canadian state has continuously made its claim to the Arctic.¹⁰² It is their history as a people, one that has been colonized but doesn't seem to matter, that is operationalized as a means of entitlement to arctic territory. In a sense this mobility of the Inuit people is an interesting dimension, not spoken to here, but likely has some overlap with which the arctic environment/ecosystem is used as a call for control, an extension of territory into the Arctic Ocean.

The policy does not regulate or sanction the vessels themselves, although other policies certainly do, but instead focuses on waste as a means of control. It is through the possibility of environmental destruction and its acceptance by non-state actors that this policy gains authority. While there is certainly not the same scale of traffic as in the Canadian South, one respondent from Fisheries and Oceans noted that there is a near 100% compliance rate when it come to a whole suite of arctic regulations such as this one.

3.3.2 Controlling the Volume: Arctic Mobilities

As Stuart Elden has pointed out, it is too simple to think of territory as static and existing only within realist geopolitics. Instead he urges us to take the “four dimensions of the political into account the economic, the strategic, the legal and the technical”¹⁰³ because it prepares us for how “territory has been understood, and practiced, at different times and places.”¹⁰⁴ For Elden, “Territory is a process, not an outcome...an assemblage, continually made and remade.”¹⁰⁵ It is in this sense that I would like the AWPPA to be understood not only as one technology of power

¹⁰² Byers, *International Law and the Arctic*, 150.

¹⁰³ Elden, *Secure the Volume: Vertical Geopolitics and the Depth of Power*, 35.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

but as part of “a bundle of political technologies, understanding both political and technology in a broad sense: techniques for measuring land and controlling terrain.”¹⁰⁶ One cannot understand the AWPPA without understanding the many conceptualizations of Arctic, and the forms of southern logic exported to the control and maintenance of this place, this imagined southern-Arctic. For this I return to the concept of controlling the volume, spoken to in the introductory chapter. We have to consider the verticality of territory to gain a more nuanced understanding of territory in marine regions because this policy goes beyond just the surface of the Arctic Ocean.

In the AWPPA we can find the notion of the volume through the description of the arctic ecosystem. The territory over which this policy applies extends-with the waste and what it, in turn, effects. Interestingly it is the legal understanding of waste that becomes the grounding on which territory in water may be established. It is the potential for pollution even, a future materiality that establishes a legal claim to what counts as within territory. The vessel, the potential waste deposited or polluted with, the ecosystem, and the ‘man’ affected expands the power of the state in a vertical sense but instead of up into the air we find ourselves looking down. Fascinatingly the policy makes relevant comments to the materiality of the sea when it describes the importance physical state plays in how this policy applies. The AWPPA, in a sense, looks to the future, and makes room for waste to extend territory in both a frozen and thawed Arctic Ocean.

This territory that is maintained and extended is also attached to the economic. In this case it controls the economic possibility in the Arctic. For cruise ships, the AWPPA could also be said to control just how much this industry could develop. If ships were to be constrained to where they could dump their waste, their economic possibility is only as open as those

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

regulations will allow. Territory is also strategic. In this sense the AWPPA is part of a grander narrative of Arctic governance. The AWPPA does not only dictate how ship-based economic development may take place, but is also an additional means through which the federal bureaucracy may manage development. It is in this cluster of technologies of power that the bureaucracy is at once one and many things. The strategy of control requires that multiple networks exist separately and as one. It is the multiple discourses that both carry out similar yet different Arctics that strengthen an overtly southern policy framework.

The authority and ability to contest this discourse is limited to those within the bureaucracy, those federal experts that carry the knowledge, of the specifics of the policy. It also creates legal precedent, which beckons vessels, other state actors, and those in The North, to accept the authority of the AWPPA. As an operator noted when speaking of the various permits associated with Arctic tourism: “the last thing we want to be is non-compliant.” Development of an industry and its relationship with the bureaucracy fosters both an Arctic that is more easily governable as actors comply with the discourse. Unlike the relative rigidity of borders on land, territory in Arctic waters requires a more complex suite of tactics, including the control of discourse, which shifts and alters as the materiality of Arctic sea ice. By engaging with the verticality of territory, actions and policies outside of traditional geopolitics can be seen to redraw a map of power that includes a much more diverse set of non-state and state actors whom may not have a history of being critiqued by political geographers.

If we are to look to the future of the Arctic under the AWPPA, we might ask how environmental policy in Canada is being reoriented towards goals that are not enshrined in the interests of local ecosystems. Especially in an era of deregulation, the reorientation of the remaining environmental policies may be suspect. How does the exportation of an Arctic reality

impact northerners? Does this environmental policy protect those that live there or simply bolster claims and help fulfill southern mandates?

3.4 Conclusion: Toward an Interrogation of Tourism

The AWPPA and Transport Canada can also be seen to be part of bureaucracies outside of that of the federal civil service of Canada. Many of the civil servants involved with the maintenance of the policy side of the AWPPA are also actively involved with Arctic Council working groups related to transportation in the circumpolar region. The Arctic Council Working Group on the Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment has hosted workshops and produced a set of their own guidelines for shipping and for tourism in the circumpolar Arctic. The AWPPA also contested earlier definitions of internal waters in the Arctic Archipelago when it came to contesting UNCLOS. During my interviews and research it was made clear that civil servants, departments, and agencies are of course involved in diverse project and are not bound to limit communication and relations to their respective departments and agencies. Instead, they are part of a web of actors that extends beyond the Canadian bureaucracy.

The AWPPA also exists in relation to those that it governs in the law of the circumpolar Arctic. For those ships travelling through this region, these regulations constrain the paths they take and are complimented by a suite of federal and territorial policies, which beckon operators and tourists alike to confirm the authority of the policy world by following said policies. It is these players who also confirm the knowledge of federal actors and thus confirm their power.

To speak of the Arctic is to speak of a region not just on the periphery, but one with far more global connections than traditionally acknowledged. The peripheral nature of the Arctic may be part of a Canadian discourse, but that discourse within Transport Canada engaged with

the interconnectedness of this region as it attempts to control the *Nature* of the Arctic in a context of global transportation and economic opportunity. This interconnectedness is strengthened by a much broader network of expertise that moves from civil servants into the realm of global geopolitics. As the Arctic Ocean changes, like in the case of tourism, it becomes a new stage on which territory must be performed. This performance is not necessarily one that is militaristic or menacing, but one that provokes a discourse that serves a specific framing of an Arctic, one that reflects and likely benefits a southern-Canadian world. In the AWPPA authority is in some ways gifted to this policy because it is seen as environmentally progressive, and is legitimized by a wide range of actors who either pay witness and attest to TC's expertise. Other actors like cruise ship operators also enact this acceptance of authority. These operators, their discourse, and their relationship with this network of policies, is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4: Destination Arctic – Bureaucratic Narratives, Tourist Natures and Broadening the Power of Southernness

Rugged mountains, stunning glaciers, flocks of northern seabirds, wonderful wildlife and traditional Inuit culture – this is what awaits us on a truly amazing tour to the wilderness of northern Baffin Island. We experience this dramatic Arctic landscape at a time of year when the sun never sets and wildlife is returning to this very rich area of the Arctic.

-Adventure Canada¹⁰⁷

To ensure that expedition cruises and tourism in the Arctic is carried out with the utmost consideration for the vulnerable, natural environment, local cultures and cultural remains, as well as the challenging safety hazards at sea and on land.

-AECO Objectives and Strategies¹⁰⁸

4.1 Introduction

Tourism in the Arctic is by no means a new phenomenon. Some could argue that explorers such as Sir John Franklin or Roald Amundsen were nothing more than glorified tourists, exploring the then unknown passages through the Arctic Ocean. The naval and peripheral vision of the Arctic

¹⁰⁷ Adventure Canada website, accessed April 2 2015, <https://www.adventurecanada.com/trip/baffin-island-floe-edge-narwhals-polar-bears-2014-1952/>

¹⁰⁸ AECO Objectives and Strategies, accessed April 2 2015, <http://www.aeco.no/about-aeco/>

lives on in the form of tourism that has been the focus of this thesis, that of ‘expedition cruise tourism.’ Ships continue to be one of the most exciting ways to explore the Arctic, but the reasoning behind such exploration has evolved. It is no longer a British elite staking out new routes to Asia, but instead an elite seeking to experience the exotic natures of the circumpolar Arctic before it’s gone. Much like the civil servants considered earlier, ship operators—the main subjects in this chapter—appear to be informed by the same murky discursive roots that produce various natures and ideals of development in the region. There is an engrained commitment to an Arctic wilderness, which as per tradition in this frame of critique is very much bound to a sense of entitlement, a *right and duty* to protect. There is also a very southern flavor to how tourism operators, specifically the Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators (AECO), translate their vision of the Arctic into an Arctic destination, a tourist destination that in an era of climate change is worth consuming lest it disappear.

In this final empirical chapter, I turn our attention to other notable southern actors that exist outside of the Canadian state and are also invoking southern conceptualizations of the Arctic. This chapter will look at and unpack how the Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators (AECO) conceptualizes that Arctic and aims to call attention to the impact non-state organizations and actors are having on the production of a southern-Arctic from within the tourism industry. By engaging with their operator guidelines¹⁰⁹, a set of standards the AECO expects its members to follow, I will explore the more nuanced themes that persist in the document and how they are tied to similar themes that have been observed in this thesis thus far. Discourse analysis is once again at the fore in this chapter but is complimented with interviews

¹⁰⁹Association for Arctic Cruise Operators, AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic., Accessed December 2013, <http://www.aeco.no/guidelines/operational-guidelines/>

with the three operators working in the Canadian Arctic¹¹⁰. This chapter aims to complicate our understanding of southernness and to extend the conversation beyond state-actors.

The expedition cruise tourism is a relatively small industry that has ceased its rapid expansion that was noted pre-2007.¹¹¹ While some authors have raised alarm bells about the growth of the industry, one respondent was quite adamant that this myth be corrected:

Growing out of control is just...I don't really know where that came from. The [expansion] has not been organized tour operators, it has been private operators and individual yacht owners that are perhaps becoming more prevalent"

Numbers are relatively small and dependent on the season. A summer could see 22 voyages sometimes on the same ship, not 22 ships, visit the Arctic with anywhere between 200 and 300 individuals aboard each vessel. These numbers aside, cruise tourism, and shipping more broadly, have been found to be on the agenda for the Arctic Council, Transport Canada, and Parks Canada when it comes to looking towards future Arctic projects. Those companies operating in the Arctic note that their vessels, which are much smaller than conventional cruise ships operating in places such as the Mediterranean, bring large numbers of visitors into relatively small communities. Pond Inlet for example, a popular destination for many operators has a population of just over 1,500. Respondents noted that their guests are generally well

¹¹⁰ Not all operators interviewed were members of the AECO. The AECO has only recently expanded to include members operating in the Canadian and Russian Arctic.

¹¹¹ Interviews with operators and a respondent from Transport Canada suggested that while expedition cruise tourism has stabilized there has been growth in the number of visits to the Arctic by private yachts. This said, one operator noted that even though the industry presence has stabilized, the inclusion of even one more company would completely alter this perceived growth rate as the scale of the industry is so small.

educated, wealthy, and from Southern Canada, the US, and/or Europe, which marks them as an elite class of tourists. These descriptions are consistent with what researchers in this field have seen in other regions as with the likes Polar Bear Tourism in Churchill Manitoba.¹¹² Tourism in the Arctic, and tourism overall, is a fascinating topic that is continuously changing and creating new avenues of research, especially for those coming from a geographic tradition. This chapter borrows empirics and inspiration from work done in Tourism Studies and authors from diverse fields who have taken up the topic.

4.2 Taking up Tourism

Tourism straddles a fascinating place in the geographic literature. Some scholars have addressed tourism as a means of improving local livelihoods, but there have also been many scholars who have taken a more critical approach to the legacies of tourism within a number of local contexts. For scholars such as Jocelyn Thorpe, looking at the historical roots of tourism in Ontario's Temagami region, tourism is seen as a site of class struggle, an embodiment of colonialism, a site of capitalist production, and a heteronormative project.¹¹³ Scholars have previously called for a political ecology of tourism,¹¹⁴ citing it as an ideal framework for unpacking the impact of the industry on the intimately tied, but often differentiated, natural and cultural worlds. Through a review of relevant research this section hints at the shortcomings of what I refer to as mainstream tourism (or *leisure*) studies and aims to make room for how theory discussed in the introductory chapter might provide a more nuanced approach to contextualizing and examining the expansion

¹¹² Dawson, Stewart and Scott, "Climate Change and Polar Bear Viewing: A Case Study of Visitor Demand, Carbon Emissions and Mitigation in Churchill, Canada," 89-103.

¹¹³ Thorpe, "Temagami's Tangled Wild: The Making of Race, Nature, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Ontario," 193-210.

¹¹⁴ Stonich "Political Ecology of Tourism," 25-54.

of an expedition cruise tourism industry. I hope to add my critical lens to a field that is quite broad in scope.

Much of the research that has focused on the Arctic cruise industry is grounded in a literature that often looks at how tourism can be developed well into the future. This research is often bound to the development of more *responsible* policy, researching tourist behavior, and ventures into sustainable development options. Some researchers in Canada have focused on the expansion of Arctic tourism both on land and at sea. One study considered the irony of tourism to Polar Regions in an era of climate change¹¹⁵ and tourist attitudes towards the Arctic and its protected areas.¹¹⁶ This research is not born out of a critical pedigree, but works towards creating a framework for development that might benefit local communities and other industry stakeholders,¹¹⁷ the essence of tourism is not questioned.

As I noted earlier, researchers from within Tourism Studies have made calls for a critical engagement with tourism. Of note, individuals have called for a more thoughtful discussion on the place of protected areas in the development of tourism throughout the circumpolar Arctic.¹¹⁸ Robert Wood, looking specifically at cruise tourism in the Caribbean has spoken to the economic and environmental vulnerability this form of tourism produces within the region of operation.¹¹⁹ The mobility of ships that are not bound to a specific place or site of infrastructure should also be questioned. Cruise ship dependence can make communities investing in infrastructure quite

¹¹⁵ Dawson et al., "Climate Change and Polar Bear Viewing," 89-103.

¹¹⁶ Maher "Cruise Tourist Experiences and Management Implications for Auyuittuq and Quttinirpaaq National Parks, Nunavut, Canada," 119-134.

¹¹⁷ Interestingly while Tourism and Leisure Studies are not always bound to the discipline of Geography, much of the work done on Arctic expedition cruise tourism is being completed within the halls of Canadian Geography departments.

¹¹⁸ Reinus & Fredman "Protected Areas as Attractions," 839-854.

¹¹⁹ Wood "Caribbean Cruise Tourism Globalization at Sea," 345-370.

vulnerable. What I personally find troubling is that in this vein of research is that there is rarely a questioning of tourism's very existence. Tourism is often cited as a means of economic development for communities suffering economic depression. Scholars in this realm rarely frame tourism as being inherently problematic, rather much of their work approaches critique via a movement towards an ethical or ideal form of tourism. There is seldom a discussion on the interaction between the industry and the vitality of the communities in which tourism takes place. The relationship between guest and host is infrequently considered within a critical lens.

There have been some changes from within this body of work. In 2001, Adrian Franklin and Mike Crang outlined a number of important points of departure in a *Tourism Studies* editorial. In it they call attention to the stagnant nature of the discipline, highlighting how tourism studies “has been dominated by policy led and industry sponsored work [whereby] the analysis tends to internalize industry led priorities and perspectives”.¹²⁰ They call for an attention to mobility, the locality of tourism activities, the positivist nature of research, the need for more alliances to be made with ‘social’ theory, and generally to transform the *Tourism Studies* journal into a site of debate.¹²¹ While some ground has been made towards research that engages with inequalities in tourism, especially with some researchers identifying as ‘*critical tourism studies scholars*.’ The size of this sub-field is underlined by the limited acknowledgement of colonial ties and global geopolitics in tourism. My research builds on some of this work and provokes further interrogation of what tourism in the Arctic means. I do not want to belittle those in The North who are making this industry operate in their favor, especially for Inuit communities in Nunavut for whom participation in this tourism could certainly be functioning quite well. While I

¹²⁰ Franklin and Crang “The Trouble with Travel and Tourism Theory?” 5-22. 2001:5.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 19-20

have my own suspicions as to the social, environmental, and economic sustainability of this form of tourism, I recognize that for some communities it is a preferable activity when compared to the status quo.

4.3 Tourism in the Canadian Arctic

According to Nunavut Tourism 14,000 tourists visit the territory every year.¹²² Of those tourists many arrive aboard an expedition cruise ship visiting coastal communities such as Pond Inlet and Resolute Bay. While this number appears trivial, for a territory with a population of almost 37,000 this number is significant, especially considering the very small communities that find themselves hosting sometimes-equal numbers of tourists! These sightseers come to Nunavut to explore the various adventure sports available like dogsledding and camping, but also to experience the natural environment that lends its awe inspiring vistas to a southern clientele. In a territory that can simply be described as immense, the various towns and hamlets become the home base for the adventurous and the wealthy. Even Actor Leonardo DiCaprio has been spotted exploring the camping options near popular cruise ship stop of Pond Inlet.¹²³

Expedition cruise tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in the circumpolar Arctic, an industry that has been thriving in the Antarctic. In the southern hemisphere the industry is regulated by international treaties and industry groups such as the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO) who control the mobility of ships and provide guidelines for operation in and around the Antarctic continent. With the IAATO founded in 1991, it would

¹²² Nunavut Economy, Department of Executive and Intergovernmental Affairs, Accessed June 2015, (<http://www.gov.nu.ca/eia/documents/nunavut-economy>).

¹²³ CBC News. Leonard DiCaprio spotted in pond Inlet and Qikiqtarjuaq Nunavut, Accessed July 6, 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/leonardo-dicaprio-spotted-in-pond-inlet-and-qikiqtarjuaq-nunavut-1.3140686>

soon be mirrored by the AECO in the 2000s. The Arctic, like the Antarctic, works with operators in a marine region consisting of diverse nation-state interests, a shorter history of cruise tourism, more diverse hazards, and an enormous region home to diverse indigenous peoples. Operators often operate in both the Arctic and Antarctic, moving their ships with the seasons so as to profit from both summers in the Polar Regions.

As noted by civil servants and operator respondents alike, travelers aboard these vessels are wealthy, well educated, and generally of an older generation. The cost of a ticket aboard one of Adventure Canada's typical Arctic journeys goes for just under \$4000 to \$22,395 USD.¹²⁴ These prices do not include the cost of a flight to the port of departure, which certainly adds a few thousand more to the final price tag of a twelve-day voyage.

Using Adventure Canada's itinerary as an example, a twelve-day journey aboard the *Ocean Endeavor* would take tourists from Kangerlussuaq Greenland to Quaasuittuq (Resolute) Canada. This trip includes visits to small Inuit communities and spectacular National Parks. The trip is cited as looking for bears, whales and walrus, following in the footsteps of various Arctic explorers, and features a visit to the 'world's largest uninhabited island.'¹²⁵ Staff aboard the ship includes: photographers, naturalists, culturalists, and artists all available to narrate and document the voyage for the tourists. Throughout the journey tourists are invited to visit communities, buy art from local artists, take zodiac trips in search of arctic flora and fauna, participate in lectures, and enjoy the company of various experts aboard the ship. As noted by an operator respondent, many tourists become repeat customers; this encourages operators to alter their journeys slightly

¹²⁴ Adventure Canada Expeditions 2015-2016 guide, 72 [hard copy]

¹²⁵ *ibid*: 42

to offer something new to that clientele. Journeys often begin and end in different countries to avoid taxes.

Each region of the Arctic produces different risks and potentials. As I will address later, some of these risk are in fact potential dimensions of the region that visitors are seeking out, an example of this would be calving glaciers. What operators cite as one of the grandest challenges to operation is what is sometimes framed as the excessive number of permits required to operate in the region. Overcoming the bureaucracy of operation becomes the real challenge in the eyes of operators who must navigate through both federal and territorial permitting applications, which range from the visitation of archeological sites to organizing the arrival of a Canada Border Service Agent upon arrival in Canada. As noted by a respondent: “Some of our permits have nothing to do with tourism but [we] are still forced to [take part] in the time consuming process.”

Operators and the organizations that oversee the expedition cruise tourism industry become another set of actors worthy of consideration as they take part in complying and recognizing federal authority and expertise. My analysis thus far has focused on civil servants and policies that are related to this industry, now I wish to turn to this additional group of southern actors who, through their involvement in the circumpolar Arctic, aid in redefining the region through the manipulation of the Arctic into a tourist *destination*. By turning our attention to operators working in the Arctic we can gain insight into how they mirror and perform some of the same ideological themes, but may do so in different ways. I first turn our attention to the analysis of AECO guidelines, a set of industry standards that member operators are asked to observe while operating throughout arctic waters. I had the opportunity to speak with representatives of the main operators working in the region but one of these operators was not a member of the AECO at the time of the interview. Thus, these interviews, much like those with

civil servants in the Canadian south, are not meant to be the grounding empirical evidence, but are instead included here as a means of complementing my analysis of those other material sites of analysis. Operators certainly don't wield the political clout and control over knowledge that federal bodies might, but they do have a profound impact on how their visitors see the Arctic. They also create a status quo for interaction with local communities, test, and also carry out a wide range of regulations and policies for the Arctic that in some ways might strengthen state control in the Canadian Arctic as this expertise is bolstered via compliance.

4.4 The AECO Guidelines: Creating an Arctic Destination

The members agree that expedition cruises and tourism must be carried out with the utmost consideration for the fragile, natural environment, local cultures and cultural remains, as well as the challenging safety hazards at sea and on land.

AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic¹²⁶

While policy and civil servants might construct an Arctic that is distinctly southern in character but exists in different ways, I argue that cruise operators continue this process as well. The creation of an Arctic for these actors, though, can best be described as the creation of an *Arctic destination*, a place that beckons visitors to explore, profit on the *natural* elements of the region including its risks, and a place transformed into a place for *southern* consumption. AECO, which has its origins in the European Arctic, has seen Canadian and American operators slowly join its

¹²⁶ AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic, 1.

ranks as the organization extends its reach into Russian and Canadian Arctic waters. The organization describes itself as follows:

AECO – Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Operators – is an international association for expedition cruise operators operating in the Arctic and others with interests in this industry.

The association was founded in 2003 and has since become an important organization representing the concerns and views of arctic expedition cruise operators. AECO is dedicated to managing responsible, environmentally friendly and safe tourism in the Arctic and strive to set the highest possible operating standards.

The association’s geographical range is considered to encompass the Arctic area north of 60 degrees north latitude. The core areas are Svalbard, Jan Mayen, Greenland, Arctic Canada and the national park “Russian Arctic”¹²⁷

AECO is in many ways inspired by the International Association of Antarctic Tour Operators (IAATO). This organization sets guidelines in the Antarctic but exists in a region devoid of indigenous peoples and in a context or a region that will not see expanding shipping traffic outside of tourism. This organization exists in the context of an environmentally unique region with standards that are arguably more rigorous than those of larger non-expedition cruise ships that operate in regions like the Mediterranean or the Alaskan coast. Nevertheless, the AECO is

¹²⁷ AECO website, accessed June 6 2015, <http://www.aeco.no>

unique and unlike the IAATO, has more members that go ashore into protected areas. Most members come from ‘The West’, as shown in Table 4.3 and are not only limited to the Arctic Eight nations.

Australia	1
Canada	2
Denmark	1
Germany	2
Monaco	1
Netherlands	2
Norway	3
Switzerland	1
Sweden	2
USA	3

Table 4.1 AECO Full-Member by Country of Origin

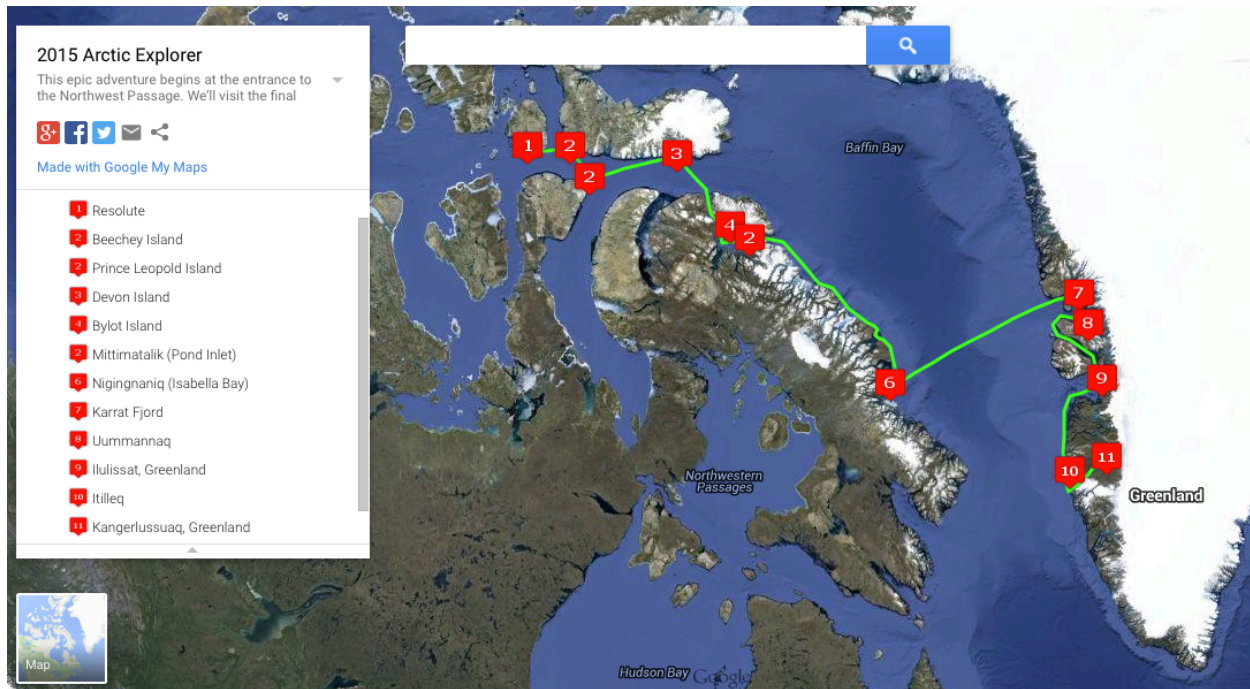


Figure 4.1 Sample Expedition Cruise Journey, *GoogleMaps*, retrieved May 2015

AECO, now functioning in a number of Arctic jurisdictions, has a set of internal guidelines and hosts a number of events to support its members and their operations.¹²⁸ Canadian federal civil servants also referred to this organization as a reputable stakeholder when it comes to the development of the Arctic and the increase in shipping activity through the North West Passage. AECO is worth considering because while there are policies within national borders, there are few regional specifications for tourism vessels. With the Scandinavian region being an exception, the association has some power when it comes to steering the future of the industry as was confirmed during interviews. The idea of southernness that has been spoken to thus far will have to take the international flavor of this organization that becomes a network of various

¹²⁸ These events are posted on their website and were confirmed with respondents.

Arctics translating through this organization.¹²⁹ This further complicates this notion of southernness. By taking on more international actors, it is made clear that the Arctic is regulated and maintained by a large number of non-Arctic organizations, those being organizations not lead by northerners. Here the conversation turns our attention away from the power of regulation coming out of Ottawa and other policy hubs, and consider the interests of companies, tourists, and operators looking to take advantage of the possibilities present in the Arctic.

To explore this point further, I have selected the ‘AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic’ outlined in March 2011. According to the document, these guidelines were developed with input from a wide range of entities including the “Governor of Svalbard, The Norwegian Polar Institute, WWF’s Arctic Program Office, as well as Greenland Tourism, Greenland Directorate of Environment and nature and others.”¹³⁰ While I may say that ‘this is how AECO frames the Arctic,’ AECO is more than just a single actor. Like departments, policy, and civil servants, it is connected and embedded in a broader network of organizations, governments, and businesses all operating in the Arctic but not necessarily based there. What can be said is that AECO represents tour operators on a global stage when it comes to the development of the industry and the navigation of local policies regarding cruise ships. Since operators associated with this organization have chosen to perform these guidelines through their activities in the Arctic, to speak of AECO is also to speak of these processes of embodiment and dissemination of the arctic *destination* in this network of actors.

¹²⁹ Further research could look at the implications of this international *southernness*

¹³⁰ AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Tourism in the Arctic, 1.

4.4.1 An Arctic Wilderness

While this chapter is critical of how ‘the environment’ is framed as a resource that can be exploited for capitalist aims, it can be said that this is very different from the framing of resource extraction in the region. While the resources taken from the Arctic are valued for what they can *become*, the environment in the framing of the operational guidelines is better understood for the value of the current state of that environment. It is a reframing of value rather than physical transformation. Nevertheless, the argument follows that dimensions of the Arctic, and even the dangers apparent there, are transformed into an experience that is packaged and sold to tourists as they visit the Arctic as a tourist destination. These elements that make up an authentic Arctic become the sites from which value is extracted and in some cases how these experiences are consumed. As Braun reminds us “The notion that nature is socially constructed, rather than pure identity external to society, forces us to take responsibility for how this remaking of nature occurs, in whose interests, and with whose consequences for people, plants, and animals alike.”¹³¹

The focus here is how AECO frames the Arctic. The Arctic is seen as a ‘protected space’ regardless of if the region being visited is inside or outside park or reserve borders. This protected space ideology is then connected to the broader conception of the arctic as a wilderness. A tour operator made an interesting note on this topic:

The permitting authorities in Antarctica are concerned [with] the environment and safety. In the case of the Canadian Arctic no one seems to give a shit. In most cases none of the permitting questions have anything to do with the environment.

¹³¹ Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest*, 13.

This respondent went on to explain that there is an absence of a central body to dictate overall standards, instead operators must navigate permitting and also imagine an Arctic ideology, one that in this case is developed by their work in the Antarctic. Through these two framings the protected space and the wilderness of the Arctic are understood to be things that can be experienced by visitors. The same respondent said, “[Tourists] all want to see wildlife and there is a feeling that the Arctic is disappearing. They want to see it before it goes or before it changes too much.” The Arctic in this sense becomes something to see before its too late, something that must be consumed lest it be wasted or become less pristine. This experience is how this conceptualization of the Arctic is transformed into a commodity. Maher and Stewart (2007) have shown that within the Arctic ‘environmental’ context the ecosystem is incredibly fragile. Throughout the document there is a great deal of emphasis put on the responsibility of the cruise ship operators in maintaining this fragile ecosystem. This focus on the environment likely also comes from practices in Svalbard, another polar tourism destination. One respondent even referred to operation behavior being linked to the “Svalbard playbook.” To experience this wilderness different methods are used to explore it. Tourists can experience the region by seeking out wildlife by sea in a zodiac and on short trips to the land to explore terrestrial environments and Inuit culture. When exploring by Zodiac the guidelines make a number of points,

A landing by more than one ship at a time can create confusion, reduce the guides’ overview resulting in security risks, increased disturbance and

impact in the local environment, as well as reducing the experience value for the visitor

–AECO’s Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Tourism in the Arctic¹³²

This excerpt from the ‘Site Considerations and Landing Plans’ section of the document puts an emphasis on the safety of the tourists and how reducing the impact on the environment brings value to the visitor’s experience. While the document and the organization put an emphasis on the need to protect these spaces, they do this through a discourse have protection, how best to protect these spaces. The focus though is really on the visitor and the future encounters that could come if the environment is managed. This focus on the tourist is not new. Marsh has shown that National Parks and protected areas are often used to increase tourism in certain regions to boost economic prosperity.¹³³ The framing of the region as needing protection *from* humans also seems to erase a human element from the landscape while also justifying a chance to explore it. This said, at one point it is stated that AECO’s stance is to treat all areas as protected spaces,¹³⁴ which is certainly a reframing of the Arctic as a global commons, rather than a home to indigenous people or under the jurisdiction of nation-states and communities. This said, the operators I spoke with were very clear to note the importance of Inuit communities and the work some do aboard the vessels. What persists is a focus on the environment. In various publications from operators, the Arctic is framed as a place that is at the world’s doorstep, a place at the end of the earth, and place that is *for* tourists to visit. This orientation places the visitor in the role of an explorer, giving weight to the right for the tourist to see this place, to

¹³² AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Tourism in the Arctic, 8.

¹³³ Marsh “Tourism and national parks in Polar Regions,” 127-136.

¹³⁴ AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Tourism in the Arctic, 8

experience it, and to *explore* it. While this framing might make sense in a destination like Svalbard where there are no indigenous humans, it is when these guidelines are exported to other regions that the conversation becomes more complex, it becomes an act of exporting natures and the mingling of Arctics. AECO prompts a common understanding of the Arctic but it is not immediately clear what the lineage of this Arctic is bound to. Due to its links to Scandinavian conceptualizations of the Arctic it appears to enforce a ‘scientific’ and environmental understanding of the Arctic region that doesn’t necessarily integrate North American conceptualizations of nature with those of the Arctic. This potential for environmental disturbance of the local ecosystem is considered early on:

It is the view of AECO that a high level of environmental consideration, taking into account the potential for disturbance by our activities, is the best way to enhance and safeguard the experience of the unique arctic wilderness for our visitors.

-AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic¹³⁵

In the document the protection of the local environment and wildlife is framed in such a way that the experience of the visitor is underlined as the reason for accepting these limitations on what can be done. Here the goal of the experience is unveiled to be a ‘unique arctic wilderness.’ Even though the majority of the section takes up this issue of environmental protection, the need for this protection is asserted with the point that this protection also protects the value of the visitor’s experience. This experience is framed as an authentic one, a visit that is reinforced by references

¹³⁵ AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Tourism in the Arctic, 9.

to wild animals, ‘fragile’ ecosystems, and peoples that will be encountered on a voyage of this nature. The value of the environment becomes murky as it is laced, not with the ecological value, but instead in with the value which can be extracted from a tourist visit to the site. Wilderness in its pristine, protected, wild, and non-human dimensions becomes a commodity as tourists experience it. Further research could consider in what ways this understanding of the Arctic creates stagnant natures that are unable to change or are seen as less valuable over time due to climate change. If the experience of the Arctic is lost or damaged, does the value of the ecosystem in its shifting state become less valuable?

4.4.2 Hazards: The Allure and Risk of the Destination



Figure 4.2: Tourists observe a Polar Bear on Devon Island, Nunavut. Photo by Author.

With the sinking and grounding of cruise ships in the Arctic and Antarctic Oceans scholars, operators and policy makers have been reminded that the Arctic is still a dangerous place to

operate, a risky place. It is a region that hosts a variety of natural hazards to humans and one that is lacking infrastructure to support an emerging industry like cruise tourism and shipping more broadly.¹³⁶ Since the sinking of the MS Explorer, the first passenger vessel to be built specifically to circumnavigate the Arctic Ocean, there has been talk of how Canada and other nations will respond to emergencies in the Arctic. In a region that is riddled with possible hazards, I want to take time to discuss how the hazards of the Arctic become part of the conceptualization of an Arctic destination so as to build on earlier discussions of risk that have been made thus far. Within the AECO operational guidelines this can be considered through an interrogation of the polar bear safety and ice safety guidelines. In both cases these are hazards that tourists specifically seek out. They also create a great deal of risk for tour operators and tourists alike:

AECO members must take every necessary action to prevent their passengers from having close, unexpected encounters with polar bears. Any shooting at (or of) a polar bear will be investigated as a possible criminal offence. The investigation will include focus on whether the tour operator has ensured that the guards had the necessary knowledge of firearms, that training in polar bear protection had been given, that adequate firearms and deterrents were available and that there are established routines for handling confrontations with polar bears

¹³⁶ Johnson “Impacts of Global Environmental Change on Tourism in the Polar Regions,” 37-53.

Wildlife, particularly polar bears, is cited as one of the many reasons tourists visit the Canadian Arctic.¹³⁸ While the above excerpt from the guidelines frames the bears as dangerous, it is also clear that a great deal of responsibility lies on the cruise operator. It could be said that operators and tourists are crafting dangerous situations by placing themselves in close proximity to wildlife and conflict. Throughout the document prescribed distances are given depending on the context and the animal:

If you catch sight of a polar bear on land or on ice from an expedition cruise vessel a minimum of 200 meters should be kept between the vessel and the bear(s). Do not attempt to approach the bear to a closer distance with the vessel. – AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic¹³⁹

Polar Bears, like many dimensions of the Arctic environment focused on in the document, represent entities that are both of value in their ‘natural state’ and represent a great deal of risk. The value of seeing the bear outweighs the possibility of risk within the framing of the AECO. One could also consider this encounter with wildlife as a clear indication of how the environment is externalized from the human; the value of the human continuously trumps that of the wild

¹³⁷ AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic, 2011:14

¹³⁸ Maher, “Cruise Tourist Experiences and Management Implications for Auyuittuq and Quttinirpaaq national Parks, Nunavut, Canada,” 126.

¹³⁹ AECO Guidelines, 15 (emphasis in original).

animal, the element of the ecosystem that attracts the tourist in the first place. It is also curious as to how these risks are attributed. While relatively aware of polar bear behavior and ecology, there continues to be an assertion that there is a ‘right’ way to observe polar bears as if tourism was part of a natural world in the Arctic. This creation of a safety boundary is interesting because in the case of polar bears the distance seems to be created in terms of the safety of the animal, but is in reality calculated in terms of the safety of the visitor. This construction of the polar bear as a hazard, in what is described as its natural environment, is troubling. The visitor seeks out the ecosystem only to rework him or herself into the encounter, essentially making the polar bear dangerous where it otherwise wouldn’t be. As was witnessed in Svalbard when a polar bear attacked a tourist camping near the archipelago, these animals are capable of hurting and killing humans.¹⁴⁰

Another ironic twist to polar bear observation is that as Jackie Dawson and other scholars point out, it is rather ironic that many tourists visit Arctic destinations in order to take part in what has been labeled ‘last chance tourism.’¹⁴¹ Dawson et al. argue that tourists are often ignorant of the impact air travel, the most common means of travel to visit Churchill a hotspot for polar bear viewing in Manitoba, has on GHG emissions. GHGs are one of the key contributors to the environmental change that is altering the local sea ice and ecosystem of the polar bear. It seems that while tourists seek out arctic wilderness they are unwilling to accept other realities, particularly the irony of last chance tourism and the hazards of polar bear viewing.

¹⁴⁰ CNN News, Norway: Polar Bear Attacks Tourist in Svalbard, March 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/03/19/europe/norway-polar-bear-attack/>

¹⁴¹ Dawson et al., “Climate Change and Polar Bear Viewing,” 89-103.

As explained by Maher and my respondents, polar bears, glaciers, sea ice, and iceberg calving are all reasons tourists visit arctic destinations.¹⁴² Like the polar bear, ice also carries risk for operators and tourists. AECO frames ice as dangerous for a number of reasons: they cite collisions with vessels and the creation of large waves during calving as the most probable hazards of working so close to unstable ice.¹⁴³ Once again distance is used as a means of creating a barrier of safety between the human and the ‘natural’ that is prescribed as dangerous because of the possible harm it can bring to travelers. Unlike the polar bear there are really only precautionary guidelines set out here, suggesting the ice has a certain amount of authority over space in the Arctic Ocean, it is not a hazard that can be overcome or dominated with the aid of a gun. Ice conditions also constrain the activities of tourists in some ways dictating their next steps on a voyage. It could be said that this encounter with constraint is also part of the allure of the Arctic. An operator explained that especially in Canada this is something people want to see before it disappears. Whatever the case, *ice*, like polar bears, becomes a hazard for tourists because operators place themselves in these situations where the value of the experience outweighs the risk. This said, Braun reminds us that “adventure travel companies may commodify and sell risk, but they take every precaution to ensure that the appearance of danger never translates into actual peril.”¹⁴⁴ Thus, while the Arctic can be dangerous, in the context of tourism, risk is in a sense created by operators as an essential element of both the creation and consumption of an *Arctic Destination*.

¹⁴² Maher, “Cruise Tourist Experiences and Management Implications for Auyuittuq and Quttinirpaaq national Parks, Nunavut, Canada,” 126.

¹⁴³ AECO, *Guidelines*, 18-19.

¹⁴⁴ Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest*, 114.

While the earlier section on the framing of an Arctic wilderness focused on the perceived value of protected and ‘natural’ spaces in the Arctic, this section has looked at two cases of how elements of this wilderness are sought out but are also framed as hazards to the tourists. These elements are still understood to have experiential value, that an experience outweighs the risk as long as certain measures are taken. Here as the experience of the tourist is calculated, the orientation of South vs. North, is brought to an intimate interaction in the Arctic itself. Operators and tourists alike bring their southernness to the Arctic and enact it during interactions with the physical dimensions of this place.

4.4.3 A ‘Public’ Destination vs. Homeland

Another framing worth considering is the emphasis put on the Arctic as a both a homeland and a global commons in the AECO guidelines. Before moving forward, it is worth noting a number of important points. First, the Arctic has only recently emerged as an international region but one that is continuously framed as a wilderness. As noted earlier, Keskitalo in her work exploring various arctic discourses, found that often the Arctic as ‘wilderness’ has particular relevance in Canadian but also European contexts:

The view of the Arctic as frontier however indicates some of the differences in national views of northern areas. The idea of the frontier as that which exists between “wilderness” (seen as including the indigenous peoples) and “civilization” was originally developed to describe colonization of North America...This is then the main social situation which came to be seen as a characteristic of “the Arctic”: largely indigenous areas that were remote enough to be retained as what the

settlers from a frontier perspective described as “wilderness”-the prominent environmental description of “the Arctic”¹⁴⁵

This framing of the Arctic as frontier, or the last corner of the earth, has also prompted fascinating political events. With the Cold War, the emergence of the Arctic Council and the thawing of the Arctic Ocean, the Arctic has become a busier place and has tested this wilderness discourse in different ways. For example, how does the Arctic as a wilderness limit investment in infrastructure projects as we saw with interviews with civil servants earlier on? It is important to situate the Arctic within the context of a broader political geography. Canada, for example, claims the entirety of the Arctic Archipelago as internal waters, while others see this region, particularly the North-West Passage, as an international strait.¹⁴⁶ The Arctic has also been home to various chapters of colonialism, differing depending on the various geographic locations. Within the Canadian context the historical legacy of colonizing Inuit people and the cult of Arctic exploration has left a legacy of ‘whiteness’ over the region.¹⁴⁷ What persists in these various events and prolonged actions is a re-imagining of the Arctic away from a homeland for indigenous people like the Inuit of Nunavut and to a place of southern ownership even when this narrative of Inuit pride is celebrated, a place of southern conflict, and a place of southern discourse. These various elements of history are worth noting because they might help us understand why AECO would insist that the Arctic is public:

¹⁴⁵ Keskitalo, *Negotiating the Arctic*, 40.

¹⁴⁶ Dodds, “Flag Planting and Finger Pointing: The Law of the Sea, The Arctic and the Political Geographies of the Outer Continental Shelf,” 57-126.

¹⁴⁷ Baldwin et al, “Where is the great White North? Spatializing History and Whiteness,” 1-18.

The expedition cruises conducted by all AECO members represent the sole means of access to the public (except for the very resourceful few) to the more remote areas of the Arctic. We believe that access to these areas should be kept open to the public, unless very strong reasons require closure of some kind.

– AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic¹⁴⁸

It is interesting that the guidelines note the other form of marine tourism taking place in the Arctic, that of small private vessels travelling in the Arctic. The guidelines frame these tourists as particularly ‘resourceful’ with may detract from how ‘resourceful,’ or elite, those taking part in this form of cruise tourism are. The industry requires destinations and experiences for it to flourish, this notion that the Arctic should be open seems to conflict with how interactions with local Northerners are framed later on in the document:

Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance. Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed including stable employment and income-earning opportunities. (...).

– World Tourism Organization quoted in AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ AECO, *Guidelines*, 4.

Throughout the ‘Cultural and Social Interaction’ section of the guidelines is an attitude towards Northerners that mirrors the World Tourism Organization’s hopes for tourism development in the region. Many suggestions are made for how to integrate local communities into the tourism industry in an empowering and respectful way but not necessarily how tourism can be reworked for those visiting. The distinction of responsibility between guest and host continues to be uneven. Yet the neoliberal framing that the Arctic should be open for visitation and business seems to provoke a taste of tolerance rather than celebration of cultural ties to the Arctic land and sea. The use of the word public is also quite vague because it is not clear if places remain closed due to environmental or cultural reasons. This raises some questions as to how these spaces are considered public and if they were considered this way before the opening chapters of the Arctic Ocean in global politics. Of course, these are questions that we cannot read into from unpacking these guidelines alone.

These themes are echoed in the version of the guidelines given out to tourists as they disembark. The tourist is framed as a customer of this experience and in the hands of wise merchants ready to show them around the Arctic so that they may consume it. Local communities in some brochures and guides are othered by the choice of image and seen as peoples that will be encountered rather than *visited with*. This sentiment can be contrasted with that of Pond Inlet’s visitor guide. Here, the community has communicated that tourists are visitors, and that they are *invited* to visit and take part in a common reality. The guide reads:

¹⁴⁹ World Tourism Organization quote in AECO Guidelines for Expedition Cruise Operations in the Arctic, 20-21.

We invite you to take pictures of our beautiful scenery and our friendly community, but please ask permission before taking pictures of us, our children, and our homes...

We encourage you to learn about our Inuit culture and to hear our stories, so come with an open mind to learn how we survived for thousands of years. Please remember that we are proud of our hunting traditions and use of local food sources. Wildlife products are central in our culture and our subsistence.

-Pond Inlet Visitor Guide

In this way the community is able to show that they, too, have agency, and that they have a stake in maintaining the safety of their community. The tourists in this document are framed as visitors not tourists per se, this is not only about ensuring that those community members are in control of who comes in and out, but is also about actively asserting that this place is not just a destination but a homeland, a place with a northern history outside of a southern-tourist reality.

A number of studies have looked at who these tourists are. Patrick Maher found that in his study of visitors to the Canadian Arctic, most were from Europe and North America, generally over the age of 60.¹⁵⁰ Dawson et al., in their study of tourists in Churchill Manitoba, found that tourists were of a similar age range and very well educated with 78% of the tourists interviewed having undergraduate diplomas.¹⁵¹ A spot on one of the AECO member boats can easily go for over \$4000, not including airfare. What I'm getting at is that this is an elite class of

¹⁵⁰ Maher, "Cruise Tourist Experiences," 123-124.

¹⁵¹ Dawson et al. "Polar Bear Viewing," 95.

tourist, it is not just any traveller. Thus the public that the AECO claims should have a right to visit Arctic destinations is generally made up of tourists from outside Arctic jurisdiction. This ‘public’ is in fact a class of consumers. The discourse unfolding in this document is less to do with the global commons discourse that can be found in writing in geopolitics and political geography,¹⁵² and has more in common with the sustainability of the Arctic economic hinterland for consumption by a southern elite.

The operator guidelines attempt to assert respect and sustainable development in the interests of local Northerners, but do so in a reality where the Arctic continues to be a destination open to the ‘public’. This document seems to acknowledge that this form of tourism often does not bode well for local communities and makes countless suggestions for how to ensure cruise ships make use of local guides and services and promotes a conversation between local communities and tourists that are respectful. This aside, it has been shown the cruise tourism is one of the worst forms of tourism because of its mobility.¹⁵³ If a destination becomes too expensive cruise ships have the ability to simply alter their path to a new cheaper space. Stewart et al also highlights that in Canada, where the AECO is expanding, there is a serious lack of infrastructure to support the industry and the vulnerability of small Canadian Arctic communities.¹⁵⁴ As a respondent reminded me though “there’s no infrastructure in Antarctica” and that ships are used to being self-sufficient in polar tourism. The mobility mentioned before makes investment in large projects a bit of a gamble for communities and larger state-actors. Braun reflects on these themes quite suitably when he says:

¹⁵² *see* Dodds, 2010; Dittmer et al., 2011

¹⁵³ Wood “Caribbean Cruise Tourism: Globalization at Sea,” 345-370

¹⁵⁴ Stewart et al, “Cruise Tourism and Resident in the Arctic,” 95-106

The question that faces us, then, is not how does adventure travel “corrupt” its site, but instead how does it work to reconfigure an already dynamic and differentiated social and ecological landscape¹⁵⁵

While the document suggests a relatively sustainable form of northern tourism development, the nature of the industry in terms of its mobility and assertion that the Arctic should continue to be open really shows how this set of southern actors, this separate assemblage of actors, can be part of the reframing and embodiment of new Arctics.

4.4.4 The Destination

In the above cases there is a framing of the Arctic as a destination, inscribing various elements of the Arctic’s natural and cultural world with a neoliberal capitalist value. From the beginning of the document, it is asserted that the Arctic should be open to the public. When we unpack the AECO guidelines it is possible to see that while they appear progressive with respect to the environment and interaction with indigenous peoples, it is actually masking a more important dimension. It is in the interest of this industry to promote a protected environment and authentic cultural experience because this is what gives value to their product. They also must protect this value from possible hazards, which only become hazards once tourists are added to the equation. There are limits to what natural elements of the Arctic AECO is willing to accept, becoming part of the ecology of the Arctic is not an option; the goal is to be separate from this pristine nature. The idea of the Arctic as ‘open for business’ is also of interest. Here the tolerance is shown to

¹⁵⁵ Braun, *The Intemperate Rainforest*, 142.

only go so far, rights to visit certain areas must remain open. While AECO should be commended for the many suggestions they make for how operators can have a positive impact on northern communities, the fact that this document remains a set of guidelines is troubling. Most respondents said that the operators currently working in the Arctic are already going above and beyond these guidelines. One operator explained their reasoning for not joining the AECO like this:

No, we're not [members of AECO], we've been approached a few times and we've considered it, but because...we don't go anywhere in Europe in the Arctic, except in Greenland, but Greenland, it's still voluntary so we've just chosen not to become members... I've voiced this with AECO already, I feel that their membership is very good, but I need to see how they're going to provide economic growth to the communities before I would consider joining. Because the fees associated with AECO are very good but they're really focused on preserving wildlife and landscape etc. but I would want to see that money going specifically towards communities in some form. And until I see that commitment I wouldn't exactly be going home to have our budget go there [instead of] into the communities.

While Canadian operators have a very good track record, the entrance and authority of AECO in Canada could have both disconcerting and encouraging futures for local communities. As the Arctic Council and other international bodies are asked to help create international best practices, the bureaucracies which structure the Arctic will have yet another avenue to do so. I am worried

that the size and breadth of this relatively small organization will dilute the kind of community engagement, which is happening now.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, what persists is an orienting of the Arctic as a place to *visit*. It is a place to be consumed and in so doing, redefined.

4.5 Conclusion: Tourism, Nature, and Power

The guidelines offered up by AECO become an interesting intersection between the conceptualization of the Arctic offered by various Canadian federal bodies and those of cruise operators. Of course the AECO is a bureaucracy in its own right. Of the Canadian companies operating in the Arctic not all have become members of the organization and in some ways resist it. This organization is dominated by European companies and to some extent could be bringing a Eurocentric approach to the conceptualization of the Arctic.¹⁵⁷ For places such as Northern Scandinavia and Greenland the legacies of colonialism still persist, and cannot be ignored. This organization brings with it a different orientation when we consider my initial offering of a *southern* discourse because The South becomes somewhat mobile; representing Ottawa, Toronto, Copenhagen, and possibly even Rome. What endures though is a common framing of the Arctic as peripheral, but also essential to to a southern bureaucracy and southern clientele. This organization also exists within the bureaucratic control of the Arctic by an assemblage of states, which through its interaction with ships consistently interacts with southern conceptualizations of the Arctic.

¹⁵⁶ Parks Canada and operators saw Canadian operators as already possessing a great deal of knowledge and experience. So much so that this became the premise for one company not to join AECO

¹⁵⁷ A better avenue of analysis may consider how tourism is a new form of colonialism in an era of globalization.

If we return to the notion of territory spoken to in Chapter 3, territory as a state-project becomes much more fluid, not bound to static boundaries on the surface of land or contained in an imaginary line on the Arctic Ocean. Instead, territory becomes practiced and reassembled by a network of actors: civil servants, policies, ship operators, tourists, local communities etc. and how they rework nature. This nature, or way of understanding control over land and sea, is not maintained by pure military force but by discourse and the embodiment of this discourse by a wide range of practices ranging from the way operators position themselves in Arctic policy to their creation of an Arctic Destination that stokes the embers of neoliberal approaches to development and the transformation of northern natures into those of a neoliberal, and to some extent colonial, reality. The Arctic becomes not just framed for southern control by this discourse and these embodiments, but literally becomes a site for southern consumption. Operators and their visitors become actors continually making and remaking Arctic Natures, for various states, through their acceptance of policy and rearticulating of the Arctic destination through their participation in the industry.

This reorientation and embodiment of the southern conceptualization of the Arctic goes beyond Canada, and federal bodies. There is an international southernness pointed to in the AECO guidelines. What constitutes Arctic and what constitutes South becomes far more fluid. While AECO may be based in Norway, the actors involved become part of a transnational network actively defining and redefining the Arctic destination. It is taken for granted that the Arctic is not thought of as a Mediterranean and region in its own right but as peripheral regions. This marginal region is skipped when we speak of the economic geography of the Global North and South, and is attached to the ignorance of neocolonial currents that are taking place within the 'borders' of the Global North. What does it mean when we frame the Arctic not as homeland

but a region that is part of a global commons, a place that is framed as being of the responsibility of The South. It is the framing of the Arctic as the responsibility of experts, wealthy tourists, and southern bureaucracies that should worry us.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

There are many Arctics, but given the histories of colonialism, and particular visions that become entrenched in policy and government agencies, it is however important to recognize that some are more versions of the Arctic are more powerful than others. This has been the sentiment of the last three chapters, as I have unpacked how various southern organizations have conceptualized an Arctic as a product of the culture of their respective governing bodies. These Arctics are not static but are changing and interacting in infinite and complex ways. What is common is that these Arctics are enacted upon The North; they are performed, and refined by southern-actors. It is through their expertise, or at least the performance of such, that these Arctics are drawn upon northern regions and their people as they are regulated and governed by a policy built and constructed within the context of southern Canada. These Arctics redefine place in such a way that the meaning of place is not only *changed* but rebuilt in such a way that power and the ultimate authority is enshrined into a bureaucracy that is removed and treats the region as peripheral at best.

5.1 Key Findings

Chapter 2, the first empirical chapter, explored how those agencies and departments most connected to the expedition cruise tourism industry conceptualize the Arctic in different ways. For some, the Arctic was about controlling how development would unfold; a process that was seen as clandestine, making and remaking the region as a place that was on the periphery and in need of entrance into the southern Canadian economy. For some bodies, the Arctic was also a wilderness that needed to be shared, exploited, harnessed, and/or enshrined in a nationalist

imaginary. This chapter investigated how various bodies understood the risk involved in maintaining a peripheral region of this nature. Through a review of these bodies it was shown that there are many similarities and many differences when it comes the conceptualization of the Arctic. One theme that persisted was risk. Risk could be expressed as the potential natural hazards that lay in the wake of a cruise ship; the failure to capitalize upon a new industry; unpreparedness; and the anxiety that control of the Arctic could be in jeopardy. This chapter showed that there is not a singular Arctic but many within the federal civil service.¹⁵⁸ Federal agents, even when taking northern contexts into account, are bound to a southern logic; one that comes from a place of domination over discourse and the embodiment of this southern-framing.

Chapter 3, the second empirical chapter, considered the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act (“AWPPA”). This piece of legislation came at a time when the United States of America tested Canadian sovereignty over Arctic waters. The AWPPA uses pollution as a means of controlling the fragile Arctic biome but in so doing creates a new framework for extending control over Arctic waters whether they are frozen or liquid. It is through a discourse of environmental security that Transport Canada, along with a collective of federal bodies, are able to control Arctic waters. They do not simply lay claim, but create a policy framework that maintains environmental expertise and control of the very movement of ships. In times of environmental change, this policy is becoming more and more relevant as a means of control. As Arctic waters are perceived to be more navigable it will be an environmental ethic that will be coupled with other tactics to control the volume of the Arctic Ocean. Thus, a conceptualization of a southern Arctic is not merely about national discourses of development, nature, and risk; but

¹⁵⁸ This said, my work looked at a select few agencies and departments within the federal public service.

global ones as well as explored briefly in Chapter 4. Federal actors, like those from Transport Canada, exist not only in a local bureaucratic network but one that extends to an international realm whereby expertise and authority can be contested but more importantly accepted by other parties, further enshrining the expertise of those bodies.

In Chapter 4, the third empirical chapter, I continued to consider how other non-state institutions are contributing to the conceptualization of an Arctic constructed in southern Canada. Using industry guidelines designed by AECO, this chapter showed how the guidelines shed light on what constitutes the ‘Arctic destination’ for those associated with the tourism industry in the Canadian Arctic. AECO was shown to have similarly rooted conceptualization of the Arctic but with manifestations of different qualities. Tourism is pushed to the fore because it is an industry that has the ability to interact with a wide range of government bodies. It was this quality that was proven to be the case with expedition cruise tourism. It is also an industry that redefines the Arctic and is actively involved in performing the discourses of federal bodies and recreating their own. In this chapter I signal to the problematic dimensions of tourism that may not be taken seriously and how turning a critical lens can shed light on the problematic discourses that may be festering there.

5.2 Empirical and Conceptual Implications

With these findings in mind, it is here in this conclusion I turn our attention to the empirical and conceptual implications of this research. Conceptually and empirically, the study answers the call to ‘study-up.’ Instead of burdening Northerners, who it seems are disproportionately researched, my eyes are turned to those who govern rather than those who are governed. This thesis is also part of the ongoing work on the expedition cruise tourism industry

and the stakeholders involved. As a response to the research conducted by the C-TAC project¹⁵⁹ this work makes use of research that has been completed and continues a conversation. This project also makes space for future research that could consider what a more *northern* policy might look like.

This thesis takes up some of the work done in political ecology, policy studies and some dimensions of critical geopolitics. Especially in an era of environmental change the possible bridges between these traditions will become more important as environmental change tests the status quo of realist geopolitics. To consider how the environment is conceptualized in various *policy natures* not only helps to understand the culture of the federal civil service, but also encourages scholars to consider what changing conceptualizations of nature could mean for policy outcomes. This thesis is also one of the very few pieces of work that treats policy and civil servants in Canada outside of a realist lens.

This work also takes up work in political geography, which attempts to broaden the way scholars understand territory. To contemplate the materiality of sea ice and waste in the Arctic Ocean urges scholars to reconsider our approaches to studying power. For my work this meant looking at how territory in an immense region such as the Arctic can still be maintained and extended. This makes space for analyzing how territory might be in a state of flux in an era of climate change. Climate change and the environmental changes it produces will produce infinite scenarios whereby territory will need to be reestablished whether that be in new pipeline routes, air routes, and the newly thawed territory. The impact these changes will have will be felt so strongly that even the realist geopolitical borders will have to be retraced. While the case of the

¹⁵⁹ CTAC was a project headed by Margaret Johnston, Jackie Dawson and Emma Stewart between 2008-2012. It looked at the impact of expedition cruise tourism in the Canadian Arctic.

Canadian Arctic is still ripe it is but the tip of the iceberg in an era of environmental and political renaissance.

As my first major research project there are many limits to the work I have completed. The first, which I noted in the introduction, is the current atmosphere around researchers in the NCR. While I was trying to collect interviews I was surprised to get a better response from private cruise tourism operators than from federal civil servants. While my original plan was to interview as many civil servants as possible, I was forced to interview fewer respondents. These interviewees tended to be in positions of more authority and influence, assumedly because they were considered 'able' to handle questions from a researcher. Instead of gaining access to a number of individuals from the same team or department I would be invited to speak with the director or manager of those groups of people. While interviews were used to compliment my work, a greater number of interviews would have made for a more nuanced understanding of each body's construction of the Arctic. Another limitation is that all of my interviews were framed by my quest to understand the expedition cruise tourism industry. I was limited to interviewees who felt they had the expertise to speak to this topic. This prevented me from accessing other federal bodies like Health Canada whose conceptualizations of the Arctic would have been fascinating to explore.

5.3 Avenues for Future Research

The potential application of this research is diverse. For scholars exploring notions of nordicity and northernness, my southern framing may offer an anti-thesis for which to hone and muster their arguments. My research could also provoke a thoughtful discussion on the long-term impacts of southern bureaucracies, namely those colonial acts like the resettling of Inuit

communities in the High Arctic or Impact benefit agreements. Before a critique of those actions can take place a critique of the structure that provoked those actions must take place. For those still interested in maintaining Canadian sovereignty claims through a realist geopolitical lens, my research could be used as a means to question if Canada is doing enough to guard against other conceptualizations of the Arctic in a global context. This could provoke a movement towards a singular conceptualization of the Arctic. While I was preoccupied with Canadian Arctics, my only interrogation of a global Arctic was limited to a Euro-American Arctic discussed in the final empirical chapter. Future research could contrast an Arctic conceptualized as a destination to an Arctic conceptualized as off-limits like in parts of the Russian Arctic or Antarctic. My research could also be applied to consider how global actors like non-governmental organizations, shipping companies, non-state actors, and bureaucracies like the EU and UN might harbor far more dangerous conceptualizations of the Arctic.

Future research could go in several directions. First, I think that future work could and should be done on what constitutes northern Arctics. While my work could certainly be used to understand what would need to be dismantled in order for northern Arctics to thrive, it will be research on northern ways of knowing that will provoke real change. Second, more research could be done on the ways in which Southern Canada controls its peripheral regions. Finally, my research could be used as a starting point for exploring the role of the Arctic tourist in all of this. While the tourist was certainly touched on in this work, tourists themselves could be studied through a critical lens to consider how southern Arctics are enacted during interactions between tourists and Northerners in Arctic communities. I would be interested to explore how these human interactions are part of constructing, remaking, and enacting southern Arctics.

How far can discourse really go and what happens when we realize that it is not a single agent in control? What happens when we stop viewing civil servants as ambiguous and start seeing them as agents in an extensive system? What is possible if we begin to see power in new places; it is then that we have the opportunity for change? What stands is that the Arctic is not singular, there are many Arctics and it is an elite that is shaping the conceptualization of this place. Civil servants through policy, regulations, meetings, and their everyday enactment of these Arctics, give shape to these conceptualizations and the places they govern. The discourse and physical applications of these Arctics have an impact on the environment, the people that live there, those that visit, and even geopolitics.

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