Canadian Exceptionalism, Greenwashing Imperialism: The State, Energy Transition, and the (Contested) Discursive Legitimation of Mining Sector Extractivism

Aidan Gilchrist-Blackwood

Department of Political Science

McGill University, Montreal

August 31, 2020

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

Table of Contents

Abstract

This thesis argues that contemporary Canadian State communications unevenly but persistently legitimize the Canadian mining sector's domestic and international influence. Based on a critical discourse analysis of mining-related press releases issued by Natural Resources Canada and Global Affairs Canada between 2004 and 2019, it finds that this sector's activities are increasingly being associated with discursive frames of "sustainability". Such frames frequently associate mined minerals with the development of low-carbon technologies central to energy transition from fossil fuels, and are undergirded by a "Canadian exceptionalist" structure of feeling that positions the Canadian State as a moral leader in the world. In light of the Canadian mining sector's extensively-documented contributions to neocolonial patterns of environmental destruction and targeted violence against land defenders, this thesis concludes that the State's sustainability claims should be conceptualized as greenwashing global power dynamics characteristic of Canadian imperialism. Moreover, this thesis finds that the discursive frames deployed by the State position the mining industry's private interests as coterminous with the broader public interest, a fact which manifests unevenly across ministries but which nonetheless sits in at least partial tension with the State's regulatory functions.

Abstrait

Cette dissertation analyse les discours employés par l'état canadien dans ses communiqués de presse qui traitent du secteur minier. En investiguant les communiqués issus de *Ressources naturelles Canada* et d'*Affaires internationales Canada* entre les années 2004 et 2019, je propose que l'état s'engage dans un processus de légitimation discursive où il associe de plus en plus intimement le secteur extractif et le concept de « soutenabilité ». Cette association discursive fonctionne notamment à travers les stratégies de communication qui soulignent l'importance des minéraux bruts pour le développement de technologies d'énergie renouvelable. Étant donné le niveau de violence socio-écologique extensive attribuable aux comportements du secteur minier canadien à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des frontières coloniales de l'état, je constate que ces déclarations de la « soutenabilité » du secteur constituent des discours écologiques de façade (du genre *greenwashing*) qui dissimulent l'impérialisme canadien. De plus, il parait que ces discours sont soutenus par les structures de sentiment exceptionalistes qui rationalisent la dépossession violente qu'apporte le modèle extractiviste en positionnant l'état canadien comme pouvoir mondial bienveillant. Finalement, le corpus analysé équivoque l'intérêt privé du secteur minier avec l'intérêt publique, bien que la construction de discours manifeste différemment à travers les différents ministères gouvernementaux. En conséquent, nous pouvons partiellement mettre en doute l'impartialité régulatoire de l'état par rapport au secteur minier.

Acknowledgements

Thank you first of all to my supervisor, Manuel Balan. His engaging feedback and constant support have been invaluable in shaping the directions in which this project has grown and the research questions I thought to ask along the way. Thank you for always having time for my (many!) questions—I could not have asked for a better or more generous mentor.

Thank you also to the reviewers of my thesis proposal, Kelly Gordon and Hamish van der Ven. From providing guidance on the theoretical and conceptual framework of the project to suggesting key literature to fill out my methodology, each of their perspectives have greatly shaped not only this project, but also my thinking about how to approach political science research in general.

I further wish to thank Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert for his guidance and support throughout my undergraduate and graduate studies. Thank you for giving me the chance to do research with the McGill Research Collective Investigating Canadian Mining in Latin America (MICLA), which introduced me to the set of issues that comprise the basis of this thesis project and taught me strategies for orienting academic research around meeting real community needs.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to a number of other professors whose guidance over the course of my time at McGill has helped me grapple with the methodological and conceptual issues that sit at the core of this project. This includes, but is by no means limited to, Barry Eidlin, Elisabeth Gidengil, Allan Greer, Nicolas Kosoy, Catherine LeGrand, Laila Parsons, Narendra Subramanian, and Ishmael Vaccaro. Further thanks to Sandy Hervieux for her generous guidance on best-practices in the use and selection of textual analysis software. Moreover, thank you to Tara Alward, Wenrui Duan, and Andrew Stoten for all their help navigating the administrative side of things during my time at McGill.

Thank you also to the members of the Dis-Extractivism Seminar Group for providing comments on a draft of this project. Further, thank you to the organizers and participants of MiningWatch Canada's November 2019 conference "Turning Down the Heat: Can we Mine our Way out of the Climate Crisis?" and the Beyond Extraction Collective's February 2020 conference "Beyond Extraction: A Counter-Conference in the Heart of Extractive Capital". Conversations held in each of these spaces were foundational to the development of this project. Thank you in particular to one of BE's keynote speakers, Ramón Balcázar, for introducing me to the concept of eco-extractivism. Moreover, thank you to Ella Myette for her invaluable help with editing.

Finally, thank you for the financial assistance provided by the Department of Political Science. I am grateful to have had my MA funded by the Guy Drummond Fellowship.

1. Introduction

1.1. Significance of the Problem, Rationale, and Research Questions

On March 1, 2020, Canada's Natural Resources Minister, Seamus O'Regan announced that "the world needs the [Canadian mining] sector more now than ever before" (Natural Resources Canada 2020). These remarks were delivered at the annual conference of the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (PDAC), the most well-attended mining industry conference on the planet (Butler 2015). In the same speech, O'Regan elaborated that "the world…needs the jobs you [the Canadian mining sector] create – and the communities you change for the better". "Most importantly", he explained, the world "needs [the sector] to play a central role in tackling climate change…by supplying the critical minerals for renewable energy, smart grids, LED light bulbs, advanced batteries, electric motors, small modular reactors and electric vehicles" (Natural Resources Canada 2020).

Other government communications, meanwhile, boast that "Canada sets a world standard for sustainable mining" (Government of Canada, Trade Service Commissioner 2019), a concept which it defines elsewhere in terms of technological innovations that reduce the sector's material footprint and in terms of corporate social responsibility exercised through "community engagement" (Natural Resources Canada 2017a). Such communications, in turn, appear to mirror an increasingly predominant global narrative that ties mining to positive environmental outcomes, namely climate change mitigation. Emphasized most notably by the World Bank's 2017 report "The Growing Role of Minerals and Metals for a Low Carbon Future", this perspective on mining and sustainability highlights the importance of so-called "critical minerals" for the production of low-carbon energy technologies (Arrobas et al, 2017).

Some months prior to PDAC, community leaders in San Miguel Chimalapa, Oaxaca, Mexico had publicly called on the United Nations to intervene on their behalf against the Canadian mining company Minarum Gold Inc., which has been attempting to develop a mineral concession on their territory. These leaders are primarily from the indigenous Zoque community and allege that they never gave their free, prior, and informed consent for the company to be present. Environmental concerns have played an important role in driving this conflict, with locals speaking out against the possibility of water contamination given Minarum Gold's plans to develop this concession into an open pit mine (Chaca 2018, Environmental Justice Atlas 2018).

Beyond their evident contestation by local communities, the government's laudatory statements about the mining sector also appear to sit in tension with some of the perspectives emerging from extractive industry publications. A 2017 opinion piece in the Canadian Mining Journal warns that the sector is contending with a "new reality…of hostile public opinion" based in part upon the "growing priority attached to environmental issues" (Herle 2017). Indeed, Canadian mining companies have faced intensifying levels of scrutiny over the past decades, as large-scale resource extraction projects often leave legacies of dramatic landscape change, water pollution, and social conflict alongside their troubled history of operating without the explicit consent of local communities (Haslam and Tanimoune 2015). To this end, San Miguel Chimalapa is no exceptional case. The Environmental Justice Atlas (EJAtlas), a European Union-funded project which maps environmental conflicts around the world (Temper et al 2015), has documented 693 separate instances of social conflict involving Canadian-headquartered companies carrying out "mineral ore or building material extraction" (EJAtlas 2019).

Of course, Canadian Government communications about the mining sector are not uniformly positive. In 2018, following many years of pressure from domestic and overseas NGOs, it announced the creation of the Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise (CORE) and mandated this civil servant to investigate Canadian businesses, including mining companies, charged with improper conduct abroad (CBC News 2019a). This announcement, though also criticized for lacking detail about the precise investigatory power that the Ombudsperson would hold (ibid), seems to at least partially recognize harms associated with Canadian mining and represents a move towards increased regulation of the sector.

In short, a set of apparent tensions can be seen in the Canadian government's deployment of sustainability language regarding its mining sector and the widespread contestation of Canadian mining projects on sustainability grounds. Adding to the complexity of this picture, the particular sustainability framings deployed by the State appear to at least partially mirror increasingly predominant transnational discourses linking mining to low-carbon energy development. Moreover, these framings are accompanied by a degree of seemingly countervailing rhetorical emphasis on sectoral regulation.

While such elements collectively point to a shifting discursive landscape regarding resource extraction and its sociopolitical legitimacy, no existing study has (to the author's knowledge) systematically examined whether there have been corresponding discursive shifts in the discourses adopted by States in their communications about particular resource extraction industries. As a result, this thesis interrogates two guiding research questions. First, to concretely provide empirics on a relatively recent development, it asks a descriptive research question. What discourses are deployed by the Canadian government to frame the contemporary mining sector? This descriptive question in turn motivates a second, analytical question: how do State

discourses frame the legitimacy or non-legitimacy of the mining sector as a political actor within present and future imaginaries of ecological, economic, and social relations?

To answer these questions, I undertake a critical discourse analysis of Canadian government publications that reference metal mining from the years 2004 to 2019. Restricting the corpus to metal mining is rendered necessary by important differences in supply chains, technological applications, and extraction methods for metals when compared to non-metals (Anderson, Dunne and Uhrie 2014), and justified by the fact that metals (particularly gold, copper, iron ore, and nickel) comprise the numerical majority of "leading minerals" extracted by Canadian firms by total value of production (Natural Resources Canada 2019a). In order to capture communications related to mining industry operations within and outside the borders of the Canadian State, I specifically examine documents published by Natural Resources Canada (NRCan), which has a domestically-focused mandate, as well as publications from the externally-oriented Global Affairs Canada (GAC). A close reading is given to documents published between 2016 and 2019, wherein I identify the reoccurrence of key thematic frames, assess how these communications define the issues at hand and depict the relevant actors, and finally deploy deep historical and contextual analysis to assess the main storyline conveyed in the corpus.

This project's specific emphasis on the Canadian government's discourse-production is motivated by the diverse set of connections between resource extraction and the State in this country, and is intended to contribute to the growing body of literature documenting and analyzing the characteristics of mining sector capitalism in so-called Canada. Such literature has posited that the State is an "imperialist" actor which deploys a variety of coercion and persuasion techniques to advance the interests of domestically-headquartered extractives companies (Nolin

and Stephens 2010, Gordon 2010, Antonelli 2011, Denault and Sacher 2012, Veltmeyer 2013, Tetreault 2013, Klassen 2014, Butler 2015, Belanger 2018, Gordon and Webber 2016, 2019, Engler 2019). To this end, Canadian government and domestic mining sector are frequently described as operating in a "nexus" of interconnected material interests (Gordon and Webber 2016). Moreover, over 50% of the world's mining companies are headquartered in Canada (Natural Resources Canada 2019a), meaning that studying the operation of dominant discourses in this country may broaden overall understandings of how this sector seeks legitimacy to a greater extent than would be possible in studying any other national context.

At a higher level of abstraction, answering the descriptive research question that ties this project together contributes towards addressing four analytical literature gaps. These literature gaps will be further elaborated in Chapter 2. First, existing scholarship on Canadian extractive imperialism has generally under-emphasized the possible discursive underpinnings of the state-corporate nexus it diagnoses (one notable exception being Butler 2015). In light of research on Canadian military discourses which suggests that this country's political culture obscures histories of colonialism and other deeply-rooted patterns of violence against racialized persons by positioning the nation as "exceptional", a consistently peaceful and positive contributor to global affairs (Simpson 2016, Razack 2004), examining the content and legitimizing function of State communications about the mining sector can be used to reveal the role of Canadian exceptionalism in shaping discourses about resource extraction.

Second, the Canadian imperialism literature often speaks of the state as a unitary actor. Following Kirsch (2011)'s call for researchers to investigate the "variety of institutions and countervailing forces" that shape how resource extraction is discursively portrayed (p. 206), I seek to disentangle how state ministries with domestic as compared to externally-focused

mandates may adopt different discourses in their positioning of the mining sector. To this end, the project at hand also endeavors to build analytical connections between the operations of Canadian imperialism within and outside the colonial borders of the State.

Third, this study builds on existing studies of how the Canadian state has discursively positioned the mining sector, temporally adding to a corpus of analysis that has primarily assessed discursive legitimation techniques witnessed under the Harper Government, in power from 2006 to 2015.

Finally, the project at hand contributes to the growing literature on the political economy of energy transitions, building on cutting-edge research that interrogates how unequal power dynamics can be embodied in low-carbon energy production. In so doing, it draws from norms of political ecology and feminist political theory in attempting to illuminate the quotidian functioning of power, from the understanding that identifying and analyzing unequal power structures can politicize these structures and facilitate their real-world deconstruction (Svarstad, Benjaminson, and Overa 2018).

In terms of organization, I will conclude this introductory chapter by providing a brief, descriptive overview of the contemporary Canadian mining sector, emphasizing its size and global relevance and highlighting some of the primary socioecological impacts associated with the its operations around the world. This section is intended to contextualize the more substantive chapters to come. Chapter 2 reviews the central fields of inquiry that inform my analysis while also highlighting gaps in the current literature to which this thesis project intends to contribute. Chapter 3 will outline the project's guiding theoretical framework, operationalize

key concepts, and then describe its data and methodology. Chapter 4 contains the project's main analysis and findings, while Chapter 5 serves as the conclusion.

Finally, a note on terminology. While narratives of metal mining are the analytical target of this thesis, many of the documents surveyed here deploy the term "minerals". As minerals are compounds which can be mined for constituent metals when they appear in sufficiently high concentrations (Rankin 2011), I alternate between using both terms. Further, in accordance with a growing norm in critical Indigenous scholarship, I occasionally use the prefix "so-called" when making reference to the Canadian nation-state in this study. This rhetorical move is intended to convey that Canada's sovereignty claims are contested by a number of indigenous nations whose lands, though claimed by the jurisdiction of the settler-State, are unceded (see Manuel and Derrickson 2015, Simpson 2017, Kepkiewicz, and Dale 2019). In the interests of avoiding repetition, I alternate between using "Canada" and "so-called Canada" interchangeably.

Overall, this project forwards the argument that contemporary communications from Natural Resources Canada and Global Affairs discursively legitimize the mining sector by greenwashing its central relationship to the violence of Canadian imperialism. These communications mobilize narrative frames of exceptional Canadian moral leadership and of the global energy transition to make the case that the mining sector is an essential contributor to future prosperity, thus assigning normative importance to the expansion of mining sector operations around the globe. Further, these claims simultaneously rest on and articulate an "eco-extractivist" territoriality which marginalizes relational alternatives to extractivism. The process of discursive legitimation analyzed here is uneven and accompanied by appeals to the increased regulation of the sector; however, even regulatory appeals generally serve a partial legitimizing function. Moreover, the State's discursive frames position the mining industry's private interests

as coterminous with the broader public interest. Such frames sit in partial tension with the State's purported role as a regulator of industry and highlights how the continued prominence of the state-corporate nexus in extractives sector governance may be "capturing" the transition to a lower-carbon economy. That said, important nodes of difference can be drawn between GAC and NRCan's communications, seeming to suggest that the former has adopted a legitimizing pattern based on maintaining narrative silence, while NRCan adopts a stance of more overt sectoral promotion.

1.2. The Scope and Influence of the Contemporary Canadian Mining Sector

Canada is a highly significant actor in the global mining industry, and it is this significance which motivates the detailed study of its particular context. At the time of writing, the most recent figures published by Natural Resources Canada estimate that publicly traded, Canadian-based mining companies control $260 billion worth of assets, including $169 billion of assets located abroad (2019a). Additionally, more mining and exploration companies are listed on the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSX) than any other stock exchange in the world. In 2018, fully 50% of such companies were listed on the TSX, and one-third ($6.5 billion) of global mining equity capital was raised here (ibid). Of course, while these and similar statistics are frequently cited by supporters and critics of the mining sector alike, Studnicki-Gizbert (2016) cautions that they may "selectively magnify" its economic impacts. Figures from 2015 suggest that 92% of mining companies listed on the TSX are "juniors", or companies which specialize in exploring for new mineral deposits (p. 97). Juniors may carry out the preliminary development of deposits they uncover, but by definition they lack the necessary resources to establish and oversee industrial-scale mining projects and their investment into the economies in which they operate is thus more limited than those of larger corporations.

At any rate, the extensive geographical spread and concentration of Canadian mining companies affirms their centrality within the structure of global resource extraction industries. Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when many resource-rich countries in the Global South implemented structural adjustment programs that opened their economies to increasing levels of foreign investment, Canadian companies (which had been important players in the domestic economy since the British colonial period) began in large numbers to expand their operations overseas (Studnicki-Gizbert 2016, pp. 98-100). Today, Natural Resources Canada estimates that Canadian mining companies are present in 101 countries. This presence is particularly concentrated in the Americas (where Canadian mining assets are worth an estimated $117.8 billion) and in Africa (where 110 companies control $26.3 billion in assets) (2019a). Further disaggregating the presence of Canadian mining companies in the Americas, Gordon and Webber (2016) estimate that fully 62% of mines operating in Latin America in 2014 were owned by Canadian companies (p.17). Some countries within the region have witnessed a particularly staggering level of penetration by Canadian firms, with Studnicki-Gizbert noting that by the mid-2000s between 75 and 80% of mines in Mexico were operated by corporations registered in Canada (2016, 96).

Domestically, nearly 200 mines actively operate across so-called Canada, including at least one in every province and territory (Natural Resources Canada 2019b). Many of these projects are located on the traditional territories of Indigenous nations (Pasternak and King 2019). To this end, over 450 agreements were signed between Indigenous communities and mining or mineral exploration companies between 2000 and 2018, variously pertaining to both the exploration- and post-exploration stages of mining projects. Exports from Canada's domestic

mining industry were valued at $104.6 billion per the most recent statistics, which date to 2018 (Natural Resources Canada 2019b).

Meanwhile, existing scholarship suggests that Canada's mining sector rose to global prominence at least in part because of what Denault and Sacher call its "favourable regulatory climate". These authors argue that Canadian stock exchanges, especially the Toronto and (now-defunct) Vancouver Exchanges, have historically been attractive listing destinations for smaller mining and exploration firms because of their permissive reporting requirements on mineral reserves (2012, p.18). Affirming Denault and Sacher's analysis, Studnicki-Gizbert's historical chronology of the Canadian mining sector in Latin America highlights a 1994 New York Times report that calls the Vancouver Exchange the "most under-regulated venture capital market in the world" (2016, p. 99). Successive Progressive Conservative, Liberal, and Conservative governments have also introduced legislation to attract and maintain investment in Canada's mining sector. In 2008, for instance, the Harper Government introduced a system of "flow-through shares" for domestically headquartered mineral exploration companies in order to facilitate their raising of private equity (Newman 2018). Of course, none of this is to say that Canada's regulatory climate provides the only explanation for why its mining sector has come to occupy an outsized global role: other factors, such as the historical concentration of mining "expertise" in this country, also possess important explanatory power in some experts' analyses (Butler 2015, Kuyek 2019). These additional factors are readily compatible with an analysis of the Canadian regulatory climate.

Thus, detailed study of the Canadian mining sector can be motivated by its significant global scope of operations. While the Canadian regulatory context is unique in many ways, the significant concentration of firms in this jurisdiction means that examining this national context

can provide an effective window into key dynamics of extractives industry governance that affect communities around the world.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Canadian Imperialism, the Nation-State, and the Extractives Sector

A primary theoretical engagement of this project is with the literature on Canadian imperialism, which has compellingly theorized the State as an imperialist actor that shares close material linkages to the resource extraction sector, resultingly facilitating processes of accumulation by dispossession within and outside this country's borders. However, a limited number of studies have thus far jointly assessed the domestic and international dimensions of Canadian imperialism, nor have many examined the structures of feeling that may undergird the State's actions. Finally, more could be done to build upon existing research by disaggregating the multiple government agencies and individual actors which comprise the "State" within analyses of Canadian imperialism.

According to Gordon and Webber's path-setting work on the topic, Canada constitutes a an imperialist world power insofar as the state is highly interventionist in support of industrial capital-accumulation, contributing to a "general system of domination by a state of other states…and maintaining the underdevelopment of the Global South…to the benefit of Northern capital" (2016, pp. 6-7; see also Grinspun and Mills 2015). In the process the Canadian State and mining sector, by virtue of the ladder's global reach, are situated as central facilitators of capitalism's territorial expansion (Gordon and Webber 2016, p.283).

Of course, this concept has its critics. Garrod and Macdonald (2016), in particular, argue that it obscures how capital increasingly transcends nation-state boundaries in the first place and may understate the capacity of states in the Global South to resist and negotiate the terms of Canadian capital-insertion, in the second (pp. 105-6). Indeed, many mining companies listed on the TSX may be officially "Canadian-based", in large part due to the "favourable regulatory

climate" outlined above, but employ directors and executives who are nationals of the countries in which they primarily operate. Thus, Garrod and Macdonald argue, imperialism's classical association with states acting in service of a nationally based capitalist class does not accurately describe the contemporary context.

While this critique raises important points of consideration and usefully highlights the agency of the diverse set of actors who engage with Canadian mining companies, the conceptual work undertaken in the Canadian imperialism literature remains useful for understanding the problem at hand. First, as Gordon and Webber note in their 2019 defense of the concept, this literature compellingly draws attention to the ways in which the industry enjoys public support from elites across the political spectrum and usefully captures how the Canadian State deploys both coercion and persuasion techniques to advance the interests of domestically-headquartered extractives companies, even in an era where capital is increasingly unfettered by national borders (see also Nolin and Stephens 2010, Gordon 2010, Antonelli 2011, Denault and Sacher 2012, Veltmeyer 2013, Klassen 2014, Butler 2015, Gordon and Webber 2016, Belanger 2018, Engler 2019).

Along these lines, Gordon's 2010 monograph *Imperialist Canada* traces the history of Global Affairs Canada's lobbying efforts in Colombia and Peru, between which this agency spent over $10 million in the early 2000s in an effort to influence the re-writing of each country's mining codes and facilitate the entry of Canadian mining companies (see also Ramirez 2006). Other research, both academic studies and reports from the grey literature, has documented the active role played by Canadian embassy staff in advancing the interests of mining companies whose projects are locally contested. In one particularly striking case, Moore (2015) traces how the Canadian Embassy actively lobbied the Mexican government in support of

a mining company, Excellon Resources, that collaborated with the police and military to violently suppress anti-mining protests in the community in which they were operating. Documents uncovered via access to information requests reveal that the Embassy here gathered information on local land defenders and shared that information with the company.

The concept of Canadian imperialism has also been applied in somewhat limited capacity to studies of extractives industry operations in indigenous territories that fall within the contemporary borders of so-called Canada, but is supplanted by an extensive literature on colonialism and the resource extraction sector in this context. Relatively few existing studies have examined these two dimensions of Canadian imperialism in tandem. One notable exception is Gordon (2010), whose work on Canadian imperialism has figured the role of the State in the historical and continuing dispossession of indigenous communities, tracing the historical roots of this concept as originating in the colonial dispossession of indigenous nations.

A much larger body of literature has analyzed the State's collaboration with resource extraction corporations as elements of colonialism rather than imperialism, but with both concepts communicating similar underlying power dynamics. Such literature has assessed the State's continued claiming of unceded indigenous lands as "crown lands" to which resource extraction corporations enjoy "free entry" rights (Hoogeveen 2015). Resultingly, scholars have examined Canadian mining sector extractivism as central to capitalism-sustaining processes of accumulation by dispossession (Hall 2013) and the colonial re-figuring of social reproduction in indigenous communities (Hall 2017). Recent critical scholarship from King and Pasternak (2019) has further expanded upon such findings. They posit not only that mining sector operations facilitate the colonization of unceded indigenous territories in Canada, but that these operations further entrench colonial power relations by impeding future decolonization efforts. Indeed, as

they martial their “free entry” rights to claim large swaths of unceded land from indigenous nations, mining companies “fenc[e] off and fragment” these territories “into islands of extraction”, the lasting ecological legacies of which intimately contour how indigenous nations could relate to their lands in a decolonized future (p. 26).

This emerging literature on the Canadian extractives sector, especially in detailing its relationship to the state and to settler-colonial political cultures, highlights discursive elements which may influence the particular nature of mining industry claims to legitimacy and the potential impacts of these discourses in conditioning the socioecological political imaginary but which have not yet been systematically elaborated. Butler (2015)’s theorization of the Canadian mining sector as a historical component of this country’s colonial political culture offers, to the author’s knowledge, one of few directly-related studies to date. She draws from critical race theory to argue that mining comprises a significant component of Canada’s colonial “nation-building” narratives, constructed in developmentalist terms as a “civilizing” project. These discourses continue to dominate contemporary corporate communications about mining projects in the Global South. Her analysis, developed largely from interviews with mining company executives, also posits that corporate actors respond to criticism in part by constructing an exceptionalist subjectivity that they are “Good (well-meaning) Canadians”, carrying out necessary work that would be less aptly handled by subjects of other, less “kind” Global North powers. Such arguments that “comforting scripts of national goodness [comprise] a means to rationalize violence and dispossession” (2015, p. 210) raise the question of where sustainability discourses fit within these “comforting scripts” and to what extent “national goodness” myths shape the influence of such discourses on public debate.

Related research by Chewkinski (2016) similarly situates government discourses about the mining industry as "nation-building practices" which simultaneously draw from and advance notions of Canadian actors as "good corporate citizens". These works provide an essential foundation for the study at hand, raising the question of possible continuities and disjunctures between discourses deployed in government communications several years ago and those deployed in the changing political context of the present-day.

Finally, in light of Kirsch (2011)'s aforementioned call for researchers to disaggregate state power in their studies of the extractives sector, this study aims to build upon the current literature by examining communications forwarded by two separate ministries of the Canadian government. Most existing research on Canadian imperialism has tended to treat the State as a relatively unitary actor, and tracing possible similarities and differences in discourse formulation from different factions of the state can thus add additional richness to this literature while illuminating sites where countervailing power can be exercised.

In sum, this project aims to build upon the Canadian imperialism literature by furthering existing analysis that jointly examines the State's domestic and international engagements and the structures of feeling that may undergird these engagements, while disaggregating the "State" as an analytical category.

2.2. The Mining Industry and the Canadian State: Recent Histories of Regulation and Legitimation

In addressing questions of legitimizing discourses and extractives industries, this project also contributes to a growing body of research that critically analyzes the Canadian government's discursive positioning of the mining sector. In so doing, it endeavors to build the temporal scope of the literature, which has, to date, primarily detailed the form and content of

regulatory and legitimizing efforts under the Harper government. Moreover, most studies to date have largely examined the foreign extractives sector, while frames of the domestic mining sector have been chronologized much less extensively.

Considerable analysis has traced Canadian regulation of the mining sector and critically assessed how the former discursively positions the latter. Research on the foreign extractives sector has highlighted how Canadian governance of this sector has, since the mid-2000s, been largely oriented around Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives. CSR, or "social license to operate" (Idemudia and Kwakyewah 2018), represents the "moral contract" between extractives corporations and the communities that face the socioecological consequences of extraction (Studnicki-Gizbert 2016). In other words, CSR is constituted of "beyond-law obligations" adhered to by companies to maintain social acceptability (Dashwood 2012).

The literature on the Canadian government and CSR has examined at some length the shifting relationship between the State and CSR, illuminating Knudsen and Moon (2017)'s contention that CSR, while sometimes framed as entirely voluntary, cannot be understood outside the context of government regulation. Studnicki-Gizbert traces how, in the mid-2000s, the State activated its diplomatic staff stationed in countries across the Global South to clandestinely promote Canadian mining interests while CSR programs were used as evidence that the foreign extractives sector was a welcome presence in these contexts (2016, p.104). Schnoor (2013) further elaborates how the neoliberal corporate governmentality of CSR has been deployed by the state in its discourses of "development" and "democracy" in order to legitimize large-scale mining in the face of countervailing social movement pressures. This work, in explicitly using discursive legitimation as a framing concept, provides an important conceptual

framework for how regulatory and legitimizing discourses can be simultaneously analyzed in the context of Canadian mining activities.

Existing literature has also traced how state regulation and legitimation techniques were altered after the narrow defeat of Bill C-300 between in 2010, coming to promote Canadian firms' "social responsibility" as a primary legitimizing discourse. This bill, "An Act respecting Corporate Accountability for the Activities of Mining, Oil or Gas in Developing Countries" represents the most sweeping attempt to date to regulate the activities of Canadian businesses operating outside the country, and was backed by coalitions spanning a variety of civil society sectors (Keenan 2013). Soon thereafter, the Harper government announced the "Canadian Advantage" policy, a largely promotional, legitimizing document which situated Canadian firms' CSR efforts as a key dimension of this "advantage" (Studnick-Gizbert 2016). Subsequent policy developments likewise devoted government resources to financing, promoting, and "advising" corporate self-regulation in place of formal state regulation. These developments range from the allocation of international development assistance funds to finance extractives sector CSR programming (Brown 2016, Goyette 2016) to the creation of the Office of the CSR Counselor, an office charged with promoting "dialogue" between Canadian companies and communities impacted by mining projects (Studnicki-Gizbert 2016). Notably, the CSR Counselor's Office lacked meaningful investigative power and was created in response to transnational civil society calls for the creation of an Ombudsperson who would be empowered to sanction poorly behaving Canadian firms (ibid).

Two notable studies trace the discursive and regulatory positioning of the Canadian mining sector up to 2018, leaving room for the project at hand to build upon this research in analyzing the present regulatory environment. These studies show CSR-based norms of

"dialogue-promotion" remain influential and may serve to serve the interests of capital to the detriment of local communities, while the State has also recently developed a more pronounced regulatory presence. To the first end, Roy-Gregoire (2019)'s examination of Canadian mining in Guatemala finds that, between 2008 and 2018, calls for "dialogue" between supporters and opponents of mining projects have been a systematic feature of the Canadian State's intervention into conflict between corporations and local community-members. Roy-Gregoire further argues that these appeals to dialogue reinforce racist stereotypes about indigenous land defenders, casting their rights-based claims to territorial jurisdiction as irrational, dangerous urges that must be resolved via discussion. Idemudia and Kwakyewah (2018), meanwhile, document that national governance of CSR has increasingly taken the form of "enforced self-regulation". To this end, they highlight how the 2014 policy paper *Doing Business the Canadian Way* created new "market-based accountability mechanisms" that could potentially be used to sanction firms who do not adhere to CSR best-practices (p. 935). That said, in light of recent regulatory developments like the creation of the CORE, further analysis of how Canadian governance frames the foreign extractives sector is needed.

Meanwhile, the literature on discursive legitimation and the mining sector within Canada is comparatively sparser. Hall (2013) provides one relevant study, tracing how neocolonial frames of "economic development" are utilized by the federal government to legitimize diamond mining in the Northwest Territories. A related corpus from the communications studies literature has examined legitimizing discourses deployed by various provincial governments to frame resource extraction projects, including Alberta tar sands development (Davidson and Gismondi 2011, Szeman 2014) and the extraction of liquified natural gas in British Columbia (Chen and Gunster 2016). Of course, while provincial governments hold jurisdiction over resource

extraction, federal government communications remain a relevant site of analysis given this entity's jurisdiction over national infrastructure and unique ability to make discursive appeals to the "national interest" (see Barney 2017). The project at hand thus promises to contribute to further elaborating an understanding of the discourses through which resource extraction projects are framed within Canada, and specifically by the federal government, building on these existing studies.

2.3. Extractives Industries and The Political Economy of Energy Transitions

A third and final body of literature relevant to the project at hand analyzes the political economy of energy transitions and the positioning of extractives industries therein. This literature has compellingly situated energy transitions as politically charged processes that reflect and in turn shape the distribution of social, political, and economic power at all levels of governance. That said, much of the existing work on this topic, particularly work published in English, has specifically focused on how fossil fuel companies figure into transition processes. A smaller, but growing number of studies have examined the relationship between other extractives sectors and energy transitions, as well as the power dynamics imbued in "green" energy development and "eco-extractivist" energy pathways, and it is hoped that this study can contribute to furthering this broader analysis of energy transition.

First, energy transitions have been compellingly conceptualized as sites of political struggle. As Newell (2019) notes, these transitions are not merely "socio-technical" expressions of scientific progress. Indeed, critical analysis reveals how "ideational, institutional, and material forms of power…shape global energy pathways" (p. 30). From questions about which technologies will be adopted in the transition to a low-carbon economy to questions of energy governance and the role of the State therein, different transition pathways produce competing

sets of winner and losers and can configure social relationships in vastly different ways (Bridge et al 2013, Johnston and Newell 2018). These observations mirror central, longstanding insights from the literatures on political ecology and science and technology studies, both of which highlight how technology and energy are always already imbued with political significance (Svarstad, Benjaminsen, and Overa 2018; Jasanoff et al 2001). Understanding energy transitions thus requires analyzing how power is exercised in the shaping of transition pathways and which sets of actors are involved in these processes (Newell 2019).

To this end, considerable analytical attention of the current, low-carbon energy transition has been devoted to understanding how fossil fuel companies are navigating this moment in history. Given that combatting climate change necessitates massively reducing global carbon emissions, scholars have detailed oil and coal companies' attempts to cast public doubt on climate science (Beder 2014) and to "climatewash" their public images by presenting continued large-scale oil extraction as compatible with the downscaling of emissions (Cherry and Sneirson 2012, Beder 2014). Graham (2019)'s exploratory work further highlights how some fossil fuel companies are strategically investing in renewable technologies, conceptualizing this development as an example of "transition capture" wherein the highly-polluting firms of the "fossil capitalist" economy attempt to preserve a maximum amount of power and influence during energy transition.

As Graham's conclusions highlight, there exist a variety of possible low-carbon transition pathways. To this end, a growing body of critical scholarship, to which this project aims to contribute, examines how unequal power relations may be maintained through alternate modalities of extractivism and even through the development of "green" technologies. First, studies of extractivism have theorized resource extraction in general as a site of political struggle

(Gudynas 2009), a dynamic which is not restricted to the extraction of fossil fuels. Ye et al (2019) conceptualize extractivist activities as those which "use resources without reproducing them", producing "barrenness" (p. 3). Haarstad and Campero (2012) further highlight how the ecological consequences of such activities are borne at the local scale while their economic benefits flow to investors who enjoy the privilege of physical mobility. In other words, extractivism produces profits by creating "sacrifice zones" where the biophysical consequences of extraction are lived (Cavanaugh 2014, Shade 2015, Estes 2019).

Moreover, in part because firms act as profit-maximizers, extractivist ecologies tend to reproduce environmental racism and other relations of domination that further marginalize populations who are already disempowered. To this end, the territories that become sacrifice zones are generally home to historically-marginalized communities, especially communities of racialized, indigenous, and/or low-income people, as the fact that these territories are assigned low economic value renders them the most cost-effective for resource-developers to purchase (Cavanaugh 2014, Franquesa 2018). Even the production of low-carbon energy technology may produce and reproduce relations of domination, with Franquesa (2018)'s study of wind power development in Catalonia finding that this technology has often been installed despite the protests of local communities, whose lands were cited for the project in question partially because they had been deemed "marginal", and were thus inexpensive for developers to purchase. Such dynamics further illustrate Dauvergne and LeBaron (2013)'s contention that environmental programs which reduce material footprints may entail significant "social costs", and that these costs merit careful examination. For all of these reasons, analyzing the politics of energy transitions necessitates not only analyzing barriers to emissions-reduction in global

energy systems, but also documenting how unequal power relations manifest and are reinforced across all dimensions of energy production.

Along these lines, Nuñez et al (2019) coin the term "eco-extractivism" (*eco-extractivismo)* to describe the contemporary capitalist logic under which nature is appropriated by capital to further a "Green" agenda. While these scholars deploy the concept in their analysis of biodiversity conservation projects, Ramón Balcázar (2020) argues that a similar logic is being articulated by proponents of lithium mining in the Andean salt flats of Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile. In this context, Balcázar highlights that pro-lithium discourses most frequently reference the role of lithium in developing batteries for electric vehicles, positioning lithium extraction as an ecological necessity and marginalizing local anti-extractivist resistance that is also framed in environmental terms by communities seeking to protect water supplies and biodiversity. This research highlights how eco-extractivist transition pathways can be differentiated from "post-extractivist" transition pathways, which Gudynas (2011) clarifies to indicate "neither the prohibition of resource extraction, nor a return to a world of untouched nature" but instead "a radical reconceptualization of conventional ideas of development and a re-orientation of production to meet human needs and protect nature" (p. 395, author's translation; see also Svampa 2013)

All things considered, existing literature on energy transitions highlights the importance of analyzing the power dynamics imbued in these processes. Moreover, it speaks to the variety of possible transition pathways at various levels of extractive intensity, all of which are essential insights for analyzing contemporary discursive frames deployed by the Canadian government in its communications about the mining sector.

3. Theoretical Framework, Concepts, Data, and Methodology

3.1. Theoretical Framework

This project draws from the understanding that discourses are power-laden and merit careful study for their centrality to politics. Drawing from Wodak's conceptual work on the subject, it takes discourse to be a "form of social practice" which is simultaneously "socially constitutive" and "socially conditioned" (2002, p. 8). In other words, to thoroughly analyze a particular text one must examine both the political impacts of its messaging and the social relations that shape its contents. More concretely, "discourse" can be understood as a "pattern of meaning" representing a "socially constructed version of reality" through a system of signifiers (Locke 2004, p. 54). Discourses, moreover, can be taken to have "ideological effects" insofar as they "can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations…through the ways that they represent things and position people" (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, p. 358).

The ideological characteristics of discourse are closely related to the concept of "legitimacy", which is also central to the study at hand. Bernstein (2004)'s influential definition of this term holds it to constitute the "acceptance and justification of shared rule by a community" (p. 142). Steffek (2009) elaborates that legitimacy exists in systems of governance which possess a "specific quality" that "generates compliance with norms, rules, and political decisions" (p. 314). Legitimacy is in turn derived from processes of "legitimation" and weakened by processes of contestation, or "de-legitimation", both of which can notably occur through the mobilization of corresponding discourses by key actors (ibid). Per Steffek, understanding such processes of discursive legitimation and de-legitimation is particularly analytically important in the case of environmental communications, where powerful actors are often able to martial claims to scientific or technical expertise in ways that are less common in legitimation struggles

in other issue-areas (ibid). This claim is congruent with a large body of literature in political ecology, and along these lines the study at hand will assume that meanings assigned to the "environment" are socially constructed in processes of competition between actors with unequal levels of power (Svarstad, Benjaminsen, and Overa 2018).

Of course, as explored in Chapters 1.2 and 2.1, the mining sector in Canada is a particularly powerful actor whose operations are closely tied to the maintenance and expansion of extractivist-capitalism writ large. For this reason, my analysis situates the Canadian mining sector within the context of a global capitalist system and adopts from (neo)- Gramscian theory the notions of hegemony and counter-hegemony. It understands hegemony to be attained through the widespread public acceptance of a given set of legitimizing discourses which facilitate the continued everyday functioning of the capitalist system (Mouffe 2014). Counter-hegemony, meanwhile, is exercised through the creation and mobilization of de-legitimizing discourses or mass social movement actions that threaten business-as-usual while illuminating alternate possible forms of social organization (Sivaramakrishnan 2005, Martinez-Alier et al 2014, Saleh, Goodman, and Hosseini 2016). Per Benson and Kirsch (2010), hegemony is often maintained via the "politics of resignation" in contexts where counter-hegemonic social movements threaten corporate profitability. In such circumstances, powerful actors attempt to convey that systemic change is impossible through the appropriation and re-definition of potentially de-legitimizing discourses.

Of course, following Hajer (1995), hegemony is a complex phenomenon which must be socially contextualized. While some cruder understandings of hegemony instrumentalize language as a mere means to the end of maintaining elite dominance, Hajer highlights that elites and policymakers may internalize various norms in their processes of identity-construction and

may earnestly come to believe that the environmental narratives they espouse best represent the public interest. Even so, it remains worthwhile to trace how different dominant environmental discourses have the effect of maintaining or creating particular constellations of social and political power, regardless of the conscious intent of their formulators.

Given the complexity and contestation embodied in this understanding of hegemony, I thus follow Razack (2004) in adopting the term "structure of feeling" from the work of Raymond Williams. Per Sharma and Tygstrup (2015), this concept describes the "affective infrastructure" of daily life, (p. 2), capturing how hegemonic discourses permeate the social world incompletely. Indeed, "structure of feeling" can be taken to capture the set of unstable, competing modes of thought vying for legitimacy at any given historical moment (even when these modes of thought may not even be fully articulated as such, hence their status as "feelings": see O'Connor 1989). When used as a descriptor, for instance when diagnosing Canadian exceptionalist structures of feeling, I resultingly deploy this term to capture the unstable affective underpinnings of the concept being described and the relation between this concept and hegemonic discourses.

Lastly, drawing from a central insight of feminist political theory, a primary aim of this project is thus to uncover manifestations of power that are naturalized and/or rendered invisible by their ubiquity in everyday life (Bryson 2016). In the case of government communications and their discursive positionings of particular industries, careful analysis careful analysis can reveal embedded material ties between a given industry and the State that point to the former's creeping regulatory capture of the latter (as seen, for instance, in the literature on the Canadian "Petro-state": see Szeman 2013, Tindall 2014). Moreover, insofar as these communications can be understood to naturalize core elements of the contemporary sociopolitical order, highlighting the political character of their messaging may serve to destabilize embedded assumptions and create

discursive space for the articulation of counter-hegemonic possibilities (Saleh, Goodman, and Hosseini 2016).

3.2. Operationalization of Concepts

Turning now to the operationalization of concepts, this project necessitates a clear definition of "greenwashing". Delmas and Burbano define this term as describing two intersecting behaviours: "poor environmental performance and positive communication about environmental performance" (2011, 65). Greenwashing, moreover, can be said to occur when these misleading communications are intentionally duplicitous (Laufer 2003, Lyon and Montgomery 2015). Of course, the design of this project is systems-oriented, with no direct means for assessing the intent of individual lawmakers (who, as noted above, may earnestly internalize the set of norms that guide their formulation of policy). "Greenwashing" nonetheless remains a pertinent concept to the project at hand given its relatively widespread usage in the literature on extractives sector communications. Following a nascent literature that has diagnosed greenwashing in systemic studies of state behaviour (see below), I apply this term in describing misleading communications that positively invoke environmental sustainability while poor environmental performance is observed in reality.

In the context of analyzing communications related to the mining sector, the term "greenwashing" has been deployed at some length. For instance, researchers have diagnosed mining sector greenwashing in the context of specific rhetorical-technological developments, such as "clean coal" which deploy environmentalist language to couch their role in the acceleration of environmental harms (Beder 2014). Whitmore (2006) takes his conceptual development a step further, positing the oft-cited notion of "sustainable mining" as an instance of greenwash on a sectoral scale. Basing his arguments on perspectives being articulated by mining-

affected communities, the former holds that the continued expansion of mineral mining activities should be seen as an instance of poor environmental performance, given that the industry's activities necessarily entail significant destruction of the landscape. While Onn and Woodley (2014) critique such standards of "perpetual sustainability" as "unsophisticated" for diagnosing any activity as unsustainable if it consumes resources which cannot be replaced (p.119), Whitmore's analysis is based more significantly on the argument that human occupants of a territory must be figured into diagnostics of an activity's sustainability or unsustainability. He resultingly concludes that positive communications about a mining company's environmental performance are duplicitous insofar as their projects are contested by the communities in which they operate (2006, p. 313). Such critical stances are further echoed by Kirsch (2009), who (while not using the term "greenwashing") labels the concept of "sustainable mining" a "corporate oxymoron" due to the detrimental impacts of all large-scale resource extraction on local socio-ecologies. Related analysis has been conducted by a number of scholars who trace instances of cynical corporate sustainability-claims that they argue are intended to diffuse social movement criticism (Munshi and Kurian 2005, Padel and Das 2010, Himley 2010, Velasquez 2012 Kirsch 2014).

Such academic studies of mining sector greenwashing are joined by at least two significant diagnoses of greenwashing that emanate from the grey literature. For one, Auciello (2019) argues that sectoral self-positioning within a low-carbon agenda constitutes "greenwashing based on deceptive claims", insofar as industry lobby groups have "justified the expansion of metal mining" by citing demand from renewable energy technologies producers when in fact the sector's growth is mainly tied to other sources of demand (p. 13). Hart (2012) similarly argues that sectoral claims to effective self-regulation constitute an instance of

greenwashing, given that the socioecological impacts of large-scale mining continue to accumulate and grow more dire.

It is noteworthy that the studies cited here all deploy the term "greenwashing" in reference to private sector rather than to State communications. Indeed, as diagnosing greenwashing requires proving intentional duplicity, it may be difficult to associate with state behaviour. Civil servants, after all, may produce communications that associate mining with sustainability all the while operating from an internally consistent, techno-optimist definition of "sustainability" that simply differs from grassroots articulations of the concept (Malovics, Scsigéné, and Kraus 2007, Martinez-Alier et al 2014). To this end, Onn and Woodley (2014)'s analysis highlights the variety of competing sustainability agendas being developed by actors within the mining industry, within all of which internal consistency can be achieved. Incremental developments in environmental performance or regulation may also appear in policy documents while not necessarily constituting greenwashing.

Still, greenwashing remains a relevant and applicable concept to the project at hand. Following Sasa (2017) in noting that greenwashing traces its epistemic origins to the concept of whitewashing, or the "hiding of unpleasant facts" (p.16), greenwashing in the context of promotional State communications can be diagnosed in cases where their positive environmental messaging misleads the public by obscuring ongoing patterns of environmental destruction. Given the variety of social meanings that can be assigned to the term "environment", wherein the erasure of human land-users has a deeply racist history (Cronon 1986), it is critical to adopt a holistic view of greenwashing by incorporating human well-being within its embedded definition of sustainability (see Beder 2002, Watts 2005, Cherry and Sneirson 2012). I resultingly assess

greenwashing to have occurred when an actor claims that its actions are sustainable despite evidence of their leading to continued environmental degradation or human rights abuses.

Such an approach to understanding greenwashing has, to my knowledge, primarily been applied to understanding state behaviour in the context of the Israeli settler-colonial occupation of Palestinian territories. Scholars have analyzed at some length how ecological discourses are mobilized by Israeli policymakers to legitimize and thus facilitate the seizure of Palestinian land. Such discourses frequently associate Israeli tree-planting campaigns and environmental sustainability, "vanishing" Indigenous land-uses and land-users (Benjamin et al 2011, Sharif 2016, Sasa 2017). Further theoretical linkages can be drawn between this understanding of "greenwashing" and Puar (2013)'s oft-cited conceptualization of "pinkwashing". This conceptualization highlights pinkwashing as a "state practice" whereby a country's progressive rhetoric on LGBT rights is "cynically" highlighted in order to legitimize (neo-) colonial practices (pp.337-8, see also Puar 2007). A clear parallel can be drawn to the cynical deployment of progressive rhetoric on environmental issues, insofar as such rhetoric may serve to legitimize the modalities of neo-colonial practice highlighted in Chapter 2.1. Situating the concept of greenwashing within these various literatures, its application to the study of Canadian state discourses is resultingly well-justified.

Moreover, the project at hand necessitates an operational definition of "Canadian exceptionalism". The concept has seen relatively widespread and varied use in the political science literature, from studies of Canada's multiparty electoral democracy (Gaines 1999), to its apparently coexisting levels of high social trust and high ethnic diversity (Kazemipur 2006), to the perceived resilience of its financial system in the face of the 2008 recession (Stanford 2013). That said, the definition deployed here draws in particular from emerging definitions of the

concept used in critical and queer theory. To this end, Audra Simpson argues that the positioning of Canada an "exceptional" country is foundational to its contemporary settler-statecraft. Her conceptual work traces how "Canada likes to tell…itself that it…somehow escapes the ugliness of history, that it is a place that is not like the place below it, across that border" (2016, 1). Such myths of exceptional national innocence in turn obfuscate the reality that this State is a violent colonial actor (ibid, 2).

A closely related formulation of "exceptionalism" is applied to a different facet of Canadian settler-statecraft by Julian Awwad in his 2015 study of homonationalism in Canada. Awwad draws from Puar (2007, 2013)'s formulation of "homonationalism" as an analytic "structure of modernity" borne of American sexual exceptionalism, arguing that Canadian (homo)nationalist discourses similarly "assert[] Canada's exceptional status in the world" (p. 21). While Awwad's and Puar's respective analyses of exceptionalism are primarily concerned with its relation to the neoliberal incorporation of the racialized queer subject by the State, the discursive power dynamics incapsulated in such a formulation of "exceptionalism" is highly relevant to the project at hand. Indeed, Butler (2015)'s aforementioned analysis of mining executives and their construction of the subjective "Good Canadian" identity appears to also feature exceptionalist affect. At its most basic level, this identity-category constitutes a claim to progressive moral righteousness even when violence is widely seen as a systematic "part of doing business" (Imai 2017) in the Canadian mining sector. As a result, the power dynamics at play broadly mirror those noted by Awwad, insofar as the State's assertions to exceptionally "tolerant", progressive national identity are produced by actions and rhetorics that simultaneously maintain neocolonial status hierarchies.

Moreover, as in the case of homonationalist sexual exceptionalism, the exceptionalist Good Canadian identity is constituted in binary opposition to the perceived unruliness and inferiority of the colonized Other. To this end, Butler draws from Mbembe in noting that "claims of goodness [are] a classic [colonial] strategy" and that the strength of the colonial State is frequently positioned as arising "from the right to protect the weak…a strength for good and goodness" (p. 188). (For a related deployment of "exceptionalism" concept, used in analyzing the marketing of Canadian education internationally, see Stein 2018.) This thesis resultingly adopts the understanding that Canadian exceptionalism can be diagnosed in discursive appeals to outstanding national goodness or progressiveness, a definition which remains attentive to the (neo)colonial implications of exceptionalist claims-making.

3.3. Data

Government of Canada press releases comprise the main source of data used in this study. All the press releases examined here are sourced from the Government of Canada's online news archive. I specifically analyze publications that contain the key word "mining", and which make direct or indirect reference to metal mining. Restricting the corpus in this manner is rendered necessary by important differences in supply chains, technological applications, and extraction methods for metals when compared to non-metals (Anderson, Dunne and Uhrie 2014). Given that these material differences are likely to exogenously influence the modes of discourse deployed by the State in its framing campaigns (for instance, elements like uranium are directly used in the generation of electricity to a much greater extent than metals like gold or copper), I focus my attention on metal mining as these elements (particularly gold, copper, iron ore, and nickel) comprise the numerical majority of "leading minerals" extracted by Canadian firms, by total value of production (Natural Resources Canada 2019a). In practice this mainly entails

disregarding communications about uranium and potash extraction, as well as tar sands mining. Such restrictions also eliminate spurious references to "mining" that do not concern natural resource extraction (found, for instance, in press releases that detail Canada's contributions to global anti-landmine initiatives).

That said, I elect to analyze publications that reference the terms "mining", "extractive", or the "mineral sector" without naming a specific target material. Doing so facilitates the examination of publications about new regulatory developments like the Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise, which is mandated to oversee the conduct of metal mining companies even if particular minerals are not named in their corroborating press releases. Lastly, I restrict the corpus to documents which reference the material activities of mining companies or the mining industry, as it is the framing of these activities that the project seeks to examine. Such a restriction effectively means examining each document that references metal mining, the one exception being a November 8, 2019 Global Affairs Canada press release that condemns an attack on employees of a Canadian mining company in Burkina Faso (2019a).

I specifically analyze communications that the government classifies as "news release", "speech", "statement", "backgrounder", or "biographical note". The first four classifications are self- explanatory and comprise the primary categories of communications that make direct reference to particular sectors, activities, or initiatives and wherein discursive legitimation processes can be most readily identified. "Biographical notes", meanwhile, are press releases which detail the credentials and relevant employment experience of new ministerial appointees. These notes also certainly convey relevant information to the study of State discourses, as they reveal which aspects of a given appointee's credentials their new employer seeks to most centrally highlight. I further analyze "media advisory" documents that exceed 200 words in

length when these advisories constitute the only government communication released on a particular subject. Shorter media advisories generally simply announce the timing and location of a press conference held by a government minister. While these advisories can communicate interesting information about how physical place is deployed as a framing device, key details from press conferences are almost always later reported in news releases, rendering their inclusion redundant. On a related note, the corpus contains the published transcripts of speeches as well as the news releases that the State produces about these speeches. Unlike in the case of media advisories, substantive information is included in both formats, with the speech transcripts often providing contextual information that may be lacking in their associated news releases.

In order to capture State discourses referencing mining both within and outside Canada's colonial borders, this study examines publications from Natural Resources Canada and Global Affairs Canada. While the permitting of mining projects falls under provincial jurisdiction (Newman 2018), the former ministry is charged with "enhance[ing] the contribution of the natural resources sector to the economy" (Natural Resources Canada 2019c) a task which has historically entailed promoting and supporting natural resource development across the country (Kuyek 2019). Global Affairs Canada, meanwhile, is the ministry which mostly directly oversees the regulation of Canadian mining company activity abroad (Global Affairs Canada 2018a).

I build a corpus of communications published by these ministries between 2004 and 2019. As the rapid overseas expansion of Canadian mining activities began in the 1990s (a process detailed in Chapter 1.2), such relatively large temporal scope is necessary in order to trace possible continuities and disjunctures in State communication strategies over the historical period in which contemporary Canadian imperialism has been most prominently diagnosed. This, in turn, is important for fulfilling the key element of historical contextualization in critical

discourse analysis. 2004 is specifically selected as a starting date for this corpus because the Government of Canada's online news archive does not currently contain publications from prior years.

The corpus contains a total of 148 documents (N= 148). 78 of these documents are press releases from Global Affairs Canada, while the other 70 were published by Natural Resources Canada. For reasons that I elaborate in Chapter 3.4, on the project's methodology, I further subdivide this larger corpus into two smaller units of documentation. One unit of texts spans all publications from 2016 to 2019, for a total of 33 documents. 10 of these documents were published by Global Affairs Canada and 23 of these documents were published by Natural Resources Canada. The second unit of texts spans from 2004 to 2015. This unit is comprised of 68 Global Affairs Canada communications and 47 Natural Resources Canada communications. Of note, the earliest relevant communication from Global Affairs Canada dates only to 2007, while the corpus of Natural Resources Canada publications includes multiple documents from 2004, 2005, and 2006.

In order to maximize the representativeness of the sample in the corpus, I deployed two complementary methods to located documents. First, I conducted an advanced Google search to trawl the Government of Canada's online news archive, using the following search terms:

site:https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/ "Natural Resources Canada" mining;

site:https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/ "Natural Resources Canada" extractive;

site:https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/ "Global Affairs Canada" mining;

site:https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/ "Global Affairs Canada" extractive.

I supplemented this broad-brush search method for the contemporary corpus by additionally loading the Government of Canada news archive published by each of these ministries from the years 2016 to 2019 and hand-searching each archive for the key terms “mining” and extractive. While it is of course still possible that pertinent documents were not identified by the algorithm, particularly in the years 2004 to 2015 that were not supplemented by fine-grained searching, the corpus can be readily understood to encompass, at the least, a relevant sample of publications. A more serious threat to internal validity is posed by the fact that news releases could theoretically have been deleted from this online archive. While there is little reason to believe this has occurred, I nonetheless attempt to account for this possibility by reading meaning into the time-periods represented in each corpus where fewer total publications were uncovered. Similarly, it should be noted that the increasing predominance of online publishing can likely explain in part why the corpus contains significantly more publications from recent years, and comparatively few from its opening years.

Search methods aside, the composition of this dataset faces two additional limitations, both of which can be justified by the analytical scope of the project at hand. First, the dataset consists solely of public-facing communications. This fact could pose a challenge to external validity, given that existing research on the nexus between the State and the mining sector in Canada has found that analytically important intra-government discussion of policy objectives often occurs outside of the public eye and can best be uncovered through access to information requests (for instance, this was a primary data-collection method deployed by Gordon and Webber 2016). However, insofar as this project’s guiding research questions probe the concepts of public legitimacy and discursive framing, public-facing documents constitute the most directly relevant source of data. I resultingly build from an understanding that the mechanisms of

discursive legitimation found in public-facing documentation are a worthy target of analysis in their own right (see Burton and Carlen 1979). Such an understanding does not preclude that further analysis could potentially elucidate specific relationships within institutions that have shaped the development of these discourses and the actualization of particular discourses within government policy, but this further analysis would be better-suited to another, separate project from the one at hand.

Second, restricting my dataset to only consider government communications means only capturing one of the many analytically significant actors who participate in discursive legitimation. Indeed, the activists, lobbyists, journalists and scientific experts whose viewpoints may mediate the form and content of public discourse (Steffen 2009, p.316) are not represented in this dataset. This means, for example, that the project at hand cannot directly measure how ecological narratives emanating from official discourse are contested on the ground (Jalbert et al 2017). Such limitations are important to note but are justified by the lack of related research examining contemporary state discourses about mining in depth. Rather than stretch resources too thin by attempting to answer multiple research questions, I devote a maximum of analytical space to documenting one key actor's contribution to the multipolar network through which public discourse is fashioned.

3.4. Methodology

This study proceeds qualitatively and deploys Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its primary investigative tool. Following Locke (2004)'s summation of this method's key features, my examination of GAC and NRCan communications about the mining sector seeks to identify "the language in use" in these documents as well as "the ways in which…discourses…are embedded and disseminated" therein (p.54). To the first end, as a central goal of this project is to

extend the chronology of how the Canadian State has discursively positioned the mining sector since the Harper era, I conduct a detailed, hand-coded analysis of the publications from 2016 to 2019 ("contemporary communications"). I then use a text-mining software to analyze the secondary corpus of publications from 2004 to 2015 ("historical communications"), drawing from this analysis and a survey of secondary literature to historically situate and conceptually analyze the content of the contemporary communications.

It is worth noting that the communications analyzed here span policy, investment, and regulatory announcements, as well as speeches and press releases that are explicitly promotional in nature. In the case of the former three categories of publication, this project focuses its analysis on their discursive function rather than on policy implementation (although details of policy implementation may be briefly discussed when these provide important contextual information for understanding the discursive function of a given communication). Although the documents analyzed here are publicly accessible, their primary intended audience (unsurprisingly, as press releases) is the media. Resultingly, following Jacobs (1999), the discursive content found within can be understood as an attempt to "preformulate the news" where key information is intended to be later "retold" to the public at large (p. 1).

In applying a CDA methodology, I first investigate "the language in use" found in these documents by coding for different thematic frames through which the mining sector is presented. In conceptualizing thematic frames, I draw from Goffman (1974)'s influential understanding that frames are "schemata of interpretation" (p. 21). Per Hart (2011) and Saurette and Gordon (2016)'s development of Goffman, these schemata are then used by individuals to "to locate, perceive, identify, and label" issues and topics they encounter. To frame a topic, then, is to situate it within an interpretive structure. Thematic frames accomplish this task by placing the

topic within a broader context (this can be contrasted with "episodic framing", or the framing of a topic by citing a specific example: see Gross 2008).

I identify eight primary thematic frames in the corpus: Canadian exceptionalism, CSR, economic development, engagement with indigenous communities, respect for human rights, regulation/accountability, sustainability, and women's empowerment. Three of these frames are drawn from the literature on corporate discursive legitimation practices: CSR (Himley 2010), economic development (Arellano-Yanguas 2011, Sawyer and Gomez 2012) and sustainability (Whitmore 2006). The five additional frames were derived inductively from a preliminary survey of fifteen documents.

For the hand-coded documents from the contemporary corpus, I count a thematic frame to be present if it can be found in at least one sentence of a communication. Resultingly, I frequently identify more than one category of thematic framing in each document studied. I make note of theme instances in the same category that occur more than once in a given document (for instance, the same document may make multiple references to economic development), but to facilitate proportion-based comparisons between documents published in each year I study, I assign a count of "1" to each theme instance if it appears one or more times in a text. I proceed to count the number of communications per year in which a given theme is observed, to facilitate the visualization of trends over this four-year period. Such a methodological approach aligns with the descriptive goals of the project at hand, which seeks to broadly identify the discourses being deployed by the State in its framings of the mining sector. In addition to counting "Canadian exceptionalism" as an independent thematic category, I identify whether or not exceptionalist claims are associated with elements of a given text that illustrate other themes. The goal of this coding method is to identify whether exceptionalist

subjectivities are mobilized in conjunction with particular thematic frames (for instance, does the State portray itself as exceptionally sustainable?).

Of course, relying on one reader to hand-code documents raises the spectre of low internal validity, given that it relies on the researcher's interpretations of meaning and context (a frequent critique of qualitative research, highlighted by Wodak and Meyer 2009). To maximize commensurability, I construct a coding dictionary of key terms and phrases used to classify elements of a given communication (see Appendix I). Further, I coded each document twice to assure precision, conducting the first iteration of coding in January 2020 and the second iteration of coding two months later. The raw data from this hand-coding process is reported in Appendix II.

Next, as the historical corpus is less centrally tied to the primary research questions guiding this project, I use the "Voyant Tools" text mining software to identify key themes in these documents. More specifically, I use this software to count the total number of appearances of key words or phrases associated with a given theme for each year from 2004 to 2015, then calculate the proportion of total words in a given year's corpus of communications that can be sorted within each thematic category (see Feldman and Sanger 2007). Given that the historical corpus is used to track year-by-year trends in the deployment of particular thematic frames, I calculate this proportion data for each year of the corpus rather than analyzing each of these documents individually. Appendix III contains the raw year-by-year data revealed via this machine-coded analysis, in the form of stable URLs that link to a searchable format of the corpus.

This method, it should be noted, offers considerably less analytical precision than hand-coding. Moreover, even though Voyant Tools software identifies recurrent phrases in the text, it is incapable of detecting the discursive context of these phrases to the same extent as a human coder. On the flip side, machine coding these documents renders me able to analyze a much large corpus of documents, sacrificing analytical depth in favour of breadth. This trade-off is justified by the fact that the historical corpus is used primarily to identify broader trends in the deployment of different thematic frames over time, a task for which the identification of precise context is less necessary.

Turning now to the second goal of CDA, the contextual analysis of discourses embedded in a communication, I follow Chen and Gunster (2016) in adopting Hajer (1995)'s "storyline" approach to studying environmental discourses. Such an approach facilitates the detailed analysis of narratives present within a set of communications and how, in turn, these narratives define core issues and create categories that give meaning to social phenomena (Hajer 1995, 57). As such, it is well-adapted to the second guiding research question of this project, which asks how the State's discursive framing of the mining industry positions the legitimacy or non-legitimacy of this sector as an actor within present and future imaginaries of ecological, economic, and social relations— answering this question necessitates the clear analysis of how legitimacy is created or manifested in the definitions of issues and actors adopted in a communication, and in the "story" that these texts tell.

Following Chen and Gunster's three-point synthesis of the storyline approach, I first analyze how the author of the corpus defines, or frames, the "specific social and political issues" within (2016, p.309). I then assess how sets of actors are identified and depicted by the communications under examination, and finally make a holistic assessment of the "major

storyline" constructed by the corpus (ibid). Drawing from Gunster and Saurette (2014)'s analysis of narratives about the tar sands in Canadian newspapers, I specifically attune my analysis to uncovering techniques of persuasion that may be present in the storyline, based on the understanding that legitimation processes frequently require persuasion and that persuasion is often implicit rather than explicit (see also Saurette and Gordon 2016).

I concretely operationalize this methodology as follows. First, I examine how government publications define social and political issues by tracing the occurrence of key phrases found within each thematic category of communication, understanding frequently occurring key phrases to highlight definitional framings of issues. I then draw from secondary literature to surmise possible meanings communicated by these framings. In the case of the "sustainability" frame, I identify two broad definitional categories, elaborated in Chapter 4.1: eco-efficiency and transitional sustainability. I then sort instances of the sustainability frame into these two categories (leaving open the possibility that a single communication can contain both sustainability definitions) or a third, "undefined/other" category. Second, I identify how key actors are depicted in these communications by making note of which entities are given active roles in each document in the contemporary corpus (for instance, by serving as the subject of a verb) and in turn qualitatively assessing which actor or actors' interests appear to be centered by the document in question. To facilitate intra-year comparisons regarding how actors are depicted over time, I identify seven broad categories of actors present in these discourses: the Canadian Government (including particular ministries and ministers), Provincial or Territorial governments, the Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise (which merits recognition as an actor in its own right, given its status as a regulatory entity with an ostensible degree of independence from the government), the mining sector (whether referenced in the abstract or in

the context of specific companies or leaders), other (non-Canadian) governments, international institutions, and civil society (including NGOs and universities, as well as general references to "Canadians", "the public, or indigenous communities). Finally, my assessment of overall "storyline" is derived from secondary literature. I construct this storyline by historically contextualizing GAC and NRCan's contemporary communications about the mining sector and conducting a fine-grained analysis of whose interests are represented within these narratives.

In sum, this project deploys CDA as its primary investigative methodology. It conducts a hand-coded analysis of GAC and NRCan communications published between 2016 and 2019, while complimenting this corpus with a machine-coded survey of these agencies' publications from 2004 to 2015. Across both corpuses, I count appearances of particular thematic frames in the texts under study and document these counts in the form of summary statistics. I then proceed to assess how the State's contemporary portrayals of the mining sector fit within a broader storyline of interrelationships between State and extractives sector actors.

4. Findings and Analysis

Here I present the main findings and analysis of this thesis. I argue that contemporary communications from Natural Resources Canada and Global Affairs Canada mobilize narrative frames of Canadian moral leadership and of global energy transition as facilitators of increasing economic prosperity, discursively legitimizing the mining sector as "leading the clean energy future" by advancing a "green growth" agenda. Discursive legitimation occurs unevenly given the State's simultaneous appeals to increased sectoral regulation, but arguably even these appeals to regulation serve a legitimizing function. Moreover, the State's discursive framing of the mining sector simultaneously rests on and articulates an "eco-extractivist" territoriality that marginalizes relational alternatives to extractivism. These eco-extractivist discourses serve to greenwash the continuing violence of Canadian imperialism by misleadingly situating metal mining as foundational to the development of low-carbon technologies and thus assigning normative importance to the expansion of mining sector operations around the globe.

I proceed to argue that the narrative framing of mining sector extractivism as essential to Canadian prosperity sits in partial tension with the State's proclaimed role as a regulator of industry. Indeed, State discourses jointly uphold a longstanding framing of the mining sector as an essential contributor to national prosperity, resultingly constructing the interests of this private industry as being coterminous with the broader public interest. In turn, this framing highlights how the state-corporate nexus continues to align powerful interests within extractives sector governance even as the government enacts new laws that increase its powers of formal oversight. The analysis undertaken here suggests that the Canadian State is implicated in a "captured transition" process intended to preserve the interests of the mining industry even while ostensibly pivoting away from carbon-intensive modes of energy production. Tracing the historical advent

of eco-extractivist discourses in Canadian government communications reveals their congruence with a larger pattern of similar pro-mining narratives that simultaneously reveal the influence of the mining sector in Canadian policymaking and reify the sector as a central actor in the Canadian political order.

Lastly, I highlight important nodes of difference between GAC and NRCan communications. While communications from both agencies position the Canadian mining sector as essential to Canadian prosperity, the latter appears to especially highlight its associations with sustainability while the former's communications place additional emphasis on human rights and regulatory engagements. These differences appear to reflect the different patterns of political contestation faced by mining projects within and outside Canada's borders, as GAC is charged with responding to the poor human rights record of the foreign extractives sector. I further posit that GAC's communications can be understood to follow a legitimizing pattern based on maintaining silence, while NRCan adopts a stance of more overt promotion.

I present the research findings by first highlighting key descriptive statistics on the thematic frames encountered in the contemporary corpus, orienting later analysis. Section 4.2 historically and conceptually analyzes the texts under study, putting forth the main analytical conclusions of this project by evaluating the prominence of Canadian State rhetoric in the discursive legitimation of the mining sector's significant sociopolitical influence. Lastly, Section 4.3 centers questions of governance raised by the rhetoric uncovered here. It traces patterns of influence revealed by the contemporary corpus to argue that Canada is presently witnessing a process of "transition capture" by the extractives sector.

4.1. Descriptive Analysis: How do Canadian Government Communications Discursively Frame the Mining Sector?

The textual analysis conducted in this study highlights "economic development" to be the primary thematic frame deployed by the Canadian government in its contemporary discursive positioning of the mining sector. Phrases related to this theme appear in a combined 94% of publications from Natural Resources Canada and Global Affairs Canada between 2016 and 2019. Second most common are framings of "sustainability" (appearing in a combined 88% of communications), followed at some distance by "engagement with indigenous communities" (appearing in a combined 46% of communications). Given that the former two thematic frames are so predominant compared to all others, the analysis that follows will be primarily devoted to understanding the deployment of discourses within these categories. Tables 1, 2, and 3 present the raw year-by-year counts of how many documents contain at least one instance of each thematic frame. These counts are sorted by total frequency of occurrence, and themes with the same total number of occurrences are sorted alphabetically. The value for "percentage of total communications" is rounded to the first decimal place.

Table 1: Yearly Count of Theme Instances Sorted by Total Frequency of Occurrence, Global Affairs Canada Publications 2016-2019

Theme	Year: 2019	Year: 2018	Year: 2017	Year: 2016	*Totals*	**Percentage of total communications**
Economic development	2	2	4	2	10	**100**
CSR	2	1	2	1	6	**60**
Regulation	1	2	1	1	5	**50**
Canadian Exceptionalism	1	1	2	0	4	**40**
Engagement with indigenous communities	1	0	2	1	4	**40**
Human Rights	0	2	2	0	4	**40**
Sustainability	2	1	0	1	4	**40**
Women's Empowerment	0	2	2	0	4	**40**
Total number of Communications	2	2	4	2	**10**	

Table 2: Yearly Count of Theme Instances Sorted by Total Frequency of Occurrence, Natural Resources Canada Publications 2016-2019

Theme	Year: 2019	Year: 2018	Year: 2017	Year: 2016	*Totals*	**Percentage of total communications**
Sustainability	12	4	2	5	23	**100**
Economic development	9	3	2	5	19	**82.6**
Engagement with indigenous communities	3	1	2	4	10	**43.5**
Regulation	0	0	1	3	4	**17.4**
Canadian Exceptionalism	1	0	0	1	2	**8.7**
CSR	0	0	0	2	2	**8.7**
Human Rights	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Women's Empowerment	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Total number of Communications	12	4	2	5	**23**	

Table 3: Total Yearly Count of Theme Instances Sorted by Total Frequency of Occurrence, All Publications 2016-2019

Theme	Year: 2019	Year: 2018	Year: 2017	Year: 2016	*Totals*	**Percentage of total communications**
Economic development	12	5	6	7	31	**94.0**
Sustainability	16	5	2	6	29	**87.9**
Engagement with indigenous communities	4	1	4	3	15	**45.5**
Regulation	2	2	1	6	14	**42.4**
CSR	4	1	2	3	10	**30.3**
Canadian Exceptionalism	2	1	2	1	6	**18.2**
Human Rights	0	2	2	0	4	**12.1**
Women's Empowerment	0	2	2	0	4	**12.1**
Total number of Communications	14	6	6	7	**33**	

The historical corpus contains a similar distribution of thematic frames (see Appendix I for details on the keyword coding methods used in this analysis). "Economic development" is an especially predominant frame in this corpus, with a 1.9% of total words fitting into this category. Within GAC publications, 2.4% of words are associated with economic development, compared to 0.7% in the NRCan corpus. As in the contemporary corpus, "sustainability" is the second-most common thematic frame. That said, only 0.33% of total words are associated with this theme. CSR is the frame that appears third-most frequently, comprising 0.27% of total words. Yearly thematic count data from the historical corpus is reported in Tables 4 through 6. To highlight annual variance, this data is sorted by year and the proportion of total words associated with each thematic frame is highlighted in parentheses, rounded to the second decimal place.

Table 4: Yearly Counts of Key Terms per Thematic Frame (Proportion of total words), Global Affairs Canada 2004-2015

Year	Number of Communications	Total Number of Words	Canadian Exceptionalism	CSR	Economic Development	Engagement with Indigenous Communities	Human Rights	Regulation	Sustainability	Women's Empowerment
2015	11	7504	1 (0.01)	26 (0.35)	148 (1.97)	2 (0.03)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	9 (0.12)	9 (0.12)
2014	19	27386	7 (0.03)	61 (0.22)	753 (2.75)	0 (0.00)	8 (0.03)	2 (0.01)	70 (0.26)	12 (0.04)
2013	14	8412	4 (0.05)	45 (0.53)	227 (2.70)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.03)	4 (0.05)	31 (0.37)	1 (0.01)
2012	4	5738	1 (0.02)	32 (0.56)	102 (1.78)	0 (0.00)	2 (0.03)	1 (0.02)	19 (0.33)	0 (0.00)
2011	6	6249	0 (0.00)	25 (0.40)	140 (2.24)	0 (0.00)	2 (0.03)	1 (0.02)	22 (0.35)	0 (0.00)
2010	3	3214	1 (0.03)	2 (0.06)	69 (2.15)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.03)	1 (0.03)	0 (0.00)
2009	6	3617	0 (0.00)	5 (0.14)	53 (1.47)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.03)	0 (0.00)	21 (0.58)	0 (0.00)
2008	4	6202	0 (0.00)	5 (0.08)	182 (2.93)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (0.45)	0 (0.00)
2007	1	257	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (1.95)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
2006	0	0	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
2005	0	0	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
2004	0	0	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
TOTAL	**68**	**68579**	**14 (0.02)**	**201 (0.29)**	**1679 (2.45)**	**2 (0.00)**	**14 (0.02)**	**9 (0.01)**	**176 (0.26)**	**22 (0.03)**

Table 5: Yearly Counts of Key Terms per Thematic Frame (Proportion of Total Words), Natural Resources Canada 2004-2015

Year	Number of Communications	Total Number of Words	Canadian Exceptionalism	CSR	Economic Development	Engagement with Indigenous Communities	Human Rights	Regulation	Sustainability	Women's Empowerment
2015	4	4428	1 (0.02)	16 (0.36)	45 (1.02)	3 (0.07)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	41 (0.93)	0 (0.00)
2014	12	11919	12 (0.10)	22 (0.18)	62 (0.52)	17 (0.14)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	40 (0.34)	0 (0.00)
2013	1	520	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (0.58)	7 (1.35)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (0.39)	0 (0.00)
2012	8	4303	3 (0.07)	21 (0.49)	52 (1.21)	1 (0.02)	0 (0.00)	16 (0.37)	34 (0.79)	0 (0.00)
2011	3	2641	0 (0.00)	25 (0.95)	23 (0.87)	1 (0.04)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	15 (0.57)	0 (0.00)
2010	0	0	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
2009	7	3434	0 (0.00)	2 (0.06)	21 (0.61)	12 (0.35)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (0.17)	0 (0.00)
2008	1	446	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (0.45)	0 (0.00)
2007	2	957	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (0.31)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (0.21)	0 (0.00)
2006	5	1108	3 (0.28)	0 (0.00)	3 (0.27)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (0.90)	0 (0.00)
2005	1	608	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	8 (1.32)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.16)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
2004	3	1188	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (0.25)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (0.51)	0 (0.00)
TOTAL	**47**	**31552**	**19 (0.06)**	**86 (0.27)**	**223 (0.71)**	**41 (0.13)**	**0 (0.00)**	**17 (0.05)**	**158 (0.50)**	**0 (0.00)**

Table 6: Total Yearly Counts of Key Terms per Thematic Frame (Proportion of Total Words), All Publications 2004-2015

Year	Number of Communications	Total Number of Words	Canadian Exceptionalism	CSR	Economic Development	Engagement with Indigenous Communities	Human Rights	Regulation	Sustainability	Women's Empowerment
2015	15	11932	2 (0.02)	42 (0.35)	193 (1.62)	5 (0.04)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	50 (0.42)	9 (0.07)
2014	31	39305	19 (0.05)	83 (0.21)	815 (2.07)	17 (0.04)	8 (0.02)	2 (0.01)	110 (0.28)	12 (0.03
2013	15	8932	4 (0.04)	45 (0.50)	230 (2.56)	7 (0.08)	1 (0.01)	4 (0.04)	33 (0.37)	1 (0.01)
2012	12	10041	4 (0.04)	53 (0.53)	154 (1.53)	1 (0.01)	2 (0.01)	17 (0.17)	53 (0.53)	0 (0.00)
2011	9	8890	0 (0.00)	50 (0.56)	163 (1.83)	1 (0.01)	2 (0.02)	1 (0.01)	37 (0.42)	0 (0.00)
2010	3	3214	1 (0.03)	1 (0.03)	69 (2.15)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1 (0.03)	1 (0.03)	0 (0.00)
2009	13	7051	0 (0.00)	2 (0.03)	74 (1.05)	12 (0.17)	1 (0.01)	0 (0.00)	28 (0.40)	0 (0.00)
2008	5	6648	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	182 (2.74)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	5 (0.08)	0 (0.00)
2007	3	1214	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	8 (0.66)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	2 (0.16)	0 (0.00)
2006	5	1108	3 (0.27)	0 (0.00)	3 (0.27)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	10 (0.90)	0 (0.00)
2005	1	608	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	8 (1.32)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	1	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)
2004	3	1188	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	3 (0.25)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	0 (0.00)	6 (0.51)	0 (0.00)
TOTAL	**115**	**100131**	**33 (0.03)**	**276 (0.28)**	**1902 (1.90)**	**43 (0.43)**	**14 (0.01)**	**26 (0.03)**	**335 (0.33)**	**22 (0.02)**

Turning now to the question of how key issues are defined in the contemporary corpus, several reoccurring phrases are worth highlighting. First, the thematic frame of "economic development" is primarily defined in terms of economic growth, trade, social investment, and job-creation. Each instance of the economic development frame contained at least one of these definitions, and multiple definitions were frequently highlighted in the same communication. In one representative example, a press release detailing the federal government's participation in

the 2016 Energy and Mines Ministers' Conference, the second line of the report clearly positions the mining sector in terms of economic development:

> *In 2015, the minerals sector directly and indirectly accounted for 563,000 jobs throughout the country in urban, rural and remote regions, including employing over 10,000 Indigenous people. From 2010 to 2014, Canada's minerals sector, on average, provided a total of $2.9 billion per year in taxes and royalties to governments that in turn are used to support public services from health care to education* (Natural Resources Canada 2016a)

Second, communications about the extractives sector that deploy the "sustainability" frame assign two primary and seemingly complementary techno-optimistic definitions to this concept: one based on eco-efficiency and a second based on transitional sustainability. The concurrent usage of both definitions in turn raises the spectre of discursive slippage, where distinction between these definitions is rendered unclear to the audience and references to the concept being defined may in turn be interpreted through the lens that accords with the reader's existing expectations.

60% of the press releases analyzed here explicitly deploy an eco-efficiency model of sustainability, emphasizing the need to reduce carbons emissions associated with the daily operations of large-scale mines, sometimes for reasons of climate change resilience and mitigation (Onn and Woodley 2014). 65% of NRCan publications reference such a definition of sustainability. Its concrete application can be observed, for example, in a 2018 news release announcing mining and energy partnerships between Canada and Argentina highlights that placing a "high priority on energy efficiency" is "a means to reduce energy use and costs and achieve our climate goals" (Natural Resources Canada 2018a). The occurrence of these different sustainability definitions in the corpus are noted in Appendix II, and the total counts of each sustainability definition in the contemporary corpus are reported in Appendix IV.

Six communications, meanwhile, directly emphasize transitional sustainability in relation to large-scale mining operations. This conception of sustainability is defined in terms of an industry's contribution towards "intergenerational sustainable development…beyond the viability of a single mine" and its resulting role in "transitioning society and the environment to a sustainable future" (Onn and Woodley 2014, p. 121). Such a definition is typically found in discursive associations between the industry and the development renewable energy technologies that are produced using mined materials. Five of the six were published in the latter half of 2019, suggesting that this frame is newly emerging in the realm of state discourse. In this corpus, the transferrable sustainability frame frequently manifests through the State invoking the need to secure critical mineral supply chains for renewable energy production.

These two frames of sustainability, eco-efficiency and transitional sustainability, are jointly presented in a number of more recent communications. For instance, a NRCan press release from 2019 states that:

> *A changing climate is the single greatest global challenge of our time. That is why the Government of Canada is investing in climate adaptation and resilience, while supplying the minerals and metals needed for clean technologies throughout the world.* (Natural Resources Canada 2019d).

Such a deployment of sustainability language mirrors the core dimensions of sustainability currently outlined in agenda-setting documents created by transnational institutions. In 2019, for instance, the World Bank inaugurated the "Climate-Smart Mining" Facility (World Bank 2019), building on trends in mineral demand identified in its aforementioned 2017 report (Arrobas et al 2017). Climate-Smart Mining, in short, identifies a set of targets and conceptual frames intended to "ensure the mining sector is managed in a way that minimizes the environmental and climate footprint" in order to meet the "substantial increase in demand for several key minerals and

metals to manufacture cleaner energy technologies" (World Bank 2019). This World Bank framework is even occasionally referenced directly in Canadian State communications. A 2019 NRCan news release titled "Canada Supports Sustainable Mining Practices for Clean Technologies" specifically notes that "Parliamentary Secretary Lefebvre… highlighted the World Bank's goal of advancing developing countries' sustainable mineral and metal extraction and processing" (Natural Resources Canada 2019e).

However, the possibility of conceptual slippage should be noted in the joint deployment of these two definitions of sustainability. Indeed, while improvements in energy efficiency may be linked to mining projects whose target mineral is required in large amounts for renewable technology development, these improvements may equally facilitate the increasing extraction of minerals like gold for which there is a considerably less direct ecological case to be made, if any (Auciello 2019). Efficiency-improvements of any sort also raise the spectre of Jevon's paradox, whereby overall emissions levels rise as a result of these improvements rendering production increasingly cost-effective (Alcott 2015). To this end, ten of the studied communications that contain a sustainability-frame adopt vague, unclear definitions of sustainability. An emblematic example of such a sustainability-frame can be found in NRCan's 2017 statement that Canada has a "vision for a cleaner and more prosperous future" (Natural Resources Canada 2017b). The forthcoming section will assess the implications of such slippage in more depth—for the time being it is simply worth noting.

Of further interest, definitions of sustainability grounded in environmental justice norms (Martinez-Alier et al 2014) are notably absent from this corpus. While both GAC and NRCan communications often articulate a human-centered understanding of sustainability (evidenced in the 2016 speech delivered by Natural Resources Minister Jim Carr to the PDAC investor's floor,

in which he stated that "the Canadian brand…as a mining leader in sustainable development" derives from its "environmental stewardship, Indigenous engagement and corporate social responsibility" [Natural Resources Canada 2016b]) none make explicit reference to the disproportionate and racialized distribution of harms associated with large-scale mining activities (Martinez-Alier et al 2014). Moreover, while terms like "consultation" frequently appear in the texts analyzed here, not a single mention is made of possibly scaling back mining operations, despite this being a growing demand from grassroots environmental movements (ibid).

Perhaps the most significant detail to note in this descriptive overview is that the "economic development" and "sustainability" frames increasingly appear to be co-constructed in the recent years of the corpus, reflecting and transmitting a variety of norms related to sustainable development. This is unsurprising given that such frames are increasingly present in the definitions being assigned to "sustainability" by private sector actors in the industry's environmental reporting to stakeholders (Onn and Woodley 2014, see also Lodhi and Ness 2014). The Canadian government plays an active role within the frame, positioning itself as an important facilitator of improving environmental standards through active investment. For example, a May 2019 announcement about federal funding for sectoral climate change adaption contains a pull quote from Parliamentary Secretary Paul Lefevre, who explains that "by helping our mining sector to adapt to a changing climate, we are proving once more that the environment and the economy go hand in hand." (Natural Resources Canada 2019d). Two further NRCan quotes, from July and August 2019, similarly illustrate the interlocking frames of sustainability and economic development, and the government's active role therein:

> *Developing Canada's natural resources in cleaner, more sustainable ways will create good, middle-class jobs, increase competitiveness and reduce pollution as we move toward a clean energy future.* (Natural Resources Canada 2019f)

> *Our government continues to make investments to position Canada's mining industry to lead the clean energy future. Through strong partnerships and a commitment to innovation, we are building the sustainable and competitive mining industry of tomorrow, creating good, middle-class jobs and ensuring a prosperous mining industry for generations to come.* (Natural Resources Canada 2019g)

Lastly, the texts in the contemporary corpus tend to frame sustainable development as a financial imperative, making a "business case for sustainability" (Dauvergne and LeBaron 2013). A telling 2016 quote is worth highlighting as an exemplary instance of this "business case for sustainability":

> *Our government is committed to ensuring that our resource sectors remain a source of jobs, prosperity, and opportunity in a world that increasingly values sustainable practices and low-carbon processes. This is why we are focusing our efforts on developing innovative and clean technologies, increasing funding for infrastructure and providing regulatory certainty so that natural resource development and environmental stewardship go hand in hand for the benefit of Canadians from all regions of the country.* (Natural Resources Canada 2016b)

Regarding the third-most prominent theme, "engagement with indigenous communities", the documents examined here tend to emphasize "partnerships" (Global Affairs Canada 2018b), or "collaboration" (Natural Resources Canada 2017c) between the federal government and indigenous communities. An additional set of publications highlights the job-creation potential of resource extraction projects in indigenous communities (Natural Resources Canada 2016c). That said, these texts tend not to frame engagement with indigenous communities in terms of their having the right to reject unwanted resource extraction projects planned on their lands. One notable exception can be found in a 2018 NRCan press release announcing the ministry's decision not to allocate permits to the planned Ajax Mine project in BC based in part on its rejection by local indigenous communities (Natural Resources Canada 2018b).

Furthermore, while "Canadian exceptionalism" appears as an independent thematic frame in only 19% of contemporary communications, related notions are frequently invoked to bolster

rhetoric from other categories. Across Global Affairs Canada publications, 22 invocations of a particular thematic frame include elements of exceptionalist language (compared to 19 invocations of a theme which do not include such language). Exceptionalism appears more infrequently in association with other themes in NRCan publications (occurring 20 times as compared to 38 occasions in which no exceptionalist rhetoric is used). Still, its qualitative, contextual importance remains worth noting, as this language is featured prominently in the communications where it can be found.

Language used in conjunction with frames of Canadian exceptionalism most frequently center Canadian claims to moral leadership in a given issue-area. They variously invoke, for instance, rhetoric of Canada's "global leadership… based on innovation in safety and sustainability and a commitment to responsible business practices" (Global Affairs Canada 2019b), the country's "unmatched" record of "sustainability and responsibly sourced mineral products" (Natural Resources Canada 2019h), and norms of its "leading the clean energy future" (Natural Resources Canada 2019g).

Last in this descriptive survey of how Government of Canada publications define contested issues related to the mining sector, it is worth highlighting several key nodes of continuity and disjuncture between the contemporary corpus and the historical corpus. Perhaps unsurprisingly given the change of government that occurred between the two periods, several common rhetorical framings shift between 2015 and 2016. Most significantly, while CSR remains an important frame in both corpuses, the 2016 to 2019 period sees an increasing discursive emphasis on the State's role as a regulator. Along these lines, concepts such as the "Canada Brand" have been redefined in recent years. Inaugurated in 2014 as part of the "Building the Canadian Advantage" policy platform, this phrase (although not backed by any direct regulatory

framework) is recurrent in texts from this year and conveys the expectation that mining companies operating abroad will respect CSR best-practices, thus "not tarnish[ing] Canada's reputation" (Idemudia and Kwakyewah 2018, p. 934). More recent communications still center CSR in definitions of this "brand", including in GAC's 2018 announcement of the creation of CORE (Global Affairs Canada 2018b), but also emphasize that regulatory sanction could be applied against actors with poor conduct. The rate of usage for other specific descriptors shifts between these years even as the instance of particular thematic frames remains largely stable. For example, in GAC publications the word "prosperity" drops from 9 occurrences in 2015 to 1 occurrence in 2016, even as economic development remains the predominant thematic frame seen in both years. Frames of Canadian exceptionalism are similarly historically congruent. Indeed, the entire notion of a "Canada Brand" appears to draw from and further notions of Canada as an actor whose essential character can be synthesized into norms of good conduct (see Chewinski 2016), a process through which historical wrongdoing, if mentioned at all, is positioned as a feature of the distant past (Simpson 2016).

Finally, analyzing the presentation of actors in these documents reveals the unsurprising predominance of two actors: the Canadian Government and the Canadian mining sector. The former is unsurprisingly present as an actor in all communications, while the latter is present as an actor in all but two. GAC published both of the communications where the mining sector is not depicted as a main actor, and these comprise a 2017 speech delivered to the Canada-Chile Chamber of Commerce as well as a 2016 announcement of development projects in Senegal, both of which contain only passing references to the mining sector. Raw data on the presentation of key actors in the corpus is reported below, in Tables 7 through 9.

Table 7: Yearly Count of Principal Actors in Each Communication, Global Affairs Canada

Year	Number of communications	Canadian Government	Civil Society	International institutions	Mining Sector	Ombudsperson	Other Government	Provincial or Territorial Government
2019	2	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
2018	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	0
2017	4	4	3	0	2	0	2	0
2016	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0
TOTAL	**10**	**10**	**6**	**0**	**7**	**3**	**3**	**0**

Table 8: Yearly Count of Principal Actors in Each Communication, Natural Resources Canada

Year	Number of communications	Canadian Government	Civil Society	International institutions	Mining Sector	Ombudsperson	Other Government	Provincial or Territorial Government
2019	12	12	3	1	12	0	1	3
2018	4	4	2	0	2	0	1	0
2017	2	2	1	0	2	0	1	0
2016	5	5	5	0	5	0	0	1
TOTAL	**23**	**23**	**11**	**1**	**21**	**0**	**3**	**4**

Table 9: Total Yearly Count of Principal Actors in Each Communication, All Publications

Year	Number of communications	Canadian Government	Civil Society	International institutions	Mining Sector	Ombudsperson	Other Government	Provincial or Territorial Government
2019	14	14	4	1	14	1	1	3
2018	6	6	4	0	4	2	1	0
2017	6	6	5	0	4	0	3	0
2016	7	7	6	0	6	0	1	1
TOTAL	**33**	**33**	**19**	**1**	**28**	**3**	**6**	**4**

These raw figures require careful contextual interpretation, as the actors featured in a given communication are often a function of the text's primary subject. Non-Canadian governmental actors, for instance, most frequently appear in press releases announcing transnational collaboration or trade agreements (including Global Affairs Canada 2017a), while references to civil society can range from mentions of employment linked to Canadian mining companies (Natural Resources Canada 2016d) to announcements about technology-development partnerships between the State and universities (Natural Resources Canada 2019i). Still, it should be noted that civil society actors are referenced in only half of total publications—these publications primarily center the State and the mining sector.

Moreover, telling discursive linkages between the two primary actors in the corpus can be discerned. Global Affairs Canada's publications, in particular, frequently take the explicit discursive position that the ministry serves as a "promotor" of the mining sector and its interests. For instance, International Trade Minister Francois-Phillippe Champagne announced to the

PDAC investor's floor that he is "effectively the Chief Marketing Officer for Canada" (Global Affairs Canada 2017b). Similarly, press releases from 2019 and 2016, respectively, promote "Canada as the world's leading mining nation" and "Canada's brand as a global leader in exploration and mining development" (Natural Resources Canada 2017c, Global Affairs Canada 2016). While of course it is commonplace for States to actively seek out foreign investment, these close discursive associations between public and private interests merit close examination in light of their historically close tight relationship, as detailed in Chapter 2. This task will in turn sit at the core of analysis undertaken in Chapters 4.2 and 4.3.

4.2. "Leading the Clean Energy Future": Sustainability and Exceptionalism in the Greenwashing of Canadian Imperialism

Further analysis of the findings reported above reveals the Canadian State to be engaged in the uneven discursive legitimation of the mining sector's prominent role in sociopolitical affairs. This process seems to occur largely via the adoption of framing devices related to sustainability and oriented around Canadian exceptionalism. Natural Resources Canada and Global Affairs Canada each mobilize narrative frames of Canadian moral leadership and of global energy transition as facilitators of increasing economic prosperity, frames which in turn position the mining sector as "leading the clean energy future" by generating "green growth". This section will further argue that such thematic frames simultaneously rest on and articulate an "eco-extractivist" territoriality that marginalizes relational alternatives to large-scale resource extraction. Eco-extractivist discourses, in turn, can be understood to greenwash the continuing violence of Canadian imperialism by misleadingly situating metal mining as foundational to the development of low-carbon technologies and thus assigning normative importance to the expansion of mining sector operations around the globe.

First, the co-constructed thematic frames of "economic development" and "sustainability" are centered in the primary storyline that these texts convey, a storyline which also draws heavily from discourses of Canadian exceptionalism. This storyline grants sociopolitical legitimacy to the mining sector by positioning it as an actor that will "lead the clean energy future" (Natural Resources Canada 2019g). On its face, the legitimizing function of this discourse seems rather straightforward. Recalling Steffek (2009)'s contention that legitimacy exists in systems of governance where "compliance with norms, rules, and political decisions" can be observed, narratives that situate the mining sector within the "clean energy future" represent clear moves to associate the industry with norms of transition to a low-carbon economy. Indeed, this phrase can be understood to simultaneously articulate both sustainability-definitions highlighted in Chapter 4.1. It invokes images of emissions reduction (literally producing energy in "cleaner" manners), as well as the future production of renewable energy technologies. This framing of mining and sustainability may enjoy further purchase due to its clear association with the global framework of "climate smart mining", which articulates a parallel understanding of sustainability (World Bank 2019).

In their specific elaboration of how mining companies will lead this future, the publications studied here tend to articulate visions of future economic prosperity generated by perpetual resource extraction. From messaging about how "green mining technology…will ensure that Canada remains at a competitive advantage while enhancing its productivity and environmental performance" (Natural Resources Canada 2016a) to explicit statements about mining's capacity to be an engine of "green growth" (Global Affairs Canada 2018b), this leadership is surely framed in light of its contributions to the Canadian economy.

The term “lead” in this phrase also merits closer scrutiny. Indeed, this notion does not seem to contain any plausible referent to past action. While exaggerations and future-orientated statements can of course be expected in any public relations exercise, Canadian extractives firms have historically been far from leaders in modelling corporate best-practices. For instance, Imai (2017)’s analysis of Canadian mining companies’ conduct in Latin America between 2000 and 2015 raises the observation that the companies accept “violence…as a part of doing business” (p.21). This study uncovers 44 deaths (including 30 killings classified as “targeted”), 403 injuries, and 709 instances of criminalization that are corroborated by at least two independent sources and are linked to the activities of 28 different Canadian companies (pp. 37-41). While Haslam, Tanimoune, and Razeq (2018) highlight that Canadian firms do not necessarily have poorer social engagement records than firms of other national origins, Canadian “leadership” at any rate has yet to be proven.

Of course, the frame of “leading the clean energy future” is usually invoked alongside announcements of increased State investment in emissions-reduction technologies for the mining sector, and thus is best understood as representing a particular moment in the overall storyline told by the fifteen years of communications studied here. Indeed, while sustainability frames are not new in government communications about Canadian mining (a 2004 NRCan press release, for instance, highlights how “better energy management practices yield climate change results” for the mining sector: see Natural Resources Canada 2004), the particular emphasis on “clean energy” seen here clearly invokes the rhetorical legitimacy of the World Bank’s “climate-smart mining” framework. Moreover, its association with State intervention draws a point of contrast to the Harper government’s foreign extractives sector policy and its tendency to promote voluntary best-practices rather than threaten regulatory sanction (Brown 2016, Studnicki-Gizbert

2016). It thus appears that the sustainability frame legitimizes the sociopolitical influence of the mining sector in part by rhetorically distinguishing the present and future from the past, where the poor environmental performance and under-regulation of the industry were frequent targets of criticism (Urkidi 2011, Keenan 2013, Studnicki-Gizbert 2016, Herle 2017).

Moreover, in light of Butler (2015)'s insight that mining executives overseeing contested projects sometimes rationalize their complicity in violence by constructing a "narrative of self" that they are "Good Canadians", exceptionalist structures of feeling can be understood to underlie the State's invocation of sectoral leadership. These structures of feeling, in other words, can help explain why the notion of Canadians "leading the future" may resonate with audiences as being morally legible even when the Canadian mining sector possesses such a sordid history operating abroad. Along these lines, Razack (2004) notes that so-called Canada has long been centered in "middle-power narratives" that hold this country to be "the conscience of the world" (p. 39). Such a claim to moral leadership not only obscures the colonial violence endemic to the settler-state, but is also invoked alongside related notions of national "innocence" to explicitly defend the State when its government or military-affiliated actors carry out racialized and gendered patterns of harm. To this end, Razack's study of human rights abuses by Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia finds that these incidents were cast as the misdeeds of a few "bad apples" even when the violence enacted by Canadian soldiers against Somali civilians closely followed white supremacist scripts of colonial masculinity (2004, pp. 84, 118).

A clear through line can be traced from Razack's analysis to the maintenance of moral leadership norms despite the socioecological harms associated with the mining industry. Indeed, Butler (2015)'s analysis of the "routinized violence" linked to Canadian mining operations in Tanzania draws from Mbembe to conclude that "colonial rationality" in this context shapes

"states of exceptionality" (p. 43). Otherwise stated, the State is able to maintain a coherent stance of moral leadership in large part because its violence is rationalized as necessary, "civilizing" disciplinary action against a dehumanized Other (p. 37). Actors affiliated with the (neo-) colonizer State, meanwhile, may come internalize the notion of national moral superiority and reiterate such ideas particularly when faced with cognitive dissonance (ibid). Thus, if the world is to move towards a low-carbon future economy, discourses of Canadian exceptionalism position this State and its citizen-subjects as the optimal leaders of such a process.

Of course, it is important not to overstate the coherence of the above messaging. Exceptionalist discourses of Canadian moral leadership are neither uniformly deployed nor internally consistent within the messaging of this corpus, as they are frequently accompanied by State rhetoric regarding the increased regulation of the mining industry. To this end, 42% of the documents published between 2016 and 2019 reference the theme of regulation, most frequently asserting a need for more direct sectoral oversight in light of increased public contestation of industry practices. Many deployments of this theme explicitly reference the perceived loss of sociopolitical legitimacy witnessed by the sector in recent years. For example, Minister Carr's 2016 speech to PDAC, situates State intervention as an appropriate response to lagging "public confidence in the regulatory system" (Natural Resources Canada 2016c). Global Affairs Canada's announcement inaugurating the CORE, meanwhile, explicitly positions the Ombudsperson's necessity in light of "disputes or conflict between impacted communities and Canadian companies", further noting (in apparent partial contrast to the then-present state of affairs) that "well-governed, responsibly-managed Canadian businesses are an important source of jobs, socio-economic development opportunities and government revenues in developing countries" (Global Affairs Canada 2018b).

Still, though clearly uneven in discursive function, some appeals to regulation may paradoxically also be interpreted as attempts to re-legitimize the sector by improving public perception of its accountability to norms of appropriate social conduct. Notably, the quote from Minister Carr highlighted above elaborates that "the faster we restore public confidence in the regulatory system, the sooner we will see broad support for large-scale sustainable resource projects" (Natural Resources Canada 2016c). To this end, while regulatory developments like the creation of the CORE emerged in response to civil society mobilization for accountability, and certainly represent at least partial improvements in securing access to justice for communities negatively affected by the actions of Canadian mining companies, their legitimizing function also must be noted. Analyzing this legitimizing function is rendered particularly important given the ongoing criticism of Canada's regulatory moves that has emanated from civil society, criticism which highlights the limited impact of these regulatory announcements on the ground. The *Open for Justice* campaign that spearheaded the push for an extractives sector ombudsperson has recently diagnosed the office as a "disappointment" and a "step backwards" given that it has still not been granted the independent investigatory powers promised by the government in January 2018 (Amnesty International 2019). In July 2019, fourteen civil society and labour members of the "advisory board" established to guide the development of the CORE announced their resignations for reasons of "erosion of trust" (CBC News 2019b). It can be argued that the overall thrust towards discursive legitimation in State communications about the mining industry is resultingly maintained, although unevenly, even as new regulations are created.

So far, this section has conceptualized the narrative of Canada "leading the clean energy future" as a legitimizing discourse that draws from the co-construction of sustainability and

economic development themes, while rendered legible by a national-exceptionalist structure of feeling. Building on these arguments, the remainder of the section will argue that this core narrative and its nationalist-affective underpinnings gain further legitimizing purchase from their association with, and articulation of, an eco-extractivist territoriality that presents the perpetuation of Canadian mining as an ecological (and resultingly moral) imperative, "greenwashing imperialism" in the process.

As outlined in Chapter 2.3, eco-extractivism consists of the "re-appropriation of Nature" via new, "Green" logics (Nunez et al 2019, p.133). Resultingly, this analytic concept describes a particular set of socio-spatial relationships (ibid, p. 136) that may be understood as a representing a novel territoriality (taken to mean "the social construction of space and territory", per Vaccaro et al 2014, p.1). Different actors may articulate vastly differing territorialities in relation to the same geographical space, a distinction which of particularly vital importance in the study of resource extraction. Indeed, as Li (2015) notes in her ethnographic study of mining conflicts in Peru, instances of firm-community tension over the social acceptability of large-scale resource extraction frequently have "divergent interests and incommensurable views…at their core" (p. 6). According to this understanding of mining conflicts, analyzing actors' constructions and mobilizations of identities and ecological valuations, as well as their relationships to the territories in question, is essential (see also Martinez-Alier 2001, 2003; Martinez-Alier et al 2010). Of course, none of this is to say that local communities inherently or uniformly stand against large-scale mining (see Bebbington and Bury 2013). It is simply worth situating the ontologies embodied in different discourses of territory and development as analytically significant before proceeding with the assessment of the territoriality articulated by Canadian State discourses.

The eco-extractivist territoriality of the "clean energy future" articulated by the Canadian State is readily apparent, as envisioning a future where environmental sustainability rests of the extraction of increased quantities of mined minerals meets the core definition of this concept. Such a territoriality arguably casts the expansion of Canadian mining operations as not only economically desirable, but also ecologically necessary. For instance, the State claims to be "supplying the minerals and metals needed for clean technologies throughout the world" (Natural Resources Canada 2019d) and affirms that "as global demand for sustainably developed resources grows, Canada must continue to capitalize on its natural and human advantage" (Natural Resources Canada 2019h). While such statements may at first appear innocuous, closer scrutiny reveals how they further naturalize hegemonic narratives that cast extractivism as the primary pathway out of the climate crisis.

Of course, I do not seek to dispute the importance of mined metals in renewable technology development, nor the importance of climate change mitigation and adaptation in the mining sector, which the World Bank estimates to be responsible for 11% of global carbon emissions (2019). Indeed, developing renewable energy technologies at a worldwide scale will almost assuredly require dramatic increases in the extraction of certain critical minerals (Buccholz and Brandenburg 2018), and reducing the carbon footprint associated with mineral extraction could play an important role in facilitating a global decline in greenhouse gas emissions (Arrobas et al 2017). Rather, the project at hand seeks to highlight that the seemingly technical discourses that present the Canadian mining sector in narratives about the future are in fact highly political, benefitting certain actors and articulating certain ontologies at the expense of others.

Along these lines, it is worth interrogating which actors' visions of energy transition are and are not represented within the State's eco-extractivist discourses. Asara et al (2015) note that energy futures based on large-scale resource extraction constitute but one of many possible transition pathways, despite the predominance of a single vision within Canadian State publications. Indeed, their analysis highlights possible transition pathways based on reducing material resource consumption in the Global North and establishing local renewable energy cooperatives to meet energy demands (p. 380). Thus, even while many transition pathways require the adoption of mineral-intensive technologies, precise material input requirements and the resulting technologies deployed in their extraction can vary greatly. This means that expanding large-scale mining operations across all types of minerals is far from an ecological imperative (Auciello 2019).

Further, organizations like the *Observatorio Plurinacional de Salares Andinos* (OPSA, or the Plurinational Observatory of the Andean Salt Flats) have decried eco-extractivist visions of energy transition for furthering the marginalization of low-income, racialized, and Indigenous communities by citing their territories as "sacrifice zones" (Cavanaugh 2014, RioFrancos 2019, O*bservatorio Plurinacional de Salares Andinos* 2020). OPSA, whose organizing is primarily in resistance to lithium mining (an industry where Canadian companies hold significant assets, and which is rapidly expanding in part due to skyrocketing global demand for electric car batteries) have extensively documented alternative territorialities to eco-extractivism. Members of the Observatory have particularly highlighted local demands to preserve their scarce fresh water supplies and the region's unique biodiversity, arguing that these visions of energy transition should be given fair consideration (RioFrancos 2019, O*bservatorio Plurinacional de Salares Andinos* 2020).

The State's pervasive framing of the mining sector's environmental importance is in turn maintained by casting such relational alternatives to extractivism as marginal. Indeed, the corpus portrays the desirability of expanding mining operations as common sensical, a fact to which the public must resign themselves (seen, for instance, in statements that the government is "focusing [its] efforts on…ensuring that this dynamic [mining] industry remains a source of jobs and opportunities for generations to come": Natural Resources Canada 2017c). Such statements, in situating mining as an imperative, seem to carry the implication that to resist large-scale mining is to impede the oft-cited "clean energy future" (Natural Resources Canada 2019d; see Schnoor 2013 for related analysis on how Indigenous land defenders in Guatemala have been discursively portrayed as impediments to a prosperous future because of their resistance to Canadian-owned mining projects).

In the absence of alternatives, meanwhile, it is difficult to debate mineral-intensive transition narratives. As Barney (2017) notes in his related study of Canadian state discourses about pipeline infrastructure, discursive appeals to a hegemonic national economic interest often invoke resource extraction as a "moral imperative", where any contrary possibility is positioned as being harmful to the nation as a whole (p.87). The case of eco-extractivist mining discourses can in turn be understood to articulate this nationalist moral imperative and a broader, ecological moral imperative simultaneously. Given that eco-extractivist territorial discourses assign a moral imperative to Canadian mining operations, the dominance of these discourses in State communications can be understood to legitimize the ongoing sociopolitical influence of this sector.

Moreover, insofar as these eco-extractivist discourses present misleading information about the sustainability of large-scale mining and the necessity of particular mined materials to

energy transition, these discourses can be meaningfully diagnosed as instances of "greenwashing". For instance, while demand for minerals like lithium and cobalt indeed appears to be closely tied to renewable technology development, Buccholz and Brandenburg (2018)'s review of the literature finds that global demand for copper (which is highlighted by the World Bank as a "critical mineral" to energy transition, see Arrobas et al 2017) is linked more closely to overall economic growth and the growth within construction industry than to technological development. Meanwhile, nearly all State communications examined as part of this study speak in general terms of the mining sector's contribution to future sustainability when in fact many of the elements mined by Canadian companies are not significantly used in renewable energy development, or could be readily produced in sufficient quantities via metals recycling programs (see Auciello 2019). For instance, gold is a notably predominant target mineral among Canadian mining companies when an ecological case for increasing gold extraction would be inconsistent with any plausible energy transition pathway. Not only is this metal targeted by many firms operating overseas, but it was also the highest-ranking commodity by value of production extracted in Canada in 2018 (Natural Resources Canada 2019e).

Finally, given that the legitimizing function of the eco-extractivist discourses examined here facilitates the continued functioning of the Canadian mining sector in manners previously diagnosed as imperialistic, these discourses can be understood to greenwash imperialism. Indeed, now backed by a rhetoric that frames resource extraction as an ecological imperative, the Canadian mining sector remains implicated in social conflict all over the world (Gordon and Webber 2019), maintaining the "coincidence of capital against local communities" (Veltmeyer 2013). To that end, it is worth recalling the 693 instances of worldwide firm-community conflict linked to Canadian mining companies that are documented by the Environmental Justice Atlas

project (EJAtlas 2019). Although the proportion of Canadian capital-flows in many Global South countries have somewhat decreased in recent years, particularly in light of the rise of China as a global investment power (Gordon and Webber 2019), environmental discourses appear to be a growing means through which the Canadian State positions this actor's ongoing influence as socio-politically legitimate.

In sum, this section has diagnosed "leading the clean energy future" to be the primary legitimizing discourse found in State communications regarding the mining sector. This discourse deploys misleading environmental claims to perpetuate socio-ecologically destructive actions and can thus be understood as a modality of discursive legitimation which greenwashes imperialism.

4.3. An (Unevenly) Captured Energy Transition? Discursive Legitimation of the Mining Sector and the Construction of Private Interests as Public

Building upon the above arguments, a close reading of Canadian State publications that feature the mining sector reveals that these documents uphold a longstanding framing of the mining sector as an essential contributor to national prosperity. Such frames resultingly construct the interests of this private industry as synonymous to the public interest, a fact which sits in partial tension with the State's proclaimed role as a regulator of industry. As a result, the analysis undertaken here suggests the Canadian State's discursive positioning of its mining industry can be described as an instance of "transition capture" whereby the interests of a highly-polluting industry are preserved even while the polity ostensibly pivots away from carbon-intensive modes of energy production. This final analytical section traces the historical advent of eco-extractivist discourses in Canadian government communications. It reveals the congruence of these discourses with a larger pattern of similar pro-mining narratives that simultaneously reveal the

influence of the mining sector in Canadian policymaking and naturalize the sector's place in the Canadian political order, although this influence manifests unevenly across government ministries.

First, a clear discursive association is established in Canadian government press releases that links the mining sector to national prosperity writ large. Preliminary evidence for this fact can be see in the predominance of "economic development" thematic frames in the corpus, but specific textual evidence is even more telling. Global Affairs Canada's promotional language over the recent years has held the sector to be a "global giant…of immense benefit to the Canadian economy" (2017b) as well as characterizing it as a "major driver of Canada's economic prosperity" (2019a). NRCan, meanwhile, has variously characterized the minerals sector as a "cornerstone of [Canada's] economy" (2017c) and an "essential economic driver" (2016c). This feature of State discourse is not a new development, with similar examples abounding in the corpus of communications from 2004 to 2015. To give just one example from each ministry, a 2006 Natural Resources Canada press release positions Canada's resource extraction firms as "key to North America's economy and to our leadership in addressing the world's energy and environmental challenges, and the security of our nations" (Natural Resources Canada 2006), while a 2013 Global Affairs Canada communication highlights "the importance of the extractive sector as a vital engine of economic growth and the significant role it plays in providing employment across Canada" (Global Affairs Canada 2013). None of these claims, of course, are unfounded. Official statistics from Natural Resources Canada estimate tax revenues from mining to be worth billions of dollars annually, and asserts that the industry provides 626, 000 direct and indirect jobs to Canadians (2019d).

Still, as Barney (2017) notes, rhetorical appeals like the above may have the perverse effect of holding "the particular, private interests of the [resource-extracting] capitalist class…as the interests of the Nation at large" (p. 87). Indeed, while the risk-benefit distribution associated with large-scale mining overwhelmingly benefits a small group of shareholders and can impose significant environmental externalities on local communities (Harstaad and Campero 2012), Canadian State publications have the effect of constructing mining as a component of the broader national interest (a narrative which gains further purchase from its deep historical roots, see Butler 2015) and thus naturalizing the sociopolitical influence held by the sector. This, in turn, raises the spectre of regulatory capture, given that the cessation of mining activities would resultingly threaten the "national interest" as a whole.

Fuchs and Kalgiafani (2010) diagnose such manifestations of influence as structural, "private power", wherein private-sector actors "constrain policy choices by making alternatives more or less desirable for formally-empowered policymakers" (p.11). In other words, they demonstrate that materially powerful corporations and industries are often able to influence national agenda-setting processes, as they can "punish and reward countries for their policy choices by relocating investments and jobs" (ibid).

Such understandings of private power must be nuanced slightly in the case of the mining sector, whose operations are necessarily fixed to particular geographical locations (Bebbington and Bury 2013), a fact which impedes their ability to easily relocate. Still, the head offices of these firms remain mobile, and mass-scale job-creation surely constitutes an important node of influence that these actors can leverage over the State. Moreover, the mining sector's private power and influence can be historically contextualized to reveal a deeper, longstanding pattern of influence. Denault and Sacher note, for instance, that mining companies have long exercised

influence over the writing of resource extraction legislation in Canada, dating back even to pre-Confederation. They point specifically to corporate influence exercised over the writing of Ontario and Quebec's mining codes, which provide the sector with relatively unimpeded access to territory (2012, p. 183). In more recent history, Foreign Affairs Minister John Baird faced widespread criticism for resigning from his cabinet post, in which capacity he had made public funds available to finance private CSR efforts. He soon thereafter "cash[ed] in", in the words of a Globe and Mail columnist, by accepting an advisory position with Barrick Gold, one of Canada's most high-profile mining companies (Yakabuski 2015). While of course none of this is to say that effective State regulation is an impossibility, such examples point to enduring patterns of sectoral influence that may manifest in the patterns of rhetoric observed in the corpus. If nothing else, the discursive legitimation of mining sector interests can thus be understood as a manifestation of corporate power over the state, aligned with previous diagnoses of the "nexus" of interests between the State and the mining sector (Gordon and Webber 2016). This finding in turn calls into question the State's claims of regulatory impartiality.

Taken together, evidence of the mining industry's structural power in Canadian government communications and the increasing discursive pivot to environmentalist language appear to illustrate that Graham (2019)'s assessment of possible "transition capture" in the Canadian petroleum industry can be extended to other extractives, including mined minerals. Indeed, this precise phenomenon, whereby resource extraction firms strategically attempt to shape and control energy transition processes, appears to be taking place within the mining industry. While Graham's analysis correctly notes the unique material characteristics of fossil fuels in relation to energy transition, where the prospect of significant stranded assets necessarily looms large and informs their uneven navigation of transition pathways (p. 230), the mining

industry has also (although perhaps with different underlying motivations) come to figure itself prominently into transition narratives. After all, the purported "clean energy future" analyzed in Chapter 4.2 is based in large part upon scaling up mineral and metal extraction (Auciello 2019) in order to secure "critical minerals needed to support…clean technology" (Natural Resources Canada 2019j). Similar to the fossil fuel industry, then, the mining sector's transition capture serves to maintain modes of production with stark ecological impacts as well as uneven distributions of economic and political power from the "fossil capital" epoch.

All that said, important nodes of difference should be noted in the discursive framings invoked by GAC and NRCan, respectively, as these differences illustrate how discursive legitimation occurs neither uniformly nor evenly with the broad analytical category of the State. Indeed, as highlighted in Chapter 4.1, NRCan often frames the mining sector in terms of sustainability, while GAC is the most frequent adopter of economic development language. Recent GAC communications also deploy women's empowerment and human rights as frames, a pattern which is not mirrored in NRCan's news releases. At their most basic level, such differences may reflect key distinctions between each ministry's institutional mandates. For instance, given that the majority of human rights complaints faced by the Canadian mining sector are linked to projects that take place outside of Canada (Kuyek 2019), it should come as no surprise that GAC, with its mandate to oversee foreign policy, deploys this thematic frame while its ministerial counterpart does not. The language of women's empowerment, similarly, directly references the Trudeau Government's "feminist foreign policy" agenda (which, by definition, is not applied within the colonial borders of the State) (Global Affairs Canada 2020).

Perhaps more striking is the stark differences in number of communications published by NRCan when compared to GAC between 2016 and 2019. With 23 published documents as

compared to 10 (an inversion of the GAC-heavy historical corpus), it appears that the former ministry is the most substantially engaged in actively forwarding messaging about the mining sector. Moreover, half of GAC's publications from this period make the case that increased State regulation is needed to improve sectoral accountability. Given that the above analysis suggests that both ministries are engaged in processes of discursive legitimation, and in light of the substantial evidence showing the mining sector's influence within the State as a whole, these contrasting patterns in frequency of communication can perhaps be best understood as maintaining legitimacy through strategic silence versus maintaining legitimacy through acts of overt promotion. In the first mode of communication, undertaken by GAC, appears to be a response to the increasing contestation of Canadian mining projects overseas (Herle 2017). Calling further attention to actors whose legitimacy is already actively being questioned, unless to announce regulatory developments that may grant these actors increased legitimacy, can perhaps be interpreted as an effort to focus public attention on other issues (far from a novelty in the regulation of this industry, see Studnicki-Gizbert 2016). Meanwhile, the State can most directly oversee the implementation of "greener" mining within Canada, allowing NRCan to directly promote the variety of funding opportunities being created to finance sectoral climate adaptation and "lead the clean energy future". Such features of government rhetoric illustrate how the discursive legitimation of mining sector extractivism is neither even nor uniform; however, an overall pattern of attempted legitimation can be readily diagnosed.

In sum, the patterns of discursive legitimation that appear in the Canadian State's communications broadly construct the mining sector's private interests as coterminous with the public interest, thus highlighting possible regulatory capture on the one hand and transition capture on the other.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has argued that contemporary communications from Natural Resources Canada and Global Affairs serve to greenwash the continuing violence of Canadian imperialism by misleadingly situating metal mining as foundational to the development of low-carbon technologies, and thus assigning normative importance to the expansion of mining sector operations around the globe. It has further noted that these ministries mobilize exceptionalist narrative frames of Canadian moral leadership and of the global energy transition in constructing this discourse, articulating an eco-extractivist territoriality in the process. An additional function of these legitimizing discourses is to situate the private interests of the mining sector as coterminous with the broader public interest, a process which sits in tension with the State's regulatory functions and which points to the possibility that Canada is undergoing a "captured" energy transition. That said, important nodes of difference can be drawn between GAC and NRCan's communications, seeming to suggest that the former has adopted a legitimizing pattern based on maintaining narrative silence, while NRCan adopts a stance of more overt sectoral promotion.

The analysis undertaken here has attempted to make four primary contributions to the political science literature, particularly addressing subfield studies of Canadian imperialism and of global energy transitions. First, it has added to the relatively small body of extant research on the discursive underpinnings of Canadian imperialism, finding that neo-colonial structures of feeling position this country as "exceptional" and resultingly rationalize the State's complicity in ongoing violence worldwide. This project has further sought to disaggregate the State as a category of analysis, investigating how different government ministries may deploy different discourses in their framings of the mining sector. Temporally, it has expanded on studies whose

analyses of Canadian State discourses about mining have largely been limited to the Harper era or previous. Finally, this thesis has contributed to the growing literature on the political economy of energy transitions, illustrating the unequal extractivist power dynamics and structures of dispossession that can be amplified by resource-intensive transition narratives.

A series of possible future research trajectories could build upon the findings of this research project. For one, additional studies could potentially take the step of causally assessing why the State has adopted the particular discourses uncovered and analyzed above. While patterns of discursive legitimation from the State appear linked to its regulatory capture and differences in ministerial mandates, the specific mechanisms at play could be more directly illuminated. Does the State's adoption of sustainability discourses constitute an attempt to appropriate and de-radicalize anti-extractivist demands being articulated by grassroots activists, mirroring the process of "strategic risk management" observed by Benson and Kirsch (2010)? Similarly, elite interviews with policymakers and civil servants could inform a deeper process-tracing analysis of how the discourses analyzed in the project were initially formulated, further and more directly dis-aggregating the state as an analytical category.

Moreover, nodes of similarity and difference between the discursive legitimation of mineral and petroleum extraction could merit additional study. While this project noted the State's mobilization of sustainability discourses in relation to the former sector, studies of the latter's discursive legitimation have noted the predominance of more traditional expressions of nationalism, for instance, those framed by the notion that Canadian oil is "more ethical" than the alternatives (Gunster and Saurette 2014). Are these differences explained by the different material characteristics of each resource, where a clearer conceptual link exists between mining

and sustainability than can be said for oil? Are these differences instead produced by different relationships between the State and each of these sectors?

Thirdly, further analytical connections could be developed between this project and other instances of neo-colonialism linked to "clean" energy development. While the study at hand has restricted its scope to the examination of the mining industry, Pasternak and King (2019) highlight a number of conflicts between indigenous communities and the Canadian State linked to other technologies centered in low-carbon transition narratives, such as hydro, and comparative studies may prove able to elucidate the extent to which narratives of clean energy development may differ according to the technology in question.

Fourth, insofar as hegemony has its counterpart in counter-hegemony, it could prove analytically fruitful to further elaborate and compile anti- and post-extractivist perspectives emerging from communities resisting the imposition of unwanted Canadian mining projects. Seeing that the State's communications about the mining sector are largely one-sided, what alternatives exist? How can the greenwashing of Canadian imperialism can be contested and countered? While the modes of discursive legitimation analyzed in this project constitute attempts to bolster extractivist-capitalist hegemony, further analysis may be able to further illustrate and destabilize the contradictions found within these modes of legitimation.

All things considered, this project has surely illustrated that corporate and State power remain deeply intertwined in so-called Canada. If the State's greenwashing of imperialism is to be countered and transformed, deconstructing and materially challenging such expressions of power is imperative.

6. Bibliography

Alcott, Blake. 2015. “Jevon’s Paradox (Rebound Effect)”. In *Degrowth: A Vocabulary for a New Era,* edited by Giacomo D'Alisa, Federico Demaria, and Giorgos Kallis. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Amnesty International. 2019. “Canada Blinks: Ombudsperson Announcement a Disappointment, but the Fight is not Over. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.amnesty.ca/our-work/campaigns/open-for-justice.

Anderson, Corby G, Robert C Dunne, and John L Uhrie. 2014. *Mineral Processing and Extractive Metallurgy:100 Years of Innovation*. Englewood, Colorado: Society for Mining, Metallurgy & Exploration.

Antonelli, Mirta Alejandra. 2011. “Canadá, en el Contrapunto de Discursividades. El Rostro y la Sobreexplotación de la Naturaleza.” *Revista Arena* 3 (1): 1–14.

Arellano-Yanguas, Javier. 2011. "Aggravating the Resource Curse: Decentralisation, Mining and Conflict in Peru". *Journal of Development Studies*. 47 (4): 617-638.

Arrobas, Daniele La Porta; Hund, Kirsten Lori; Mccormick, Michael Stephen; Ningthoujam, Jagabanta; Drexhage, John Richard. 2017. The Growing Role of Minerals and Metals for a Low Carbon Future (English). Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/207371500386458722/The-Growing-Role-of-Minerals-and-Metals-for-a-Low-Carbon-Future.

Asara, Viviana, Iago Otero, Federico Demaria, and Esteve Corbera. 2015. “Socially Sustainable Degrowth As a Social-Ecological Transformation: Repoliticizing Sustainability.” *Sustainability Science* 10 (3): 375–84

Auciello, Benjamin Hitchcock. 2019. “A Just(ice) Transition is a Post-Extractive Transition: Centering the Extractive Frontier in Climate Justice”. London, UK: War on Want and the London Mining Network.

Awwad, Julian. 2015. “Queer Regulation and the Homonational Rhetoric of Canadian Exceptionalism”. In *Disrupting Queer Inclusion: Canadian Homonationalisms and the Politics of Belonging,* edited by OmiSoore H Dryden, Suzanne Lenon, and Julian Awwad. Sexuality Studies Series. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 19-35.

Balcázar, Ramón. 2020. “The Impacts and Challenges of Lithium Mining in Chile”. Keynote Presentation: Moving Beyond Extraction, York University, Toronto. https://www.beyondextraction.ca/research.

Barney, Darrin. 2017. “Who We Are and What We Do: Canada as a Pipeline Nation”. *In Petrocultures: Oil, Politics, Culture*, edited by Sheena Wilson, Adam Carlson, and Imre Szeman. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Bebbington, Anthony, and Jeffrey Bury. 2013. *Subterranean Struggles: New Dynamics of Mining, Oil, and Gas in Latin America*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Beder, Sharon. 2014. “Lobbying, Greenwash and Deliberate Confusion: How Vested Interests Undermine Climate Change.” In *Green Thoughts and Environmental Politics*: *Green Trends and Environmental Politics*, edited by M. C-T. Huang and R. R-C. Huang. Taipei: Asia-seok Digital Technology, 297-328.

---. 2002. “Environmentalists Help Manage Corporate Reputation: Changing Perceptions not Behaviour”. *Ecopolitics: Thought and Action* 1(4): pp.60-72.

Belanger, Pierre, ed. 2018. *Extraction Empire: Undermining the Systems, States, & Scales of Canada's Global Resource Empire*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Benjamin, Jesse, Mich Levy, Sara Kershnar, and Mortaza Sahibzaba (eds.). 2011. *Greenwashing Apartheid: The Jewish National Fund’s Environmental Cover Up.* E-book: International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network

Benson, Peter and Stuart Kirsch. 2010. "Capitalism and the Politics of Resignation." *Current Anthropology* 51 (4): 459-486.

Bernstein, Steven. 2004. "Legitimacy in Global Environmental Governance." *Journal of Law and International Relations* 1(1-2): 139-166.

Bloomfield, Michael John. 2017. “Global Production Networks and Activism: Can Activists Change Mining Practices by Targeting Brands?” *New Political Economy* 22(6): 727-742.

Brevini, Benedetta, and Graham Murdock. 2017. *Carbon Capitalism and Communication: Confronting Climate Crisis*. Palgrave Studies in Media and Environmental Communication. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bridge, Gavin, Stefan Bouzarovski, Michael Bradshaw, and Nick Eyre. 2013. "Geographies of Energy Transition: Space, Place and the Low-Carbon Economy." *Energy Policy* 53: 331-340.

Brown, Stephen. 2016. “Undermining Foreign Aid: The Extractive Sector and the Recommercialization of Canadian Development Assistance”. In Stephen Brown, Molly den Heyer, and David R. Black (eds.), *Rethinking Canadian Aid, Second Edition.* Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press, 273-295.

Bryson, Valerie. 2016. *Feminist Political Theory*. London, UK: Macmillan International Higher Education.

Buchholz, Peter, and Torsten Brandenburg. 2018. "Demand, Supply, and Price Trends for Mineral Raw Materials Relevant to the Renewable Energy Transition Wind Energy, Solar Photovoltaic Energy, and Energy Storage." *Chemie Ingenieur Technik* 90 (1-2): 141-153.

Burton, Frank, and Pat Carlen. 1979. *Official Discourse: On Discourse Analysis, Government Publications, Ideology and the State*. International Library of Sociology. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Butler, Paula. 2015. *Colonial Extractions: Race and Canadian Mining in Contemporary Africa*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cavanagh, Connor J. 2014. Biopolitics, Environmental Change, and Development Studies". *Forum for Development Studies* 41 (2): 273-294.

Caprar, Dan V., and Benjamin A. Neville. 2012. "'Norming" and "Conforming': Integrating Cultural and Institutional Explanations for Sustainability Adoption in Business." *Journal of Business Ethics* 110 (2): 231-45.

CBC News. 2019(a). "New Corporate-Ethics Ombud Named but Powers Remain Unclear". April 8, 2019. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/corporate-ethics-ombudsperson-mining-1.5089059.

CBC News. 2019(b). "Panellists Quit Corporate Responsibility Panel Citing 'Erosion of Trust'. July 12, 2019. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/corporate-responsibility-panellist-quit-1.5210363.

Chaca, Roselia. *"Zoques de Oaxaca piden intervención de la ONU ante proyecto minero". El Universal.* December 26, 2018. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/estados/zoques-de-oaxaca-piden-intervencion-de-la-onu-ante-proyecto-minero.

Chen, Sibo, and Shane Gunster. 2016. "Ethereal Carbon": Legitimizing Liquefied Natural Gas in British Columbia." Environmental Communication 10 (3): 305-321.

Cherry, Miriam A. and Judd F. Sneirson. 2012. "Chevron, Greenwashing, and the Myth of 'Green Oil Companies'". *Washington and Lee Journal of Energy, Climate, and the Environment* 3(1): 133-154.

Chewinski, Max. 2016. Mining as Canadian nation-building: contentious citizenship regimes on the move. *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 41(3), pp.349-374.

Coulthard, Glen. 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Cronon, William. 1996. “The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature.” *Environmental History* 1 (1): 7–28.

Dashwood, Hevina S. 2012. *The Rise of Global Corporate Social Responsibility: Mining and the Spread of Global Norms*. Business and Public Policy. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dauvergne, Peter, and Genevieve LeBaron. 2013. "The Social Cost of Environmental Solutions." *New Political Economy* 18 (3): 410-430.

Dauvergne, Peter and Jane Lister. 2013. *Eco-business: A Big Brand Takeover of Sustainability*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Davidson, Debra J, and Michael Anthony Gismondi. 2011. *Challenging Legitimacy at the Precipice of Energy Calamity*. New York: Springer.

Delmas, Magali A., and Vanessa Cuerel Burbano. 2011. "The Drivers of Greenwashing." *California Management Review* 54 (1): 64-87.

Deneault, Alain, Robin Philpot, Fred A Reed, and William Sacher. 2012. *Imperial Canada Inc.: Legal Haven of Choice for the World's Mining Industries*. Vancouver: Talonbooks.

Deonandan, Kalowatie, and Michael L Dougherty, eds. 2016. *Mining in Latin America: Critical Approaches to the New Extraction*. Routledge Studies of the Extractive Industries and Sustainable Development. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Engler, Yves. 2019. *Left, Right: Marching to the Beat of Imperial Canada.* Montreal: Black Rose Books.

Environmental Justice Atlas. “San Miguel Chimalapa, a Zoque Population against a Canadian Mining Company. Oaxaca, Mexico”. December 28, 2018. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://ejatlas.org/conflict/miguel-chimalapa-oaxaca-mexico.

Estes, Nick. 2019. *Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock Versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. London: Verso.

Fairclough, Norman and Wodak, Ruth. 1997. “Critical Discourse Analysis”. In *Discourse as Social Interaction*, edited by T.A. van Dijk. New York: Sage: 258–84.

Feldman, Ronen, and James Sanger. 2007. *The Text Mining Handbook: Advanced Approaches in Analyzing Unstructured Data*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Findlay, Andrew. “Rocked: Canadian Mining Companies deal with Fallout from Canadian Supreme Court Ruling”. January 8, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020, https://www.bcbusiness.ca/Rocked-Canadian-mining-companies-deal-with-fallout-from-Supreme-Court-ruling.

Franquesa, Jaume. 2018. *Power Struggles: Dignity, Value, and the Renewable Energy Frontier in Spain*. Bloomington, IA: Indiana University Press.

Fuchs, Doris, and Agni Kalfagianni. 2010. "The Causes and Consequences of Private Food Governance." *Business and Politics* 12 (3): 1-34.

Gaines, Brian J. 1999. "Duverger's Law and the Meaning of Canadian Exceptionalism." *Comparative Political Studies* 32 (7): 835-861.

Garrod, J.Z. and Laura MacDonald. 2016. “Rethinking ‘Canadian Mining Imperialism’ in Latin America”. In *Mining in Latin America: Critical Approaches to the New Extraction,* edited by Kalowatie Deonandan and Michael L Dougherty. Routledge Studies of the Extractive Industries and Sustainable Development. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 100-116.

Georgallis, Panayiotis. "The Link between Social Movements and Corporate Social Initiatives: Toward a Multi-Level Theory." *Journal of Business Ethics* 142, no. 4 (2017): 735-51.

Global Affairs Canada. 2020. “Canada’s Feminist International Assistance Policy”. Last modified January 14, 2020, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/policy-politique.aspx?lang=eng.

---. 2019(a). “Canada condemns attack on Canadian mining company convoy in Burkina Faso”. Last modified November 8, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2019/11/canada-condemns-attack-on-canadian-mining-company-convoy-in-burkina-faso.html.

---. 2019(b). “Minister Carr hosts Canada Day at Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada Convention”. Last modified March 4, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2019/03/minister-carr-hosts-canada-day-at-prospectors--developers-association-of-canada-convention.html.

---. 2018(a). “Canada’s Enhanced Corporate Social Responsibility Strategy to Strengthen Canada’s Extractive Sector Abroad”. Last modified January 17, 2018, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.international.gc.ca/trade-agreements-accords-commerciaux/topics-domaines/other-autre/csr-strat-rse.aspx?lang=eng.

---. 2018(b). “Backgrounder: Advancing Canada’s Approach on Responsible Business Conduct Abroad”. Last modified January 17, 2018, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2018/01/advancing_canadasapproachonresponsiblebusinessconductabroad.html.

---. 2017(a). “Address by Minister Champagne to the Canada-Chile Chamber of Commerce”. Last modified March 14, 2017, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/03/_address_by_ministerchampagnetothecanada-chilechamberofcommerce.html.

---. 2017(b). “Address by Minister Champagne at the Canada-China Mining Investment Forum during the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada International Convention, Trade Show and Investors Exchange”. March 7, 2017, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2017/03/address_by_ministerchampagneatthecanada-chinaminninginvestmentfor.html.

---. 2016. “Canada Meets with Global Counterparts to Strengthen Mining Relations”. Last modified March 7, 2016, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2016/03/canada-meets-with-global-counterparts-to-strengthen-mining-relations.html.

---. 2013. “Harper Government Highlights Canadian Mining Companies' Leadership in Creating Jobs and Prosperity at Home and Abroad”. Last modified March 3, 2013, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/03/harper-government-highlights-canadian-mining-companies-leadership-creating-jobs-prosperity-home-abroad.html.

Grinspun, Ricardo and Jennifer Mills. 2015. “Canada, Extractivism, and Hemispheric Relations”. In *Beyond Free Trade: Alternative Approaches to Trade, Politics and Power*, edited by Kate Ervine and Gavin Fridell. International Political Economy Series. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 133-151.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gordon, Todd and Jeffrey R. Webber. 2019. “Canadian Capital and Secondary Imperialism in Latin America”. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 25(1): 72-89.

---. 2016. *Blood of Extraction: Canadian Imperialism in Latin America*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Gordon, Todd. 2010. *Imperialist Canada.* Winnipeg, MB: Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

Government of Canada, Trade Service Commissioner. “Canada Sets World Standard for Sustainable Mining”. April 3, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.tradecommissioner.gc.ca/canadexport/0003604.aspx?lang=eng.

Goyette, Gabriel C. 2016. “Charity Begins at Home: The Extractive sector as an Illustration of the Harper Government’s De Facto Aid Policy”. In *Rethinking Canadian Aid, Second Edition*,

edited by Stephen Brown, Molly den Heyer, and David R. Black. Ottawa, ON: University of Ottawa Press, 255-273.

Graham, Nicolas. 2019. “Canadian Fossil Capitalism, Corporate Strategy, and Post-Carbon Futures”. *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie*, *56*(2): 224-250.

Gross, Kimberly. "Framing Persuasive Appeals: Episodic and Thematic Framing, Emotional Response, and Policy Opinion." *Political Psychology* 29, no. 2 (2008): 169-192.

Gudynas, Eduardo. 2011. "Más allá del nuevo extractivismo: transiciones sostenibles y alternativas al desarrollo." *El desarrollo en cuestión. Reflexiones desde América Latina*: 379-410.

---. 2009. “Diez tesis urgentes sobre el nuevo extractivismo”. In *Extractivismo, política y sociedad*, edited by Jürgen Schuldt, Alberto Acosta, Alberto Barandiarán, Anthony Bebbington, Mauricio Folchi, CEDLA – Bolivia, Alejandra Alayza, and Eduardo Gudynas. Quito: Centro Andino de Acción Popular (CAAP) and Centro Latinoamericano de Ecología Social (CLAES), pp. 187-225.

Gunster, Shane, and Paul Saurette. 2014. "Storylines in the Sands: News, Narrative and Ideology in the Calgary Herald." *Canadian Journal of Communication* 39 (3): 333-359.

Haarstad, Harvard. 2012. “Extracting Justice? Critical Themes and Challenges in Latin American Resource Governance”. In *New Political Spaces in Latin American Natural Resource Governance*, edited by Havard Haarstad. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-17.

Haarstad, Havard and Cecilia Campero. 2012. “Extraction, Regional Integration, and the Enduring Problem of Local Political Spaces”. In *New Political Spaces in Latin American Natural Resource Governance*, edited by Havard Haarstad. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 83-107.

Hall, Rebecca J. 2017. “Diamonds are Forever: A Decolonizing, Feminist Approach to Diamond Mining in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories”. PhD dissertation: York University.

---. 2013. “Diamond Mining in Canada’s Northwest Territories: A Colonial Continuity”. *Antipode* 45(2): 376-393.

Hajer, Maarten A. 1995. *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hart, Philip Solomon (2011). "One or Many? The Influence of Episodic and Thematic Climate Change Frames on Policy Preferences and Individual Behavior Change." *Science Communication* 33 (1): 28-51.

Hart, Ramsey. 2012. “Green Mining or Green Washing? Corporate Social Responsibility and the Mining Sector in Canada”. Toronto, ON: *MiningWatch Canada.*

Harvey, David. 2003. *The New Imperialism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Haslam, Paul Alexander, Nasser Ary Tanimoune, and Zarlasht M. Razeq. 2018. "Do Canadian Mining Firms Behave worse than other Companies? Quantitative Evidence from Latin America." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 51 (3): 521-551.

Haslam, Paul Alexander, and Nasser Ary Tanimoune. 2016. "The Determinants of Social Conflict in the Latin American Mining Sector: New Evidence with Quantitative Data." *World Development* 78: 401-419. http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305750X15002429.

Herle, David. "How Public Opinion is Shaping the New Reality for Mining". *Canadian Mining Journal*: August 1, 2017, accessed April 28, 2020. http://www.canadianminingjournal.com/features/public-opinion-shaping-new-reality-mining/.

Himley, Matthew. 2013. "Regularizing Extraction in Andean Peru: Mining and Social Mobilization in an Age of Corporate Social Responsibility". *Antipode* 45 (2): 394-416.

---. 2010. "Global Mining and the Uneasy Neoliberalization of Sustainable Development." *Sustainability* 2 (10): 3270–3290.

Hoogeveen, Dawn. 2015. "Sub-Surface Property, Free-Entry Mineral Staking and Settler Colonialism in Canada." *Antipode* 47(1): 121-138.

Idemudia, Uwafiokun, and Cynthia Kwakyewah. 2018. "Analysis of the Canadian National Corporate Social Responsibility Strategy: Insights and implications." Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management 25 (5): 928-938.

Imai, Shin. 2017. "The Canadian Brand: Violence and Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America". Toronto: Justice and Corporate Accountability Project Report.

Jacobs, Geert. 1999. *Preformulating the News: An Analysis of the Metapragmatics of Press Releases*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.

Jalbert, Kirk, Anna Willow, David Casagrande, and Stephanie Paladino, eds. 2017. *ExtrACTION: Impacts, Engagements, and Alternative Futures*. Walnut Creek, CA: Routledge.

Jasanoff, Sheila, Gerald E. Markle, James C. Peterson, and Trevor Pinch (Eds.). 2001. *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Johnstone, Phil, and Peter Newell. 2018. "Sustainability Transitions and the State." *Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions* 27: 72-82.

Kazemipur, Abdolmohammad. 2006. "A Canadian Exceptionalism? Trust and Diversity in Canadian Cities." *Journal of International Migration and Intégration/Revue de l'intégration et de la migration internationale* 7 (2) : 219-240.

Keenan, Karyn. 2013. “Commentary. Desperately Seeking Sanction: Canadian Extractive Companies and their Public Partners”. Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement, 34(1) : 111-121.

Kemp, Denna, John. R. Owen, and Stephen Van Degraaff. 2012. “Corporate Social Responsibility, Mining and Audit Culture.” *Journal of Cleaner Production* 24: 1–10.

Kepkiewicz, Lauren, and Bryan Dale. 2019. “Keeping ‘Our’ Land: Property, Agriculture and Tensions between Indigenous and Settler Visions of Food Sovereignty in Canada.” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 46 (5): 983–1002

Kirsch, Stuart. 2014. *Mining Capitalism: The Relationship between Corporations and Their Critics*. Oakand, CA: University of California Press.

---. 2011. “Afterward: Extractive Conflicts Compared”. In *Social Conflict, Economic Development and the Extractive Industry: Evidence from South America*, edited by Anthony Bebbington. New York: Routledge, pp. 201-214.

---. 2010. “Sustainable Mining”. *Dialectical Anthropology 34*(1): 87-93.

Klassen, Jerome. 2014. *Joining Empire: The Political Economy of the New Canadian Foreign Policy.* Studies in Comparative Political Economy & Public Policy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Knudsen, Jette Steen, and Jeremy Moon. 2017. *Visible Hands: Government Regulation and International Business Responsibility*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Laufer, William S. 2003. "Social Accountability and Corporate Greenwashing." *Journal of Business Ethics* 43 (3): 253-261.

Li, Fabiana. 2015. *Unearthing Conflict: Corporate Mining, Activism, and Expertise in Peru*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Locke, Terry. 2004. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Continuum Research Methods Series. London: Continuum

Lodhi, Sumit and Nadia Hess. 2014. “Sustainability Accounting and Reporting in the Mining Industry: Current Literature and Directions for Future Research”. *Journal of Cleaner Production* 84: 43-50.

Lyon, Thomas. P., and Wren A. Montgomery. 2015. “The Means and End of Greenwash.” *Organization & Environment 28*(2): 223-249.

Málovics, György, Noémi Nagypál Csigéné, and Sascha Kraus. 2008. "The Role of Corporate Social Responsibility in Strong Sustainability." *The Journal of Socio-Economics* 37(3): 907-918.

Manuel, Arthur, and Ronald M Derrickson. 2015. *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Martinez-Alier, Joan, Isabelle Anguelovski, Patrick Bond, Daniela Del Bene, Federico Demaria, Julien-Francois Gerber, Lucie Greyl, Willi Haas, Hasli Healy, Victoria Marin-Burgos, Godwin Ojo, Marcelo Porto, Leida Rijnhout, Beatriz Rodriguez-Labajos, Joachim Spangenberg, Leah Temper, Rikard Warlenius, and Ivonne Yanez. 2014. "Between Activism and Science: Grassroots Concepts for Sustainability Coined by Environmental Justice Organizations." *Journal of Political Ecology* 21: 19-60.

Martinez-Alier, Joan, Giorgos Kallis, Sandra Veuthey, Mariana Walter, and Leah Temper. 2010. "Social Metabolism, Ecological Distribution Conflicts, and Valuation Languages." *Ecological Economics* 70(2), 153-158.

Martínez-Alier, Joan. 2003. *The Environmentalism of the Poor: A Study of Ecological Conflicts and Valuation*. Northhampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

---. 2001. "Mining Conflicts, Environmental Justice, and Valuation." *Journal of Hazardous Materials* 86(1-3): 153-170.

Moore, Jennifer. 2015. “Unearthing Canadian Complicity: Excellon Resources, the Canadian Embassy, and the Violation of Land and Labour Rights in Durango, Mexico”. Ottawa: Miningwatch Canada and United Steelworkers.

Mouffe, Chantal. 2014. "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci." In *Gramsci and Marxist Theory* (RLE: Gramsci), edited by Chantal Mouffe. New York: Routledge, 178-214.

Munshi, Debashish, and Priya Kurian. 2005. “Imperializing Spin Cycles: A Postcolonial Look at Public Relations, Greenwashing, and the Separation of Publics.” *Public Relations Review* 31 (4): 513–20.

Natural Resources Canada. 2020. “The Honourable Seamus O’Regan, Canada's Minister of Natural Resources, Delivers Remarks at the Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada Convention”. Last modified March 1, 2020, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2020/03/the-honourable-seamus-oregan-minister-of-natural-resources-delivers-remarks-introducing-the-cmmp-action-plan-2020-at-the-prospectors-and-developers.html.

---. 2019(a). “Canadian Mining Assets: Information Bulletin”. *Government of Canada*. Last modified February 6, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/mining-materials/publications/19323.

---. 2019(b). “Minerals and the Economy. *Government of Canada*. Last modified December 3, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/our-natural-resources/minerals-mining/minerals-metals-facts/minerals-and-economy/20529.

---2019(c). “About Us”. Last modified June 20, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/nrcan/about-us/10838.

---. 2019(d). “Canada Invests in Climate Change Adaptation for the Mining Sector”. Last modified May 17, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2019/05/canada-invests-in-climate-change-adaptation-for-the-mining-sector.html.

---. 2019(e). “Canada Supports Sustainable Mining Practices for Clean Technologies”. Last modified May 1, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2019/05/canada-supports-sustainable-mining-practices-for-clean-technologies.html.

---. 2019(f). “Canada Invests in Clean Technology Mining Project in B.C.” Last modified July 15, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2019/07/canada-invests-in-clean-technology-mining-project-in-bc.html.

---. 2019(g). “Canada Invests in Energy-Efficient Mining Technologies”. Last modified August 29, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2019/08/canada-invests-in-energy-efficient-mining-technologies.html.

---. 2019(h). “Canada’s Mines Ministers Unveil the Canadian Minerals and Metals Plan, A Visionary Plan to Inspire and Shape the Future of Canadian Mining”. Last modified March 3, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2019/03/canadas-mines-ministers-unveil-the-canadian-minerals-and-metals-plan-a-visionary-plan-to-inspire-and-shape-the-future-of-canadian-mining.html.

---. 2019(i). “Canada Invests in Greener Mining Innovation”. Last modified August 7, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2019/08/canada-invests-in-greener-mining-innovation.html.

---. 2019(j). “Canada Joins the Energy Resource Governance Initiative”. Last modified December 18, 2019, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2019/12/canada-joins-the-energy-resource-governance-initiative.html.

---. 2018(a). “Canada and Argentina Announce Cooperation in the Areas of Energy and Mining at G20”. Last modified June 15, 2018, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2018/06/canada-and-argentina-announce-cooperation-in-the-areas-of-energy-and-mining-at-g20.html.

---. 2018(b). “Government of Canada Announces Decision on Ajax Mine Project”. Last modified June 27, 2018, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2018/06/government-of-canada-announces-decision-on-ajax-mine-project.html.

---. 2017(a). “Sustainable Mineral Development”. Last modified November 9, 2017, accessed April 25, 2020. https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/our-natural-resources/minerals-and-mining/mining/sustainable-mineral-development/16486.

---. 2017(b). “Visit to Mexico Results in New Partnerships and Collaboration in Energy and Mining”. Last modified February 2, 2017, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2017/02/visit_to_mexico_resultsinnewpartnershipsandcollaborationinenergy.html.

---. 2017(c). “Minister Carr Underscores the Government of Canada’s Support for the Minerals Industry”. Last modified March 6, 2017, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2017/03/minister_carr_underscoresthegovernmentofcanadassupportforthemine.html.

---. 2016(a). “Energy and Mines Ministers' Conference 2016 – Mining”. Last modified August 23, 2016, accessed April 26, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2016/08/energy-and-mines-ministers-conference-2016-mining.html.

---. 2016(b). “Keynote speech by the Honourable Jim Carr, Minister of Natural Resources, at the Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada (PDAC) International Convention, Trade Show & Investors Exchange”. Last modified March 7, 2016, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2016/03/keynote-speech-by-the-honourable-jim-carr-minister-of-natural-resources-at-the-prospectors-developers-association-of-canada-pdac-international-convention-trade-show-investors-exchange.html.

---. 2016(c). “Canada Receives Best Country Award at International Mining Investment Forum”. Last modified December 1, 2016, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2016/12/canada-receives-best-country-award-international-mining-investment-forum.html.

---. 2016(d). “Minister Jim Carr Completes First Trip to Atlantic Canada as Minister of Natural Resources”. Last modified January 20, 2016, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/natural-resources-canada/news/2016/01/minister-jim-carr-completes-first-trip-to-atlantic-canada-as-minister-of-natural-resources.html.

---. 2013. “Responsible Resource Development and Related Legislative, Regulatory and Policy Improvements to Modernize the Regulatory System for Project Reviews”. Last modified March 22, 2013, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.nrcan.gc.ca/environmental-assessment/149.

---. 2006. “Minister Lunn Puts Spotlight on Canada as Energy Superpower”. Last modified July 19, 2006, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2006/07/minister-lunn-puts-spotlight-canada-energy-superpower.html.

---. 2004. “Better Energy Management Practices Yield Climate Change Results for Canadian Industry”. Last modified October 12, 2004, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2004/10/better-energy-management-practices-yield-climate-change-results-canadian-industry.html.

Neumayer, Eric. 2003. *Weak Versus Strong Sustainability: Exploring the Limits of Two Opposing Paradigms*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Newell, Peter. 2019. Trasformismo or Transformation? The Global Political Economy of Energy Transitions. *Review of International Political Economy*, 26 (1): 25-48.

Newman, Dwight G. 2018. Mining Law of Canada. Toronto, Ontario: LexisNexis Canada.

Nolin, Catherine, and Jacqui Stephens. 2010. “‘We Have to Protect the Investors’: Development and Canadian Mining Companies in Guatemala.” *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 5 (3): 37–70.

North, Liisa, Viviana Patroni, and Timothy David Clark. 2006. *Community Rights and Corporate Responsibility: Canadian Mining and Oil Companies in Latin America*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Nuñez, Andrés, Enrique Aliste, Alvaro Bello, and Juan Pablo Astaburaga. 2019. “*Eco-extractivismo y los discursos de la naturaleza en Patagonia-Aysén: nuevos imaginarios geográficos y renovados procesos de control territorial”*. *Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales* 35: 133-153.

Observatorio Plurinacional de Salares Andinos. “El Observatorio”. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://observatoriosalares.wordpress.com/.

O'Connor, Alan. 1989. *Raymond Williams, Writing, Culture, Politics*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Onn, A. Han, and Alan Woodley. 2014. "A Discourse Analysis on How the Sustainability Agenda is Defined within the Mining Industry." *Journal of Cleaner Production* 84: 116-127.

Openparliament.ca. “Bill C-300 (Historical)”. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://openparliament.ca/bills/40-3/C-300/.

Padel, Felix, and Samarendra Das. 2010. "Cultural Genocide and the Rhetoric of Sustainable Mining in East India." *Contemporary South Asia* 18(3): 333-341.

Pasternak, Shiri, and Hayden King. 2019. “Land Back: A Yellowhead Institute Red Paper”. Toronto: Yellowhead Institute.

Pasternak, Shiri, and Tia Dafnos. 2018. "How does a Settler State Secure the Circuitry of Capital?" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 36 (4): 739-757.

Pope, Shawn, and Arild Wæraas. 2016. “CSR-Washing Is Rare: A Conceptual Framework, Literature Review, and Critique.” *Journal of Business Ethics* 137 (1): 173–93.

Powell, Dana. 2017 “Toward Transition? The Rise of Diné Energy Activism and New Directions in Environmental Justice”. In *ExtrACTION: Impacts, Responses, and Alternative Futures*, edited by Kirk Jalbert, Anna Willow, David Casagrande, and Stephanie Paladino. Walnut Creek, CA: Routledge.

Puar, Jasbir. 2013. Rethinking Homonationalism. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *45*(2): 336-339.

---.2007. *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ramírez, Francisco. 2006. “State Terrorism and the Dirty Business of Transnational Mining in Colombia.” In *Community Rights and Corporate responsibility: Canadian Mining and Oil Companies in Latin America*, edited by Liisa North, Viviana Patroni, and Timothy David Clark. Toronto: Between the Lines, 181-184.

Rankin, W. J. 2011. *Minerals, Metals and Sustainability: Meeting Future Material Needs*. Collingwood, Vic.: CSIRO Pub

Razack, Sherene. 2004. *Dark Threats and White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Riofrancos, Thea. 2019. “What Green Costs”. *Logic Magazine*. Accessed April 28, 2020. https://logicmag.io/nature/what-green-costs/.

Saleh, Ariel, Goodman, James, and S.A. Hamed Hosseini. 2016. “From Sociological Imagination to Ecological Imagination: Another Future is Possible”. In *Environmental Change and the World’s Futures: Ecologies, Ontologies and Mythologies*, edited by Jonathan Paul Marshall and Linda H. O’Connor. New York: Routledge.

Sasa, Ghada. 2017. “Israel: Greenwashing Colonialism and Apartheid”. MA Dissertation: York University, Toronto.

Saurette, Paul and Kelly Gordon. 2016. *The Changing Voice of the Anti-Abortion Movement: The Rise of "Pro-Woman" Rhetoric in Canada and the United States*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sawyer, Suzanna and Terrance Gomez. 2012. *The Politics of Resource Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Multinational Corporations, and the State*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Scott, James C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Schnoor, Steven. 2013. "Governmentality and the New Spirit of Exploitation. The Politics of Legitimacy and Resistance to Canadian Mining in Guatemala and Honduras." PhD dissertation, York/Ryerson Universities.

Shade, Lindsay. "Sustainable Development or Sacrifice Zone? Politics Below the Surface in Post-Neoliberal Ecuador." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 2, no. 4 (2015): 775-784.

Shamir, Ronen. 2010. "Capitalism, Governance, and Authority: The Case of Corporate Social Responsibility." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 6: 531–553.

Sharif, Lila. 2016. "Vanishing Palestine". *Critical Ethnic Studies* 2 (1): 17-39.

Sharma, Devika, and Frederik Tygstrup. 2015. "Introduction". In *Structures of Feeling: Affectivity and the Study of Culture*, edited by Devika Sharma and Frederik Tygstrup. Concepts for the Study of Culture, Volume 5. Berlin: De Gruyter

Simpson, Audra. 2016. "The State is a Man: Theresa Spense, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty". *Theory and Event* 19 (4): 1-30.

Simpson, Leanne Betasamosake. 2017. *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sivaramakrishnan, Kalynakrishnan. 2005. "Some Intellectual Genealogies for the Concept of Everyday Resistance". *American Anthropologist* 107 (3): 346-355.

Stanford, Jim. 2013. "The Myth of Canadian Exceptionalism: Crisis, Non-Recovery, and Austerity." *Alternate Routes: A Journal of Critical Social Research* 24.

Steffek, Jens. 2009. "Discursive Legitimation in Environmental Governance." *Forest Policy and Economics* 11 (5-6): 313-318.

Stein, Sharon. 2018. "National Exceptionalism in the 'Educanada' Brand: Unpacking the Ethics of Internationalization Marketing in Canada." *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 39 (3): 461–77.

Studnicki-Gizbert, Daviken. 2016. "Canadian Mining in Latin America (1990 to Present): A Provisional History". *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/Revue canadienne des études latino-américaines et caraïbes*, 41(1): 95-113.

Svampa, Maristella. 2013. "*Consenso de Los Commodities, Giro Ecoterritorial y Pensamiento Crítico en América Latina*". *Observatorio Social de América Latina* 32: 15–37.

Svarstad, Hanne, Tor A. Benjamin, and Ragnhild Overa. 2018. “Power Theories in Political Ecology”. *Journal of Political Ecology* 25(1): 350-363.

Szeman, Imre. 2013. "How to know about Oil: Energy Epistemologies and Political Futures." *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 47 (3): 145-168.

Tindall, DB. 2014. “A Distinctive Canadian Sociology?” *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadienne De Sociologie* 51 (4): 395–401.

Urkidi, Leire. 2011. "The Defence of Community in the Anti-Mining Movement of Guatemala". *Journal of Agrarian Change*. 11 (4): 556-580.

Vaccaro, Ismael, Allan Charles Dawson and Laura Zanotti. 2014. “Negotiating Territoriality: Spatial Dialogues between State and Tradition”. In *Negotiating Territoriality: Spatial Dialogues between State and Tradition*, edited by Allan Charles Dawson, Laura Zanotti, and Ismael Vaccaro. Routledge Studies in Anthropology, 17. New York: Routledge, 1-18.

Velasquez, Teresa. 2012. “Going Green: Sustainable Mining, Water, and the Remaking of Social Protest in Post-Neoliberal Ecuador”. PhD dissertation. University of Texas at Austin.

Veltmeyer, Henry. 2013. “The Political Economy of Natural Resource Extraction: A New Model or Extractive Imperialism?” *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 34 (1): 79–95.

Watts, Michael J. 2005. "Righteous oil? Human rights, the oil complex, and corporate social responsibility." *Annual Review of Environmental Resources* 30: 373-407.

Whitmore, Andy. 2006. “The Emperor’s New Clothes: Sustainable Mining?” *Journal of Cleaner Production* 14 (3–4): 309–314.

Wodak, Ruth, and Michael Meyer. 2009. *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. 2nd ed. Introd ucing Qualitative Methods. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Wodak, Ruth. 2002. "Aspects of critical discourse analysis." *Zeitschrift für Angewandte Linguistik* 36 (10): 5-31.

World Bank. 2019. “Climate-Smart Mining: Minerals for Climate Action (Brief).” Accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/extractiveindustries/brief/climate-smart-mining-minerals-for-climate-action.

Yakabuski, Konrad. “John Baird Checks Out, Then Cashes In”. *The Globe and Mail.* April 6, 2015, accessed April 28, 2020. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/john-baird-checks-out-cashes-in/article23790473/.

Ye, Jingzhong, Jan Douwe van der Ploeg, Sergio Schneider, and Teodor Shanin. 2019. "The Incursions of Extractivism: Moving from Dispersed Places to Global Capitalism." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 47 (1): 155-183.

7. Appendices

Appendix I: Thematic Coding Dictionary

Thematic category	**Associated terms or phrases**	**Frequently-appearing terms or phrases not associated with this category**	**Additional Comments**
Canadian Exceptionalism	Superpower (ex. "energy superpower") World leader	Innovation (one can innovate without positioning oneself as exceptionally innovative)	
CSR	Responsible, responsibility "Responsible resource development"		Responsible resource development, as defined by Natural Resources Canada, refers to corporate conduct which "supports economic growth and investment while protecting the environment and ensuring socially-responsible development." (2013). As this definition encompasses multiple themes, the phrase is quadruple counted between "CSR", "economic development", "human rights", and "sustainability"
Economic Development	Business Company/ies Economic Exports Investment Jobs Markets	"Growth" (can refer to non-economic growth, and machine-coding software flags "economic" when "economic growth" is the target phrase)	"Jobs": Employment-provision flagged as an element of economic development, as a promise frequently made by mining companies to communities

	Responsible Resource Development Tax(es)		
Engagement with Indigenous Communities	Indigenous Aboriginal Indigenous/aboriginal consultation		
Human Rights	Human rights “Responsible resource development”		
Regulation	Accountability Regulation, Regulatory		
Sustainability	Clean energy Environ* “Responsible resource development” Sustain*		
Women’s Empowerment	Feminist Woman, women (includes “empowering women”, “employment for women”, “women-owned businesses”		

Appendix II: Raw Data, Hand Coding

Presented in reverse chronological order. Themes and actors are listed in order of their appearance in the text. When identifying the definitions assigned to “sustainability” in each communication, “E” is used to indicate an “eco-efficiency” definition, “T” is used to indicate a “transitional sustainability” definition”, and “U” is used to indicate “undefined/other”, corresponding to any definition which does not clearly fall into either of the previous two categories.

Global Affairs Canada

Date	Title and Hyperlink	Publication Type	Themes	Supporting passage	Exceptionalism	Actors
2019-04-08	Minister Carr Announces Appointment of First Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise https://bit.ly/2KKX882	News Release	CSR	Canadian businesses demonstrate leadership around the world when they engage in responsible business practices …	yes	Ombudsperson; Canada (an actor possessing "expertise and leadership in corporate responsibility", while "quick facts" section of press release highlights government regulatory actions); Mining sector ("Canadian business"--communication is framed around how they "demonstrate leadership around the world", can assume that mining companies are a main business being invoked here given the mining sector sector's prominence within CORE)
			Sustainability (U)	Canadian companies in the natural resource sectors are recognized for their social and environmentally responsible operations	yes	
			Regulation	...mandated to review allegations of human rights abuses arising from the operations of Canadian companies abroad…	no	
			Human rights	This appointment underlines the importance of inclusive trade and respect for the fundamental rights of people abroad...	no	
			Economic development	... ensure that Canada's related policies and Canadian business operations abroad can foster *inclusive economic growth*… while ensuring that more people can benefit from the opportunities that flow from trade and investment.	no	
2019-03-04	Minister Carr hosts Canada Day at Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada Convention https://bit.ly/3bPLzbq	News Release	Canadian Exceptionalism	Canada's global leadership in the mining sector...Minister Carr will promote Canada as the world's leading mining nation...	n/a	Canada ("values and supports the mining sector"); mining sector

			CSR	Canada's global leadership in the mining sector is based on...a commitment to *responsible business practices. [*emphasis added]	yes	
			Sustainability (U)	Canada's global leadership in the mining sector is based on sustainability…	yes	
			Economic development	Canada's mining... sector...contributes significant, well-paying jobs to the Canadian middle class and is a major driver of Canada's economic prosperity.	yes	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	At the event, Minister Carr will...provide insights into Canadian leadership on...partnerships with Indigenous communities	yes	
2018-01-17	The Government of Canada Brings Leadership to Responsible Business Conduct Abroad https://bit.ly/3bNWRNo	News Release	Human rights	The CORE will be mandated to investigate allegations of human rights abuses linked to Canadian corporate activity abroad.	yes	Civil society: "Canadians everywhere" ("The Government of Canada is committed to ensuring Canadians everywhere can have confidence in our world-class companies and trust that international trade and investment is working for all".); Government of Canada: committed to "leadership in strengthening responsible business conduct abroad"; Ombudsperson; Mining sector (Canadian companies: "recognized globally for their leadership in ethical, social, and environmental practices")
			CSR	"Building on Canada's existing expertise and leadership in corporate social responsibility (CSR)	yes	
			Economic development	Canada's existing expertise and leadership in corporate social responsibility (CSR)…reinforcing Canada's approach to *inclusive economic growth* and helping keep Canadian companies at the forefront of responsible business conduct abroad, a *competitive advantage in today's marketplace*." [emphasis added]	yes	
			Regulation	"CORE will be mandated to investigate allegations of human rights abuses linked to Canadian corporate activity abroad...*well-governed, responsibly-managed Canadian*	no	

				businesses are an important source of jobs, socio-economic development opportunities and government revenues in developing countries		
			Women's empowerment	"Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy supports inclusive governance and growth that works for everyone"	no	
			Canadian Exceptionalism	"world-class companies"	n/a	
2018-01-17	Backgrounder: Advancing Canada's Approach on Responsible Business Conduct Abroad https://bit.ly/2VMk7FX	Backgrounder	Sustainability (E)	"Reinforcing Canada's Approach to Inclusive Economic Growth and Sustainable Natural Resource Development"...Sustainable natural resource development…*inclusive green growth*	yes	Ombudsperson; Civil society: advisory body on Responsible Business Conduct; Government of Canada ("Government of Canada works with a range of interlocutors to promote responsible business conduct, and provides funding to numerous projects and initiatives in countries around the world."); Mining sector
			Economic development	"Reinforcing Canada's Approach to Inclusive Economic Growth and Sustainable Natural Resource Development"...Sustainable natural resource development…is…focused on reducing poverty.	yes	
			Regulation	"the creation of an Ombudsperson and a multi-stakeholder Advisory Body…assist Canada in fulfilling its international human rights obligations. In this context, they will support Canadian companies in operating responsibly, and improve access to remedy for alleged human rights abuses arising from Canadian company operations abroad."	no	
			Human rights	Canada's new Feminist International Assistance Policy offers Global Affairs Canada and its partners an opportunity to develop new policies, approaches and programs on the management and use of natural resources from a more inclusive and *human rights-based*, feminist perspective. [emphasis added]	no	
			Women's empowerment	Canada's new Feminist International Assistance Policy…a more inclusive and human rights-based, feminist perspective.	no	

2017-03-14	Address by Minister Champagne to the Canada-Chile Chamber of Commerce https://bit.ly/2zG82JZ	Speech	Regulation	"We also believe that governments and corporations have a responsibility for proper stewardship of the environment and other public interests and we have high expectations for Canadian extractive sector companies. Therefore, the Government of Canada is currently assessing its Corporate Social Responsibility approach and identifying ways to strengthen it. "	no	Government of Canada; Other government (Chile); civil society ("Progressive trade means helping ensure that all segments of society can take advantage of the opportunities that flow from trade and investment – with a particular focus on women, Indigenous peoples, youth, and small and medium-sized businesses....join us in our efforts to shape the forces of globalization so that its benefits are more widely shared by Chileans, Canadians and citizens around the world.")
			Economic development	"Mining…in line with what Canada is working hard to accomplish through our progressive trade agenda for middle class jobs and growth."	yes	
			Women's empowerment	…Scotiabank's 'Premio Ellas Emprenden' prizes for women entrepreneurs in Chile…recognize the leadership and abilities of women to successfully manage and grow businesses.	no	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	I want take this opportunity to highlight...another example of a company leading the charge. Together with UN Women, Teck entered into a US$1 million partnership last year to promote the empowerment of Indigenous women in the northern regions of Chile. The project seeks to promote capacity building among Indigenous women and address the barriers to their active political and economic participation.	no	
2017-03-13	International Trade Minister Continues to Push for Trade and Investment during Trips to Chile and Mexico https://bit.ly/3aH2pYM	News Release	Economic development	"The Government of Canada is committed to increasing trade and investment with Latin America and to pursuing collaborative efforts to create export opportunities that will benefit small and medium-sized enterprises and create good jobs for the middle class." + "those who work in mining enjoy the highest wages and salaries of all industrial sectors in Canada, with average annual pay exceeding $115,000."	no	Canada; Other government: Mexico

2017-03-07	International Trade Minister Promotes Canada's Mining Sector at Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada Convention https://bit.ly/2Sjh1XV	News Release	Economic development	"At the convention, Minister Champagne met with many company representatives from the full range of Canada's world-class mining and mining supply sectors, which employ more than 373,000 Canadians across the country along with another 190,000 people indirectly. The mining industry is the largest private-sector employer of Indigenous peoples in Canada...." Canadian companies are global giants in the extractive sector. They…are of immense benefit to the Canadian economy."	yes	Mining sector ("mining and supply companies"…Government of Canada is promoting "trade and growth" of Canadian mining); Government of Canada; civil society ("Canadians" and employment figures)
			Engagement with indigenous communities	"The mining industry is the largest private-sector employer of Indigenous peoples in Canada."	no	
			CSR	Minister Champagne reiterated Canada's commitment to responsible business conduct and social responsibility, both in mining and more generally, around the world.	no	
			Women's empowerment	Following his participation in the PDAC convention, the Minister hosted a round table with woman entrepreneurs and representatives of woman-run national advocacy and support organizations during which he heard perspectives on the opportunities and priorities of Canadian women operating in global markets….he also marked the 20th anniversary of the Government of Canada's Business Women in International Trade program (BWIT), which links Canadian woman entrepreneurs with international business opportunities. In the context of International Women's Day, on March 8, Minister Champagne also launched the special 20th-anniversary edition of BWIT's annual newsletter.	no	
			Canadian Exceptionalism	"Canada's world-class mining sector"	n/a	
2017-03-07	Address by Minister Champagne at the Canada-China Mining Investment Forum during the Prospectors and Developers	Speech	CSR	My friends, Canada's natural resources hold great growth potential for investors because we are so committed to…responsible business conduct and corporate social responsibility in mining.	yes	Government of Canada; civil society ("Middle class at the heart of our trading agenda"); mining sector

	Association of Canada International Convention, Trade Show and Investors Exchange https://bit.ly/2KKwdZT					
			Economic Development	My friends, Canada's natural resources hold great growth potential for investors…and in support of investors, Canada's investment regime for natural resources is one of the most open in the world. ... "Our goal is to expand the twin engines of economic growth –trade and investment. We're doing that in every market and in every sector, including mining."	yes	
			Canadian Exceptionalism	…the success of the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada's International Convention, which regularly attracts more than 20,000 attendees each year and hundreds of exhibitors from around the world, is a testament to importance of mining in Canada, and the size of Canada's extractive sector.	n/a	
2016-08-30	Backgrounder: Announcement of Projects in Senegal https://bit.ly/3aHaAEl	Backgrounder	Economic development	Thanks to a general budget support initiative valued at $50 million, the Government of Canada is helping the Government of Senegal implement structural reforms in key sectors for the country's growth, namely agriculture, nutrition, the mining sector and the management of public finances.	no	Canada; other government (Senegal)
2016-03-07	Canada Meets with Global Counterparts to Strengthen Mining Relations https://bit.ly/2zFvVkW	News Release	Sustainability (U)	During the summit, against the backdrop of the theme "The Mineral Industry as a Building Block of Strong Nations", the Ministers emphasized the need to ensure that exploration and mining is undertaken in a sustainable manner, and that communities and Indigenous peoples are meaningfully engaged and benefit from development.	yes	Canada, mining sector, other governments (Mines ministers from fourteen unspecified "mining leaders")
			Economic development	They also reiterated the critical role that governments play in ensuring that clear and stable processes are in place to promote investment and ensure that mining continues to	yes	

				be a source of jobs, prosperity and opportunity for communities across the globe.		
			Regulation	…reiterated the critical role that governments play in ensuring that clear and stable processes are in place to promote investment…	no	
			CSR	The Ministers took the opportunity to underline Canada's commitment to corporate social responsibility and to promote Canada's brand as a global leader in exploration and mining development.	yes	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	… the Ministers emphasized the need to ensure…that communities and Indigenous peoples are meaningfully engaged and benefit from development.	no	

Natural Resources Canada

Date	**Title and Hyperlink**	**Publication Type**	**Themes**	**Supporting passage**	**Exceptionalism**	**Actors**
2019-12-18	Canada Joins the Energy Resource Governance Initiative https://bit.ly/2KGLjzw	News Release	Sustainability (T)	Cooperation in this area cements the two countries' mutual interest in securing supply chains for the critical minerals needed to support important manufacturing sectors, including aerospace and defense, and clean technology...ERGI complements the Government of Canada's longstanding efforts to promote responsible natural resources development with a focus on supporting economic growth and environmental performance.	no	Government of Canada; mining sector; other government (USA)
			Economic development	…promote responsible natural resources development with a focus on supporting economic growth and environmental performance. ...Canada and the United States share a mutual interest in improving global supply chains for critical minerals. Collaboration in this area is imperative as global demand for these minerals increases.	no	
2019-10-29	Minister Sohi Announces Funding for	News Release	Sustainability (T, E)	Developing Canada's natural resources in cleaner, more sustainable ways will create good, middle-class jobs, increase competitiveness and reduce pollution as we move to a low-carbon future. …Through Canada's national energy dialogue,	no	Government of Canada (NRCan);

	Borden "Mine of the Future" https://bit.ly/2SfrNyg			Generation Energy, Canadians made it clear that clean energy solutions are not a luxury but a necessity for Canada's low-carbon future. Canada will continue to support clean energy projects that create jobs, support investment and industry competitiveness, advance our clean future and help realize our global climate change goals.		Mining Sector (GoldCorp)
			Economic development	Developing Canada's natural resources in cleaner, more sustainable ways will create *good, middle-class jobs, increase competitiveness* and reduce pollution…*Canada will continue to support clean energy projects that create jobs, support investment and industry competitiveness…* (emphasis added)	no	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	"This project…will create approximately 250 jobs for local and Indigenous communities"	no	
2019-08-29	Canada Invests in Energy-Efficient Mining Technologies https://bit.ly/2YeAMDV	News Release	Sustainability (T, E)	The Government of Canada will continue to support energy projects that create a clean, sustainable, competitive natural resources sector that cuts pollution and acts on climate change. ..."Canada's mining industry to lead the clean energy future" (term "sustainability" appears 3 times)	yes	Government of Canada; mining sector
			Economic development	"Our government continues to make investments to position Canada's mining industry to lead the clean energy future. Through strong partnerships and a commitment to innovation, we are building the sustainable and competitive mining industry of tomorrow, creating good, middle-class jobs and ensuring a prosperous mining industry for generations to come."	yes	
2019-08-07	Canada Invests in Greener Mining Innovation https://bit.ly/3cWsX9T	News Release	Sustainability (E)	…investment of over $1.5 million to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning at McGill University. The project will test and validate a better, more efficient approach to fragmenting underground rock deposits, improving mining and tunneling practices, while reducing blast-induced fumes from traditional explosives...this project is funded through Natural Resources Canada's Clean Growth Program, which invests in clean technology research and development projects in Canada's energy, mining and forestry sectors. The Clean Growth Program also aims to reduce greenhouse gas and air-polluting emissions, while minimizing landscape disturbances and improving waste management practices.	no	Government of Canada; mining sector; civil society (Academia: McGill University)
2019-07-15	Canada Invests In Clean Technology Mining Project in B.C.	News release	Sustainability (E)	Canada's mining and minerals industry is important to our economy and to communities across the country. Developing Canada's natural resources in cleaner, more sustainable ways	no	Government of Canada; Provincial or Territorial government (BC);

	https://bit.ly/2VJ56ou			will create good, middle-class jobs, increase competitiveness and reduce pollution as we move toward a clean energy future.		mining sector (Jetti Resources)
			Economic development	Canada's mining and minerals industry is important to our economy and to communities across the country. Developing Canada's natural resources in cleaner, more sustainable ways will create good, middle-class jobs, increase competitiveness and reduce pollution as we move toward a clean energy future.	no	
2019-05-17	Canada Invests in Climate Change Adaptation for the Mining Sector https://bit.ly/2YgtSOk	News Release	Sustainability (T, E)	A changing climate is the single greatest global challenge of our time. That is why the Government of Canada is investing in climate adaptation and resilience, while supplying the minerals and metals needed for clean technologies throughout the world.	no	Government of Canada; mining sector
			Economic development	" By helping our mining sector to adapt to a changing climate, we are proving once more that the environment and the economy go hand in hand."	no	
2019-05-01	Canada Supports Sustainable Mining Practices for Clean Technologies https://bit.ly/2W6yzYl	News release	Sustainability (T)	During his visit, Parliamentary Secretary Lefebvre outlined Canada's support for sustainable mining, including the active sharing of best practices with mineral-rich developing countries and emerging economies, and other international partners. He also highlighted the World Bank's goal of advancing developing countries' sustainable mineral and metal extraction and processing…emphasized the role of Canadian minerals in providing the building blocks for clean technologies throughout the world.	no	Government of Canada; mining sector; international institution (World Bank)
2019-04-30	Canada Announces Six Crush It! Mining Challenge Finalists to Advance Toward $5-Million Grand Prize https://bit.ly/2YjBTCb	News release	Sustainability (E)	Improving the energy efficiency of Canada's mines is critical to our transition to a low-carbon economy	no	Government of Canada; mining sector
2019-03-03	Canada's Mines Ministers Unveil the Canadian Minerals and Metals Plan, A Visionary Plan to Inspire and Shape the Future of Canadian Mining	News release	Sustainability (E)	The protection of Canada's natural environment underpins a responsible, competitive industry. Canada is a leader in building public trust, developing tomorrow's low-footprint mines and managing the legacy of past activities… In a world increasingly looking for sustainably and responsibly sourced mineral products, Canada is unmatched. As global demand for sustainably developed resources grows, Canada must continue	yes	Government of Canada; Provincial and Territorial governments; mining sector; civil society

	https://bit.ly/2xmzuf6			to capitalize on its natural and human advantage to ensure our competitiveness in global markets.		
			Engagement with indigenous communities	…Advancing the participation of Indigenous Peoples: Increased economic opportunities for Indigenous Peoples and supporting the process of reconciliation…	no	
			Economic Development	…help position Canada to play a pivotal role in supplying minerals and metals that will power a cleaner global economy… As global demand for sustainably developed resources grows, Canada must continue to capitalize on its natural and human advantage to ensure our competitiveness in global markets.	yes	
			Canadian exceptionalism	A sharpened competitive edge and increased global leadership for Canada.	n/a	
2019-03-03	Canada's Mines Ministers Announce the Canadian Minerals and Metals Plan for a Competitive, Sustainable and Responsible Minerals and Metals Sector https://bit.ly/2Sh85Ch	News Release	Economic development	Canada is a country rich in mineral resources. We share a duty to ensure that Canada is developing these resources in ways that are competitive and sustainable. This means paying close attention to social, Indigenous and environmental considerations, while leveraging Canada's advantage as an attractive place to invest and do business…In a world increasingly looking for sustainably and responsibly sourced mineral products, Canada is unmatched.	yes	Government of Canada; mining sector; civil society
			Sustainability (U)	Canada is a country rich in mineral resources. We share a duty to ensure that Canada is developing these resources in ways that are competitive and sustainable. This means paying close attention to social, Indigenous and environmental considerations, while leveraging Canada's advantage as an attractive place to invest and do business.	yes	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	Canada is a country rich in mineral resources. We share a duty to ensure that Canada is…paying close attention to social, Indigenous and environmental considerations…	no	
2019-02-15	Canada Invests in Climate Change Research for Abandoned and Orphaned Mines	News Release	Sustainability (U)	The ultimate goal of this project is to ensure that rehabilitation plans for today's abandoned mines will address the climate change risks of tomorrow, while protecting the health and safety of Canadians as we enhance our stewardship of the land around us.	no	Government of Canada; mining sector

	https://bit.ly/2VKfUCI					
2019-01-28	Government of Canada Promotes Renewable Energy Innovation in Mining https://bit.ly/35l72GT	News Release	Sustainability (E)	Reducing reliance on diesel fuel in Canada's rural and remote communities offers environmental benefits and economic opportunities. It is an important priority shared by federal, provincial and territorial governments.	no	Government of Canada; Provincial or Territorial government (Nunavut); mining sector
2018-10-30	"Challenging Canadian Innovators to Modernize Century-Old Mining Processes" https://bit.ly/3eV6ewV	News Release	Sustainability (E)	"The Crush-It…Challenge supports an unsung hero of our country, modernizing it to be part of our low-carbon economy…a great example of what is possible when we empower industry to find innovative solutions to the challenges we face as Canadians…Our mining industry has positioned Canada as a leading mining country and a centre of global mining finance and expertise. Improving the energy efficiency of crushing and grinding will create good jobs, build a more sustainable mining sector and help maintain Canada's position as a premier mining nation.	yes	Government of Canada; civil society ("Canadian innovators": not necessarily directly employed by mining sector)
			Economic development	" Improving the energy efficiency of crushing and grinding will create good jobs"	no	
2018-06-27	Government of Canada Announces Decision on Ajax Mine Project https://bit.ly/2Yh4kAW	News release	Sustainability (U)	Rejection of Ajax Mine project on these grounds	no	Government of Canada; civil society
			Engagement with indigenous communities	Rejection on these grounds	no	
2018-06-14	Canada and Argentina Announce Cooperation in the Areas of Energy and Mining at G20 https://bit.ly/2KHhMpx	News release	Sustainability (E, T)	The MoUs demonstrate that the two countries place a high priority on energy efficiency as a means to reduce energy use and costs and achieve our climate goals; share a commitment to sustainable mineral resource development, which will result in economic growth and environmental stewardship…The G20 Energy Transitions Ministerial Meeting, under the Argentine leadership, focuses on transitions to more flexible, transparent and cleaner energy systems, as well as affordable access to energy. Work under the Ministerial complements Canada's G7 Presidency theme of working together on climate change, oceans and clean energy. …Canada has demonstrated a strong commitment, both domestically and internationally, to a clean energy future. Through Canada's national energy dialogue, Generation	yes	Government of Canada; other government (Argentina)

				Energy, Canadians expressed that Canada has an opportunity to play a leadership role in the global transition to a low-carbon economy while ensuring that industry remains competitive. Canada will continue to support clean energy initiatives that create jobs, support investment and strengthen industry competitiveness to advance Canada's clean future and help us realize our global climate change goals...."leadership in clean growth economy"		
			Economic development	…share a commitment to sustainable mineral resource development, which will result in economic growth and environmental stewardship; … Major breakthroughs that truly accelerate our transition to a low-carbon economy can only come from collaboration. These agreements demonstrate that by leveraging our expertise and advancing energy cooperation we will move closer to meeting our climate change commitments and position Canada to be a leader in the clean growth economy.	yes	
2018-05-30	Canada Recognizes Industry Leaders and Expands Energy Efficiency Programs https://bit.ly/2KKIopL	News release	Sustainability (E)	Energy efficiency in industry strengthens competitiveness, lowers costs, maximizes profits and promotes a more sustainable environment. Promoting and rewarding energy-efficient practices are key components of Canada's approach to transitioning to a clean energy future…	no	Government of Canada; mining sector
			Economic development	Energy efficiency in industry strengthens competitiveness, lowers costs, maximizes profits and promotes a more sustainable environment.	no	
2017-03-06	Minister Carr Underscores the Government of Canada's Support for the Minerals Industry https://bit.ly/2ySf5Pg	News release	Sustainability (E)	Canada is a world leader in sustainable mineral resource development … Canada's Minister of Natural Resources, the Honourable Jim Carr, outlined how the Government of Canada is supporting Canada's minerals industry to ensure that it remains a leading source of good jobs, new opportunities and sustainable prosperity…the Minister said the Government of Canada will continue to invest in clean technology "By focusing our efforts on developing innovative and clean methods and technologies and by providing regulatory certainty, we are laying the foundations for the mines of tomorrow and ensuring that this dynamic industry remains a source of jobs and opportunities for generations to come."	yes	Mining sector; Government of Canada; civil society
			Regulation	…ensure regulatory certainty to support one of the country's oldest industries…	no	

			Economic development	minerals industry is a cornerstone of our economy, contributing significantly to Canada's exports, middle-class jobs and strong communities across the country…"By focusing our efforts on developing innovative and clean methods and technologies and by providing regulatory certainty, we are laying the foundations for the mines of tomorrow and ensuring that this dynamic industry remains a source of jobs and opportunities for generations to come."	no	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	In roundtables with industry executives and Indigenous leaders, the Minister also stressed the importance of collaboration to help drive innovation and ensure collaboration with Indigenous peoples.	no	
2017-02-02	Visit to Mexico Results in New Partnerships and Collaboration in Energy and Mining https://bit.ly/3aLh05E	News Release	Sustainability (U)	"Canada and Mexico don't just share a continent — we share a vision for a cleaner and more prosperous future for our citizens…Our two countries share a vision of a future in which economic prosperity and environmental protection go hand in hand.	no	Government of Canada; Other government (Mexico); mining sector
			Economic development	…greater trade, stronger growth and job creation" --- "Canada and Mexico don't just share a continent — we share a vision for a cleaner and more prosperous future for our citizens. The MoUs signed and the relationships deepened by our impressive trade delegation will generate new trade opportunities that will bear fruit for years to come…Canada and Mexico…share a vision of a future in which economic prosperity and environmental protection go hand in hand.	no	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	The ministers exchanged views on a wide range of topics, including the future of the two countries' collaboration on energy and mineral development, and engagement with local communities and Indigenous peoples…Also, for the first time, Indigenous representatives were part of the delegation.	no	
2016-12-01	Canada Receives Best Country Award at International Mining Investment Forum https://bit.ly/3bLX4k9	News Release	Sustainability (U)	Canada's mineral industry is recognized globally for its innovation, environmental stewardship, Indigenous engagement and corporate social responsibility…attracting investment in our mineral industry by ensuring…responsible and environmentally sound practices, will help to ensure that mining remains a source of opportunity and prosperity for communities across the country.	yes	Government of Canada; mining sector; civil society

			CSR	Canada's mineral industry is recognized globally for its innovation, environmental stewardship, Indigenous engagement and corporate social responsibility.	yes	
			Regulation	…attracting investment in our mineral industry by ensuring strong regulations… will help to ensure that mining remains a source of opportunity and prosperity for communities across the country	no	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	…Mining in Canada is an essential economic driver and source of good middle-class jobs, including in remote and Indigenous communities.	yes	
			Economic growth	…a stable and secure economy…makes Canada one of the world's top destinations for exploration and mining. Mining in Canada is an essential economic driver and source of good middle-class jobs, including in remote and Indigenous communities.	yes	
2016-08-23	Energy and Mines Ministers' Conference 2016 – Mining https://bit.ly/2VMYZ2z	Backgrounder	Economic developemnt	Canada's exploration, mining and mineral processing industry is an important contributor to the economic and social well-being of communities across the country. In 2015, the minerals sector directly and indirectly accounted for 563,000 jobs throughout the country in urban, rural and remote regions, including employing over 10,000 Indigenous people. From 2010 to 2014, Canada's minerals sector, on average, provided a total of $2.9 billion per year in taxes and royalties to governments that in turn are used to support public services from health care to education.	no	Government of Canada; mining sector; civil society ("public confidence"); Provincial governments (Provincial Mines ministers)
			Regulation	The ministers released the 2016 edition of the Mining Sector Performance Report, which provides a snapshot of the Canadian mineral industry's economic, social and environmental performance from 2006–2015, highlighting areas of improvement and growth as well as areas where progress is still required ... Enhancing Public Confidence in Canada's Minerals Sector …the ministers emphasized the need to strengthen public confidence in the way major resource projects are assessed and reviewed, ensuring that regulatory decisions are based on science and evidence	no	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	…and that Indigenous peoples, as well as local communities, are full partners in the environmental assessment and regulatory process.	no	

			Sustainability (E)	The ministers emphasized how a focus on innovation is crucial to sustaining the socio-economic contribution of Canada's exploration and mining sector while ensuring environmental stewardship and the sustainable development of our natural resources. The development of a clear vision for the role of green mining technology among governments and industry will ensure that Canada remains at a competitive advantage while enhancing its productivity and environmental performance…The mines ministers committed to working together to find the best ways to protect our environment and grow our economy in order to ensure a clean, sustainable future for all Canadians and generations to come.	no	
2016-03-07	Keynote speech by the Honourable Jim Carr, Minister of Natural Resources, at the Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada (PDAC) International Convention, Trade Show & Investors Exchange https://bit.ly/3cW5eGT	Speech	Engagement with indigenous communities	…let me acknowledge that we are on the traditional territory of the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation.	no	Civil society (Indigenous leaders, environmentalists, and those who have an interest as citizens in "responsible resource development" in Canada); mining sector; Government of Canada
			Regulation/accountability	...The faster we restore public confidence in the regulatory system, the sooner we will see broad support for large-scale sustainable resource projects. The last thing we want to do is to disrupt or unduly delay projects. No existing project proposals will go back to square one.	no	
			Sustainability (E)	The Canadian brand is recognized around the globe as a mining leader in sustainable development, advanced practices and anti-corruption policy. Canada's miners have a remarkable story to tell about innovation, environmental stewardship, Indigenous engagement and corporate social responsibility. / the Prime Minister has asked me to help ensure your success in a world that values sustainable resource development…What's the goal of Mission Innovation? To push clean energy innovation and R&D like never before. It includes our early commitment of an additional $200 million a year to support innovation and clean technologies in natural resource sectors. Innovation has always driven this industry. It's increased your competitiveness, reduced your environmental footprint and improved health and safety standards. But that's only part of the story. Clean technology represents a new frontier. It means	yes	

				significant new opportunities: copper wire for the clean energy age; metals for solar panels; rare earth elements for everything from wind powered generators and hybrid and electric cars to all the latest tech gadgets — BlackBerrys, iPads, tablets. How many of you have a device in your pocket. How many of you have turned it off? All of them depend on you finding and supplying the materials that go into them, and the demand will only grow.		
			CSR	The Canadian brand is recognized around the globe as a mining leader in sustainable development, advanced practices and anti-corruption policy. Canada's miners have a remarkable story to tell about innovation, environmental stewardship, Indigenous engagement and corporate social responsibility.	yes	
			Canadian Exceptionalism	The Canadian brand is recognized around the globe as a mining leader in sustainable development, advanced practices and anti-corruption policy. Canada's miners have a remarkable story to tell about innovation, environmental stewardship, Indigenous engagement and corporate social responsibility…I've also discovered that this isn't your grandfather's industry anymore. It's now about geo-mapping, robotics, cutting-edge research and latest technologies	yes	
			Economic development	…Industry that employs directly and downstream 375,000 Canadians, an industry that is at the economic heart of many remote communities and an industry that injects $60 billion into our national economy.	yes	
2016-03-07	Minister Carr Highlights Importance of the Mining Industry https://bit.ly/35fWeKa	News Release	Economic development	… Minister Carr highlighted the sector's importance as an essential economic driver and source of good jobs…	yes	Mining sector; Government of Canada ("Our government is committed to ensuring that our resource sectors remain a source of jobs, prosperity, and opportunity in a world that increasingly values sustainable practices and low-carbon processes""; civil society

			Engagement with indigenous communities	In his remarks, Minister Carr highlighted the sector's importance as an essential economic driver and source of good jobs, including in remote communities and for Indigenous peoples. / The Minister discussed the Government's interim approach for the review of major resource projects and emphasized the importance of public engagement and the Government's commitment to a renewed relationship with Indigenous peoples — one that is based on respect and partnership.	no	
			Sustainability (E)	He emphasized the Government of Canada's key priorities for the industry, including the need to invest in innovative clean technologies to ensure sustainable natural resource sectors. / "Our government is committed to ensuring that our resource sectors remain a source of jobs, prosperity, and opportunity in a world that increasingly values sustainable practices and low-carbon processes. This is why we are focusing our efforts on developing innovative and clean technologies, increasing funding for infrastructure and providing regulatory certainty so that natural resource development and environmental stewardship go hand in hand for the benefit of Canadians from all regions of the country." - Jim Carr	no	
2016-01-20	Minister Jim Carr Completes First Trip to Atlantic Canada as Minister of Natural Resources https://bit.ly/3bOJbSl	News Release	Economic development	…the Government of Canada's renewed commitment to natural resource industries *as a source of jobs, prosperity and opportunity* in a world that values sustainable practices and lower-carbon processes. (emphasis added)	no	Government of Canada; mining sector; civil society
			Sustainability (U)	…the Government of Canada's renewed commitment to natural resource industries as a source of jobs, prosperity and opportunity in a world that values sustainable practices and lower-carbon processes.	no	
			Engagement with indigenous communities	While in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, I met with…Indigenous leaders...cooperation and partnerships across these communities will give us the consensus the country needs to get the natural resources to market sustainably	no	

Appendix III: Raw Data, Machine Coding

i) Primary Source Bibliography: Machine-Coded Documents

Global Affairs Canada:

2015-10-05. "Canada concludes free trade agreement with Trans-Pacific partners". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/10/canada-concludes-free-trade-agreement-trans-pacific-partners.html.

2015-07-18. "Backgrounder - Canada Supports Various Development Initiatives to Eradicate Poverty and Improve Maternal, Newborn and Child Health". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/07/backgrounder-canada-supports-various-development-initiatives-eradicate-poverty-improve-maternal-newborn-child-health.html.

2015-05-27. "Harper Government Signs Investment Agreement with Guinea". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/05/harper-government-signs-investment-agreement-guinea.html.

2015-05-05. "Harper Government Announces Entry into Force of Investment Agreement with Serbia". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/05/harper-government-announces-entry-into-force-investment-agreement-serbia.html.

2015-04-24. "Minister Fast Tours Pacific GeoTech Systems Facilities". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/04/minister-fast-tours-pacific-geotech-systems-facilities.html.

2015-04-20. "Canada Signs Investment Agreement with Burkina Faso. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/04/canada-signs-investment-agreement-burkina-faso.html.

2015-03-01. "Biographical Note - Jeffrey Davidson". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/03/biographical-note-jeffrey-davidson.html.

2015-03-01. "Backgrounder - Extractive Sector Corporate Social Responsibility Counsellor". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/03/backgrounder-extractive-sector-corporate-social-responsibility-counsellor.html.

2015-03-01. "Appointment of Canada's Extractive Sector Corporate Social Responsibility Counsellor". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/03/appointment-canada-extractive-sector-corporate-social-responsibility-counsellor.html.

2015-02-28. "Minister Paradis Hosts Successful Annual Canada–World Economic Forum Conference on Extractives and Sustainable Development". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/02/minister-paradis-hosts-successful-annual-canada-world-economic-forum-conference-extractives-sustainable-development.html.

2015-01-15. "Baird Promotes Democracy, Security and Prosperity in Egypt". https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/01/baird-promotes-democracy-security-prosperity-egypt.html.

2014-12-01. “Harper Government Announces New Investment Agreements in Sub-Saharan Africa”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/12/harper-government-announces-new-investment-agreements-sub-saharan-africa-946829.html.

2014-11-27. “Minister Fast Highlights Canada's Historic Trade Achievements on First Anniversary of Global Markets Action Plan”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/11/minister-fast-highlights-canada-historic-trade-achievements-first-anniversary-global-markets-action-plan.html.

2014-11-14. “Canada's Renewed CSR Strategy: Doing Business the Canadian Way: A Strategy to Advance CSR in Canada's Extractive Sector Abroad”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/11/canada-renewed-csr-strategy-doing-business-canadian-way-strategy-advance-csr-canada-extractive-sector-abroad.html.

2014-10-09. “Canada's Leadership Helps Developing Countries Move from Poverty to- - Prosperity”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/10/canada-leadership-helps-developing-countries-move-poverty-prosperity.html.

2014-09-18. “Address by Minister Paradis at the Canada-Africa Business Summit 2014”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/09/address-minister-paradis-canada-africa-business-summit-2014.html.

2014-09-18. “Minister Fast Highlights Trade and Investment Ties with Africa”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/09/minister-fast-highlights-trade-investment-ties-africa.html.

2014-08-28. “Minister Fast Concludes Successful Trade Mission with ASEAN Officials”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/08/minister-fast-concludes-successful-trade-mission-asean-officials.html.

2014-08-15. “Minister Fast Concludes Successful Trade Mission to the Americas”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/08/minister-fast-concludes-successful-trade-mission-americas.html.

2014-07-26. “Address by Senator Don Meredith at the Akwa Cross Association of Canada National Convention”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/07/address-senator-don-meredith-akwa-cross-association-canada-national-convention.html.

2014-07-09. “Minister Fast Leads Trade and Development Mission to Ukraine”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/07/minister-fast-leads-trade-development-mission-ukraine.html.

2014-06-27. “Minister Fast Concludes Third Successful Trade Mission to Africa.” https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/06/minister-fast-concludes-third-successful-trade-mission-africa.html.

2014-06-25. “Minister Fast Celebrates 20 Years of Trade Commissioner Service in South Africa”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/06/minister-fast-celebrates-20-years-trade-commissioner-service-south-africa.html.

2014-06-18. “Minister Fast Leads Trade Mission to Africa.” https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/09/minister-paradis-reinforces-canadian-leadership-response-humanitarian-crises.html.

2014-03-24. “Harper Government Tables Final Agreement Summary of Canada-Korea Free Trade Agreement”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/03/harper-government-tables-final-agreement-summary-canada-korea-free-trade-agreement.html.

2014-02-13. “Address by Parliamentary Secretary Lois Brown: Canadian Launch of the Children's Rights and Business Principles”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/02/address-parliamentary-secretary-lois-brown-canadian-launch-children-rights-business-principles.html.

2014-02-07. “Address by Ms. Lois Brown: Partnerships for Development - Canadian leadership and expertise is making a difference”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/02/address-ms-lois-brown-partnerships-development-canadian-leadership-expertise-is-making-difference.html.

2014-02-05. “Minister Paradis Concludes a Productive Visit to Tanzania”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/02/minister-paradis-concludes-productive-visit-tanzania.html.

2014-02-03. “New Canadian Initiatives in Africa”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/02/new-canadian-initiatives-africa.html.

2014-02-03. “Minister Paradis Concludes a Constructive Visit to South Africa”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/02/minister-paradis-concludes-constructive-visit-south-africa.html.

2013-12-12. “Harper Government Launches Consultations to Review Corporate Social Responsibility Strategy for Extractive Sector”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/12/harper-government-launches-consultations-review-corporate-social-responsibility-strategy-extractive-sector.html.

2013-12-05. “Harper Government Concludes Investment Agreement with Guinea”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/12/harper-government-concludes-investment-agreement-guinea.html.

2013-12-05. “Harper Government Announces Entry into Force of Investment Agreement with Tanzania”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/12/harper-government-announces-entry-into-force-investment-agreement-tanzania.html.

2013-11-27. “Harper Government Concludes Investment Agreement with Albania“. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/11/harper-government-concludes-investment-agreement-albania.html.

2013-11-25. “Minister Paradis hosts round table on private sector engagement in development”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/10/minister-paradis-hosts-round-table-private-sector-engagement-development.html.

2013-11-21. “Canada Launches Investment Negotiations with Macedonia”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/11/canada-launches-investment-negotiations-macedonia.html.

2013-09-30. “Harper Government Expands and Modernizes Free Trade Agreement with Chile”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/09/harper-government-expands-modernizes-free-trade-agreement-chile.html.

2013-09-28. “Canada Concludes Investment Agreement with Côte d'Ivoire.” https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/09/canada-concludes-investment-agreement-cote-ivoire.html.

2013-09-16. “Minister Fast Announces Funding to Canadian Industry Associations to Help Companies Compete and Win in Global Markets”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/09/minister-fast-announces-funding-canadian-industry-associations-help-companies-compete-win-global-markets.html.

2013-08-15. “Minister Fast Marks Second Anniversary of Canada-Colombia Free Trade Agreement”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/08/minister-fast-marks-second-anniversary-canada-colombia-free-trade-agreement.html.

2013-06-19. “Address by Minister Fantino: Mining Association of Canada Board of Directors meeting”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/06/address-minister-fantino-mining-association-canada-board-directors-meeting.html.

2013-04-19. “Minister Fantino promotes private sector partnerships at World Bank Group and International Monetary Fund spring meetings”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/04/minister-fantino-promotes-private-sector-partnerships-world-bank-group-international-monetary-fund-spring-meetings.html.

2013-03-17. “Minister Van Loan Promotes Canadian Expertise in South Africa”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/03/minister-van-loan-promotes-canadian-expertise-south-africa.html.

2013-03-03. “Harper Government Highlights Canadian Mining Companies' Leadership in Creating Jobs and Prosperity at Home and Abroad”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/03/harper-government-highlights-canadian-mining-companies-leadership-creating-jobs-prosperity-home-abroad.html.

2012-10-16. “Address by Minister Fast to Canadian Council on Africa 10th Anniversary Symposium”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/10/address-minister-fast-canadian-council-africa-10th-anniversary-symposium.html.

2012-09-24. “United Nations General Assembly side-event on responsible extractive sector development”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/09/united-nations-general-assembly-side-event-responsible-extractive-sector-development.html.

2012-06-08. “International Trade Minister Ed Fast Concludes Successful Trade Mission to Russia”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/06/international-trade-minister-ed-fast-concludes-successful-trade-mission-russia.html.

2012-03-05. “Canada's World-Class Mining Sector Creates Jobs and Growth and Shows the Benefits of Trade, Says International Trade Minister“. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/03/canada-world-mining-sector-creates-jobs-growth-shows-benefits-trade-says-international-trade-minister.html.

2011-10-03. “Address by Minister Fast to Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Industry”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/10/address-minister-fast-indonesian-chamber-commerce-industry.html.

2011-09-29. “Minister Oda announces initiatives to increase the benefits of natural resource management for people in Africa and South America”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/09/minister-oda-announces-initiatives-increase-benefits-natural-resource-management-people-africa-south-america.html.

2011-06-27. “Minister of State Ablonczy to Attend Peruvian Presidential Inauguration”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/07/minister-state-ablonczy-attend-peruvian-presidential-inauguration.html.

2011-06-27. “Address by Minister Fast at the Plenary Session of the Canadian Trade Mission to Brazil”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/06/address-minister-fast-plenary-session-canadian-trade-mission-brazil.html.

2011-06-13. “Address by Minister Fast to Mexico Day Event”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/06/address-minister-fast-mexico-day-event.html.

2011-06-02. “Closer Economic Ties with Russia Will Create Jobs and Opportunity for Canadians.” https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/06/closer-economic-ties-russia-create-jobs-opportunity-canadians.html.

2010-09-30. Modification - International Trade Minister Peter Van Loan Announced Funding for Investment Project in Mongolia”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/09/modification-international-trade-minister-peter-van-loan-announced-funding-investment-project-mongolia.html.

2010-08-18. Address by Minister of State Kent at Panamanian Business Executive Association Meeting”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/08/address-minister-state-kent-panamanian-business-executive-association-meeting.html.

2010-02-04. “Opening Remarks by Minister Van Loan at African Innovation and Technology Conference”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2010/02/opening-remarks-minister-van-loan-african-innovation-technology-conference.html.

2009-09-19. “Minister Day and MP Ron Cannan Open New Regional Trade Office in Kelowna”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/09/minister-day-ron-cannan-open-new-regional-trade-office-kelowna.html.

2009-07-24. “Minister Day Expands Trade Opportunities for Canadian Business in Southeast Asia”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/07/minister-day-expands-trade-opportunities-canadian-business-southeast-asia.html.

2009-06-27. “Minister Day Highlights Canadian Successes in Saudi Arabia”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/06/minister-day-highlights-canadian-successes-saudi-arabia.html.

2009-06-23. “Canada and Russia Make Progress on Commercial Initiatives”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/06/canada-russia-make-progress-commercial-initiatives.html.

2009-06-18. “Trade Agreement with Peru Opens Doors to Latin America”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/06/trade-agreement-peru-opens-doors-latin-america.html.

2009-05-07. “Minister Day Promotes Responsible Practices for Canadian Businesses Abroad”. https://canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/05/minister-day-promotes-responsible-practices-canadian-businesses-abroad.html.

2008-12-04. “Statement by Minister Cannon Marking 35th Anniversary of Canada-Mongolia Diplomatic Relations”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2008/12/statement-minister-cannon-marking-35th-anniversary-canada-mongolia-diplomatic-relations.html.

2008-06-19. “Government of Canada expanding trade opportunities at home and abroad”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2008/06/government-canada-expanding-trade-opportunities-home-abroad.html.

2008-05-29. “Canada Signs Free Trade, Labour Cooperation and Environment Agreements with Peru”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2008/05/canada-signs-free-trade-labour-cooperation-environment-agreements-peru.html?=undefined&.

2008-01-26. “Canada Marks Free Trade Milestones with Peru and the European Free Trade Association”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2008/01/canada-marks-free-trade-milestones-peru-european-free-trade-association.html.

2007-07-20. “Secretary of State Guergis to Travel to Peru to Build on Strong Commercial and Political Ties”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2007/07/secretary-state-guergis-travel-peru-build-strong-commercial-political-ties.html.

Natural Resources Canada:

2015-07-21. “Energy and Mines Ministers' Conference - Halifax, Nova Scotia Monday, July 20, 2015”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/07/energy-mines-ministers-conference-halifax-nova-scotia-monday-july-20-2015.html.

2015-06-29. “Yava Pilots New Green Mining Technology”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/06/yava-pilots-new-green-mining-technology.html.

2015-05-11. “Minister Rickford Celebrates National Mining Week”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/05/minister-rickford-celebrates-national-mining-week.html.

2015-03-05. “Harper Government Reinforces Support for the Mining Industry during PDAC 2015”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/03/harper-government-reinforces-support-mining-industry-during-pdac-2015.html.

2014-11-18. “Harper Government Announces Latest Actions to Support Canadian Extractive Sector Abroad”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/11/harper-government-announces-latest-actions-support-canadian-extractive-sector-abroad.html.

2014-11-17. “Harper Government Enhancing Jobs and Opportunities for Aboriginal Peoples”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/11/harper-government-enhancing-jobs-opportunities-aboriginal-peoples.html.

2014-11-07. “Minister Rickford Concludes Successful Mission Promoting Canada's Interests in Japan”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/11/minister-rickford-concludes-successful-mission-promoting-canada-interests-japan.html.

2014-11-05. “Speech by the Honourable Greg Rickford, Minister of Natural Resources Canada, to the Canada and Japan Chambers of Commerce Joint conference on the Future of the Canada-Japan Relationship”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/01/speech-honourable-greg-rickford-minister-natural-resources-canada-canada-japan-chambers-commerce-joint-conference-future-canada-japan-relationship.html.

2014-10-16. “Minister Uppal Announces Funding for Clean Technology Project in Edmonton.” https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/10/minister-uppal-announces-funding-clean-technology-project-edmonton.html.

2014-08-26. "Our Resources, New Frontiers" Speech by the Honourable Greg Rickford Canada's Minister of Natural Resources to the Energy and Mines Ministers Meeting”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/08/our-resources-new-frontiers-speech-honourable-greg-rickford-canada-minister-natural-resources-energy-mines-ministers-meeting.html.

2014-05-02. “Minister Rickford Marks National Mining Week”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/05/minister-rickford-marks-national-mining-week.html.

2014-04-25. “Harper Government Promotes Responsible Resource Development in Northern Saskatchewan”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/04/harper-government-promotes-responsible-resource-development-northern-saskatchewan.html.

2014-04-11. “Market Diversification of Canada's Natural Resources: Opportunities for Quebec”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/04/market-diversification-canada-natural-resources-opportunities-quebec.html.

2014-03-02. “Minister Oliver Announces New Knowledge Products to Promote Mining Investment”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/03/minister-oliver-announces-new-knowledge-products-promote-mining-investment.html.

2014-01-15. “Confederation of Indian Industry” https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/01/confederation-indian-industry.html.

2013-03-04. “Minister Oliver Highlights Canada's Strong Economic Fundamentals at World's Largest Exploration and Mining Conference”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2013/03/minister-oliver-highlights-canada-economic-fundamentals-world-largest-exploration-mining-conference.html.

2012-10-02. “Minister Oliver Highlights Canada's Natural Resources as a Model for Growth in the Global Economy”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/10/minister-oliver-highlights-canada-natural-resources-model-growth-global-economy.html.

2012-09-11. “Canada's Energy Ministers Agree to Collaborate on Key Priorities”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/09/canada-energy-ministers-agree-collaborate-key-priorities.html.

2012-08-21. “Responsible Resource Development in the North”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/08/responsible-resource-development-north.html.

2012-08-15. “Canada's Environment Minister Announces Decision on the Environmental Assessment of the Proposed Mining and Milling the Midwest Project”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/08/canada-environment-minister-announces-decision-environmental-assessment-proposed-mining-milling-midwest-project.html.

2012-06-04. Minister Ambrose Highlights Importance of Responsible Resource Development for Jobs, Growth and Long-Term Prosperity to Alberta”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/06/minister-ambrose-highlights-importance-responsible-resource-development-jobs-growth-long-term-prosperity-alberta.html.

2012-04-17. “HARPER GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES PLAN FOR RESPONSIBLE RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/04/harper-government-announces-plan-responsible-resource-development.html.

2012-03-08. “Minister Oliver Highlights the Contribution of the Growing Energy Industry to Newfoundland and Labrador”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/03/minister-oliver-highlights-contribution-growing-energy-industry-newfoundland-labrador.html.

2012-01-31. “Minister Oliver Addresses Canada Mining Stakeholders About the Need for Regulatory Reform to Support Economic Growth”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2012/01/minister-oliver-addresses-canada-mining-stakeholders-about-need-regulatory-reform-support-economic-growth.html.

2011-09-29. “Minister Oda announces initiatives to increase the benefits of natural resource management for people in Africa and South America”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/09/minister-oda-announces-initiatives-increase-benefits-natural-resource-management-people-africa-south-america.html.

2011-08-24. “Geo-mapping for Energy and Minerals”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/08/geo-mapping-energy-minerals.html.

2011-03-23. “Health & safety certification for the mining industry”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2011/03/health-safety-certification-mining-industry.html.

2009-10-21. “Minister Raitt to Address Inaugural Meeting of Women in Mining Canada”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/10/minister-raitt-address-inaugural-meeting-women-mining-canada.html.

2009-09-23. “Government of Canada Advances Energy Roundtable”. https://canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/09/government-canada-advances-energy-roundtables.html.

2009-06-24. “Government of Canada training initiative to benefit Aboriginal people in Northwestern Ontario”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/06/government-canada-training-initiative-benefit-aboriginal-people-northwestern-ontario.html.

2009-06-07. “Harper Government's Economic Action Plan Helps Resource-based Industries”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/06/harper-government-economic-action-plan-helps-resource-based-industries.html.

2009-05-11. “Government of Canada Positions Mining Industry for Continued Success”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/05/government-canada-positions-mining-industry-continued-success.html.

2009-05-11. “Government of Canada Celebrates National Mining Week - Strength through Innovation”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/05/government-canada-celebrates-national-mining-week-strength-through-innovation.html.

2009-04-02. “Minister Raitt to Address the Canadian International Council”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/04/minister-raitt-address-canadian-international-council.html.

2009-03-02. “Minister Raitt to Address the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada Annual Convention and Trade Show”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/03/minister-raitt-address-prospectors-developers-association-canada-annual-convention-trade-show.html.

2009-03-02. “Government of Canada extends Mineral Exploration Tax Credit”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/03/government-canada-extends-mineral-exploration-tax-credit.html.

2009-01-23. “Government of Canada and DEVCO to Fund New Research Chair at CBU”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2009/01/government-canada-devco-fund-new-research-chair-cbu.html.

2008-12-09. “Sudbury selected as host city for the 13th U.S./North American Mine Ventilation Symposium”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2008/12/sudbury-selected-host-city-13th-north-american-mine-ventilation-symposium.html.

2007-09-25. “Canada's New Government funding mineral exploration in areas impacted by Mountain Pine Beetle”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2007/09/canada-new-government-funding-mineral-exploration-areas-impacted-mountain-pine-beetle.html.

2007-05-14. “Canada Celebrates National Mining Week”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2007/05/canada-celebrates-national-mining-week.html.

2006-07-19. “Minister Lunn Puts Spotlight on Canada as Energy Superpower.” https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2006/07/minister-lunn-puts-spotlight-canada-energy-superpower.html.

2006-06-21. “Minister Lunn Announces $2.4 Million for Satellite Imaging: New Project Sharpens Focus on Canada”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2006/06/minister-lunn-announces-2-4-million-satellite-imaging-new-project-sharpens-focus-canada.html.

2006-05-30. “Miramar Mining, Four Related Companies Charged with Offences Related to Fuel Spill”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2006/05/miramar-mining-four-related-companies-charged-offences-related-fuel-spill.html.

2005-05-19. “Diamonds: Bill Introduced to Strengthen Canada's Role in Kimberley Process”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2005/05/diamonds-bill-introduced-strengthen-canada-role-kimberley-process.html.

2004-10-12. “Better Energy Management Practices Yield Climate Change Results for Canadian Industry”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2004/10/better-energy-management-practices-yield-climate-change-results-canadian-industry.html.

2004-03-17. “TOOL KIT TO INCREASE ABORIGINAL INVOLVEMENT IN MINING”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2004/03/tool-kit-increase-aboriginal-involvement-mining.html.

2004-03-05. “NATURAL RESOURCES MINISTER R. JOHN EFFORD TO SPEAK AT THE ANNUAL PDAC CONVENTION AND TRADE SHOW”. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2004/03/natural-resources-minister-john-efford-speak-annual-pdac-convention-trade-show.html.

ii) Stable hyperlinks to Machine-Coded Analysis

Global Affairs Canada

2019: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=b194c80560ef1b3ed46c99cf9844dc04

2018: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=1384d21270c4ac794de3e299a179b18f

2017: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=809b24044644ad4765c1131943f920f7

2016: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=80cc849a82ace049328af75786170d74

2015: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=59d12a8a9343402d5918e7810039a20c

2014: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=27cafa8e350de3e89867defa10d6bcb7

2013: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=0925342d4dbb694cce070949d579298a

2012: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=3b86ec203f920a7ed67425d68f7f1686

2011: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=dd9da7814647a9802cb74ee21fded066

2010: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=821b299940000f524385f14b3abaf6a4

2009: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=b4de08278de3111d5889c8efb3d71638

2008: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=bafe00ffa444f99413a247129b1753d6

2007: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=74851ae792fd0e0d5fbf31582892d6f6

2006: -no data-

2005: -no data-

2004: -no data-

Natural Resources Canada

2019: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=44a31330f446920155000952e9e3e028

2018: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=7c16f3aad3f5690251aad8e671ad6067

2017: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=14b2301ed3f8a718e26b968dfadb5a16

2016: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=9b789f2604b01b9478d1c9da2a6c5870

2015: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=db27b4017e6d9c507fdbce16608bf245

2014: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=15490f208152ab55838075b619d27536

2013: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=96b42472fb8c64d7bb1ceba04c47c82c

2012: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=055f11087ec1d4b8ac99ea0944ae6102

2011: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=2814e8473b9e52eaf56f7dafad9cb627

2010: -no data-

2009: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=578217015eea07f95755ed7f63da9ae9

2008: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=2a461dc6894dad9dbba27068fb0d01d4

2007: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=1efdb6ebcc32191c1e05dde55d01c0d6

2006: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=6e95f26e70df5df9d24c0345aa2e1236

2005: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=3c467eb8aef0b75df9ef9a8ad4d8528b

2004: https://voyant-tools.org/?corpus=c7bdadc0524a1eab2127096f12e4c376

Appendix IV: Instances of Primary Sustainability Definitions in the Contemporary Corpus

*Note: as one communication may contain multiple definitions of "sustainability", column totals may not necessarily be equal to the total number of communications containing a sustainability frame.

Counts of Sustainability Definitions: Global Affairs Canada

Year	**Number of communications containing the "sustainability" frame**	**Eco-Efficiency**	**Transitional Sustainability**	**Undefined/Other**
2019	2	0	0	2
2018	1	1	0	0
2017	0	0	0	0
2016	1	0	0	1
TOTAL	**4**	**1**	**0**	**3**

Counts of Sustainability Definitions: Natural Resources Canada

Year	**Number of communications containing the "sustainability" frame**	**Eco-Efficiency**	**Transitional Sustainability**	**Undefined/Other**
2019	12	9	5	2
2018	4	2	1	1
2017	2	1	0	2
2016	5	3	0	2
TOTAL	**23**	**15**	**6**	**7**

Total Counts of Sustainability Definitions, Contemporary Corpus

Year	**Number of communications containing the "sustainability" frame**	**Eco-Efficiency**	**Transitional Sustainability**	**Undefined/Other**
2019	14	9	5	4
2018	5	3	1	1
2017	2	1	0	2
2016	6	3	0	3
TOTAL	**27**	**16**	**6**	**10**