B E T S Y   L E I M B I G L E R

Nuances of Democracy: Mapping Electoral and Non-Electoral Actors in Canada

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Résumé

Cet article établit un lien entre le concept d'ordres politiques et les diverses formes de résistance politique. Après un bref aperçu d'ordres politiques, axé sur l'État, le droit et la responsabilité, je conteste les notions d'ordres politiques qui négligent les subtilités et les nuances d'autres institutions démocratiques. L'article explique la gouvernance au Canada et le nombre croissant d'opposants politiques hors des limites de la politique électorale. Le résultat est une cartographie des différentes forces et acteurs liés qui créent un ordre politique, démontrant les nuances de la démocratie et du pouvoir au Canada. En se concentrant sur le pouvoir discursif, les discours, et les 'frames' des médias, l'objectif est de recentrer l'étude des acteurs, des mouvements et des institutions qui contestent les politiques électorales dans le domaine des études canadiennes, pour mieux comprendre les discours publics au Canada.

Abstract

This paper links the concept of political orders to forms of resistance and assertion by various actors and groups that challenge electoral politics and the very structure of federal and provincial electoral politics in Canada. After a brief overview of the notion of "political orders" with their focus on state, law, and accountability, the limiting concept of a singular political order that overlooks the intricacies and nuances of other institutions in Canadian democracy is challenged. In providing an overview of contemporary Canadian tensions of governance through a brief context, the paper highlights the growing number of voices, groups, and opponents both within and outside of the bounds of electoral politics that are able to use discursive power. The result is a mapping of the various interlinked forces, institutions and actors that create a political order, demonstrating the nuances of democracy in Canada by problematizing nuances of power. An overview of power and dimensions of power, including discursive power in particular, allows for a better understanding of major public discourses in Canada.

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Introduction[1]

In early 2020, media outlets began to report on conflict arising in British Columbia between the Canadian government and the hereditary chiefs over the Coastal Gaslink pipeline project, and demonstrations in solidarity began to grow. The Wet'suwet'en nation rejected the building of the pipeline through their territory, and their resistance made international headlines in February and March 2020 as land defenders and hereditary chiefs refused to grant access for the Coastal Gaslink pipeline project in British Columbia (BBC 2020a; 2020b; 2020c; Kestler-D'Amours 2020). Solidarity demonstrations saw blockades constructed along the Canadian railway while Wet'suwet'en land defenders and others demanded the retreat of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Kestler-D'Amours 2020; Unist'ot'en camp 2020). "No access without consent" underscored the signs and messages from activists, land defenders, and allies whose resistance against economic and political interests grew more and more tense, as militarized law enforcement moved into the Unist'ot'en camp (Democracy Now 2020). The protests quickly gained global media attention (BBC 2020; 2020b; 2020c; Kestler-D'Amours 2020; Democracy Now 2020). The clash of political interests, the painful history and legacies of broken treaties, and the complexities of different governance levels intersected with economic stakeholders, activists, and federal policy plans. Despite the retreat of mediated coverage since February-March 2020, the contentious nature of pipelines as policy issues continues. The case of energy policy in Canada is one of many policy examples highlighting a multitude of actors and networks that challenge the way political scientists understand power, policy and politics. It also is one of many examples of framing and how media studies have constantly asked the question of how certain topics are framed. These examples point to the multiple and contested political orders in Canada, the importance of integrating resistance and protest movements as actors in policy, and the importance of using nuanced frameworks to understand power.

The idea of democracy premised solely on analysis of electoral politics, without space for understanding other forces, is quite limited. Comparative and Canadian politics place much emphasis on parliamentary democracy; understandably so, given that Canada's federal governance structure is categorized as a constitutional

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1   This article is based on a presentation delivered at the GKS 41st annual conference on political orders, and grew out of the need to continue expanding policy studies, political science, North American and Canadian studies to include frameworks and methodologies that have the capacity to understand and acknowledge actors and power from groups outside of the narrow constraints of electoral politics. As a non-indigenous scholar focusing on political science and policy studies, I recognize my role in knowledge production to amplify Indigenous concerns as they relate to policy as well as my role and duty to acknowledge resistance and mindfully incorporate such cases into policy and political studies. The case of the pipeline protests discussed in this paper has been used in my introduction to policy analysis classes to familiarize students with mapping out actors, which illustrates how actors are networked and how different forms and hierarchies of power are present in contentious issues.

monarchy with a parliamentary federal system of governance – which also includes recognition of other governance structures and relationships. However, this is not sufficient when it comes to explaining contentious policy issues. Studies of Canadian government and governance without an analysis of other governance actors and forces lack a more sophisticated analysis of levels and forms of power and legitimacy. Power can be theorized and adapted from global health governance and other areas to argue for a more nuanced understanding of actor power in a shifting Canadian and global landscape.

This more nuanced view of power is operationalized by first mapping out actors, then applying a matrix of different dimensions of power to specific policy examples in Canada. One such policy is energy policy. Inserting a power analysis into this theoretical framework enables political science scholars to incorporate perspectives from other forms of governance in Canada that have gained discursive power through mediated networks in recent years.

Four broad categories of power are underlined in this paper: political, institutional, economic, and discursive. Of the four types of power highlighted in this paper, adapted from Moon's (2019) typology of eight forms of power for global health governance, I focus on discursive power in order to illuminate the sophistication of discursive power and the ways in which understanding discursive power can merge with political communication scholarship and framing analysis. The limitation of using traditionally 'powerful' political actor discourse can be overcome by incorporating analysis from various sources, including but not limited to just elite discourse.

Political science and political power in Canada have a strong basis in analysis by looking at elected governments, and more recently, digital media and the interactions between digital and political elites (Marland/Giasson/Lawlor 2018; Marland 2014). Political science has a strong focus on the prioritization and analysis of the very top of elite politicians and power structures. Indeed, much political communication scholarship is premised on the quantitative or mixed-methods analysis of major media outlets, which also often reproduce elite politician discourse. Social movements literature and its focus on power contestation allows for an analysis of power structures in policy issues. Political contexts are connected to social movement contexts on human rights, thereby influencing how policies or political challenges are created and framed – and as such, political science models must address this gap and make space for the study of politics outside of institutions, building on the growing tradition in Canadian studies of observing social movements, government and governance challenges, and the power dynamics behind these changes.

There is a growing body of research concerned with studying democracy beyond electoral politics, and recognizing that many modern political institutions are viewed with increased cynicism and lack of confidence (Towler/Parker 2018; Docherty 2014). This paper aims to contribute to literature on protest movements beyond the U.S. It

also refocuses the study of actors, movements and institutions that align with and challenge electoral politics into the realm of Canadian studies, thereby establishing a position of multiple political orders in Canada. The social movement and protest of Idle No More along with protests against "Canada 150", and most recently the Wet'suwet'en assertion of nationhood and resistance to Coastal Gaslink in February 2020 are just a few examples of political actors using discursive power, and challenging the bounds of electoral politics.

This paper sets the stage for further analysis based in a nuanced understanding of different forms of power and contributes to wider debates relating to global justice movements and hybrid political orders, and the tensions between electoral politics as one institution, aligned with but also positioned against other voices in Canadian democracy.

Goals

The three main goals of this paper relate to 1) contributing to critical assessment of political orders in Canadian studies, 2) highlighting the usage of media studies in discourse analysis and discursive power, and finally, 3) understanding power through a framework that divides up the power analysis.

The first goal highlights and underscores political orders and also critically assesses Canada in relation to global issues. Stiglitz (2016), Yeates (2014), Blas et al. (2008) are international policy, social/health policy, and political theorists who highlight the role of globalization in shaping domestic contexts. Canada too is connected to these forces and processes of globalization – policy diffusion is an important concept to highlight in this context, as processes of globalization impact everything and institutional bodies such as the UN have some discursive and symbolic power as well when highlighting political action in recognition of indigenous peoples. This is relevant for the example of Coastal Gaslink.

> The UN declaration, which was eventually adopted by the Trudeau government in 2016, is still considered controversial in Canada. The main point of concern is a clause that calls for 'free, prior and informed consent' of Indigenous communities in matters that impact them – pipeline projects, for example. (Abedi 2019)

Issues in Canadian contexts merit closer analysis as well as complex and thorough analytical models, such as adapted power analysis models, links to policy diffusion, and hybrid political orders, among others (von der Porten 2012; Sugiyama 2008; Moon 2019).

Thus, energy policy, its contentious and problematic nature, and the multitude of connected actors constitute one important case for understanding social movements and conducting empirical analyses. Scholarship focusing on media networks and their asymmetry heavily focuses on the U.S.; although scholarship

looking specifically at political elites and media discourse (particularly on energy and environmental policy) help balance this out (Raso/Neubauer 2016; Benkler et al. 2018). Furthermore, the important history of resistance, tensions, re-assertion of nationhood, and social movements in Canada is significant to underline (Mitchell/Enns 2014; von der Porten 2012; Papillon 2014).

The second goal is to emphasize and normalize political structures as including but not limited to electoral and elite mediated actors. This means using new frameworks to understand political power. A modified power framework can help with a more sophisticated analysis of power, which incorporates particularly the cultural, symbolic and discursive power of many actors who may lack political or economic power – and how these forms of power can then translate into political power. Furthermore, the power of ideas is underscored and can provide rich context for policymaking (Béland/Waddan 2012). As such, the second goal also includes the critical assessment of media framing and discourse analysis.

The third goal is the development of a sophisticated power-based analysis in policy studies aligned with Moon (2019) and other scholars looking more specifically at discursive power, including framing scholars and scholars on discursive institutionalism (Callaghan/Schnell 2005; Wodak/Meyer 2009; Schmidt 2008). This encompasses the preliminary mapping in the section on power asymmetries.

Two questions remain unanswered and will be useful for exploration in future research. The first concerns levels of power: engaging with discourse other than elite politicians and elite media sources is essential, as the public sphere is much more than elite discourse, and current trends and tensions illustrate just that – civil society actors, other institutions, and opposition can be obscured or even ignored and glossed over in academic scholarship. And lingering questions remain – how to conceptualize of their power? Is there a power hierarchy between forms of power, like certain models have suggested?

Secondly, and relatedly, given the tensions in democracies – would different groups or levels of power find common ground or not? Blas et al. (2008) have discussed the role of civil society and national governments in working together to create policy and maintain health equities, but this is a small part of the picture: what happens when these groups are opposed to one another? The contradictions between civil society interests and what politically powerful actors want may be examined in further research of networked actors.

Defining political orders in Canada

What is meant by political order? The concept of a political order can be construed in multiple different ways depending on the field of interest. Fukuyama (2014) has described political order as related to accountability and order in the sense of law and order. However, a political order is more conceptual than simply law and order. Defining political orders references various types of state structures. After describing various scholars' interpretations of types of political orders, Smith explains that "[a]ll

these terms refer to states at various stages of political development, which contain pre-modern and authoritarian elements, sometimes alongside, or enmeshed with, elements of a more Weberian or liberal-democratic state model." (Smith 2014, 1511)

As such, political orders constitute the systems of governance, the institutions, and the model of governance of a given state. The political orders of Canada have a fraught history with very different forms of power. For example, specific kinds of political orders have been problematized in security and peace and conflict studies surrounding indigenous governance.[2]

In discussing western descriptions of failed states, Boege et al. (2009) explain governance structures and the conflicts between indigenous and centralized westernized state structures. They discuss how institutions are constantly being re-made and systems of order are contested:

> Customary systems of order are subjected to deconstruction and re-formation as they are incorporated into central state structures and processes. Customary institutions and customary authorities do not remain unchanged; they respond to and are influenced by the mechanisms of the state apparatus. (Boege et al. 2009, 16)

This quote describes the mechanisms of indigenous or customary institutions and norms, faced with other forms of governance, mostly referring to global cases of nation-building. Hybridity is explained as a competition between systems of governance.

> In hybrid political orders, diverse and competing authority structures, sets of rules, logics of order, and claims to power co-exist, overlap, interact, and intertwine, combining elements of introduced Western models of governance and elements stemming from local indigenous traditions of governance and politics, with further influences exerted by the forces of globalization … (Boege et al. 2009, 17)

Grenfell (2015) also discusses hybridity and hybrid political orders as situations in peace and conflict studies, particularly regarding postcolonial and post-conflict societies. In this context however, Canada is not particularly emphasized as other nations described in earlier stages of nation-building are.

As such, political orders have much to do with the structuring of society and indeed keeping a sense of 'order', but political orders are more than just law and order. They

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2 There is also a wealth of recent, critical scholarship on settler colonial studies, which this paper cannot engage with to do it justice (Konishi 2019; Carey/Silverstein 2020; Maddison/de Costa/Clark 2016). For the purposes of this paper, governance literature is consulted, although a more thorough overview for future work must include settler colonial studies to examine indigenous-colonial relations.

represent types of governance, and as such, types of power. The etymology is also reminiscent of world orders, where Gill (2005) understands changes to world orders as a "dialectic between forms of state, structures of production, political life." (Gill 2005, 55) World orders constitute "patterns of ideas, institutions, material forces which form historical structures over time." (55) Thus, parallels between domestic and global tensions and processes such as neoliberalism further complicate political orders, entrenching how plural and diverse they are, and how much they are in tension.

Boege et al. (2009) discuss westernized state institutions being in conflict with indigenous forms of governance, including informal governance structures and leaderships, knowledge networks, which then leads to a questioning of legitimacy as well as power struggles and tensions. "This complex nature of governance is further complicated by the emergence and growing importance of institutions, movements, and formations that have their origins in the effects and reactions to globalization." (Boege et al. 2009, 16)

Political orders have been used in peace-building literature (Boege et al. 2009) but von der Porten (2012) references how the United Nations has also discussed indigenous self-determination using the language of "hybrid systems of governance." (2) Political orders are inextricably linked to wider, complex processes and world orders. Commenting on indigenous groups and political orders, Kymlicka posits that "in the future, it is widely expected that they will become a constitutionally recognized third order of government within or alongside the federal system, with a collection of powers that is carved out of both federal and provincial jurisdictions […]" (Kymlicka 2014, 28) This connects the multiple orders in Canada that are constantly changing to the field of literature on self-determination (Corntassel/Holder 2008).

Forms of power in Canadian and global politics

Social contexts influence frames, and they have an influence on the way policy is problematized. The context of Canadian parliamentary democracy, as well as those excluded from parliamentary debate constitutes our starting point.

In the last twenty years, voter turnout in federal elections has ranged from a low of 58.8% in 2008 to 68.3% in the 2015 election (Elections Canada 2020). Information gathered from Vote Compass indicated the majority of Canadians' concerns recently being focused on the economy, followed by the environment (CBC 2015). While focusing only on voter turnout provides important data points, it also leaves many perspectives out – including the large networks of more complex and specific issues relating to a given concern.

Kymlicka (2014) highlights the tensions of nationhood within Canada and territorial federalism against the backdrop and framework of linguistic divisions, discussing the asymmetry of power dimensions. "How we evaluate these demands for asymmetrical powers will depend on our conception of the nature and aims of

political federation." (26) Kymlicka also discusses representation within existing institutions and the compatibility with liberal values. "Many Canadians believe the political process is 'unrepresentative', in the sense that it fails to reflect the diversity of the population." (30) Recently, political divisions in Canadian politics have become more visibly stark in geographical and partisan terms, for example with Western Canada (Alberta and Saskatchewan's 33 out of 34 ridings being conservative) in the 2019 election (CBC 2019). Fraught political tensions within parliament exist on a geographic scale, as well as between the federal government and indigenous nations.

Papillon (2014) highlights the shifts towards governance in political processes for Aboriginal groups, describing "the rise to prominence of Aboriginal self-government in Canadian politics and the current shift in emphasis toward less formal governance arrangements." (114) The great diversity of aboriginal nations and groups is also discussed in cautioning against the generalization of a singular aboriginal perspective. "Aboriginal peoples are unified, however, in their common struggle to move beyond the legacies of past colonial policies." (115)

Resistance

Resistance is understood as a complex set of interactions against forms of dominance. "The contested nature of global resistances means that there is a need to consider the meanings we attribute to global resistance always in relation to power and politics." (Amoore 2005, 3) In social movements and globalization literature, there has been a focus on solidarity networks, and a broader trend of academics examining progressive movements. But there are movements happening in Canadian society that are not simply focused on solidarity. It is potentially problematic to bring in right wing movements (referred to by Fukuyama (2014) as 'identity based right wing movements'), or as Amoore (2005) has called them, resurgences of xenophobic nationalism 'resisting' perceived threats, consequently Amoore asks if it is "possible to unambiguously identify and distinguish between emancipatory or positive resistances on the one hand, and discriminatory or negative resistances on the other hand?" (6) And then what of the sentiment of not being adequately represented in federal politics by major groups, including political blocs in Western Canada? Social movements scholarship has laid out, distinguished and typologized movements by partisan alignment, explaining how left wing patterns of protest and social movements are not the same as right wing movements because they lack the same outlooks and building towards solidarity (Leimbigler 2019).[3]

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3   Conceptualizing resistance in the context of this paper must be narrowed down to resistance specific to indigenous groups, particularly in the form of blockading as one key tactic in indigenous resistance (Barker/Ross 2017).

Discursive power, critical discourse analysis and framing

An article dated Feb. 11, 2020 from the BBC highlighted the protests and the 50 train cancellations in Canada (BBC 2020a). Another article dated February 28 was headlined, "Five reasons why Canada's 'shutdown' is a big deal" (BBC 2020c) – highlighting political troubles, economic troubles, and finishing with the challenges this means for indigenous rights. The proliferation of the Wet'suwet'en resistance and solidarity movements and protests into international news is a form of issue framing, signifying discursive power through the active challenging of political and economic power.

Discursive power has been problematized in patchwork ways from various disciplines, including political communication, institutional theories, and global governance. In order to focus on the power dynamic and relationships, Jungherr, Posegga and An (2019) highlight discursive power as a concept to understand frames and power:

> […] we propose the concept of discursive power. This describes the ability of contributors to communication spaces to introduce, amplify, and maintain topics, frames, and speakers, thus shaping public discourses and controversies that unfold in interconnected communication spaces. (Jungherr/Posegga/An 2019, 404)

Scholarship on discourse analysis in various Canadian contexts can be built upon. Hardy and Phillips (1999) engage in a critical discourse analysis to highlight discursive struggles within the Canadian refugee system, e.g. through political cartoon analysis. This is then analyzed to the backdrop of societal discourses; closely linked to concepts of public discourse – and by extension, discursive power. The next step to connect public discourse is to situate a given policy issue within a wider framework of power. Goldberg (2006) similarly analyzes a provincial policy highlighting the metaphor of 'discursive webs', assessing how globalization and neoliberalism impact local policies – while specifically looking at education policy.

To engage with the concept of discursive power, discourse (critical discourse analysis as a theory and method, as well) is problematized and distinguished from framing. The following description links together Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and framing, which is fundamental to understanding discursive power.

> CDA is a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with a different theoretical model, research methods, and agenda. What unites them is a shared interest in semiotic dimensions of power, injustice, abuse and political-economic or cultural change in society. (Fairclough/Mulderrig/Wodak 2011, 357)

This quote situates framing and political communication studies within the theory and method of CDA. It is essential to clarify the differences between the overlapping types of analysis: CDA constitutes a crucial aspect of better understanding the types of frames that emerge from elite and mediated discourse. Rather than drawing sharp lines of distinction between the two, CDA and framing can function together in order to complement one another.

Power, ideology, and critique are seen as integral parts of conducting a critical discourse analysis. CDA is thus rooted in a diverse variety of disciplines, as discourse is integral to politics and the diffusion of political ideas and concepts through various channels and realms of elites – and not just elites, but also the various actors and institutions that constitute the tensions of various Canadian political orders. CDA and framing are critical forms of discursive and mediated analysis, crucial to develop in the context of examining Canadian issues.

> CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice.' Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and situation(s), institutions(s), and social structure(s), which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them […]. (Wodak/Meyer 2009, 5-6)

The focus on power makes CDA a crucial theory and methodology in understanding different actor groups.

Critically analyzing discourse can help determine which actors have power (including in terms of who is speaking) and which actors and networks contribute to either inclusive policy or policy that may further marginalization and inequality. "Typically, CDA researchers are interested in the way discourse (re)produces social domination, that is, the power abuse of one group over others, and how dominated groups may discursively resist such abuse." (Wodak/Meyer 2009, 9) This is what has been missing in many framing analyses of politics, and this critical assessment of structures, institutions, and social domination is critical in conducting any kind of analysis of political orders in Canada.

While CDA and framing share many theoretical similarities in terms of their focus on power, discourses, and the politically and socially salient aspects of the topics that are discussed, framing has been widely used in newspaper (media) analysis (Dorfman et al. 2005; 2014). The critical elements of CDA are helpful for any framing analysis. CDA is concerned with power and language. "In sum: CDA can be defined as being fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language." (Wodak/Meyer 2009, 10)

Dominant discourses in societies can be highlighted and applied to specific policies. A wide range of scholarship from discursive institutionalism (Schmidt 2008) to public health (Porter 1999) have focused on dominant public discourses. In turn,

various scholars have systematically coded and measured speech and media samples by starting with public discourses in order to highlight how issues have been framed (Beechey 2015; Dorfman et al. 2005; 2014). Dominant discourses are closely linked to framing and discursive power.

Discursive Power

> Discursive power is wielded when actors share the language others use to conceptualize, frame, and thereby define and understand an issue […] discursive power is available to the wide range of actors engaged in a public debate, including actors traditionally considered to be powerful such as government officials, and those less so, such as civil society activists effective at making their voices heard or media organizations that amplify some discourses over others. (Moon 2019, 6)

This quote highlights the importance of framing, of activist groups vs. traditionally powerful or elite actors, and of the media's role in amplifying certain voices. Who has discursive power? Actors such as the Prime Minister, provincial ministers, activist groups all wield discursive power, understood as actors defining issues in public debate.

Discursive institutionalism is relevant to mention here, as it sees discourse as a crucial building block of institutions. In bringing discourses and institutions closer, it builds on theories that have normally been kept separate through disciplinary or other means. Emphasizing discursive power can also demonstrate the power of the frames within discourse to influence, transform, build, and reflect policies, and by extension, institutions. Schmidt (2008) argues that discursive institutional analysis is more dynamic than other static forms of institutional theory, which are also critiqued as overly deterministic. This relates very closely to the *dynamic* nature of framing, thereby linking the concepts of discourse and framing together through dynamism. By extension, Moon (2019) refers to framing and channeling discourse about a given topic as a form of discursive power.

> Discourse is a more versatile and overarching concept than ideas. By using the term discourse, we can simultaneously indicate the ideas represented in the discourse (which may come in a variety of forms as well as content) and the interactive processes by which ideas are conveyed (which may be carried by different agents in different spheres). The discursive processes alone help explain why certain ideas succeed and others fail because of the ways in which they are projected to whom and where. (Schmidt 2008, 309)

Schmidt highlights how various actors engage in discursive processes. Connecting this to the typology of power, we can emphasize the discursive power held by certain actors and ideas in the public sphere.

Ideas

Béland and Waddan (2012) refer to the central role of ideas as driving forces in policy change, through the way that ideas can shape perception of issues, how they are part of strategic deliberations, and due to their close connection to frames and framing. "Because ideas are necessary for actors to make sense of their world as well as their position within it, we should pay close attention to ideas when studying the behavior, networks, and strategic preferences of political actors involved in policy change." (Béland/Waddan 2012, 8) This includes ideas that have informally diffused from global contexts. Policy diffusion understands that international ideas and norms can permeate national or domestic contexts, but that this is done informally. The role of discursive power can further explore this mechanism. New models that problematize power and a multifaceted concept must take ideas and discursive power seriously. The purpose of mapping the actors out is to illustrate not only the clusters of actors, interest groups and stakeholders in this very public and mediated battle, but also to illustrate the hierarchies of power and different forms of power at play. This constitutes a first step to then move into network analysis.

Framing and rights language

Framing can be understood as a way of angling certain arguments towards the public, and can also be understood as a technique and strategy used by elites. Framing often references politicians and media, and is seen as "the way in which political elites, such as the news media, politicians, interest groups and other political players define the political space and erect the boundaries within which a public policy will be considered" (Callaghan/Schnell 2005, xi). Frames organize ideas in the way that an event is described, an idea to which one can refer back to understand the issue. Complex issues can be defined, explained, and simplified through framing, and framing affects public opinion (Callaghan/Schnell 2005).

As such, framing is an essential component of discourse, and encompasses a crucial component of discursive power. Frames hold a significant amount of power, and the dissemination and diffusion of discourses and frames from international realms to localized Canadian events and political tensions merits closer analysis. Rights language, for instance, is one area in which assessing discursive power of frames can be useful.

In a similar vein as scholars who have written on health care provision and structures, Papillon identifies a struggle between rights-based and market-based approaches to governance:

> Aboriginal leaders used the language of human rights and self-
> determination to assert their claims for proper recognition of existing
> treaties, for control over their lands, and for greater recognition of their
> status as politically autonomous nations. (Papillon 2014, 116)

This is significant as it shows the importance of language, but also of policy diffusion from the international realm of the global decolonization movement in the 1960s and onwards. Papillon (2014) also tracks a shift from 'rights-based' approaches to more towards good governance, highlighting complications this means in terms of market economies and globalized processes of neoliberalism.

Connecting the governance literature to communication studies, Marland (2014) highlights how strategic political communication and interactions between elites (politicians and media actors) are prevalent in Canada, drawing from much of the political communication literature of the U.S. Incorporating critical discourse analysis and framing brings the political analysis to the area of power and its many dimensions. This discussion on discourse has been to deepen the understanding of how discursive power fits into debates on discursive institutionalism, CDA and framing.

Power asymmetries

Policy studies and political science have relied on many models that assess different target groups of either politically weak or strong groups, such as socially constructed groups when it comes to policy creation (Schneider/Ingram 1993). This power binary has been challenged in recent years. Moon (2019) has discussed power asymmetries in the field of global health, and a typology and problematization of power and the lens of power to understand globalization and health:

> […] grouping actors into a binary classification of 'powerful' or 'powerless'
> fails to recognize the many ways in which actors—even those
> traditionally characterized as 'weak' in International Relations (IR)
> studies—are able to exert influence in global governance. (Moon 2019, 2)

This too applies to various political actors and groups in Canada, who can thus be mapped out as Moon posits, not by simple binaries of who has power and who doesn't, or which actors are weak and which are strong; but rather as a complex interaction with various forms of power. Moon's (2019) comprehensive and detailed typology of power, and engagement with Bourdieu, Dahl, and other political theorists on power provide a framework that is useful for political science to adapt, to illustrate power relations not only in global arenas, but also on domestic levels. Mapping out democratic actors using the power framework results in clusters of actors including federal, provincial and local government (including parliament), mediated actors, civil society groups, advocacy groups and networks (such as the

Assembly of First Nations), resistance and protest movements, and more. Mapping out actors is one of the first steps in any given analysis to observe the actors involved and who interact on any given issues. A preliminary mapping was conducted by importing articles and webpages into MAXQDA and generating codes for different actor groups, which were then clustered into different forms of power. For the purposes of this paper, only linkages highlighting discursive power were included.

> Contemporary global governance processes are indeed characterized by hundreds, even thousands, of state and non-state actors simultaneously interacting and pursuing their objectives across multiple sectors, countries, times, and scales—sub-national, national, regional and global. (Moon 2019, 4-5)

Moon's (2019) framework is equally applying to domestic concerns. In a similar vein to the above quote, governance and government in Canada is characterized by a multitude of different actors with different interests, motives, and forms of power. This also highlights the networked aspect of these actors, borrowing from policy studies (Hill/Varone 2017; Jenkins-Smith et al. 2018).

Power and politics exclusively focused in the realm of elected officials, excluding other voices, marginalize other perspectives, including the realities of how institutional politics have failed so many and how systemic problems, including institutional racism, have undermined the structures used to govern today. Many also point to colonial structures being a source of systemic racism. Canadian scholarship has produced a great deal of important research on the government of Canada's framing of environment and the positioning and shifting of the federal government's discourse through analysis of federal documents. Similarly, there are countless empirically rich analyses of elite politician speeches to understand the positioning of the federal government and discourse analysis. This analysis of power dimensions constitutes part of a discursive power framework, and constitutes an integral part of mapping out the actors involved in any given political context – in this case, federal energy policy and the way it interacts and clashes with different actor groups who are able to harness different forms of power. These groups also include interest groups with specific motives. The mapping of the actors seeks to underline the importance of discursive power. The power framework also demonstrates the fluidity of different forms of power, but explicitly highlights the role of discursive and political power in what Moon (2019) and others have criticized conventional power models for oversimplifying: that traditionally 'strong' actors can be challenged through mapping out the actors involved in any given political context – in this case, federal energy policy and the way it interacts and clashes with different actor groups who are able to harness different forms of power.

Type of power	Empirical examples (actors)	Dominance/presence of this form of power. Policy context: Coastal Gaslink pipeline	Strength and network capacity
Discursive	Framing, media, digital platforms, social movements, hashtags.	Relatively weak discursive power of federal government in public discourse. Incorporate analysis of criticisms by UN bodies; strong discursive power and framing in media samples and social media, thereby affecting political salience.	Strong connections to political and institutional power. Important connection to public mood, political will and global outreach.
Political	Elected officials, governance models, but also social movements.	Strong political incentive for building pipeline.	Strong connection to economic power. Networks between energy companies and government. Contestation between different political groups. Complex network.
Institutional	Parliament, provincial, municipal governments, courts, relations between advocacy groups.	Strong institutional support from federal government, elected chiefs, and Coastal Gaslink corporation to move ahead with the pipeline.	Strong institutional connection to economic and political power, but also includes institutional opposition and courts.
Economic	Allocation of resources, job creation.	Strong economic incentives.	Strong connection to political power, potentially weaker connection to discursive power of harnessing frames for media.

Fig. 1 – Typology of power adapted from Moon's (2019) power framework in global health governance

These groups also include interest groups with specific motives. The mapping of the actors seeks to underline the importance of discursive power. The power framework also demonstrates the fluidity of different forms of power, but explicitly

highlights the role of discursive and political power in what Moon (2019) and others have criticized conventional power models for oversimplifying: that traditionally 'strong' actors can be challenged through different forms of power. The power of protest and discursive power wielded by political actors has implications for changing power balances.

Mapping actors is a first step to then further examine interest and stakeholder groups. In analyzing several media articles and the Unist'ot'en camp website using MAXQDA MAXmaps, main actors mentioned were coded and then regrouped under four forms of power, with emphasis on media and activist groups under discursive power. These were then regrouped a second time into three forms of power (institutional, economic, discursive) with the fourth form of power (political) re-mapped as main political actors with strong linkages to discursive power.
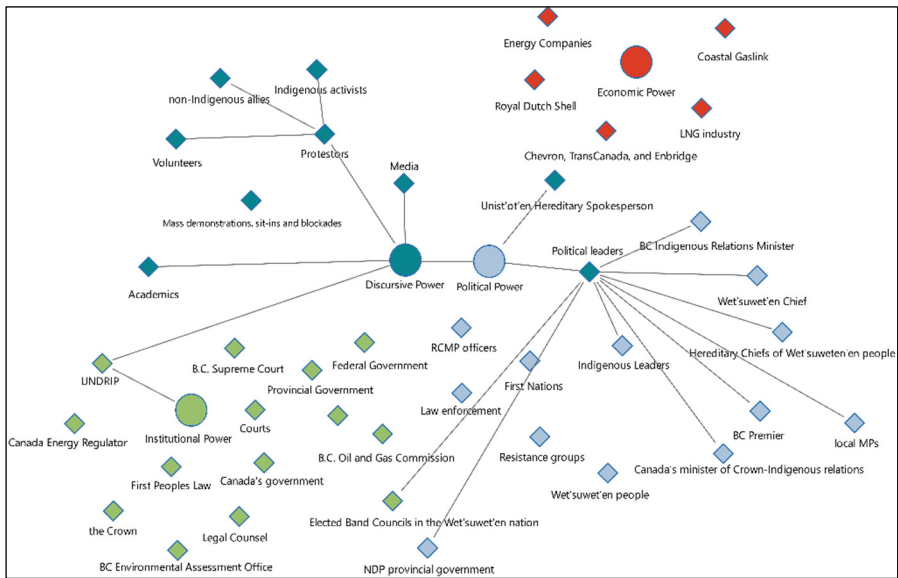

Fig. 2 – Mapping actors based on selected media articles on pipeline controversy, through a modified power lens[4]

There is a strong link between discursive power and institutional power, as governments and government actors can fall into both categories. Discursive power is often linked to media, activists and voices that are able to harness public attention.

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4   Map created from codes generated in MAXQDA20 coding of preliminary articles and webpages. One article specifically highlighting several main actors was not coded due to space constraints. Thus, many other key players' names may not be present in the map. Focus on linkages only on discursive power and actors.

As such, activist groups are central to discursive power but established, institutionalized politicians are too. As such, the mapping illustrates the close link between discursive power and political power, with political leaders all harnessing discursive power within a networked actor backdrop that includes layers of economic and institutional power as well. The mapping exercise illustrates the close connection between protesters, media, and various political leaders. This illustrates that the framing of the issue through various news channels should be further studied, as well as the networked aspect of power.

Two significant patterns emerge from a preliminary actor map based on media reports on the pipeline protests (Baker 2020 and Cecco 2020 for *The Guardian*; Kestler-D'Amours 2020 *for Al Jazeera*; Landry 2020; Unist'ot'en Camp 2020). The first is the significant overlap in forms of power, for example, the connection between political and institutional power. In the preliminary mapping, political power was attributed to specific groups, leaders and individuals, whereas institutional power was attributed primarily to governance structures. Similarly, the Unist'ot'en hereditary spokesperson was coded initially for discursive power but also overlaps with institutional and political power. The limit of this mapping is therefore the inability to qualify how far the overlaps occur. The second trend is the emphasis on discursive power. In creating codes for the actor groups, the actor groups in the top left corner were coded with discursive power but also other forms of overlapping power. The preliminary mapping can therefore illustrate the visualization of how forms of discursive power connect, link, and influence other forms of power. These linkages between discursive, political and institutional power are significant. Most importantly, they bring a variety of mediated and political actors into the framing and power field.

One important finding from Moon's (2019) overview of power highlights how "NGOs with far fewer economic resources than multinational corporations or wealthy governments are able to use moral, expert, and discursive power to act as an effective counterweight to them in global political arenas." (Moon 2019, 8) In a similar vein, indigenous land defenders are able to use discursive power even if lacking in the type of resources and political/physical power of the federal government. Although Moon's (2019) typology highlights the power asymmetries in the field of global health governance, the broader and more detailed conceptualization of power has significant implications for the power asymmetries in Canadian political orders. We can see this power asymmetry happening right now, as Kymlicka (2014) refers to the relationships of specific nations within Canada as asymmetrical orders.

Asymmetry and ideology require further development. Once typologized as such, conducting discursive analyses to assess discursive power asymmetries can be done – asymmetries in the way issues are framed and presented in Canada. This opens the door to future research examining social policy, including welfare policy, social movements, and changes to existing institutional governance structures. Layering asymmetries and ideologies allows for a more critical approach. However, discursive

power alone may not be enough, and it is indeed often overlapping with political actors – showing that discursive power must be harnessed in combination with other forms of power.

Going forward, the mapping of the actors involved in this issue, along with the types of power that can be attributed to them is a more comprehensive and nuanced method of evaluating political and power actors outside of the realm of elected politics (Towler/Parker 2018). Social movements focused on civil rights have impacted policy and shaped federal policy, and other stakeholders (including economic interests) are included. Further research on this preliminary mapping will comprise a larger, systemically gathered dataset of media and policy documents which will allow for exploration of network analysis that incorporates different forms of power. Finally, political diffusion from international to domestic levels applies and was highlighted in the 'actor' of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), coded for both institutional and discursive power. Although Canada initially voted against UNDRIP, Canada has since reversed its position (United Nations 2020).

Conclusion

There is a wide range of actors that pertain to political polarization and cleavages, with varying types of power, which give a fuller picture of Canadian democracy. Power is a complex notion with different components to it. In modifying Moon's (2019) typology of power, this paper then focused on discursive power as one of many forms of power that different political actors have at their disposal, highlighting the importance of discourse, discursive power, and the power of framing.

This paper highlighted two main questions: first, what is the relationship between institutional power and civil society's power? This was answered more in line with political orders and the ways in which describing the Canadian political order as a singular provides a very narrow picture of elected political interests, without taking other institutions, legitimate forms of governance and voices outside of elected politics into account. The second, how can we conceptualize of institutional/electoral legitimacy and current resistance movements through a power lens? A theoretical and analytical framework focusing on discursive power, as aligned with or juxtaposed against other forms of power, was put forward, with contexts and strengths given a particular issue, then mapped and clustered in a chart. The areas of research in this paper span policy studies, resistance movement scholarship, and discourse/insti-tutional power and media studies. Future work on mapping actors through power lenses can integrate media analysis as well as policy analysis in line with the forms of power typology, which allows for analysis of various forms of social policy.

Tensions continue between federal elected political actors, economic actors, and other voices in Canadian democracy. These tensions include struggles for recognition and for forms of power, including discursive power. Benkler et al. (2018) highlight the asymmetries in political communication in the U.S. How can we apply similar

concepts of asymmetry to Canada, and specifically, in two dimensions: to politically polarized groups, and more generally speaking, between elected politicians and voices in Canadian democracy whose interests and positions do not align with federal policy and indeed, which question the legitimacy of such power sources? A two-fold tension presents itself: First, the partisanship within elected politics. Second, the interests and subsequent tensions between elected politicians as a monolith operating within the interests of the state, and the sovereign interests of nations within Canada such as the Wet'suwe'ten land defenders, whose voices have been amplified by international bodies as well as through digitalization, the reaches of social media, and international news coverage (Mitchell/Enns 2014; Raynaud/ Richez/Morris 2017, BBC 2020a).

Canadian society is often understood as divided through cultural and linguistic cleavages that manifest through political parties and distinct nations, but the voices and structures that are still excluded from this conceptualization of divisions constitute the ongoing resistance movements and conflict between indigenous groups and federal government – and these have been growing for decades. This paper explored these divisions, while highlighting the multiple orders that exist in Canada – as the discussion on political orders, including hybrid political orders borrows from security studies. This led to a discussion of discourses and media, and while the Canadian media landscape does not have the same kind of extreme polarization as in the U.S., there are other forces that we can ask for future research on this topic – what does the process of discursive power at the global media level mean for rights and recognition?

This underscored a critical discussion on the concept of political orders as plural: of systems and structures of governance that go beyond elected parliamentary democracy of Canada, and engage those voices who have been excluded but have strong discursive power that can impact and disrupt other forms of power in Canada. This paper also brings the literature on political orders, discursive power and power dimensions to Canadian cases, where it is critically needed in order to understand the changing political landscapes and the various actors networked together in the contested, complexity of powers that constitutes governance in Canada. Finally, I acknowledge this paper as only the beginning of my work continuing to connect political and policy studies to the wider context of social movements and decolonial methodologies: "As settler scholars, we can reposition our work relationally and contextually with humility and accountability. We can centre Indigenous resistance, knowledges, and scholarship in our work…" (Carlson 2016, 10) I invite readers to continue this critical work of repositioning.

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