

# “Nothing About Us Without Us” -Rhetorical Analysis of Greenland’s Arctic Policy<sup>1</sup>

Alexandra Middleton<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

This study investigates Greenland's Arctic policy, issued in February 2024, through rhetorical analysis, to understand how Greenland envisions its future role in the Arctic, considering geopolitical and cultural historical factors. Utilizing critical policy analysis employing rhetoric, this research examines numerous rhetorical dimensions of Greenland's Arctic policy document. Findings reveal that Greenland positions itself as a strong, independent actor in Arctic affairs, emphasizing the principle "nothing about us without us." The results demonstrate that Greenland's Arctic Policy is forward-looking, metaphorical, and assertive, reflecting Greenland's clear vision of its role in Arctic geopolitics and its demand for a significant presence in forums, such as the Arctic Council. This analysis contributes to a broader understanding of policy argumentation by highlighting the importance of qualitative evidence, ethical considerations, and balanced rhetorical device use in shaping persuasive policy documents. This study offers valuable insights for academic research on policy rhetoric and practical discussions on international relations and Arctic affairs.

**Keywords:** Arctic, Greenland, Policy, Rhetorical Analysis

## “Biz Olmadan, Bizimle İlgili Hiçbir Şey Olmaz” – Grönland’ın Arktik Politikasının Retorik Analizi

### Özet

Bu çalışma, Grönland'ın Şubat 2024'te yayımlanan Arktik politikasını, jeopolitik ve kültürel tarihsel faktörleri göz önünde bulundurarak, Grönland'ın Arktik'teki gelecekteki rolünü nasıl öngördüğünü anlamak için retorik analiz yoluyla incelemektedir. Eleştirel politika analizi yöntemi kullanarak, Grönland'ın Arktik politika belgesindeki çeşitli retorik boyutlar değerlendirilmiştir. Bulgular, Grönland'ın kendisini Arktik meselelerinde güçlü, bağımsız bir aktör olarak konumlandığını ve “biz olmadan, bizimle ilgili hiçbir şey olmaz” ilkesini vurguladığını ortaya koymaktadır. Sonuçlar, Grönland'ın Arktik Politikası'nın ileriye dönük, metaforik ve iddialı olduğunu, Grönland'ın Arktik jeopolitiğindeki rolü konusunda net bir vizyona sahip olduğunu ve Arktik Konseyi gibi forumlarda önemli bir varlık talep ettiğini göstermektedir. Bu analiz, ikna edici politika belgelerini şekillendirmede nitel kanıtların, etik değerlendirmelerin ve dengeli retorik araç kullanımının önemini vurgulayarak politika argümantasyonunun daha geniş bir şekilde anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, politika retorik üzerine akademik araştırmalar ve uluslararası ilişkiler ile Arktik meseleleri üzerine pratik tartışmalar için değerli bilgiler sunmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Arktik, Grönland, Politika, Retorik Analizi

**Statement of Research and Publication Ethics** The study does not require an ethics committee decision

**Author's Contributions to the Article** A.M. contributed solely to the design and implementation of the study, the analysis of the results and the writing of the text. The author's contribution to the article is 100%.

**Declaration of Interest** There is no conflict of interest/conflict between the author and third parties in the study.

<sup>1</sup> This article is derived from a project, thesis, conference paper, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Postdoctoral Researcher, University of Oulu, Oulu Business School, Department of Accounting, Finance and Economics, Oulu/Finland, alexandra.middleton@oulu.fi, ORCID ID: 0000-0001-9345-6426

## 1. Introduction

The Arctic, a region of increasing geopolitical interest (Feldt, 2022), is becoming a focal point for investors and companies seeking resources for green transition (Peimani, 2013; Dadwal, 2014). As more nations are looking for Arctic resources and developing Arctic policies and strategies, the Arctic has become a geopolitical region. The focus here is on Greenland, a nation rich in Arctic resources with a colonial past (Heinrich, 2023) that is striving for independence. However, the island's colonial past and ongoing struggle for independence from Denmark (Ackrén & Jakobsen, 2024) add layers of complexity to its geopolitical stance. Moreover, Greenland has a history of defense and other forms of collaboration with the United States.

In February 2024, Greenland took a significant step forward by revealing its new “Foreign Defense and Security Policy 2024-2033:an Arctic strategy” which is referred to as Arctic policy throughout this study. It should be noted that this policy was published before the release of the Governments of Greenland, Faroes, and Denmark's new strategy for the Arctic for the period 2021-2030 that is still being developed.

This study explores this policy using critical policy rhetorical analysis as part of international relations research. Although a substantial number of investigations have focused on Arctic policies (DeCocco, 2020; Heininen et al., 2019), critical policy studies that employ rhetorical analysis have not been widely implemented. The present investigation contributes to the field of international relations and Arctic policies by means of a critical rhetorical analysis of Greenland's Arctic policy, with a view to understanding its perspective on the future of the Arctic from both geopolitical and cultural-historical standpoints. This study sheds light on how Greenland frames itself in a geopolitical context, and how it sees its cultural and historic identity through this policy.

The results demonstrate that Greenland sees itself as a strong and independent player in Arctic affairs, wanting its voice heard and a place at the table, with a strong message of “nothing about us without us.” It appeals to emotional connotations using rhetorical devices in the text. While the text is quite balanced through the rhetorical canon of invention, the use of pathos appears to be the most emphasized. The language used in the policy is forward-looking, metaphorical, and powerful in expression, portraying Greenland as a strong, independent player that has some influence in the Arctic. This study contributes to the shifting geopolitical Arctic landscape by providing a novel analysis of Greenland's Arctic policy, using critical policy rhetorical methods.

The paper begins with a literature review to contextualize Greenland's position within Arctic geopolitics and cultural history, followed by a detailed analysis of its Arctic policy through the lenses of critical rhetoric analysis. The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. First, a literature review on the historic geographic position of Greenland and its cultural historical context is presented. This is followed by an introduction to the theoretical framework, which employs critical rhetorical analysis. Subsequently, Methods section outlines the research design and data collection techniques. Results section presents the findings of the study, and finally, the Discussion and Conclusion sections discusses the implications of the results and suggests directions for future research.

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1. Positioning Greenland in geopolitical and political context

Greenland, the world's largest island, has a rich history and unique geographical features that have shaped its development over millennia. Greenland's ice sheet covers approximately 1,710,000 km<sup>2</sup>, which is approximately 80% of the land area within Greenland, whereas bedrock exposed at the surface covers an area of approximately 410,000 km<sup>2</sup> (Henriksen et al., 2009). Human habitation in Greenland dates to approximately 4,500 years ago, commencing with the Paleo-Eskimos. Initially, people were thought to have migrated from the islands north of the North American continent (Rasmussen, 2024). However, archaeological evidence demonstrates that these first settlers were followed by several other people from

the continental part of North America. The Inuit, who were particularly of Thule culture, are believed to have migrated to Greenland around the year 1200 (Sørensen, 2020). Norse settlers arrived in Greenland at the end of the 10th century. Subsequently, the Norse settlements along the southwest coast disappeared by the 15th century (Rasmussen, 2024).

Greenland's colonial history began in 1721 with the arrival of Danish priest Hans Egede, who initiated European colonization by establishing trade stations along the west coast (Nielsen & Kjærgaard, 2021). In 1953, Greenland evolved from being a Danish colony to being another part of the Danish, it was incorporated into the Danish Realm as an "amt" or county, which ended its colonial status (Krivorotov, 2021). Greenland gained autonomy from Denmark in 1979, but the former colonial power still has control of the island's most important affairs (Heinrich, 2023). Despite obtaining autonomy, Greenland still depends heavily on Denmark for financial support and monetary policy management. The move towards self-governance was further solidified with the Self-Government Act of 2009, which granted Greenland the right to independence, a goal supported by most political parties in Greenland (Ackrén & Jakobsen, 2024). Denmark controls key areas, such as foreign affairs, defense, and monetary policy, which shows that the island still relies on its former colonial power.

Since 1979, Greenland has had its own government and parliament. Greenland recognizes itself as a self-governing, autonomous country within the Kingdom of Denmark (Visit Greenland 2024). However, Greenland is not yet a fully independent country, and discussions about independence continue to be a central theme in its political landscape. Most political parties in Greenland perceive independence as a long-term objective and logical step forward from the current position of self-government status (Bijak, 2023). The draft constitution published by Greenland is the latest move in the bid for full independence from Danish control (Breum, 2023). The attainment of full independence is combined with several challenges to be addressed, such as economic, social, and international relations.

Greenland's geostrategic importance is shaped by being an integral part of US security and foreign policy, especially during World War II and the Cold War (Ackrén & Jakobsen, 2015). This geostrategic position is still relevant in contemporary geopolitics, especially given the race for Arctic resources and the presence of the Thule Air Base (Ackrén & Jakobsen, 2015). At the same time, interest in the mineral wealth of Greenland, from gold and diamonds to rare earth elements, has been successful only in very limited ways, and has strong political and economic overtones (Christiansen, 2022).

Over the past decade, China has significantly increased its geopolitical role in Greenland, with many opportunities to open new dangers and concerns for all eight Arctic states, non-state actors, and Indigenous Peoples. Greenland is viewed as critical to Chinese Arctic Policy because of its rich natural resources and strategic location as a potential termination point of the Polar Silk Road via the Transpolar Route (Volpe, 2021). At the same time in Greenland, there has been a lot of resistance to the involvement of China in Greenland, especially for the socio-political consequences that Chinese investment projects might unfold (Volpe, 2021). Moreover, plans for Chinese mining and infrastructure projects in Greenland, in particular, the Kuannersuit uranium mining project and the Isua iron ore project, have either been suspended or rejected at the exploratory stage. Environmental concerns are the major reason for this opposition, as is the fear of economic dependency (van Brunnersum, 2022). These historical, cultural, and geological factors have combined to make Greenland a hotspot of international attention, a place where rich indigenous heritage is counterpoised with modern geopolitical and economic challenges (Brincker, 2022).

While Greenland's geopolitical ambitions are shaped by its rich resources and strategic location, these are deeply intertwined with its cultural heritage and identity, which we will explore next.

## *2.2. Cultural and historic background of Greenland's identity*

The cultural identity of Greenland is complex and stems from several historical and geographical factors. The harsh Arctic and subarctic climates have deeply ingrained a natural environment-based lifestyle on the island, from which specialized hunter-gatherer societies such as the Thule Culture Inuit have evolved to exist and flourish in Greenland from the 13th to the 19th centuries (Sørensen, 2020). It was later

augmented by the 10th century arrival and 15th century disappearance of Norse settlers and European colonization, which began in 1721 with missionary Hans Egede, who re-introduced Christianity and established Danish colonial trading stations (Nielsen & Kjærgaard, 2021).

This migration and contact history are similarly reflected in the genetic makeup of modern Greenlanders, with a major Inuit component with European admixture, mainly in the western parts (Pereira et al., 2015). Danish colonization of Greenland also meant the imposition of Danish laws and educational reforms to modernize Greenland (Thiesen & Minton, 2022); however, these often conflicted with traditional lifestyles, thus generating resistance and a strong belief in cultural preservation among Greenlanders (Dahl, 2010).

The introduction of written Greenlandic and the local press in the 19th century helped foster a sense of nationality and created a culture of literacy among people (Nielsen & Kjærgaard, 2021). Throughout the 20th century, the struggle for increased autonomy eventually peaked in the 2009 Self-Government Act, making Greenland one of the longest desires for self-determination and control over natural resources—a clear, distinctive hallmark of its identity (Rud, 2017; Johnstone, 2020). Many Greenlanders are of both Inuit and Scandinavian ancestry, which is one of the most important aspects of claims for recognition and equality, but it also generates much tension within a post-colonial setting. Greenland is officially referred to as Kalaallit Nunaat, instead of Inuit Nunaat. The term Kalaallit is derived from the West Greenlandic language and denotes Greenlanders who have ancestry from both the Inuit in the western region and the Scandinavians in the eastern part of the island.

Post-colonial Inuit heritage and Greenlanders' indigenous status significantly drove Greenland's independence aspirations. Concurrently, contemporary Greenlandic films and literature often exclude Danes, undermining the genetic and cultural legacy of society (Thisted 2022). This exclusion challenges Greenlanders with European ancestry and dual identities, having one Danish and one Greenlandic parent, highlighting unresolved ethnic tensions and the persistence of outdated colonial affective economies in Danish-Greenlandic relations (Thisted, 2022).

Cultural identity is further shaped by demographic changes and urbanization policies, first colonial and then local. This happened to settlements such as Kangerlussuaq, which transformed from a military base into a civilian hub, illustrating the dynamics of Greenlandic society (Dzik, 2014). Therefore, Greenland's cultural identity is molded by its harsh geographical setting, historical migrations, colonial legacies, geopolitical, and ongoing efforts towards self-government and cultural preservation.

### *2.3. Studies on Arctic policies*

Recently, research has focused on Arctic strategies and policies (Heininen, 2011; Martín, 2018; Serova et al. 2020; Heininen et al. 2019; DeCocco, 2020). For instance, a report "Arctic Policies and Strategies — Analysis, Synthesis, and Trends" represents a comprehensive analysis of the policies, strategies, and statements of the Arctic actors (Heininen et al. 2019). The methodological approach employed in this study is predominantly quantitative in nature, entailing the systematic coding of text from 56 policy documents spanning the period 1996–2019. Each policy document was scrutinized, and quotes were selected and coded for subsequent analyses. By examining these excerpts, it was possible to identify and compare the various strategies employed by documents to address a range of issues. The main themes identified were Arctic governance, economy, international cooperation, the human dimension, environmental protection, and the role of indigenous peoples and education in the context of Arctic policies and strategies (Heininen et al. 2019).

Additionally, the study "Arctic Policy: Learning from Current Arctic Strategies compares strategy documents from the United States, Canada, Russia, and Denmark, highlighting duplications in goals and challenges for Arctic operations (DeCocco, 2020). These studies underline the increasing importance of Arctic strategies in policymaking and offer valuable insights into applied methodologies within this research field.

Despite numerous studies on Arctic policies, systematic rhetorical analyses have not yet been conducted. This study fills this gap by applying this methodology to Greenland's newly published Arctic policy, thereby offering fresh insights into the Arctic policy research domain.

#### *2.4. Greenland's foreign policy*

The forces that influence Greenland's Arctic policy are many-faceted, mirroring a distinct geopolitical stance and ambition towards greater self-governance. Greenland's domestic and international policy decisions are influenced by its status as an autonomous territory within Denmark, with a legally defined path towards independence (Grydehøj, 2020). What applies to Greenland's Arctic policy is the notion of paradiplomacy, whereby Greenland participates in non-military cooperation and international networks to create its Arctic presence (Ackrén, 2014). This is further enabled by Denmark's dependence on Greenland's strategic location, which empowers Greenland to augment its sovereignty in foreign policy (Jacobsen, 2020). The current Self-Government Act and Danish Constitution set up a legal and political framework that endows Greenland with specific competencies in foreign affairs, although these are intricate and might be subject to change (Kleist, 2019).

Greenland's foreign policy has passed through various stages and is regulated by various treaties and agreements that underscore the growing international role of Greenland and its relations with Denmark (Høegh, 2024). The following review discusses some relevant foreign policy documents shaping the trajectory of foreign policy.

The Greenland Treaty of 9 April 1941 initiated a continuing American military presence in Greenland. Signed between the Danish ambassador in Washington D.C. and the U.S. government, the treaty gave the U.S. permission to begin establishing military bases in Greenland in return for defending it. Although initially concluded against the wishes of the Nazi-occupied Danish government, it was ratified by the Danish Parliament after Denmark's liberation in 1945 (Høegh, 2024). The American military presence in Greenland was further consolidated through the Defense Agreement of 27 April 1951. This agreement, signed after Denmark's accession to NATO in 1949, provided for a permanent US military presence during Greenland's colonial period, when the country had no constitutionally guaranteed political rights (Heymann et al., 2010).

The Igaliku Agreement (2004) and subsequent joint declarations amended the 1951 Defense Agreement, outlining the framework for both the American military presence and broader civilian cooperation between the United States and Greenland (Dragsdahl, 2005). The Common Plan for U.S.-Greenland Cooperation guarantees a higher-degree commitment to cooperate at political, economic, peace, and security dimensions in 2020.

The Memoranda of Understanding on Business and Raw Materials from June 2023, signed by the Government of Greenland and the European Union, facilitated joint geological surveys and enhanced cooperation in mineral exploration and development, reflecting a shared interest in Greenland's resource potential (EU, 2023).

The Ilulissat Declaration, signed in 2008 and later reaffirmed in 2018, is another pivotal document (Ilulissat Declaration, 2009). Signed by Arctic coastal states, including Greenland (represented as part of the Kingdom of Denmark), the declaration emphasizes peaceful cooperation and the resolution of Arctic issues through existing international legal frameworks. This reflects a shared interest in maintaining the Arctic as a low-tension region.

The Agreement Package on Pituffik (Thule) Air Base signed in 2020 includes a bilateral cooperation plan, new tender criteria for the base maintenance contract, and recognition of Greenland's role in U.S. security. This agreement package signifies a move towards ensuring greater benefits for Greenland from the American military presence, including economic opportunities and tax revenue. Lastly, the U.S. Unilateral Statement on Defense Investments (16 September 2018) expressed renewed U.S. strategic interest in Greenland, including potential dual-use investments in infrastructure, highlighting the island's growing geopolitical significance ((Høegh, 2024).

Greenland's foreign policy independence exists within a complex relationship with Denmark. While Greenland remains a self-governing territory within the Kingdom of Denmark and lacks ultimate decision-making power in foreign and security policies, its autonomy has expanded, particularly in areas directly related to its interests. The 2009 Self-Government Act granted Greenland full responsibility for its natural resources and the right to negotiate international agreements (Áckren & Jackobesen, 2015). This has allowed Greenland to pursue its interests in fisheries management and mineral resource development. Despite increased autonomy, tensions arise because foreign policies and security are often intertwined with natural resources. Greenland actively seeks to shape Denmark's Arctic foreign policy, particularly within the Arctic Council, and its relationship with the United States regarding the Thule Air Base highlights its efforts to secure greater benefits. Greenland operates within a framework of shared competence, where Denmark holds ultimate authority, but Greenland exercises increasing influence in areas affecting its interests (Askren & Jacobsen, 2015). The evolving nature of this relationship and the growing international significance of the Arctic will likely lead to further negotiations and adjustments in the balance of power between Greenland and Denmark.

The document under analysis of this study is "Greenland's Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy 2024-2033- an Arctic Strategy" (Greenland's Arctic Policy, 2024), which was published on 21 February 2024 (Breum, 2024). The preparation of this policy was tasked to the government of Greenland, called Naalakkersuisut (Breum, 2024). According to Saalbach (2024), Greenland's Arctic policy delineates its geopolitical implications and strategic approach towards Arctic issues. Furthermore, Greenland's Arctic policy serves as a blueprint for foreign, security, and defense strategy, demonstrating its significance in shaping Greenland's diplomatic relations and defense mechanisms (Martinussen, 2024).

### **3. Theoretical Framework**

The study and practice of rhetoric takes roots in ancient Greece, where rhetoric formed the cornerstones of civic life. The study and practice of rhetoric has a long history. Originally associated with speaking, rhetoric became widely applicable to written discourse with the advent of printing in the fifteenth century (Frost, 2017).

Rhetorical analysis can be understood as an effort to understand how people in specific social situations attempt to influence others through language (Selzer, 2003). Rhetoric pertains to the academic discipline of studying rhetoric, the art of employing rhetoric in writing or speech, and the strategic use of language to influence audiences (Frost, 2017; Jasinski 2001). This study adopts the latter definition.

Rhetorical analysis is a potent method for comprehending how communication persuades or influences the audience. This approach is particularly beneficial for analyzing policy papers, as it illuminates the strategies employed to garner support for specific actions (Winton, 2013). It is crucial to understand that rhetorical analysis perceives policy not merely as a collection of written decisions but as a dynamic process involving individuals, power struggles, and compromises, all molded by language. Policy texts such as strategy documents become rhetorical when they strategically use language to construct a problem and present solutions in a manner designed to persuade a specific audience (Edwards et al.2013).

Early teachers of rhetoric saw a need for a structured approach to crafting persuasive discourse, so they divided the study of rhetoric into the following five canons: invention, disposition, style, memory, and delivery (Frost, 2017; Jasinski 2001). Although conceived within the oral communication setting, these canons are applicable to both written and digital forms of communication. The first canon is invention, which deals with the development and refinement of arguments through appeals to logic, logos, emotion, or pathos, and the credibility of the speaker or ethos. The second canon, disposition, guides the arrangement and organization of arguments to affect these arguments at the best possible rate. The third canon of style addresses everything from word choice to sentence structure, use of figurative language, and setting tone and cadence for communication. In its original form, the fourth canon, memory, focuses on techniques for memorizing speech. Contemporary rhetoric has been reinterpreted as a way to strategically use shared cultural memories and experiences (Leach, 2000). Finally, the canon of delivery,

initially oriented towards the speaker's physical presence and vocal delivery, concerns the relationship between the content of a message and its mode of dissemination.

Rhetorical canons can be used to analyze and understand any persuasive communication, whether it is speech, written text, or even a work of art. These canons continue to be used in contemporary rhetorical studies, albeit with evolved meanings and relevance over centuries (Frost, 2017; Jasinski, 2001).

Several key elements were considered when conducting a rhetorical analysis of policy papers. The “rhetorical situation” is established by analyzing the contexts that influence their creation and reception (Bitzer, 1968), including identifying the intended audience and understanding the broader historical, social, or political circumstances that might influence how the policy and its arguments are likely to be perceived (Leach, 2000).

Three main rhetorical genres or canon of invention: forensic (legal), epideictic (ceremonial), and deliberative (political) are considered as persuasive genres. Each genre employs a unique persuasion strategy. For instance, while forensic speech focuses on past events to establish guilt or innocence, a deliberative genre would likely emphasize the future benefits of the proposed actions (Finlayson, 2007).

The analysis also considers five traditional categories, sometimes called rhetorical canons, through which persuasive techniques are analyzed. These comprise of invention which involves the discovery of arguments *logos*, or logic; *pathos*, or emotional appeal; and *ethos*, or credibility (Winton, 2013). In particular, the following questions were asked when analyzing the canon of intention:

1. *Ethos* (credibility): How does the policy paper establish trust and authority? Does it draw upon expert opinions, invoke shared values, or highlight relevant experience to bolster its legitimacy?
2. *Pathos* (emotion): Does the policy paper evoke fear, hope, patriotism, or other emotions to resonate with the audience and make arguments more compelling?
3. *Logos* (logic): Are logical arguments used to support the claims? Does the policy paper draw upon evidence, statistics, or reasoned arguments to make its case?

The other elements that are considered are disposition, which refers to the form of the policy paper, its style, memory, which refers to shared cultural memories or historical discourses, and delivery, referring to how the document is conveyed, its visual presentation, or the platform chosen for its dissemination. This study is rooted in a critical comprehension of policy and is situated within the realm of critical policy studies. Unlike traditional policy analysis, which typically perceives policy as authoritative decisions encapsulated in documents (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009), a critical viewpoint views policy as more than just text (Pini & Gorostiaga, 2008). It encompasses individuals, groups, practices, events, ideas, power dynamics, struggles, and compromises (Bowe et al., 2017; Ball, 1994). From this perspective, policy is seen as complex, inherently political, and imbued with values (Bowe et al., 1992), in contrast to traditional views of policymaking as a rational and linear process. Critical policy analysis views policy issues, much like the social world, not as objective problems, but as social constructs, with language playing a pivotal role in their creation and promotion (Edelman, 1988). The goal of critical education policy research is to challenge inequalities by understanding how policies contribute to perpetuation.

This critical understanding is applied to the examination of Greenland’s Arctic policy text as a rhetorical text. This study contributes to Arctic policy research by critically examining Greenland’s Arctic policy through a lens of critical policy studies and rhetorical analysis. Critical understanding was applied to the examination of Greenland’s Arctic policy as rhetorical text. In this context, rhetoric pertains to the strategic use of language to influence audiences (Frost, 2017; Jasinski, 2001). By critically examining Greenland’s Arctic policy, this study considers its geopolitical importance, cultural heritage, and identity discussions.

## 4. Method

### 4.1. Rhetorical analysis

All five canons of rhetorical analysis were applied to examine Greenland's Arctic policy. This five-point framework—invention, disposition, style, memory, and delivery were applied in dissecting the policy document. Through the canon of invention, the arguments within the policy were identified and refined, and disposition helped lay down its organization. The style canon was used to analyze the choice of words and sentence structures, and the general tone of the document. The fourth canon, memory, was used to understand how the document strategically used shared cultural memories and experiences, particularly those connected to Greenland's cultural and historical identity. Finally, the canon of delivery was used to analyze how the content of the policy had been presented and disseminated. This approach assists in creating a deep understanding of Greenland's Arctic policy in the geopolitical Arctic context and its importance in the formation and reflection of Greenland's cultural and historical identity.

### 4.2. Stages of rhetorical analysis

This analysis involved several steps. First, Tropes software for tracing the key structures of the text and most commonly used words was applied. Tropes is a free text analysis software that performs stylistic, syntactic, and semantic analyses, identifies various word categories, conducts thematic analyses, and detects discursive structures that can be later used in rhetorical analysis (Gmach et al. 2022). Tropes was used to identify the recurring themes and episodes in the document. The phrases and expressions in the text were then grouped according to the purpose of the analysis.

For instance, everything that pertained to the use of pathos as a rhetorical device was placed under one category. Thus, it would be easier to specifically examine how emotional appeals were used in the document. The text also contained other rhetorical devices such as memory. These were contextualized by analyzing language use within the document. This helped determine the genre of the document and the stylistic choices of words and idioms. The identification of rhetorical canons contributed to unraveling the overall rhetorical strategy employed in the document. The analysis also examined the target audience of the document. The descriptions and stylistic choices of the people of Greenland were considered. It is important to note that this has implications for the cultural and identity purposes that the document tries to convey. One could infer from the way the document speaks of the people of Greenland how it wants to shape perceptions and understanding of Greenland's identity.

In summary, rhetorical analysis comprised a close reading of the text using Tropes software, after which categorization, based on rhetorical devices, and an analysis of the audience as well as Greenlandic people in the representation were performed.

## 5. Results

The Greenlandic Arctic policy document under analysis, comprising just over 11,000 words, is structured with a forward by Vivian Motzfeldt, Minister for Statehood and Foreign Affairs in Greenland, and further divided into thirteen distinct sections. The strategy text was thoroughly examined using five canons of rhetorical analysis, with special attention paid to the canon of intention (ethos, pathos, and logos). This comprehensive approach provided a detailed understanding of the text, uncovering its logical arguments, emotional appeals, and source credibility.

### 5.2. Audience and delivery of the policy text

The audience for Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy includes government officials, international allies and partners, academics and policy analysts, the general public, the media, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the private sector. Additionally, future generations of Greenland have been identified as part of the audience.

The policy aims to serve as a tool for Greenland's position in the international community, looking far ahead towards the goal of statehood and full membership in the United Nations. The document is also addressed to "our partners," underlining Greenland's commitment to collaboration and engagement with the international community. It underlines, on several occasions, Greenland's desire to play a more active role within the international community, notably in the UN. Greenland positions itself as a responsible and engaged actor who desires greater recognition and an increased influence on global affairs. The document directly addresses the Arctic Council, emphasizing the need for the Council to become "*more relevant and inclusive to the people's of the Arctic, p.13.*"

There are also several implicit appeals to individual nations in the document. It notices historical, cultural, and family ties that bind Greenland to European countries and reminds them of the value of their relationship with Greenland, calling for them to recognize the changing nature of that partnership. One of the most prominent partners of Greenland, the United States, has been repeatedly addressed in this document. This paper seeks cooperation, notably in trade and defense, with a call for a revised and fair partnership that considers the strategic position of Greenland with its interests. Canada, Greenland's closest neighbor, is invited to cooperate closely in areas such as trade, transport, and cultural exchange. The document points to a strengthening of the bonds between the Inuit communities in both countries and underlines that historical barriers to cooperation must be overcome.

Regarding the canon of delivery, the policy text conforms to the canon of delivery in writing. Through a structured and detailed presentation, the policy is presented in an accessible manner to its target audience. The mode of delivery impacts the effectiveness of the policy; in this case, the written form establishes a record that can be kept for further reference, study, and analysis. The document is produced in three languages: Danish, Greenlandic, and English. This makes it accessible, guaranteeing it caters to a diverse audience, thereby reinforcing the principle of inclusivity inherent in content.

### 5.3. Rhetoric genre of the policy text

Greenland's Arctic policy document most closely aligns with genre of deliberative rhetoric. This rhetoric focuses on persuasion related to future actions and policy decisions. Although the document is impregnated with strong elements of epideictic rhetoric, especially in the Foreword, where Vivian Motzfeldt, Minister for Statehood and Foreign Affairs, resorts to ceremonial language praising Greenland's vision and expressing her hopes for the future, the general purpose of the document is to outline a strategic vision and persuade both domestic and international audiences to support Greenland's policy goals. The document, with a clear focus on policy and future action, is structured around key policy areas such as the Arctic Council, Climate and the Ocean, relationships with the United States, Iceland, and Canada, International Trade, Connectivity, East Asia, Multilateral Cooperation, and Security and Defense Policy. Within each of these sections, the document outlines specific policy objectives and, importantly, details actions Greenland will take to achieve these goals. For instance, in the section on International Trade, the document states, "*Greenland will work to increase the total value of its exports, p.25*" and "*Greenland will seek to remove trade barriers and enter into bilateral (free) trade agreements.p.25*" This forward-looking language is a hallmark of deliberative rhetoric.

Moreover, the document employs several persuasive techniques that can be categorized as deliberative discourse, appeals to shared values, arguments based on practicality, and emphasis on benefits. It appeals to shared values by repeatedly emphasizing principles such as democracy, human rights, peace, and international cooperation, aiming to establish common ground with potential partners and allies. It presents arguments based on practicality and necessity, underscoring the practical implications of its policy goals, and arguing that increased international engagement and trade are essential for Greenland's economic development and self-sustainability. The document also emphasizes the benefits to all parties involved, frequently highlighting the mutually beneficial nature of Greenland's proposed collaborations and seeking to persuade partners that their interests align with those of Greenland.

#### 5.4. Analysis of ethos, pathos, and logos in Greenland's Arctic policy text

The analysis of policy document involved an identification of the persuasive techniques as part of canon of invention, including ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos was seen through credibility and authority set up by the document authors and sources. Pathos showed an emotional appeal to the values and feelings of the targeted audience. Logos was represented in the form of logical arguments and evidence-based reasoning. Emphasis was placed on these rhetorical strategies by providing quotes from the documents to present clear insight into persuasive techniques.

##### 5.4.1. Ethos in Greenland's Arctic policy

The policy of the Greenland government, "Greenland in the World — Nothing about us without us," applies several rhetorical strategies to increase its ethos: credibility and trustworthiness. The foreword was written by Vivian Motzfeldt, Minister for Statehood, and Foreign Affairs. Her political position lends authority to the document, thus establishing the credibility of being a spokesperson on behalf of Greenland's interests and connecting the strategy directly to the Greenland government's expertise in Greenland foreign policy.

The policy text further strengthens its ethos by directly referring to international agreements and frameworks. This roots the arguments of the policy document in established legal and political contexts. This refers to the Igaliku Agreement of 2004 and the Common Plan of 2020 with the United States, the 2022 Declaration of Cooperation with Iceland, and the agreement demarcating the border between Greenland and Canada, which was signed in 2022. It also refers to the Polar Code for ships operating in polar waters, as developed by the International Maritime Organization, and the Ilulissat Declaration of 2008, reaffirmed in 2018, and the role it has played so far in shaping Arctic governance and cooperation.

Further references include the international agreement to prevent unregulated fishing in the Central Arctic Ocean, 2018; the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007; the United Nations High Seas Treaty, or Biodiversity Beyond National Jurisdiction, BBNJ, treaty; and the Memorandum of Understanding between the European Union and the Government of Greenland on a strategic partnership for sustainable value chains for raw materials, 2023. This strategy also refers to the SAR Agreement signed at the Arctic Council Ministerial Meeting in Nuuk in 2011.

The language in the strategy is professional and formal, reflecting how serious the issues it deals with, and that Greenland is determined to have a responsible and respectable international presence. On the same note, the strategy has an element of repetition regarding certain themes, thereby strengthening its core arguments. It reiterates its belief in international cooperation, sustainable development, and its right to self-determination, with a special emphasis on the statement "Nothing about us without us," recurrently used throughout.

##### 5.4.2. Pathos in Greenland's Arctic policy

Pathos appeals to emotions, to shared values or beliefs. The document frequently appeals to the shared values and beliefs of the Greenlandic people, particularly their desire for self-determination and independence that is re-iterated by repetition of the phrase "Nothing about us without us." The strategy appeals to the values of peace, cooperation, and self-determination to create a sense of shared purpose and urgency. Quotes from the policy document that demonstrate these values are highlighted in bold.

*"With the **right to self-determination** and the **goal of independence**, our country and people aim to increase their cooperation with other countries, p.7. "*

*"Our country is aware that we are part of the Kingdom of Denmark, but we also **strive for independence**, p.7. "*

*"Our strategy is based on **shared values** that underpin Greenland's approach to relations with other countries, p.7."*

*"We can use our foreign policy and diverse collaborative relationships to convey to the outside world our culture*

*and our values..., p.9.*”

*“In addition to trading with our partners, we intend to attract investments in suitable sectors from like-minded countries that share **our values**. However, Greenland will not exclude cooperation with countries that **accept and respect our values and legislation.**, p.25.”*

*“We must remember who we are and **our core values.**, p.41.”*

*“It will be necessary to improve our general level of education and training in cooperation with other countries to establish civil structures and improve our civil preparedness in preparation for the day when we **gain our independence.**, p.45.”*

*“This strategy can be updated as needed and is essentially an expression of a Greenland that, in cooperation with others, is **progressing towards independence**, p.47.”*

Another example of pathos in the text is the use of vivid descriptions, which enable the reader to see, feel, and understand what situation has been described before his or her eyes and to emotionally relate to it clearly and expressively. Therefore, this approach is effective in bringing about the severity and immediacy of the presented problems. This can be illustrated by a repeated use of the metaphor "*The ice is getting thinner.*" This metaphor has a clear pictorial presentation, as it is not only a literal description of the physically changing condition of the ice in Greenland and the Arctic region because of climate change but also a figurative expression for showing the changing geopolitical environment in the Arctic. This metaphor emphasizes the urgency of finding solutions for climate change by arousing feelings of fear and concern in readers' minds about the future of our planet.

*“The climate is changing, and the **ice is getting thinner** on the international stage — in both a literal and a figurative sense., p.4.”*

*“Our climate is changing, and the **ice is getting thinner**, p.9.”*

*“The **ice is getting thinner**. Indeed, the ice in the Arctic Ocean and around Greenland is melting at an alarming rate, as is the Greenland ice sheet., p.15.”*

*“Greenland must be better prepared for a more unstable world, in which the **ice is getting thinner.**, p.23.”*

Additionally, the phrase "There is no Planet B, p.13" serves as a stark reminder of the environmental challenges facing the world and the need for urgent action. This emotionally charged statement emphasizes the importance of environmental sustainability and positions Greenland as a responsible actor in the face of climate change.

#### 5.4.3. Logos in strategy text

The text offers a rich array of examples demonstrating the use of cause and effect, factual evidence, logical reasoning, and comparisons or analogies, all of which are key components of logos in rhetorical analysis. Policy text uses logical arguments to support policy recommendations. For example, it argues that diversifying trade partners will lead to a more resilient economy by drawing a clear link between economic stability and expanding relationships with North America.

First, the text introduces the cause-and-effect condition: ice melting at an alarming rate in the Arctic Ocean and around Greenland, and its subsequent impact on ocean currents and global and regional climates. In so doing, this cause-and-effect relationship brings out the wide-ranging impact of climate change. The goal of Greenland's independence was entailed as a natural consequence of its growing sense of self and the urge to have a say in running global matters.

The text appeals to factual evidence. For instance, the Defense Agreement of 1951 and the establishment of diplomatic representations between Greenland and the United States in 2014 and 2020 serve as concrete evidence to support the narrative of strengthening ties between the two countries. These factual elements lend weight to the assertions made in the text and underscore the strategic importance of Greenland in the context of US national security interests. The text employs logical reasoning to argue for

Greenland's leading role in the Kingdom of Denmark's delegation to the Arctic Council, based on its geographical location within the Arctic. Furthermore, the proposed expansion of Greenland's territorial waters is presented as a logical solution to increasing environmental regulations, strengthening the control of potential resources, and tightening safety requirements.

The text draws a comparison between Greenland's participation in Nordic cooperative bodies and its proposal for an Arctic North American forum, highlighting similarities in geographical context and developmental challenges. The phrase "a seat at the table" is used as an analogy to convey the importance of active participation and representation in international forums. An interesting feature of this Greenland Arctic policy document is that it simply does not rely on any statistical data. It neither gives figures to show the quantity of trade nor does it give figures for sizeable investments. Nothing is shown to indicate demographic data such as population statistics. Moreover, there is no statistical expression for other industrial activities, such as fishing, or even the general industrial profile of the country. The absence of statistics is another prominent feature of the document, which at times may be a strategic choice or an inherent weakness depending on the context and target readership. This is a dimension of the document that calls for further research on its implications for the presentation and reception of policy. In conclusion, the source document strategically employs logos to strengthen its arguments, making policy recommendations more persuasive and acceptable to the audience by grounding them in reasoning and evidence.

#### 5.5. Use of memory canon "Nothing about us without us"

The policy paper has a recurring message "Nothing about us without us" that is repeated twelve times throughout the policy text. The canon of memory involves organizing information in a way that makes it easy to remember and recall and using certain figures of speech to help the audience remember what was said. The phrase "Nothing about us without us" was used by the disability rights movement in the 1990s, one of its adoptive uses being found as a title for James Charlton's 1998 book on disability rights (Charlton, 1998). Subsequently, Indigenous Peoples adopted the phrase to demonstrate the importance of inclusion in decision-making that affects them (Rabang et al., 2023). For Indigenous Peoples, this principle is crucial in countering the historical and ongoing marginalization they face. This principle is entrenched in international instruments such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Quinn, 2009).

Indeed, the repetition of the phrase "*Nothing about us without us*" in Greenland's Arctic policy text serves a similar rhetorical purpose as Martin Luther King Jr.'s repetition of "*I have a dream*" in his famous speech. In both cases, the repeated use of that phrase serves as a rhetorical instrument to frame a central theme. In King's speech, that repeated phrase underlines his vision regarding racial equality. In Greenland's Arctic policy text, "*Nothing about us without us*" strongly reinforces the concept of self-determination and the need to make decisions that involve the people of Greenland. Not only does repetition underscore this principle but it also gives it pitch in the text etching the message into minds. While the King's iconic phrase became a rallying cry for the civil rights movement, "Nothing about us without us" has encapsulated the call for active participation and representation of Indigenous Peoples in the making of policy decisions affecting the Arctic region. It appears that in the policy document, this phrase is a call for the recognition of colonial injustices and shows that Greenlandic people identify themselves with other indigenous peoples across the world. This phrase has become a global reminder to include and represent indigenous rights in policymaking beyond the Arctic region.

In what context is the phrase "*Nothing about us without us*" used in the policy document? It is often employed as an anaphora to start a section of the policy document and as an epiphora to end it. Anaphora and epiphora are rhetorical devices used to emphasize a point, create a rhythm, and make the text more memorable. This repetition not only underscores the central theme but also helps to etch it into the minds of readers, making the policy document more impactful and memorable. Here are some quotes from the

document to demonstrate which phrases further support “Nothing about us without us” for better visibility presented in bold font.

*“Whenever the Arctic is on the agenda in relevant multilateral forums, Greenland must have **a seat at the table**, preferably well-placed or as a Head of Delegation of the Kingdom of Denmark, p.33.”*

*“History has shown us that it is necessary to **have a seat at the table** if Greenland is to ensure that **its voice is heard** we must **have a seat at the table**, p.37.”*

*“With developments in our country moving at a rapid pace, we need to ensure that Greenland lives up to international legal standards and norms, and that we **have a seat at the table** when it comes to international debates on issues that concern us, p.37.”*

*“On the contrary, it is a region where the Arctic Council states have indigenous representatives **with a seat — and a voice — at the table** to underscore the need for recognition, dialogue and understanding, p. 41.”*

*“Greenland is insisting on **a seat at the table**, p.47.”*

*“Greenland has something to contribute, and it is important that **Greenland’s voice is heard** and that we safeguard our interests and articulate our values, p. 47.”*

*“Greenland in the World — Nothing about us without us is an ambitious strategy that demonstrates that Greenland is insisting on **a seat at the table**, p. 47.”*

The principle of “Nothing about us without us” finds very strong echoes in the persistent assertion that Greenland must have a seat at the table, and its voice must be heard. The principle that comes from democratic ethos, related to participation and representation, called for its rightful place in discussions and decisions directly affecting it in Greenland. The idioms “have a seat at the table” and “our voice being heard” further reflect the view of having Greenland actively involved and influential in the making of decisions. Steeped in historical and cultural significance, such idioms become powerful reminders to respect, include, and remain in agency within all dialogue and decisions. The appeals to Greenlandic representation and voice are, therefore, not a demand but an expression of the continuous strength and values that they represent.

### 5.6. Greenlandic people

In the policy document, there is a strong identification with “us.” In relation, for a complete understanding of what “us” and “we” mean in this document, there is a need to analyze what linguistic constructions refer to describing the Greenlandic people. This means analyzing rhetorical styles together with language choice. In relation to the Greenlandic people, these components can offer insight into their identity, culture, and views. This means that a detailed analysis concerning these aspects can be done to reach a greater understanding of the policy document and its repercussions for Greenlandic people. The document often refers to the “Greenlandic people” with constructions that emphasize their identity and aspirations, e.g.

*“The Greenlandic people need to adapt, adopt positions and forge a coherent strategy in response to major world events, p.5.”*

The Greenlandic people are described as “*responsible citizens, p.7,*” who are aware of their place within the Danish Kingdom while striving for independence. The document also highlights the desire of Greenlandic people to improve their lives and livelihoods. The document emphasizes the importance of indigenous peoples in the Arctic and uses adjectives to highlight their role and connection to the region. They are described as having an “*intimate connection to the region, p.11*” and serving as “*a reminder that there are people who call the Arctic their home, p.11.*” The document also acknowledges the importance of “*Arctic indigenous peoples’ representatives, p.11,* in strengthening dialogue and peace in the Arctic. Furthermore, the document stresses the importance of considering future generations,

particularly in the context of climate change and Arctic development, referring to them as “*future generations who will continue to learn, innovate and drive us forward as a people and a country, p.5.*” The document’s use of these constructions reveals an intent to portray the Greenlandic people as active participants in shaping their future, acknowledging the unique perspective and rights of Indigenous communities in the Arctic, and emphasizing a commitment to responsible and sustainable development that benefits current and future generations.

### 5.7. Assertive language

The verb “must” is an exceptionally strong rhetorical device that appears repetitively in Greenlandic Arctic policy texts. Modal auxiliary verbs like “must” are a strategic tool of use in policy paper, e.g., in the election manifestos in respect to political discourse, outlining promises, obligation, and necessities to convince the electorate on the proposed policies by underlining their importance and urgency. The use of “must” verb denotes urgency, necessity, and obligation (Nartey & Yankson, 2014). Repetition of the verb “must” further emphasize the need for non-negotiable responsibilities and commitments by the Greenlandic authorities and the people of Greenland within the parameters of Arctic cooperation and leadership. The usage of verb “must,” from a rhetorical point of view, is a form of imperative mood used for issuing orders, commandments, or making requests or prohibitions. In this text, the “must” would denote strong directive or command, pointing out that what action it is describing are not optional but mandated (Caulfield, 2023). The usage of “must” in this policy text can be categorized into two domains: what is expected from the outside world and what is expected from the Government of Greenland.

Below are examples of what is expected from the outside world. Given that Greenland is not fully independent and is part of the Kingdom of Denmark, certain expectations have been set for its role in international forums, particularly those concerning the Arctic.

*“Greenland **must play a leading role** in the Kingdom of Denmark’s delegation to the Arctic Council because we are the Arctic part of the Kingdom, p.11.”*

*“Greenland **must contribute knowledge and expertise** to the working groups under the Arctic Council that focus on the living conditions of the peoples of the Arctic, research collaboration, and understanding today’s global environmental and climate challenges, p.11”.*

*“The role of the Arctic Council **must be safeguarded** with long-term participation of the entire Arctic region, and its mandate should continue to exclude matters related to hard security. p.13.”*

*“Whenever the Arctic is on the agenda in relevant multilateral forums, Greenland **must have a seat at the table, preferably well-placed or as a Head of Delegation of the Kingdom of Denmark, p.33.**”*

There are also expectations from partners and allies. The text underscores expectations from partners and allies on at least two levels. One emphasizes collective responsibility among Arctic nations to cooperate for the benefit of the global climate and oceans.

*“The peoples and nations of the Arctic **must work together for the sake of the world’s climate and oceans, p.15”.***

Another argument is that trading partners must respect indigenous culture, which is deeply rooted in the sustainable harvesting of marine mammals, and therefore recognize their rights to use their living resources.

*“At the same time, trading partners **must respect the fact that our culture is rooted in the sustainable harvesting of marine mammals. We live from what nature has to offer — and we have the right to utilize our living resources, p.23.**”*

There are also certain expectations that the Government of Greenland assigns to itself. In this regard, the policy document brings out Greenland’s leadership in the Arctic Council, inclusiveness regarding affairs

in the Arctic, responsible tourism, resource resilience, cooperation with the European Union on mineral extraction, and emphasis on core values.

*“Greenland must prepare to take the lead for the Danish Kingdom’s chairship of the Arctic Council in 2025–2027 and, in subsequent years, continue to assume responsibility and contribute to the Council’s advancement, p.13”.*

*“We must endeavor to make the Arctic Council’s work more relevant and inclusive for the peoples of the Arctic, and new areas of cooperation should be taken into consideration for the Council’s mandate, p.13.”*

*“We must provide the right framework and ensure an appropriate type of tourism to Greenland in accordance with our national tourism strategy, p.31.”*

*“We must guarantee that we always have access to food, medicine and fuel — and we must become more robust and resilient, p.23.”*

*“We must also continue to develop our cooperation with the EU in the area of mineral extraction, p.39.”*

*“We must remember who we are and our core values, p.41.”*

The verb “must” is very important in the policy document because it imposes strong obligation or necessity, usually applied to ensure the implementation of something and emphasis on non-compromise. For instance, in respect to COVID-19 prevention recommendations, where such imperatives as “must” were in high use to emphasize the seriousness of the situation and the criticality of adherence to the health guidelines instructions (Stolac & Vlastelić, 2022). Furthermore, the usage of “must” is seen as a crucial tool in framing policies to bring clarity and compliance (König, 2019).

Guidelines on policy writing reveal that modal verbs, like “must,” are commonly used in policy documents (University of Colorado, 2024). For example, studies on the functions of modals in policies, where opioid legislation was used as a case study, have established that modal verb, such as “shall” and “may,” are found in policies regardless of their capacity for ambiguity (Torres, 2021). Modal “must,” however, like in the Greenlandic Arctic policy text, leaves very little room for ambiguity in meaning, since it signals an apparent and categorical call to action (Torres, 2021).

## 6. Discussion

Reflecting on our initial objective to understand Greenland's vision for its role in the Arctic, our analysis reveals that while the Arctic policy document of Greenland tries to balance ethos, pathos, and logos, which amplify the persuasiveness of the document and appeal to the audience on the level of an ethical, emotional, and logical nature, the emotional appeal (pathos) is overpowering. The production of this document in three languages, Danish, Greenlandic, and English, ensures its accessibility. The document belongs to the genre of deliberative rhetoric and focuses on future actions and policy decisions. It uses several persuasive elements grouped under deliberative discourse that appeal to common values, arguments from practicability, and benefit-based arguments. The paper utilizes the use of logos in the message's content to drive the arguments; thus, the policy recommendations become more compelling and palatable to the audience by reason and evidence. Overall, the rhetorical analysis the Greenland Arctic policy reveals that the policy places significant emphasis on ethical considerations, appealing to the audience’s sense of right and wrong, fairness, and justice, which is encapsulated in “Nothing about us without us phrase.” This approach suggests that the document has both moral and ethical implications.

How does Greenland frame itself in a geopolitical context through its Arctic policy? While acknowledging its status as part of the Kingdom of Denmark, the text emphasizes Greenland's distinct identity and its aspiration for independence. The sources state that *“Greenland is aware that we are part of the Kingdom of Denmark, but we also strive for independence, p.7”* and that the strategy aims to

"enhance our self-determination... and increase our independence as stipulated in the Act on Greenland Self-Government and under international law, p.7". This assertion of a separate identity and goal of independence underpins Greenland's approach to its relationship with Denmark, echoing previous studies (Breum, 2023; Ackren & Jacobsen, 2015). At the same time, the policy does not mention practical implications for independence, or the next steps needed.

The analysis points to Greenland's desire for a more autonomous role in international affairs, particularly concerning Arctic matters, despite Denmark's overarching authority. Greenland *"must play a leading role in the Kingdom of Denmark's delegation to the Arctic Council because we are the Arctic part of the Kingdom, p.11."* This desire for a more prominent role extends to leading the Kingdom's delegations to the Arctic Council, asserting Greenland's expertise, and direct stake in Arctic affairs. The sources further emphasize that *"Greenlandic authorities must intensify their efforts to represent Greenland, especially within the areas in which it has secured full jurisdiction, p.11"*, signifying a move towards greater self-representation on the international stage, hence emphasizing more important Greenland assigns to itself in increasingly more dynamic geopolitical context (Volpe, 2021; van Brunnersum, 2021). Additionally, Greenland's decision to join EU sanctions against Russia, despite not being a member of the European Union, signals a willingness to act independently on the international stage. By saying that the Arctic Council needs to be *"more relevant and inclusive to the people's of the Arctic, p.13,"* Greenland's position is in accord with previous studies that questioned the status quo of the Arctic Council (Smieszek, 2019; Barry et al. 2020)

The text suggests a desire for a relationship based on *"equal rights and conditions"* within the framework of the Danish Kingdom. The policy states that Greenland's aim is that *"within the Danish Kingdom's security and defense policy, all member countries must cooperate with respect for their differences and with equal rights and conditions."* This statement highlights Greenland's expectations of an equitable partnership that acknowledges its distinct interests and aspirations. The policy alludes to areas where Greenland seeks to exercise its autonomy, and potentially diverges from Denmark's position. Greenland's intention to *"internally debate the pros and cons of extending its territorial waters from 3 to 12 nautical miles, p.14"* exemplifies an area where it might chart its own course.

The United States emerges as a key ally and partner, deeply intertwined with Greenland's security and strategic interests (Ackren & Jacobsen, 2015). This highlights the long-standing defense relationship, stating that *"the United States is effectively the defender of Greenland in the event of a military conflict"* under the 1951 Defense Agreement. The document emphasizes Greenland's intention to *"continue its productive dialogue with the United States on defense issues,"* recognizing the US as a pivotal partner in navigating the evolving security landscape of the Arctic. As Greenland's closest geographical neighbor, Canada has significant potential for enhanced collaboration across various sectors. Iceland is portrayed as a nation with a close and evolving relationship with Greenland, which is marked by increasing interaction and shared interests. The sources point to the establishment of diplomatic representation in both countries as a catalyst for stronger ties and highlight the potential for deepening collaboration in sectors such as *"trade, tourism, the film industry, construction, renewable energy, energy-intensive industries, healthcare, tele- and data communications, fisheries, agriculture, gender equality, education, and research."*

How does Greenland see its cultural and historic identity through Arctic policy? As demonstrated in results section the phrase *"Nothing about us without us"* is used as a red thread through the text as canon of memory to both refer to colonial past and is used as a vision to shape the future. The concept of *"shared memory"* is subtly but effectively employed throughout the document to foster a sense of solidarity and shared purpose with various audiences. The text repeatedly evokes a shared history and cultural identity with other Inuit communities, particularly Canada and Alaska. For instance, the document refers to them as *"our Inuit cousins, p.17"* and emphasizes the desire for restoring the *"freedom of movement for Inuit between our two countries. 25"*. These references serve to establish a shared cultural memory of kinship and cooperation. However, the document fails to address the internal

challenges faced by Greenlanders with European ancestry and dual identities who have both Danish and Greenlandic parents (Thisted, 2022).

The document also constructs a shared memory of the challenges and opportunities specific to the Arctic region. It highlights the common experiences of climate change, infrastructural challenges, social issues, and economic prospects faced by Greenland and its Arctic neighbors. By framing these experiences as shared, the document aims to foster a sense of collective purpose and to encourage collaborative solutions among Arctic nations. Beyond the Arctic context, the document appeals to a “shared memory” of democratic values, respect for international law, and commitment to peace and stability with its Western allies, particularly Denmark and the United States. This shared memory, often rooted in historical alliances and partnerships (such as NATO), is invoked to reinforce existing bonds, and present a united front in the face of global uncertainty.

The document further extends the concept of shared values and memory to encompass global issues, such as climate change, advocating for a shared responsibility in addressing its impacts. This appeal acknowledges the interconnectedness of global challenges and positions Greenland as a responsible actor in the international community. By invoking various forms of “shared memory,” the document seeks to create a sense of collective identity and shared purpose with different audiences. This rhetorical strategy underscores the interconnectedness of Greenland's future with that of its neighbors, allies, and the wider world, fostering a more persuasive argument for its vision of international engagement and cooperation.

The use of emotionally charged language and the use of modal verb “must” suggest a deliberate effort to connect with the audience on a more personal and emotional level and at the same time to transmit the non-negotiability aspect of Greenland’s intentions. While such a document can be effective in conveying its message and rallying support, it can also face limitations in certain contexts. This analysis provides a foundation for the further investigation of documents and their rhetorical strategies. This underscores the importance of considering multiple forms of evidence and argumentation in policy documents, beyond just statistical or numerical data. The strategic use of qualitative focus, ethical considerations, logical reasoning, and emotional appeal in this document offers valuable insights into the nuanced and multifaceted nature of policy arguments.

## **6. Conclusions**

Greenland’s Arctic policy geopolitically frames itself as part of the Kingdom of Denmark, asserting its distinct identity and striving for independence while seeking a more autonomous role in international affairs. Culturally, it uses shared memory and emotionally charged language to foster solidarity with audiences, emphasizing its Inuit identity and colonial past. Greenland’s Arctic policy emphasizes the identity of Greenlanders and their ambitions for independence, striving for a more self-governing role in international affairs, particularly in the case of Arctic issues. Geopolitical positioning of this kind is very important for Greenland to express itself within the world context. This is direct evidence of Greenland's purpose in assuming an active international actor position.

Culturally, the policy uses shared memory and emotionally charged language to foster solidarity with various audiences. This includes emphasizing its Inuit identity and colonial past. The use of shared memory serves as a powerful tool to connect with audiences at a deeper level, creating a sense of shared history and a common purpose. This strategy is particularly effective in fostering a sense of kinship with other Inuit communities, particularly in Canada and Alaska. An analysis of Greenland’s Arctic policy revealed a strategic focus on pathos as part of the canon of intention. With the use of narrative, metaphorical, and emotive language, the document feeds into the feelings of the audience, thus strongly setting a foundation from which the arguments it puts across can better be persuaded. However, it may lack effectiveness in a context requiring empirical or quantifiable evidence, preferably evidence-based strategies that can be quantified in their results to add strength to its arguments. This is a potential drawback of the policy that future policy iterations might need to consider.

This paper presents a nuanced and multifaceted approach to policy argumentation, pointing to the potential for further research in this field. Further lines of inquiry may include the influence of Arctic policy in relation to other Arctic nations and progress made towards Greenland's independence. Comparative studies with other Arctic countries' policies will provide more insight into the region's geopolitical dynamics. A deeper understanding of the policy's use of diverse rhetorical elements can clarify its impact on various audiences. Finally, future studies on critical policy analysis using rhetorical analysis can enhance our understanding of the complex geopolitics of the Arctic and how rhetoric is used as a tool in policy argumentation.

## References

- Ackrén, M. (2014). Greenlandic paradiplomatic relations. In: Heininen, L. (Eds.), *Security and sovereignty in the North Atlantic*. Palgrave Macmillan. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137470720\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137470720_4)
- Ackrén, M., & Jakobsen, U. (2015). Greenland as a self-governing sub-national territory in international relations: Past, current and future perspectives. *Polar Record*, 51(4), 404–412. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S003224741400028X>
- Ackrén, M., & Jakobsen, U. (2024). The Capacity of self-government in Greenland. In: Sundberg, J., Sjöblom, S. (Eds.), *Governing partially independent nation-territories*. Palgrave Studies in Sub-National Governance. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54176-6\\_5](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-54176-6_5)
- Ball, S. (1994). *Education reform*. McGraw-Hill Education
- Barry, T., Davíðsdóttir, B., Einarsson, N., & Young, O. R. (2020). The Arctic Council: An agent of change? *Global Environmental Change*, 63, 102099. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2020.102099>
- Bijak, J. (2023). Proces kształtowania się grenlandzkiego ruchu separatystycznego w latach 1964–1979. *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, sectio K – Politologia*, 30(1), 17-30 <https://doi.org/10.17951/k.2023.30.1>.
- Bitzer, L. F. (1968). The rhetorical situation. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 1-14.
- Bowe, R., Ball, S. J., & Gold, A. (2017). *Reforming education and changing schools: Case studies in policy sociology*. Routledge.
- EU (2023). *EU and Greenland sign strategic partnership on sustainable raw materials value chains*. [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip\\_23\\_6166](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_23_6166)
- Breum, M. (2023, May 17). *Greenland drafts constitution for its ultimate independence*. Arctic Today. <https://www.arctictoday.com/greenland-drafts-constitution-for-its-ultimate-independence/>
- Dragsdahl, J. (2005). Denmark and Greenland: American defences and domestic agendas. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 26(3), 486-504.
- Breum, M. (2024, February 27). *Greenland's first security strategy looks west as the Arctic heats up*. Arctic Today. <https://www.arctictoday.com/greenland-looks-west-as-the-arctic-heats-up/>
- Brincker, B. (2022). Greenland: Autonomy in the Arctic region. In B.CH. Fong & A. Ichijo (Eds.), *The routledge handbook of comparative territorial autonomies* (pp. 166-177). Routledge.
- Caulfield, J. (2023). How to write a rhetorical analysis: Key concepts & examples. <https://www.scribbr.com/academic-essay/rhetorical-analysis/>
- Charlton, J. I. (1998). *Nothing about us without us: Disability oppression and empowerment*. University of California Press.
- Christiansen, F. G. (2022). Greenland mineral exploration history. *Mineral Economics*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13563-022-00350-2>
- Dadwal, S. R. (2014). Arctic: The next great game in energy geopolitics? *Strategic Analysis*, 38(6), 812–824. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2014.952936>
- Dahl, J. (2010). Identity, urbanization and political demography in Greenland. *Acta Borealia*, 27(2), 125–140. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08003831.2010.527528>
- DeCocco, P. (2020). *Arctic Policy: Learning from Current Arctic Strategies*. Energy Academic Group. [https://nps.edu/documents/114698888/121792798/DeCocco\\_Arctic+Policies+Report+%288-21-20%29.pdf/d923ea70-1525-dadb-06d4-8d0444557b79?t=1598562199001](https://nps.edu/documents/114698888/121792798/DeCocco_Arctic+Policies+Report+%288-21-20%29.pdf/d923ea70-1525-dadb-06d4-8d0444557b79?t=1598562199001)
- Dzik, A. J. (2014). Kangerlussuaq: Evolution and maturation of a cultural landscape in Greenland. *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-Economic Series*, 24, 57-69.
- Edelman, M. (1988). *Constructing the political spectacle*. University of Chicago Press.
- Edwards, R., Nicoll, K., Solomon, N., & Usher, R. (2013). *Rhetoric and educational discourse: Persuasive texts*.

Routledge.

- Ellekrog, O. (2024, 23 February) *Call for Arctic cooperation in Greenland's new foreign policy strategy*. Polar Journal. <https://polarjournal.ch/en/2024/02/23/call-for-arctic-cooperation-in-greenlands-new-foreign-policy-strategy/>
- Feldt, L. (2022). *Geopolitical shifts: Issues and challenges for the Arctic Region*. Brill. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004516489\\_005](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004516489_005)
- Finlayson, A. (2007). From beliefs to arguments: Interpretive methodology and rhetorical political analysis. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 9(4), 545-563.
- Frost, M. H. (2017). *Introduction to classical legal rhetoric: A lost heritage*. Routledge.
- Gmach, I., Chaabane, N., AlFryyan, A. A., Mustafa, N. O., Alomari, N., Hellal, A., Abdullah, A. R., Matahen, R., Aldiabat, S.Q & Kanan, E. (2022, December). Understanding decision-making in terms of its semantics. In *2022 International Conference on Computational Science and Computational Intelligence (CSCI)* (pp. 735-741). IEEE.
- Greenland's Arctic Policy (2024). *Greenland in the World. Nothing about us without us*. High North News.
- Greenland's foreign, security and defense policy 2024-2033– an Arctic Strategy. [https://vivian.gl/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/greenlands\\_foreign\\_security\\_and\\_defense\\_policy\\_2024\\_2033.pdf](https://vivian.gl/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/greenlands_foreign_security_and_defense_policy_2024_2033.pdf)
- Grydehøj, A. (2020). Government, policies, and priorities in Kalaallit Nunaat (Greenland): Roads to Independence. In: Coates, K.S., Holroyd, C. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Arctic Policy and Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-20557-7\\_14](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-20557-7_14)
- Heininen, L, Everett, K., Padrtova, B., Reissell, A. (2019). *Arctic policies and strategies: Analysis, synthesis, and trends*. International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis. <https://doi.org/10.22022/AFI/11-2019.16175>
- Heininen, L. (2011). *Arctic strategies and policies: Inventory and comparative study*. Northern Research Forum.
- Heymann, M., Knudsen, H., Lolck, M. L., Nielsen, H., Nielsen, K. H., & Ries, C. J. (2010). Exploring Greenland: Science and technology in Cold War settings. *Scientia Canadensis*, 33(2), 11-42.
- Heinrich, J. (2023). Greenland: From colony to self-government, 1721–2021. In A. Howkins & P. Roberts (Eds.), *The Cambridge history of the polar regions* (pp. 487–509). Cambridge University Press.
- Henriksen, N., Higgins, A. K., Kalsbeek, F., & Pulvertaft, T. C. R. (2009). Greenland from archaean to quaternary. Descriptive text to the 1995 Geological map of Greenland, 1:2 500 000. (2nd edition). *GEUS Bulletin*, 18, 1–126. <https://doi.org/10.34194/geusb.v18.4993>
- Høegh, K. (2024). Greenland's foreign policy, past and present: From the merchants' message to bilateral agreements. *Ocean and Coastal Law Journal*, 29(2), 181.
- Jacobsen, M. (2020). Greenland's Arctic advantage: Articulations, acts and appearances of sovereignty games. *Cooperation and Conflict*, 55(2), 170-192. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836719882476>
- Jasinski, J. (2001). *Sourcebook on rhetoric* (Vol. 4). Sage Publications.
- Johnstone, R.L. (2020). The impact of international law on natural resource governance in Greenland. *Polar Record*;56:e21. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247419000287>
- Kleist, M. (2019). Grønlands udenrigspolitik og internationale relationer: Nuværende rammer og mulig udvikling i et selvstændighedsperspektiv. *Politik*, 22(1). <https://doi.org/10.7146/politik.v22i1.114842>
- König, P. D. (2019). A magic bullet in policy communication? On the ambiguous use of framing in policy research. *Policy Studies*, 42(1), 60–79. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2019.1581153>
- Krivorotov, A. K. (2021). Greenland and Denmark: Arctic secessionism in the power field of world politics. *Contours of Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, Law*, 14(1), 118-134.
- Leach, J. (2000). Rhetorical analysis. In *qualitative researching with text, image and sound* (pp. 208-226). SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849209731>
- Martin, J. (2013). *Politics and rhetoric: A critical introduction*. Routledge.
- Martín, J. M. R. (2018). Policies and strategies for the Arctic: A review of the approaches to human security in the Arctic. *Human and Societal Security in the Circumpolar Arctic*, 19-49.
- Martinussen, B. A. M. (2024, February 27). *Greenland with new Arctic strategy: Defense, diplomacy and peace*. High North News. <https://www.highnorthnews.com/en/greenland-new-arctic-strategy-defense-diplomacy-and-peace>
- Nartey, M., & Yankson, F. E. (2014). A semantic investigation into the use of modal auxiliary verbs in the manifesto of a Ghanaian political party. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 4(3), 21-30.
- Nielsen, F. A. J., & Kjærgaard, T. (2021). Den første grønlandske bog. *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 60, 73–107. <https://doi.org/10.7146/fof.v60i.130495>
- Peimani, H. (2013). *Energy security and geopolitics in the Arctic: Challenges and opportunities in the 21st century*.

World Scientific.

- Pereira, V., Tomas, C., Sanchez, J. J., Syndercombe-Court, D., Amorim, A., Gusmão, L., Prata, M. J., & Morling, N. (2015). The peopling of Greenland: Further insights from the analysis of genetic diversity using autosomal and X-chromosomal markers. *European Journal of Human Genetics*, 23(2), 245–251. <https://doi.org/10.1038/ejhg.2014.90>
- Pini, M. E., & Gorostiaga, J. M. (2008). Teacher education and development policies: Critical discourse analysis from a comparative perspective. *International Review of Education*, 54, 427–443.
- Quinn, G. (2009). A short guide to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. *Eur. YB Disability L.*, 1, 89.
- Rabang, N. J., West, A. E., Kurtz, E., Warne, J., & Hiratsuka, V. Y. (2023). Disability decolonized: Indigenous peoples enacting self-determination. *Developmental Disabilities Network Journal*, 3(1), 11.
- Rasmussen, R. Ole (2024, August 3). *Greenland*. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Greenland>
- Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2009). *Globalizing education policy*. Routledge.
- Rud, S. (2017). Towards a post-colonial Greenland: Culture, identity, and colonial legacy. In *Colonialism in Greenland*. Cambridge imperial and post-colonial studies series. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-46158-8\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-46158-8_7)
- Saalbach, K. (2024). *The geopolitics of Greenland and the Arctic*. Geostrategy and Geopolitics Department, Osnabrueck. [https://osnadocs.uni-osnabrueck.de/bitstream/ds-2024020210404/1/Geopolitics\\_Greenland\\_Arctic\\_2024\\_Saalbach.pdf](https://osnadocs.uni-osnabrueck.de/bitstream/ds-2024020210404/1/Geopolitics_Greenland_Arctic_2024_Saalbach.pdf)
- Selzer, J. (2003). Rhetorical analysis: Understanding how texts persuade readers. In C. Bazerman & P. Prior (Eds.), *What writing does and how it does it* (pp. 285–314). Routledge.
- Serova, N., Korchak, E., & Skufina, T. (2020, February). The Arctic: Strategic priorities of circumpolar countries. In *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering* 753(7), 072022. IOP Publishing.
- Smieszek, M. (2019). Do the cures match the problem? Reforming the Arctic Council. *Polar Record*, 55(3), 121–131. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0032247419000263>
- Sørensen, M. (2020). History of Human Occupation of Greenland. In M. I. Goldstein & D. A. DellaSala (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of the World's Biomes* (pp. 587–594). Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-409548-9.11751-8>
- Stolac, D., & Vlastelić, A. (2022). Imperativeness in recommendations for protection against the coronavirus. *Collegium Antropologicum*, 46(3), 237–246.
- The Ilullisat Declaration (2008). *Arctic*. <https://arcticportal.org/images/stories/pdf/Ilulissat-declaration.pdf>
- Thiesen, H., & Minton, S. J. (2022). Historical background. In *Greenland's Stolen Indigenous Children*. Routledge.
- Thisted, K. (2022). Blame, shame, and atonement: Greenlandic responses to racialized discourses about Greenlanders and Danes. *Journal of Critical Mixed-Race Studies*, 1(2). <https://doi.org/10.5070/C81258339>
- Torres, P. J. (2021). The role of modals in policies: The US opioid crisis as a case study. *Applied Corpus Linguistics*, 1(3), 100008.
- University of Colorado (2024). *User Guide to Writing Policies*. <https://www.cu.edu/sites/default/files/APSwritingguide.pdf>
- Van Brunner, S. (2022). *China failed its Arctic ambitions in Greenland*. (2022, 22 October). POLITICO. <https://www.politico.eu/article/china-arctic-greenland-united-states/>
- Visit Greenland (2024). Greenland's modern path to independence. *Visit Greenland*. <https://visitgreenland.com/articles/greenlands-modern-path-to-independence/>
- Volpe, M. (2021). The tortuous path of China's win-win strategy in Greenland. *The Arctic Institute's China Series 2020*, 10–17. <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/tortuous-path-china-win-win-strategy-greenland/>
- Winton, S. (2013). Rhetorical analysis in critical policy research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26(2), 158–177.