Visions of the Arctic Future: Blending Computational Text Analysis And Structured Futuring to Create Story-based Scenarios

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Abstract

The future of Arctic social systems and natural environments is highly uncertain. Climate change will lead to unprecedented phenomena in the pan-Arctic region, such as regular shipping traffic through the Arctic Ocean, urban growth, military activity, expanding agricultural frontiers, and transformed Indigenous societies. While intergovernmental to local organizations have produced numerous synthesis-based visions of the future, a challenge in any scenario exercise is capturing the 'possibility' space of change. In this work, we employ a computational text analysis to generate unique thematic input for novel, story-based visions of the Arctic. Specifically, we develop a corpus of more than 2,000 articles in publicly accessible, English-language Arctic newspapers that discuss the future in the Arctic. We then perform a latent Dirichlet allocation, resulting in ten distinct topics and sets of associated keywords. From these topics and keywords, we design ten story-based scenarios employing the Mānoa mashup, science fiction prototyping, and other methods. Our results demonstrate that computational text analysis can feed directly into a creative futuring process, whereby the output stories can be traced clearly back to the original topics and keywords. We discuss our findings in the context of the broader field of Arctic scenarios and show that the results of this computational text analysis produce complementary stories to the existing scenario literature. We conclude that story-based scenarios can provide vital texture toward understanding the myriad possible Arctic futures.

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Key Points:

- Imaginative scenarios are an essential approach for designing futures in an accelerating era of social and environmental change in the Arctic.
- Story-based scenarios blended with computational text analysis provide an entirely new method for envisioning the future.
- Our scenario methods mirror other work on Arctic futures, though with important idiosyncrasies related to divergent regional changes.

Abstract

The future of Arctic social systems and natural environments is highly uncertain. Climate change will lead to unprecedented phenomena in the pan-Arctic region, such as regular shipping traffic through the Arctic Ocean, urban growth, military activity, expanding agricultural frontiers, and transformed Indigenous societies. While intergovernmental to local organizations have produced numerous synthesis-based visions of the future, a challenge in any scenario exercise is capturing the 'possibility' space of change. In this work, we employ a computational text analysis to generate unique thematic input for novel, story-based visions of the Arctic. Specifically, we develop a corpus of more than 2,000 articles in publicly accessible, English-language Arctic newspapers that discuss the future in the Arctic. We then perform a latent Dirichlet allocation, resulting in ten distinct topics and sets of associated keywords. From these topics and keywords, we design ten story-based scenarios employing the Mānoa mashup, science fiction prototyping, and other methods. Our results demonstrate that computational text analysis can feed directly into a creative futuring process, whereby the output stories can be traced clearly back to the original topics and keywords. We discuss our findings in the context of the broader field of Arctic scenarios and show that the results of this computational text analysis produce complementary stories to the existing scenario literature. We conclude that story-based scenarios can provide vital texture toward understanding the myriad possible Arctic futures.

Plain Language Summary

The Arctic will profoundly change in the 21st century. Climate changes and other increasing human pressures will transform many parts of the region beyond contemporary recognition. We need ways to capture the current, Arctic-based perspectives of this future change and to provide engaging visions of where it might be headed. First, we use a computer-assisted analysis of more than 2000 news articles that all discuss the future of the Arctic. Second, we take the insights from this analysis and produce a set of story-based scenarios. We do this by blending science fiction prototyping, the Mānoa method, and others to produce speculative fiction scenarios. In our results, we produce ten new, creative scenarios of the Arctic future. We find that our story-based results have themes that are consistent with some existing Arctic scenarios. Moving forward, we think that the methods we use will improve the accessibility future scenarios.

Introduction

The future of Arctic social systems and natural environments is highly uncertain (Arctic Council, 2016; Fresco & Timm, 2016). Future climate change will lead to unprecedented phenomena in the pan-Arctic region, such as regular shipping traffic through the Arctic Ocean, urban growth, military activity, and expanding agricultural frontiers (Arctic Council, 2009; Cameron, 2012). Such impacts will challenge centuries of local and traditional knowledge (Ford et al., 2016; Krupnik & Jolly, 2002). Moreover, the unprecedented pace and character of Arctic social and environmental change reveals the limitations of traditional, quantitative scenario methods that privilege model-based projections inherently rooted in past observational data (Petrov et al., 2016). These knowledge and research gaps suggest an opportunity for novel tools providing comprehensive and, perhaps more importantly, imaginative scenarios of the future. Equipped with such scenarios, the Earth system science community could be better positioned to anticipate the social, economic, ecological, and technological changes that may unfold in the near future.

1.1 A rapidly changing Arctic may require new approaches

Underpinned by complex desires related to acquiring geopolitical hegemony, resource control, and urban growth, the Arctic is often viewed as a key focal point for cultural, economic, and military power in the 21st century (Arctic Research Consortium of the U. S, 2018; Brigham, 2007; Corbett et al., 2010; Mazurier et al., 2020; Network, 2008; Young, 2010, 2011). In parallel to these expansionist ambitions, the Arctic is experiencing the fastest geophysical changes taking place on the planet related to climate change, as noted in the accelerated loss of sea ice, changes in freeze thaw cycles of permafrost, and the expansion of boreal ecological systems into the Arctic region (Crate & Fedorov, 2013; Dodds, 2010; Post et al., 2009; Steiner et al., 2019; Stroeve et al., 2012). These efforts to understand the future have led to a surfeit of models, projections, and forecasts for the Arctic (Proshutinsky et al., 2016, 2020). In contrast, the local and regional experiences of those who dwell in the Arctic tend to receive considerably less attention (Cost, 2015; Falardeau et al., 2019; N. Wormbs et al., 2018).

1.2 Computational text analysis complements existing methods

It is a staggering challenge to collect, interpret, and prioritize the vast literature on Arctic system change - and then synthesize this information into scenarios about the future. Systematic meta-analysis of Arctic futures work (Arbo et al., 2013) has revealed the utility of synthetic review, but such meta-analysis may also be too narrowly focused on relatively small sample sizes (e.g., less than 100 articles). Others have argued that there is simply too much content to consume, and, as a result, pre-existing knowledge and biases are employed to filter content (Schatzmann et al., 2013). Thus, there is a need for complimentary approaches that can scan the information across hundreds or thousands of documents and across a broad range of disciplines to accurately understand the trajectory of where the world is heading (Kwon et al., 2017).

In thinking about the future Arctic, it is necessary to think well outside-the-box regarding nonlinear changes in technology and global change (Dator, 1993, 2019; Johnson, 2011). One method for addressing biased selection of evidence can be to develop a large corpus of literature that captures a very broad range of content related to the future Arctic. However, human cognitive biases actively disregard information that seems outlandish or strange (Schoemaker, 2004), making unbiased interpretation a persistent challenge.

Computational text analysis can assist in addressing this bias by providing a complimentary means of thematic identification and analysis of a corpus of literature. In other words, a computer program can be used to potentially reduce human selection bias by 'reading' the thousands of texts and 'interpreting' different patterns than a human might see. Specifically, machine learning-based latent Dirichlet allocation can enable the rapid analysis of large, text-based datasets to reveal thematically distinct clusters of information (Asmussen & Møller, 2019).

This approach has been used in a limited way for scenarios related to drone technology (Kwon et al., 2017) and electric cars (Kim et al., 2016). Considerable opportunity exists to leverage these methods and fully incorporate them into detailed visions of the future Arctic (Kayser & Blind, 2017; Kayser & Shala, 2016).

1.3 Storytelling can convey compelling scenario worlds

Scenarios of the future vary widely in terms of approach, style, and depth of detail (Kishita et al., 2016), yet often only describe a possible future world, based on projections and interpretations of large amounts of data. While descriptive scenarios can be creative, these approaches often fail to inspire action, engage the public, or interest policymakers (Milkoreit, 2017). Story-based scenarios with characters and plot development have emerged as successful vehicles for impactful sustainability scenarios (Calvert, 2019; Johnson & Winkelman, 2017; Merrie et al., 2018; Spijkers et al., 2021). Story-based methods can be understood as *narrative, fictional depictions of future worlds*. Storytelling methods are meaningfully different from narrative approaches, since they represent a deeper exploration of future worlds (Carbonell et al., 2017), and they allow participants to explore how their daily lives, values, and habits can be mapped onto different contexts (Raven & Elahi, 2015).

The purpose of the present work is to demonstrate how a latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA) analysis may input directly into a creative, structured futuring process (Fig 1). We define structured futuring as asystematic, multi-step approach for creatively developing a story setting, set of characters, and plot that interrogates a particular topic or set of topics. We are explicitly not aiming to provide a definitive new set of comprehensive scenarios, especially given the absence of participation with Indigenous and local communities in the Arctic. On the contrary, we are piloting this approach in the Arctic region both because of the extensive, existing scenario work available for comparison, as well as the diversity of challenges that are being faced by Arctic societies (Akiwenzie-Damm et al., 2019).

However, this does not mean that we ignore the context or the place where the text data originated. While our project is not participatory, we have endeavored to situate each story thoughtfully and critically in a specific future context, by telling multiple stories that reflect the diversity of the Arctic population, including ethnicities, gender identities, ages, and Indigeneity. Moreover, we aim to provide a "multiplicity of voices" through the eventual stories that are told (D'ignazio and Klein, 2020), while acknowledging the partiality of the perspectives that we can bring to bear given the limits that our perspectives permit (Weinberger, 2009). Finally, our scenarios aim to engage the humanities via the transformation of a computational text analysis into stories (and later artwork) that embrace open-interpretation, ambiguity and complexity (Drucker, 2011). We reflect more on the future of these methods in the Discussion section.

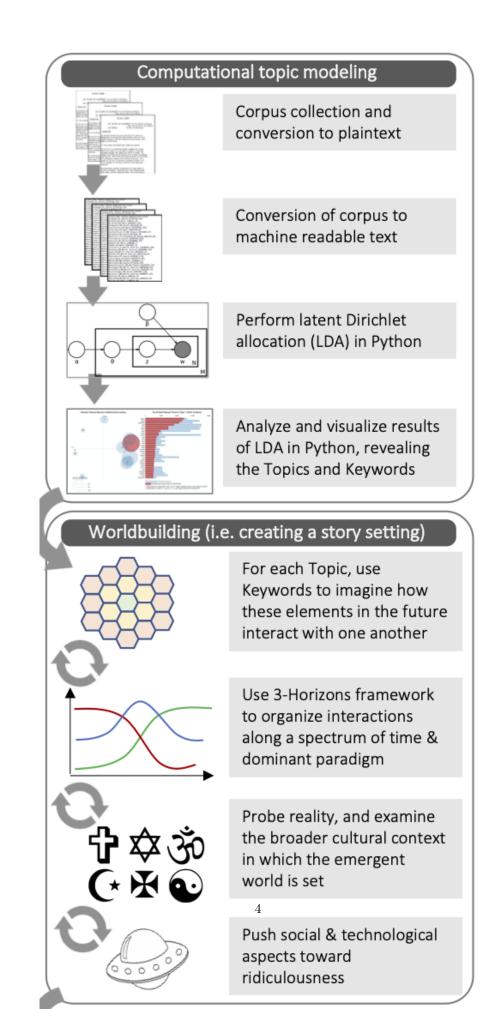


Figure 1. Conceptual overview of how the topic modeling analysis feeds into the structured futuring process, including worldbuilding and story creation.

2 Data and Methods

2.1 News article corpus on the future of the Arctic

We collected news articles from multiple Arctic regional news sources. These articles were available in publicly accessible, English-language Arctic newspapers, specifically: The Arctic Sounder, Arctic Today, The Barents Observer, CBC North, The Moscow Times, Nunatsiaq News, and Radio Canada International. These sources were selected based on a set of preliminary conversations with community leaders, scientific experts and public officials from throughout the Arctic. We use the Google Search engine as a method of discovery, and a temporal window of search of 2010-2020. These dates do not correspond to any specific event, but rather capture a recent, contemporary set of published perspectives on the future Arctic.

For most sources, we simply used the search term 'future' as a filter of the articles, given the publication itself was an 'arctic' publication. For Radio Canada International and The Moscow Times, we used both 'arctic' and 'future' as a filter. While the language of the sources was restricted to English-language texts, there are news resources coming from the entire pan-Arctic region, including Russia, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Canada, Greenland, and Alaska. The purpose for this broad collection is to ensure that the information from the regional (i.e. spatially extensive, less granular, more general) and the local (i.e. spatially specific, more detailed, deeper knowledge), spans the possibility space of a large fraction of the Arctic discourse about the future, available in English-language newspapers. While additional words could have been used, such as 'projection', 'forecast', or 'scenario', we were intentional about using a simple, straightforward - and hopefully repeatable — procedure. We rely on the word 'future' as our primary search term, for multiple reasons. First, 'future' is commonly used as both a noun and an adjective. As a noun, 'future' is defined as "the time that will come after the present or the events that will happen then" (OED Online, 2021). Likewise, as an adjective, 'future' is defined as "That is to be, or will be, hereafter." These definitions are precisely the meaning we are after. Second, there are very few nouns in the English language that are commonly used to convey this definition, with less commonly used words including "hereafter" and "tomorrow". There are some synonyms of 'future' as an adjective, though these tend to be less precise (words include: anticipate, expected). Thus, the simple choice of 'future' in this case allows us to target the definition of the word future, with a straightforward approach.

While the Google Search algorithm often displays tens of thousands of search returns, a user only has access to approximately 300 entries. Thus, we limit the collection of articles to the top 300 articles returned from each source. The order of entries from a Google search employs the proprietary PageRank algorithm that sorts and orders webpages based on the number of other links to them on the internet. This will inevitably lead to some skew in the types of articles that are listed at the top, and we anticipate that future work could use alternative search approaches that would potentially yield different sets of articles. That is, however, beyond the scope of this work. Ultimately, by using Google Search we ensure the method is free and generally easy for others to use, without any fee-based licenses.

The potential for biases exists in multiple aspects of this corpus. First, we only use English-language texts (or texts that were translated into English). As a result, there is an *anglophone* bias that may include implicit or tacit perspectives that are difficult to surface, not least related to the legacy of settler colonialism in Indigenous communities in the Arctic. Along with this, we note that the LDA implicitly absorbs biases of the corpus itself, including: the vocabulary of the news article authors, the political biases of the article authors themselves, and the editorial biases of the news sources and their publishers. In acknowledging the various contexts that constrain the creation of these source articles (D'ignazio and Klein, 2020), we aim to definitively underline that this machine learning method contains its own variety of bias.

Second, we are implicitly adopting the biases of the search algorithm that was used — in this case a Googlebased search. While this is certainly a bias, we intend for this method to be theoretically accessible to anyone, which would exclude many scholarly search products, which often require paid subscriptions or memberships to specialized organizations. While other forms of written information about the future of the Arctic region exist (such as journal articles, reports, or other forms of information), we wanted to collect publicly-available and currently discussed ideas about the future. Freely available news articles serve this aim by providing publicly available information.

Finally, we note that the composition of the research team is not local or Indigenous to the Arctic, and is only capable of interpreting English-language texts. Moreover, since the goal was to generate written stories from computational text analysis, both the input and the output needed to be in English. Also, while a future goal of this type of work could include engagement of local and Indigenous communities in the Arctic, this work aims to demonstrate the method's potential, by using publicly available documents written for and by an audience that exists in, or is concerned with, the Arctic. That being said, the data should be interpreted as originating from texts that were written from specific positions of cultural power throughout the Arctic and near-Arctic, rather than representative of a reality devoid of these power dynamics (D'ignazio and Klein, 2020).

2.2 Text preparation and conversion

Each document was saved in a plaintext file, and manually stripped of erroneous material that did not pertain to the article itself, including strings of characters associated with unrelated website HTML (i.e., Hypertext Markup Language), unrelated publication text, or advertisements. Once the corpus of texts was identified, we generated a machine-readable corpus using Python-based scripts that can batch-convert documents to text strings. It is important to note that the corpus is being used for educational and research purposes only, and that the corpus itself is not publicly distributed.

2.3 Latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA)

Using the GENSIM package, in addition to several other Python-based tools, we performed the tasks of converting the strings of text into a vectorized set of inputs for analysis, including tokenization, lemmatization, and stop-word filtering (Řehůřek & Sojka, 2010; Sarkar, 2019). Next, we performed the latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA). LDA is a machine-learning based approach for taking a large corpus of texts, and revealing the latent (i.e., hidden), patterns of keywords and topics that occur across the corpus. Below, is a more detailed explanation of the process, including the corresponding versions of each software package used. We note that multiple methods of text analysis could be suitable for identifying semantically distinct topics from a large corpus, such as latent semantic analysis (LSA) or latent semantic indexing (LSI). We employ LDA primarily because it produces highly interpretable topics (Kayser and Shala, 2014) with intuitive topic visualization options (Sievert and Shirley, 2014).

We use Python version 3.7.7 for this entire analysis. The initial step for the LDA is to pre-process each document using the Python-based Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) version 3.4.4. Tokenization is the initial step of breaking the text within each document in the corpus into the individual units of meaning, in this case, individual words. Stopwords are then removed, including frequently used words such as "the", "and", "as", etc. As a note we used both Gensim and NLTK since the tokenization process in Gensim led to spurious words that persistently passed through the tokenization filters that we implemented using Gensim. NLTK was used as a substitute since it was more effective at the tokenization procedure, for our specific task.

Lemmatization is the final step in the corpus preparation, which helps reduce the remaining words to their basic form, e.g., changing past tense versions of a word to a common form. These steps result in a tokenized corpus of texts. It is possible that lemmatization eliminates potentially valuable temporal context for articles, specifically signaling past, present, and future tenses. However, in this analysis we wanted to maximize the set of distinct words to characterize the future, rather than find (potentially) multiple words with the same root albeit with different tenses. Future work could explore this question, though it is outside the scope of this work.

Next, the Gensim Python package (version 3.8.0) is used for the LDA, which is a method that iteratively

identifies the latent topic structure across the corpus. This is completed by repeatedly evaluating sets of words, and learning which clusterings lead to coherent, distinct, topics. There are several parameters that can be adjusted, but the most consequential for our work is the number of topics that are being sought in the analysis. We performed a sensitivity analysis, varying the number of topics for which the corpus was clustered, and calculated the resulting Coherence scores for all analyzed numbers of clusters. Coherence measures the degree of semantic similarity, which helps distinguish between statistical artefacts and actual semantic relatedness. So, a better Coherence score implies greater semantic similarity among the terms in each topic cluster. There are several metrics for Coherence, and based on a systematic review of various coherence metrics, we employ the C_v metric (Röder et al., 2015). For our purposes, we aimed for each topic to be internally, semantically, similar enough to support a coherent storytelling process. Thus, we aimed for the highest Coherence score.

2.4 Visualize LDA results and identify scenario seeds

Using the pyLDAvis package in Gensim (Sievert and Shirley, 2014), we visualized the Intertopic Distance Map, based on a principal component analysis calculated within pyLDAvis. Additionally, we show the 30 most relevant terms for each topic. The Intertopic Distance Map was leveraged as a quadrant space (i.e., the four sections created by the two axes) and we labeled the axes to provide scenario context based on exogenous drivers; this is further elaborated in Section 3.3 below. The process of creating a quadrant space to construct scenarios is a central feature of many scenario analyses (Raven, 2014; Raven and Elahi, 2015; Merrie et al., 2018).

2.5 Employ structured futuring methods to take the LDA to a story-based scenario

We develop a process for creatively blending the topic's keywords and the topic's context, to construct a novel scenario world (i.e., the setting of the story), produce characters who inhabit this scenario world, and develop a brief plot. The first step is the same for all scenarios:

Define the axes of the Intertopic distance map: Label the axes of the principal component quadrants to define overarching context for each scenario, to ensure that themes which are close to one another in the principal component quadrant space are similar in some way, while those far apart are dissimilar. Build from existing work that employs similar scenario quadrants (Raven, 2014; Raven and Elahi, 2015; Merrie et al., 2018).

The subsequent steps are repeated for each scenario, though the details of each diverge according to the topics and keywords identified for each scenario (a full example of these steps are given in Section 3.5). Relevant references corresponding to each step are provided below:

- 1. Summarize keywords : Examine the set of 30 keywords for the topic, and manually summarize into a core topic. If there is a specific location(s), use this to provide a setting for the world.
- 2. Distill core topic : Based on the keyword summary, identify a suitable core topic (Kwon et al., 2017).
- 3. *Explore topic and keywords with futures wheels* : Based on the core topic, the keywords, and the intertopic context, brainstorm how the ideas might be connected to one another in the future. Look for both logical and contradictory connections (Pereira et al., 2018).
- 4. Use 3-horizons framework to build a future history : Placing the futures wheels brainstorm at the end of the third horizon, begin to identify how the world has transformed from the present day to the hypothetical future world. Identify key events or changes that had to unfold to get from the present to the future (Sharpe et al., 2016).
- 5. *Probe reality and cultural change* : Zoom-out from the specific scenario world that is emerging, and explore what changes exist in governance, education, culture, the arts, economy, and more (Hamann et al., 2020).
- 6. *Push toward ridiculousness*: Select several of the keywords or other ideas and identify the most radical technological or social changes that could unfold in the future. Include some of these in the scenario (Dator, 1993; Merrie et al., 2018).
- 7. $Visualize \ character(s)$: Take the nascent future world and visualize a scene from the world. Explore the type of character that is revealed in this scene and articulate what the character is doing in the

visualization. Based on this, define relevant attributes for understanding this character (internal and external motivations; fears and hopes; past experiences; etc.).

- 8. Design plot based on world and character : Based on the character and the world, identify a challenge that could emerge that would allow the character to change or adapt in some way. Then, identify how a character might deal with such a challenge (Johnson, 2011).
- 9. Build story beats : Use the character and the basic plot to articulate the story-beats that will form the scaffold of the story. Story beats include: Every day..., Until one day..., Because of this..., Because of that..., Until finally..., and Ever since then...
- 10. Write story : Using the story-beat scaffold, begin writing the creative story of the character moving through the world, responding to a challenge, and navigating the consequences of these actions.
- 11. *Test story for fidelity* : Ensure that the resultant story contains key elements from the LDA analysis, including the intertopic context, the topic keywords, and the core topic.

In an effort to critically participate in the representation of diverse situations in the Arctic, we intentionally and explicitly represent storylines that take place in different social, cultural, and national contexts. We also intentionally represent characters of different ages, classes, and genders to provide a critical lens through which to view issues of social power. By exposing these goals, we hope to clarify the importance of situating stories thoughtfully, particularly in parts of the world populated by people who have been historically marginalized or harmed.

3 Results

3.1 Corpus construction

We collected 2,058 articles from our set of Arctic news sources. Each source provided 300 news articles, except for Arctic Today, in which we found a total of 258 articles in our search. More articles were returned that were published toward the end of the decade, than toward the beginning, which is possibly a result of the Google Search algorithm (Fig S11). Each article was saved in a plaintext format, and its metadata was recorded, which is available in Supplemental Table 1. The 2,058 articles were then batch-converted from plaintext files to machine-readable strings. Other methods exist for characterizing corpus composition, including bi- and tri-gram frequency (the frequency of certain sequences of word pairs, or triads). In our work, however, we employ the term frequencies that are specifically related to each of the LDA-derived topics.

3.2 Computational topic modeling

We iteratively performed the LDA by varying the number of topics, and measuring the corresponding Coherence score (discussed in Section 2.3; see Fig S12). The highest Coherence score in our analysis was 0.54, and was achieved with eleven clusters. It is worth noting that Coherence is a relative metric related to the corpus itself. Additional information on the statistical optimization of latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA) methods is discussed in depth in other work (Chang et al., 2009; Hecking & Leydesdorff, 2018; Röder et al. 2015). Thus, the result of our LDA analysis was eleven semantically different topic clusters.

Topic coherence is one way to quantitatively assess how well the topic model is able to capture distinct topics with distinct sets of meaning, i.e., semantic similarity. Given that the purpose of the LDA in this research is to feed directly into a semantically meaningful task, i.e., creative storytelling, the qualitative process we employ serves as a second, though informal, metric of whether the identified topics are semantically meaningful. Indeed, topic eleven was ignored in this analysis given its clear lack of meaning, despite being identified by the LDA as a distinct topic. Other methods exist for detecting meaningfulness in a corpus, including word or topic intrusion (Chang et al., 2009). While beyond the scope of this research, since the authors themselves served as the human test of whether a topic was semantically meaningful or not, these methods could be a useful complement in research where there is no subsequent step that assesses topic meaning.

The LDA produced a variety of results, including a set of overall term frequencies across the entire corpus (Fig 2, right side), a set of latent topics composed of keywords, as well as various measures of 'intertopic'

distance in a set of principal component axes (Fig 2, left side). The spread of the topics is not uniform across the distance map, which highlights that some of the topics may be more related to one another than not. This is not a problem and will be leveraged, as discussed in the next section. The Intertopic Distance Map shows that the first ten topics represent substantial portions of the corpus, while the eleventh topic (while quantitatively unique), contains text that is two orders of magnitude lower in frequency across the corpus. Thus, we ignored the eleventh topic, and are left with ten distinct topics.

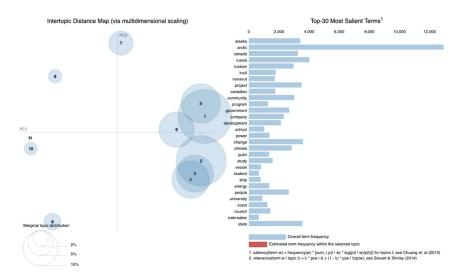


Fig 2. Results of the latent Dirichlet allocation, with thematic dominance and clustering visualized on the left, and the baseline frequency of keywords across the entire corpus depicted on the right. This was generated using the freely available pyLDAvis software in the GENSIM Python package.

3.3 LDA topic quadrants

We labeled the axes of the principal component quadrants to define overarching context for the scenarios, to ensure that topics which are close to one another in the quadrant space are similar in some way, while those far apart are dissimilar. To be clear, this step is entirely user-defined, and relies on human interpretation of the text analysis. For the purposes of our scenarios, which aim to explore the *future* of the Arctic, we use two broad features that would serve as exogenous drivers for the entire region: climate change severity and regional levels of cooperation.

The x-axis describes the relative severity of climate change in the Arctic region, with the right side representing anticipated climate changes, and the left side representing extreme climate changes. Given the overwhelming evidence to date of how the Arctic is disproportionately sensitive to climate change (Dodds, 2010; Post et al., 2009; Steiner et al., 2019; Stroeve et al., 2012), the concentration of most of the scenarios in that domain is supported empirically. The left side of the x-axis represents more extreme climate changes, which we acknowledge are possible in the range of climate projections, as well as being exceptionally consequential to the region.

The y-axis describes whether the Arctic region is characterized by conflict or cooperation. The top of this axis represents high cooperation, including economically, politically, socially, and militarily. The bottom of this axis represents low cooperation. In this way, the bulk of the thematic clusters are somewhat neutral, and this is broadly reflected in the patchy history of Arctic cooperation (Osherenko & Young, 2005). There have been periods of peace and international cooperation, exemplified, for example, by the effectiveness of the Arctic Council (Young, 2010). Likewise, there have been profound periods of conflict (Keil, 2014; Rahbek-Clemmensen, 2017; Young, 2011), as well as targeted violence toward Indigenous peoples (Crawford, 2014;

Salusky et al., 2021).

To be clear — the position of the topic clusters in this quadrant space does not determine the content of the scenario but helps to frame the *context* of the scenario. Thus, when the scenarios produced in this analysis are compared with one another, those that were identified computationally as more tightly clustered exist in similar types of geopolitical and climatic contexts (i.e., topics 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), whereas those that were distributed throughout the intertopic space will be more idiosyncratic (i.e., topics 7, 8, 9, 10).

3.4 Distribution of topic clusters in the Intertopic Distance Map

We can clearly interpret the current dominance of each topic relative to the others, with topics 1-6 being quite dominant and topics 7-10 being less so. This information provides additional context of how representative a given theme is for the entire corpus. Here we provide a summary showing each topic with its corresponding keywords (Table 1).

Table 1. Summary of topic clusters with corresponding top 30 keywords in that cluster with terms listed in descending order of relevance within the topic (i.e., the first term is the most salient to the topic)

Topic $\#$	Top 30 Keywords in each topic
Overall corpus term frequency	alaska, arctic, canada, russia, russian, inuit, nunavut, project, canadian, community, progra
1	people, alaska, community, state, future, would, years, public, project, local, think, issue, r
2	arctic, change, climate, research, study, ocean, polar, water, years, could, bear, north, futu
3	arctic, council, region, norway, country, state, barents, international, norwegian, china, clin
4	arctic, first, north, building, guard, would, winter, include, plan, future, build, photo, servi
5	project, company, energy, million, development, industry, investment, infrastructure, produ
6	russia, russian, putin, state, moscow, country, military, headline, president, gazprom, powe
7	canada, inuit, nunavut, canadian, government, community, iqaluit, indigenous, territory, fe
8	vessel, ship, icebreaker, nuclear, power, cruise, expedition, murmansk, coast, route, fleet, ve
9	alaska, caribou, lease, refuge, development, wildlife, national, coastal, administration, trum
10	student, school, program, college, education, youth, university, graduate, award, skill, colle

3.5 Creating story scenarios from the LDA topics

While the creation of each of the ten stories was inherently unique, we nonetheless detail the process for one of the stories (Topic #5, "Concession 60") to illustrate what the structured futuring process looks like in practice (Fig 3). The full creative processes for all the stories are documented in the Supplement. While the LDA objectively revealed the keywords for this approach, every other step was a structured, imaginative endeavor. As such, a very large number of stories could conceivably emerge from the starting point of the topic model. However, a key goal of this method is to maintain fidelity in the eventual story concepts and ideas to the original LDA topic context and keywords (Steps 1 and 2).

While each step is described in the Methods section of this text, we examine here the step-by-step approach displayed in Fig 3, corresponding to the steps for constructing the story for Topic #5, entitled 'Concession 60':

- 1. For Topic #5, the two-quadrant context was expected climate change and low cooperation.
- 2. The keywords for Topic #5 were clustered around the concepts of 'industrial development', 'finance', 'extraction', and 'agreements'.
- 3. Based on these keywords, the core topic was labeled 'Extractive, industrial Arctic'.
- 4. Next, using Futures Wheels we brainstormed interconnections that might emerge in the future among these keywords in Topic #5, in the context of the labeled quadrants.
- 5. Then, we used the ideas from Step 4 in a Three Horizons exercise and explored the changing paradigms

that would wax and wane over time, leading to a future characterized as an 'Extractive, industrial Arctic.'

- 6. Next, we took our ideas and keywords from Steps 2-5, and reflected on the broader regional and global aspects of how the world in Topic #5 may interact with this idea of a future Arctic.
- 7. In 'pushing toward ridiculousness' and given the topic of extraction and industrialization in the Arctic, we considered what aspects of society, economy, and technology could be dramatically different from the present. In this way, we explored ideas of labor, drone monitoring, and nano-mining that are, at present, not socially, economically, or technologically in existence.
- 8. Equipped with a mature setting in which a story might unfold, we develop a character named MishaPark, a climate migrant from the United States who had migrated north, to an undisclosed Arctic location.
- 9. Based on the extractive, industrial Arctic and the climate migrant, Misha, we developed a plot that explored how a climate migrant might be entrapped in exploitative labor practices to sate ongoing global demand for rare earth metals.
- 10. Using the story beats method, we identified the major turning points of the narrative for the character, focusing on a day in the life of an indentured laborer in future rare earth mining operations, who also suffers from the trauma that she experienced as a climate migrant.
- 11. Using all this preparatory work, the story was drafted around each story beat, ensuring that Misha had a satisfying character arc, and that the story adequately explored the future world of an extractive, industrial Arctic.
- 12. Qualitative review was employed to check whether the eventual story could reflect back to the original keywords from the LDA, with prominent themes in the story related to 'infrastructure', 'investment', 'mining', 'resource', and 'production'.

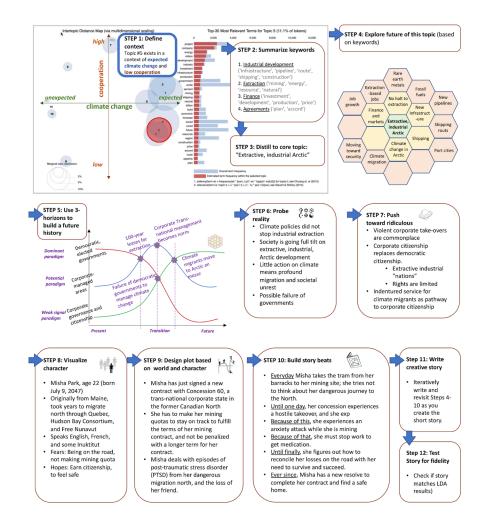


Fig 3. Summary of the story-based scenario creation procedure for Topic #5 'Concession 60'. Steps begin at the top left, and can be read left-to-right, and top-to-bottom.

3.6 Description of stories from LDA themes

We briefly share an overview of all ten stories in Table 2, and the full stories are included in the Supplement. The important result presented in this manuscript is not the collection of scenarios per se, but rather the method for feeding the LDA approach into a structured futuring process. Thus, while the ten scenarios are valid in their own right, we emphasize that the purpose of these scenarios is to illustrate the outcome of the blended LDA and structured futuring approach.

Table 2. Overview of stories, including theme, title, and brief description of the world and story.

Topic #: Title of Story

1: Campus Utqiaġvik

Story: A corporate spy is secretly monitoring scientific advancements at a scientific outpost on Devon Island near Baffin B 3: Security Detail

Story: The outgoing civic leader in Campus Utqiagvik is visiting the grocery store, and is experiencing nostalgia and a sense 2: Nanook Station

Topic #: Title of Story

Story: Else Larsen, the security detail for the Norwegian delegates to an Arctic Council meeting, compares the public and p 4: The Last Preserve
Story: A student group is on an ocean-going ship visiting a preserved island environment in the Yukon, Canada, where the 5: Concession 60
Story: A person begins a work contract with a mining conglomerate, and experiences traumatic memories of her migration 6: Putin's Gambit
Story: A future history in the style of a popular podcast, where a story unfolds of how Russian political leadership miscale 7: Voice from the Past
Story: During a meeting among trade representatives from Inuit Nunangat and Canada, an off-hand prejudiced comment le 8: Icebreaker
Story: Two individuals on a permanent Russian icebreaking station near the Kara Sea must decide how to deal with a pote 9: Assisted Migration
Story: A group of biologists, tasked with monitoring and guiding the Porcupine Caribou herd northward encounters a techn 10: School's Out Forever
Story: A family on a homestead in the Sakha region of the former Russian Federation shares stories about what the world

4 Discussion

4.1 Scenarios connect back to the LDA analysis

Following the structured futuring approach, and the creation of the story-based scenarios, we examined whether the resultant stories bore a resemblance to the original LDA topics. Each of the narratives was iteratively reviewed to ensure both that (a) the story content reflected the corresponding topic clustering and the topic keywords, and (b) that each story did not too-closely resemble the content of another set of topic keywords. This review process helped to ensure that each scenario depicted relatively unique elements of the future. While outside the scope of the present analysis, future work could endeavor to explicitly determine whether the keywords present in a resultant scenario are quantitatively distinct from other scenarios. However, this would be challenging due to the short word count of the story scenarios, which are each between 1,500 and 2,500 words.

4.2 Comparison with narrative scenarios across the global Arctic

We find notable thematic overlap among various other narrative scenario efforts, sampled from research conducted around the global Arctic. In Table 3, we highlight some of these other scenarios, with corresponding descriptions of thematic overlap. The narrative scenarios highlighted in Table 3 provide a sample of the existing literature on the topic of the future of the Arctic region. While it is interesting that some of the scenarios that we have produced are thematically well-represented in the Arctic scenario literature (e.g., "Concession 60", "Assisted Migration"), there is one that notably has no apparent representation in the existing literature.

"Putin's Gambit" describes a world that has made tremendous global progress on climate change action and emissions reductions, except for Russia, where its politics have fostered continued fossil fuel exploration. From a scenario perspective, this is in large part due to Russia's continued and projected reliance on fossil fuels as a major part of its economy (Ilinova et al., 2020; Keil, 2014). Thus, a contradiction emerges where despite global progress being made on the topic of emissions reduction, there is a significant aberration in the Russian economy. The brief thematic review in Table 3 suggests that this combination of themes may be under-represented in the existing scenario literature.

Table 3. Comparison of a sample of existing Arctic scenario narratives with the ten scenarios produced in this analysis

Topic $\#$: Title of Story	Scenario literature featuring similar ideas
1: Campus Utqiaģvik	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario $\#5$ "; Falardeau et al. (2019) "Havakatigiit"
2: Nanook Station	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario $#2$ "; Nilsson et al. (2017), "Inequality"
3: Security Detail	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #4"; Global Business Network (2008), "Arctic Saga"; Brigham (2007)
4: The Last Preserve	Global Business Network (2008), "Polar Preserve"
5: Concession 60	Global Business Network (2008), "Arctic Race"; Brigham (2007b), "Globalized Frontier"; Nilsson
6: Putin's Gambit	
7: Voice from the Past	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario $\#7$ "; Falardeau et al. (2019) "Kablonak"
8: Icebreaker	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #1"; Global Business Network (2008), "Arctic Race"; Brigham (2007)
9: Assisted Migration	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #3"; Global Business Network (2008), "Arctic Saga"; Brigham (2007)
10: School's Out Forever	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario $\#6$ "; Global Business Network (2008), "Polar Lows"

4.3 Stories permit creative visions of the future

An advantage of combining a distant time-horizon (e.g., the end of the 21st century) with a creative approach to scenario generation (e.g. science fiction prototyping), is the ability to play with themes that are outlandish or perhaps ridiculous, at least compared to the present day (Dator, 1993; Johnson, 2011). In the context of the Arctic, there are a significant number of factors that will lead to diverse and wide-ranging outcomes, in particular the roles of Indigenous identities in the future (e.g., Latulippe & Klenk, 2020), pronounced ecological change (Post et al., 2009), and radical technological advances (Akiwenzie-Damm et al., 2019; Asinnajaq, 2017).

The process of developing a story-based future inherently requires creativity, which is neither easy to quantify nor easy to train. Moreover, narrative scenarios can prove to be tremendously engaging to readers of scenarios, by immersing a reader in a story rather than providing only a description (Burnam-Fink, 2015). With this demonstration of blending computational text analysis with storytelling, a next step could be to engage Arctic participants directly in both the curation of a novel corpus of literature on the future, and to participate in the imagining of new visions of the future. Stepping back, this work can be seen as examining how human creativity can productively collaborate with machine learning methods. Indeed, in an era where algorithms dominate discourse about what to expect from and of the future, there is an urgency for demonstrations of the critical role of humanistic perspectives.

Artwork is an additional mode of contending with the complex content and questions embedded in scenarios, and can include visual art, spoken word, musical interpretation, or theatrical production (Grimberg et al., 2019; Jacobs et al., 2017; Merrie et al., 2018). As such, art can be leveraged to meaningfully engage a much broader audience that otherwise would not have a clear way to participate in the process of envisioning Arctic futures. Art can tap into deep-seated human experience, and it can be leveraged to connect wide-ranging audiences with important, worthwhile topics, with which they might not otherwise engage (Akiwenzie-Damm et al., 2019; Ramachandran & Hirstein, 1999). While full discussion is beyond the scope of this article, visual concept art has been developed to accompany the ten visions of the Arctic presented in this article. This artwork provides an engaging and immersive complement for the stories themselves. An example is shown in Fig 4.



Figure 4. Examples of visual art for two of the story-based scenarios. The top panel is an image inspired by 'Concession 60' (i.e., Topic #5), and the bottom panel is an image inspired by 'Assisted Migration' (i.e., Topic #9). Artwork is used with permission by Patrick W. Keys and Fabio Comin. All rights reserved by the creators.

4.4 Positionality and interpretation

The authors of this work emphasize that the analysis, particularly the subjective interpretation of the LDA results and the development of stories, reflects individual positionality (i.e., Western, non-Indigenous), perspective (i.e., external to the Arctic), and social privilege (i.e., scientists from a research university). Awareness of this is critical to appropriately situate and contextualize the scenarios themselves, both as readers and writers. A story-based scenario process is inevitably subjective, which is in fact part of the motivation, given that stories can be an accessible format for engaging broad audiences on complex topics. Nonetheless, we clarify our own positionality above to provide additional context for those engaging with these stories.

4.5 Future work

This work is intended to be a starting point for those interested in expanding the scope of Arctic scenarios, by blending computational methods with imaginative, story-based approaches. While the present analysis is limited to two authors who are not currently located in the Arctic, we hope that this pilot demonstration can serve as a launchpad for engaging new partners. Specifically, we hope that communities that are local and Indigenous to the Arctic will find the scenarios engaging and explore the story-based methodology to develop future scenarios tailored to their own communities.

A next step of this work could be to identify communities in the Arctic that might specifically be a good

fit for this type of scenario process. Potential partners could include colleges and universities, particularly those with a focus on educating local populations, for example Iisaġvik College located in Utqiagvik, Alaska. Such a partnership could include a combination of scenario-based learning, as well as collaborative research, both among students and faculty. Eventually, if such a scenario approach were successful in an Arctic academic context, a broader effort could be made to work with communities beyond academia, including tribal organizations and local governments. Many other examples of structured futuring exist in Arctic contexts including with Indigenous communities (e.g., Falardeau et al., 2019), though few explicitly link the methods we discuss in this article (specifically computational text analysis and story-based futures). All efforts in the Arctic, however, are characterized by a need for deep engagement with local communities, which require time, communication, and honest partnership.

Some complexities exist for this work to be relevant for Arctic communities, not least the technical barriers that exist for collecting relevant texts, developing multi-lingual analytical capacity, the provision of computing hardware, as well as technical training for personnel. At the same time the entire method presented here does not need to be adopted in its entirety. It is conceivable that a user of this work could take our LDA analysis, and use it as a jumping off point, such that other scenarios could be created following our story-based approach yet based on the same LDA output. This would sidestep the barriers to computational text analysis and would permit new interpretation of the LDA results in a way that reflected the perspective of the new users.

There are numerous possibilities for future expansion of the computational text analysis. First, exploration of non-English corpuses is a frontier for this work, not least because of the linguistic diversity present in the Arctic. While it is well beyond the scope of this analysis, collaborative research teams, possibly leveraging circumpolar research networks, could leverage considerable local capacity. Groups such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council, International Arctic Science Committee and others could serve as valuable partners for such an effort. In a similar context, several types of corpuses could be collaboratively constructed, that explore differences among distinct aspects of Arctic identity. This could include Indigenous and non-Indigenous identities, as well as other cultural, national, and ethnic groupings. To that end, methods such as word or topic intrusion could be explicitly co-developed with stakeholders or partners to strengthen topic model analyses, with local, on-the-ground perspectives and knowledge. Finally, additional approaches could be employed to connect any resultant scenarios further back to the original corpus composition. First, information about the topic distribution across documents could help test whether the scenarios reflect the document composition more directly. Second, bi- and tri-gram frequency across the corpus could be used to examine whether and how the eventual scenarios relate to the raw, unanalyzed corpus.

As with the non-English analysis discussed above, such a comparative approach would require broad collaboration among diverse groups throughout the Arctic region. A central concern of work that engages Indigenous and local people in the collection and interpretation of perspectives on the future, is that of appropriately situating this knowledge. Likewise, it would be necessary to carefully evaluate the biases of the research questions that are asked. Substantial effort would be required to detail the context of perspectives on the future, and likewise to understand the cultural dynamics from which these perspectives originate (D'ignazio and Klein, 2020).

This hybrid method of blending computational text analysis with story-based approaches is not intended to be stand-alone. Rather, it can serve as a complement to existing scenario development practices, including conventional geophysical and Earth system science projections of Arctic change. Moreover, this method provides a broad perspective on locally driven, place-based initiatives. In this way, the methods and results presented in this article can serve as a platform for interweaving regional and circumpolar themes into local scenario efforts.

5 Conclusions

The future Arctic will be profoundly different from that observed in the present. We contribute a new approach toward creating scenarios of the future Arctic, by blending computational text analysis with struc-

tured futuring. The topic modeling yielded a set of distinct thematic clusters of keywords, which were directly employed in the creation of story-based visions of the future Arctic. The stories that were created permit a visit to ten different, textured, and vital visions of the future. While the stories are interesting, the major contribution of this work is to demonstrate a method of how topic modeling can be used directly in an imaginative scenario process. In the future, we anticipate that computational text analysis could be incorporated as a component of general scenario methods, to simultaneously provide an unsupervised scan of existing literature, as well as to provide orthogonal insight that might not be present in the existing worldview of the scenario creators. Similarly, we anticipate that creative story-based methods will become increasingly important for making sense of a world experiencing accelerating and surprising change.

Acknowledgments, Samples, and Data

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Figure 1 . Conceptual overview of how the topic modeling analysis feeds into the structured futuring process, including worldbuilding and story creation

Figure 2. Results of the latent Dirichlet allocation, with thematic dominance and clustering visualized on the left, and the baseline frequency of keywords across the entire corpus depicted on the right. This was generated using the freely available pyLDAvis software in the GENSIM Python package.

Figure 3. Summary of the story-based scenario creation procedure for Topic #5 'Concession 60'. Steps begin at the top left, and can be read left-to-right, and top-to-bottom.

Figure 4. Examples of visual art for two of the story-based scenarios. The top panel is an image inspired by 'Concession 60' (i.e., Topic #5), and the bottom panel is an image inspired by 'Assisted Migration' (i.e., Topic #9). Artwork is used with permission by Patrick W. Keys and Fabio Comin. All rights reserved.

Table 1. Summary of topic clusters with corresponding top 30 keywords in that cluster with terms listed in descending order of relevance within the topic (i.e., the first term is the most salient to the topic).

Table 2. Overview of stories, including theme, title, and brief description of the world and story.

Table 3 . Comparison of a sample of existing Arctic scenario narratives with the ten scenarios produced in this analysis

1	Visions of the Arctic Future: Blending Computational Text Analysis and Structured
2	Futuring to Create Story-based Scenarios
3	
4	P. W. Keys ¹ and A. E. Meyer ¹
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6	USA
7	
8	Corresponding author: Patrick Keys (patrick.keys@colostate.edu)
9	
10	Key Points:
11	• Imaginative scenarios are an essential approach for designing futures in an accelerating
12	era of social and environmental change in the Arctic.
13	
14	• Story-based scenarios blended with computational text analysis provide an entirely new
15	method for envisioning the future.
16	
17	• Our scenario methods mirror other work on Arctic futures, though with important idiosyncrasies
18	related to divergent regional changes.
19	

20 Abstract

The future of Arctic social systems and natural environments is highly uncertain. Climate change 21 will lead to unprecedented phenomena in the pan-Arctic region, such as regular shipping traffic 22 23 through the Arctic Ocean, urban growth, military activity, expanding agricultural frontiers, and 24 transformed Indigenous societies. While intergovernmental to local organizations have produced numerous synthesis-based visions of the future, a challenge in any scenario exercise is capturing 25 the 'possibility' space of change. In this work, we employ a computational text analysis to 26 generate unique thematic input for novel, story-based visions of the Arctic. Specifically, we 27 28 develop a corpus of more than 2,000 articles in publicly accessible, English-language Arctic newspapers that discuss the future in the Arctic. We then perform a latent Dirichlet allocation, 29 resulting in ten distinct topics and sets of associated keywords. From these topics and keywords, 30 we design ten story-based scenarios employing the Manoa mashup, science fiction prototyping, 31 32 and other methods. Our results demonstrate that computational text analysis can feed directly into a creative futuring process, whereby the output stories can be traced clearly back to the 33 34 original topics and keywords. We discuss our findings in the context of the broader field of Arctic scenarios and show that the results of this computational text analysis produce 35 complementary stories to the existing scenario literature. We conclude that story-based scenarios 36 can provide vital texture toward understanding the myriad possible Arctic futures. 37

38

39 Plain Language Summary

The Arctic will profoundly change in the 21st century. Climate changes and other increasing 40 41 human pressures will transform many parts of the region beyond contemporary recognition. We need ways to capture the current, Arctic-based perspectives of this future change and to provide 42 engaging visions of where it might be headed. First, we use a computer-assisted analysis of more 43 than 2000 news articles that all discuss the future of the Arctic. Second, we take the insights 44 from this analysis and produce a set of story-based scenarios. We do this by blending science 45 fiction prototyping, the Mānoa method, and others to produce speculative fiction scenarios. In 46 our results, we produce ten new, creative scenarios of the Arctic future. We find that our story-47

- 48 based results have themes that are consistent with some existing Arctic scenarios. Moving
- 49 forward, we think that the methods we use will improve the accessibility future scenarios.

50

51 Introduction

The future of Arctic social systems and natural environments is highly uncertain (Arctic 52 Council, 2016; Fresco & Timm, 2016). Future climate change will lead to unprecedented 53 phenomena in the pan-Arctic region, such as regular shipping traffic through the Arctic Ocean, 54 urban growth, military activity, and expanding agricultural frontiers (Arctic Council, 2009; 55 Cameron, 2012). Such impacts will challenge centuries of local and traditional knowledge (Ford 56 et al., 2016; Krupnik & Jolly, 2002). Moreover, the unprecedented pace and character of Arctic 57 social and environmental change reveals the limitations of traditional, quantitative scenario 58 methods that privilege model-based projections inherently rooted in past observational data 59 (Petrov et al., 2016). These knowledge and research gaps suggest an opportunity for novel tools 60 61 providing comprehensive and, perhaps more importantly, imaginative scenarios of the future. Equipped with such scenarios, the Earth system science community could be better positioned to 62 63 anticipate the social, economic, ecological, and technological changes that may unfold in the near future. 64

65

66 1.1 A rapidly changing Arctic may require new approaches

Underpinned by complex desires related to acquiring geopolitical hegemony, resource control, 67 and urban growth, the Arctic is often viewed as a key focal point for cultural, economic, and 68 military power in the 21st century (Arctic Research Consortium of the U. S, 2018; Brigham, 69 2007; Corbett et al., 2010; Mazurier et al., 2020; Network, 2008; Young, 2010, 2011). In parallel 70 71 to these expansionist ambitions, the Arctic is experiencing the fastest geophysical changes taking place on the planet related to climate change, as noted in the accelerated loss of sea ice, changes 72 in freeze thaw cycles of permafrost, and the expansion of boreal ecological systems into the 73 Arctic region (Crate & Fedorov, 2013; Dodds, 2010; Post et al., 2009; Steiner et al., 2019; 74 75 Stroeve et al., 2012). These efforts to understand the future have led to a surfeit of models, projections, and forecasts for the Arctic (Proshutinsky et al., 2016, 2020). In contrast, the local 76 77 and regional experiences of those who dwell in the Arctic tend to receive considerably less attention (Cost, 2015; Falardeau et al., 2019; N. Wormbs et al., 2018). 78

79

80 **1.2 Computational text analysis complements existing methods**

It is a staggering challenge to collect, interpret, and prioritize the vast literature on Arctic system 81 change - and then synthesize this information into scenarios about the future. Systematic meta-82 83 analysis of Arctic futures work (Arbo et al., 2013) has revealed the utility of synthetic review, 84 but such meta-analysis may also be too narrowly focused on relatively small sample sizes (e.g., less than 100 articles). Others have argued that there is simply too much content to consume, 85 and, as a result, pre-existing knowledge and biases are employed to filter content (Schatzmann et 86 al., 2013). Thus, there is a need for complimentary approaches that can scan the information 87 88 across hundreds or thousands of documents and across a broad range of disciplines to accurately understand the trajectory of where the world is heading (Kwon et al., 2017). 89

In thinking about the future Arctic, it is necessary to think well outside-the-box regarding nonlinear changes in technology and global change (Dator, 1993, 2019; Johnson, 2011). One method for addressing biased selection of evidence can be to develop a large corpus of literature that captures a very broad range of content related to the future Arctic. However, human cognitive biases actively disregard information that seems outlandish or strange (Schoemaker, 2004), making unbiased interpretation a persistent challenge.

Computational text analysis can assist in addressing this bias by providing a
complimentary means of thematic identification and analysis of a corpus of literature. In other
words, a computer program can be used to potentially reduce human selection bias by 'reading'
the thousands of texts and 'interpreting' different patterns than a human might see. Specifically,
machine learning-based latent Dirichlet allocation can enable the rapid analysis of large, textbased datasets to reveal thematically distinct clusters of information (Asmussen & Møller, 2019).

102 This approach has been used in a limited way for scenarios related to drone technology 103 (Kwon et al., 2017) and electric cars (Kim et al., 2016). Considerable opportunity exists to 104 leverage these methods and fully incorporate them into detailed visions of the future Arctic 105 (Kayser & Blind, 2017; Kayser & Shala, 2016).

106

107 **1.3 Storytelling can convey compelling scenario worlds**

Scenarios of the future vary widely in terms of approach, style, and depth of detail (Kishita et al., 108 2016), yet often only describe a possible future world, based on projections and interpretations of 109 large amounts of data. While descriptive scenarios can be creative, these approaches often fail to 110 inspire action, engage the public, or interest policymakers (Milkoreit, 2017). Story-based 111 scenarios with characters and plot development have emerged as successful vehicles for 112 impactful sustainability scenarios (Calvert, 2019; Johnson & Winkelman, 2017; Merrie et al., 113 2018; Spijkers et al., 2021). Story-based methods can be understood as narrative, fictional 114 depictions of future worlds. Storytelling methods are meaningfully different from narrative 115 approaches, since they represent a deeper exploration of future worlds (Carbonell et al., 2017), 116 and they allow participants to explore how their daily lives, values, and habits can be mapped 117 onto different contexts (Raven & Elahi, 2015). 118

The purpose of the present work is to demonstrate how a latent Dirichlet allocation 119 (LDA) analysis may input directly into a creative, structured futuring process (Fig 1). We define 120 structured futuring as a systematic, multi-step approach for creatively developing a story setting, 121 122 set of characters, and plot that interrogates a particular topic or set of topics. We are explicitly not aiming to provide a definitive new set of comprehensive scenarios, especially given the 123 absence of participation with Indigenous and local communities in the Arctic. On the contrary, 124 we are piloting this approach in the Arctic region both because of the extensive, existing scenario 125 work available for comparison, as well as the diversity of challenges that are being faced by 126 Arctic societies (Akiwenzie-Damm et al., 2019). 127

However, this does not mean that we ignore the context or the place where the text data 128 originated. While our project is not participatory, we have endeavored to situate each story 129 thoughtfully and critically in a specific future context, by telling multiple stories that reflect the 130 diversity of the Arctic population, including ethnicities, gender identities, ages, and Indigeneity. 131 Moreover, we aim to provide a "multiplicity of voices" through the eventual stories that are told 132 (D'ignazio and Klein, 2020), while acknowledging the partiality of the perspectives that we can 133 bring to bear given the limits that our perspectives permit (Weinberger, 2009). Finally, our 134 scenarios aim to engage the humanities via the transformation of a computational text analysis 135 into stories (and later artwork) that embrace open-interpretation, ambiguity and complexity 136 137 (Drucker, 2011). We reflect more on the future of these methods in the Discussion section.

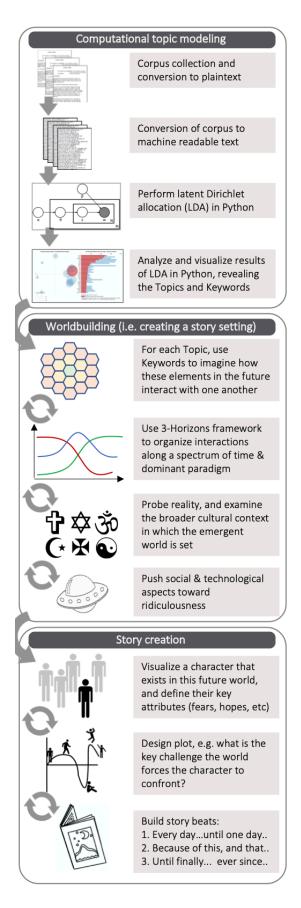


Figure 1. Conceptual overview of how the topic modeling analysis feeds into the structured
 futuring process, including worldbuilding and story creation.

141 **2 Data and Methods**

142 **2.1 News article corpus on the future of the Arctic**

We collected news articles from multiple Arctic regional news sources. These articles were 143 available in publicly accessible, English-language Arctic newspapers, specifically: The Arctic 144 Sounder, Arctic Today, The Barents Observer, CBC North, The Moscow Times, Nunatsiaq 145 News, and Radio Canada International. These sources were selected based on a set of 146 preliminary conversations with community leaders, scientific experts and public officials from 147 throughout the Arctic. We use the Google Search engine as a method of discovery, and a 148 temporal window of search of 2010-2020. These dates do not correspond to any specific event, 149 but rather capture a recent, contemporary set of published perspectives on the future Arctic. 150

151 For most sources, we simply used the search term 'future' as a filter of the articles, given the publication itself was an 'arctic' publication. For Radio Canada International and The 152 Moscow Times, we used both 'arctic' and 'future' as a filter. While the language of the sources 153 was restricted to English-language texts, there are news resources coming from the entire pan-154 Arctic region, including Russia, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Canada, Greenland, and 155 Alaska. The purpose for this broad collection is to ensure that the information from the regional 156 (i.e. spatially extensive, less granular, more general) and the local (i.e. spatially specific, more 157 detailed, deeper knowledge), spans the possibility space of a large fraction of the Arctic 158 discourse about the future, available in English-language newspapers. While additional words 159 160 could have been used, such as 'projection', 'forecast', or 'scenario', we were intentional about using a simple, straightforward — and hopefully repeatable — procedure. We rely on the word 161 'future' as our primary search term, for multiple reasons. First, 'future' is commonly used as both 162 a noun and an adjective. As a noun, 'future' is defined as "the time that will come after the 163 164 present or the events that will happen then" (OED Online, 2021). Likewise, as an adjective, 'future' is defined as "That is to be, or will be, hereafter." These definitions are precisely the 165 166 meaning we are after. Second, there are very few nouns in the English language that are commonly used to convey this definition, with less commonly used words including "hereafter" 167

and "tomorrow". There are some synonyms of 'future' as an adjective, though these tend to be
less precise (words include: anticipate, expected). Thus, the simple choice of 'future' in this case
allows us to target the definition of the word future, with a straightforward approach.

171 While the Google Search algorithm often displays tens of thousands of search returns, a user only has access to approximately 300 entries. Thus, we limit the collection of articles to the 172 top 300 articles returned from each source. The order of entries from a Google search employs 173 the proprietary PageRank algorithm that sorts and orders webpages based on the number of other 174 175 links to them on the internet. This will inevitably lead to some skew in the types of articles that are listed at the top, and we anticipate that future work could use alternative search approaches 176 that would potentially yield different sets of articles. That is, however, beyond the scope of this 177 work. Ultimately, by using Google Search we ensure the method is free and generally easy for 178 others to use, without any fee-based licenses. 179

180 The potential for biases exists in multiple aspects of this corpus. First, we only use English-language texts (or texts that were translated into English). As a result, there is an 181 anglophone bias that may include implicit or tacit perspectives that are difficult to surface, not 182 least related to the legacy of settler colonialism in Indigenous communities in the Arctic. Along 183 with this, we note that the LDA implicitly absorbs biases of the corpus itself, including: the 184 vocabulary of the news article authors, the political biases of the article authors themselves, and 185 186 the editorial biases of the news sources and their publishers. In acknowledging the various contexts that constrain the creation of these source articles (D'ignazio and Klein, 2020), we aim 187 188 to definitively underline that this machine learning method contains its own variety of bias.

Second, we are implicitly adopting the biases of the search algorithm that was used — in this case a Google-based search. While this is certainly a bias, we intend for this method to be theoretically accessible to anyone, which would exclude many scholarly search products, which often require paid subscriptions or memberships to specialized organizations. While other forms of written information about the future of the Arctic region exist (such as journal articles, reports, or other forms of information), we wanted to collect publicly-available and currently discussed ideas about the future. Freely available news articles serve this aim by providing publiclyavailable information.

197 Finally, we note that the composition of the research team is not local or Indigenous to 198 the Arctic, and is only capable of interpreting English-language texts. Moreover, since the goal was to generate written stories from computational text analysis, both the input and the output 199 needed to be in English. Also, while a future goal of this type of work could include engagement 200 of local and Indigenous communities in the Arctic, this work aims to demonstrate the method's 201 202 potential, by using publicly available documents written for and by an audience that exists in, or is concerned with, the Arctic. That being said, the data should be interpreted as originating from 203 204 texts that were written from specific positions of cultural power throughout the Arctic and near-Arctic, rather than representative of a reality devoid of these power dynamics (D'ignazio and 205 Klein, 2020). 206

207 **2.2 Text preparation and conversion**

Each document was saved in a plaintext file, and manually stripped of erroneous material that did not pertain to the article itself, including strings of characters associated with unrelated website HTML (i.e., Hypertext Markup Language), unrelated publication text, or advertisements. Once the corpus of texts was identified, we generated a machine-readable corpus using Pythonbased scripts that can batch-convert documents to text strings. It is important to note that the corpus is being used for educational and research purposes only, and that the corpus itself is not publicly distributed.

215 **2.3 Latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA)**

Using the GENSIM package, in addition to several other Python-based tools, we performed the tasks of converting the strings of text into a vectorized set of inputs for analysis, including tokenization, lemmatization, and stop-word filtering (Řehůřek & Sojka, 2010; Sarkar, 2019). Next, we performed the latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA). LDA is a machine-learning based approach for taking a large corpus of texts, and revealing the latent (i.e., hidden), patterns of keywords and topics that occur across the corpus. Below, is a more detailed explanation of the process, including the corresponding versions of each software package used. We note that

223 multiple methods of text analysis could be suitable for identifying semantically distinct topics

from a large corpus, such as latent semantic analysis (LSA) or latent semantic indexing (LSI).

- 225 We employ LDA primarily because it produces highly interpretable topics (Kayser and Shala,
- 226 2014) with intuitive topic visualization options (Sievert and Shirley, 2014).

We use Python version 3.7.7 for this entire analysis. The initial step for the LDA is to 227 pre-process each document using the Python-based Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) version 228 3.4.4. Tokenization is the initial step of breaking the text within each document in the corpus into 229 230 the individual units of meaning, in this case, individual words. Stopwords are then removed, including frequently used words such as "the", "and", "as", etc. As a note we used both Gensim 231 232 and NLTK since the tokenization process in Gensim led to spurious words that persistently passed through the tokenization filters that we implemented using Gensim. NLTK was used as a 233 substitute since it was more effective at the tokenization procedure, for our specific task. 234

235 Lemmatization is the final step in the corpus preparation, which helps reduce the remaining words to their basic form, e.g., changing past tense versions of a word to a common 236 form. These steps result in a tokenized corpus of texts. It is possible that lemmatization 237 eliminates potentially valuable temporal context for articles, specifically signaling past, present, 238 and future tenses. However, in this analysis we wanted to maximize the set of distinct words to 239 characterize the future, rather than find (potentially) multiple words with the same root albeit 240 241 with different tenses. Future work could explore this question, though it is outside the scope of this work. 242

Next, the Gensim Python package (version 3.8.0) is used for the LDA, which is a method 243 that iteratively identifies the latent topic structure across the corpus. This is completed by 244 repeatedly evaluating sets of words, and learning which clusterings lead to coherent, distinct, 245 topics. There are several parameters that can be adjusted, but the most consequential for our 246 work is the number of topics that are being sought in the analysis. We performed a sensitivity 247 analysis, varying the number of topics for which the corpus was clustered, and calculated the 248 249 resulting Coherence scores for all analyzed numbers of clusters. Coherence measures the degree of semantic similarity, which helps distinguish between statistical artefacts and actual semantic 250 relatedness. So, a better Coherence score implies greater semantic similarity among the terms in 251

252 each topic cluster. There are several metrics for Coherence, and based on a systematic review of

- various coherence metrics, we employ the C v metric (Röder et al., 2015). For our purposes, we
- aimed for each topic to be internally, semantically, similar enough to support a coherent
- storytelling process. Thus, we aimed for the highest Coherence score.

256 **2.4 Visualize LDA results and identify scenario seeds**

257 Using the pyLDAvis package in Gensim (Sievert and Shirley, 2014), we visualized the Intertopic

258 Distance Map, based on a principal component analysis calculated within pyLDAvis.

Additionally, we show the 30 most relevant terms for each topic. The Intertopic Distance Map

was leveraged as a quadrant space (i.e., the four sections created by the two axes) and we labeled

the axes to provide scenario context based on exogenous drivers; this is further elaborated in

- 262 Section 3.3 below. The process of creating a quadrant space to construct scenarios is a central
- feature of many scenario analyses (Raven, 2014; Raven and Elahi, 2015; Merrie et al., 2018).

264 **2.5 Employ structured futuring methods to take the LDA to a story-based scenario**

We develop a process for creatively blending the topic's keywords and the topic's context, to construct a novel scenario world (i.e., the setting of the story), produce characters who inhabit this scenario world, and develop a brief plot. The first step is the same for all scenarios:

Define the axes of the Intertopic distance map: Label the axes of the principal component
 quadrants to define overarching context for each scenario, to ensure that themes which
 are close to one another in the principal component quadrant space are similar in some

271		way, while those far apart are dissimilar. Build from existing work that employs similar
272		scenario quadrants (Raven, 2014; Raven and Elahi, 2015; Merrie et al., 2018).
273	The	e subsequent steps are repeated for each scenario, though the details of each diverge
274	according to the topics and keywords identified for each scenario (a full example of these steps	
275	are given in Section 3.5). Relevant references corresponding to each step are provided below:	
215		en in Section 3.5). Relevant references corresponding to each step are provided below.
276	2.	Summarize keywords: Examine the set of 30 keywords for the topic, and manually
277		summarize into a core topic. If there is a specific location(s), use this to provide a setting
278		for the world.
279	3.	Distill core topic: Based on the keyword summary, identify a suitable core topic (Kwon
280	-	et al., 2017).
281	4.	Explore topic and keywords with futures wheels: Based on the core topic, the keywords,
282		and the intertopic context, brainstorm how the ideas might be connected to one another in
283		the future. Look for both logical and contradictory connections (Pereira et al., 2018).
284	5.	Use 3-horizons framework to build a future history: Placing the futures wheels
285		brainstorm at the end of the third horizon, begin to identify how the world has
286		transformed from the present day to the hypothetical future world. Identify key events or
287		changes that had to unfold to get from the present to the future (Sharpe et al., 2016).
288	6.	Probe reality and cultural change: Zoom-out from the specific scenario world that is
289	0.	emerging, and explore what changes exist in governance, education, culture, the arts,
290		economy, and more (Hamann et al., 2020).
290		ceonomy, and more (framann et al., 2020).
291	7.	Push toward ridiculousness: Select several of the keywords or other ideas and identify
292		the most radical technological or social changes that could unfold in the future. Include
293		some of these in the scenario (Dator, 1993; Merrie et al., 2018).
294	8.	<i>Visualize character(s)</i> : Take the nascent future world and visualize a scene from the
295		world. Explore the type of character that is revealed in this scene and articulate what the
296		character is doing in the visualization. Based on this, define relevant attributes for

297		understanding this character (internal and external motivations; fears and hopes; past
298		experiences; etc.).
299	9.	Design plot based on world and character: Based on the character and the world, identify
300		a challenge that could emerge that would allow the character to change or adapt in some
301		way. Then, identify how a character might deal with such a challenge (Johnson, 2011).
302	10	. Build story beats: Use the character and the basic plot to articulate the story-beats that
303		will form the scaffold of the story. Story beats include: Every day, Until one day,
304		Because of this, Because of that, Until finally, and Ever since then
305	11	. Write story: Using the story-beat scaffold, begin writing the creative story of the
306		character moving through the world, responding to a challenge, and navigating the
307		consequences of these actions.
308	12	. Test story for fidelity: Ensure that the resultant story contains key elements from the LDA
309		analysis, including the intertopic context, the topic keywords, and the core topic.
310	In	an effort to critically participate in the representation of diverse situations in the Arctic, we
311	intenti	onally and explicitly represent storylines that take place in different social, cultural, and
312	nation	al contexts. We also intentionally represent characters of different ages, classes, and
313	gender	s to provide a critical lens through which to view issues of social power. By exposing
314	these g	goals, we hope to clarify the importance of situating stories thoughtfully, particularly in
315	parts c	f the world populated by people who have been historically marginalized or harmed.

3 Results 316

317 **3.1 Corpus construction**

We collected 2,058 articles from our set of Arctic news sources. Each source provided 300 news 318 319 articles, except for Arctic Today, in which we found a total of 258 articles in our search. More articles were returned that were published toward the end of the decade, than toward the 320 321 beginning, which is possibly a result of the Google Search algorithm (Fig S11). Each article was saved in a plaintext format, and its metadata was recorded, which is available in Supplemental 322

Table 1. The 2,058 articles were then batch-converted from plaintext files to machine-readable

324 strings. Other methods exist for characterizing corpus composition, including bi- and tri-gram

- 325 frequency (the frequency of certain sequences of word pairs, or triads). In our work, however, we
- 326 employ the term frequencies that are specifically related to each of the LDA-derived topics.

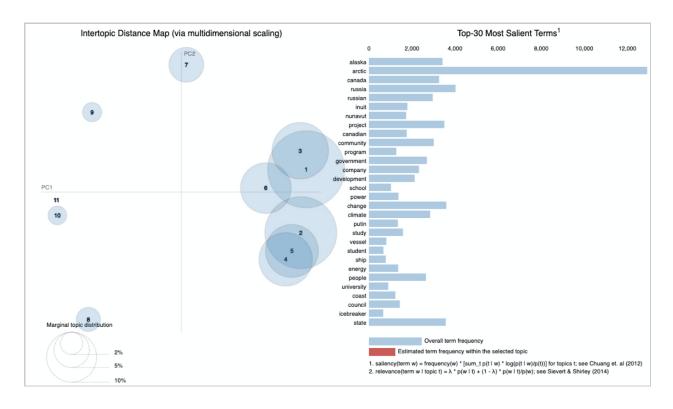
327 **3.2 Computational topic modeling**

We iteratively performed the LDA by varying the number of topics, and measuring the corresponding Coherence score (discussed in Section 2.3; see Fig S12). The highest Coherence score in our analysis was 0.54, and was achieved with eleven clusters. It is worth noting that Coherence is a relative metric related to the corpus itself. Additional information on the statistical optimization of latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA) methods is discussed in depth in other work (Chang et al., 2009; Hecking & Leydesdorff, 2018; Röder et al. 2015). Thus, the result of our LDA analysis was eleven semantically different topic clusters.

335 Topic coherence is one way to quantitatively assess how well the topic model is able to capture distinct topics with distinct sets of meaning, i.e., semantic similarity. Given that the 336 purpose of the LDA in this research is to feed directly into a semantically meaningful task, i.e., 337 creative storytelling, the qualitative process we employ serves as a second, though informal, 338 metric of whether the identified topics are semantically meaningful. Indeed, topic eleven was 339 ignored in this analysis given its clear lack of meaning, despite being identified by the LDA as a 340 distinct topic. Other methods exist for detecting meaningfulness in a corpus, including word or 341 topic intrusion (Chang et al., 2009). While beyond the scope of this research, since the authors 342 themselves served as the human test of whether a topic was semantically meaningful or not, 343 these methods could be a useful complement in research where there is no subsequent step that 344 345 assesses topic meaning.

The LDA produced a variety of results, including a set of overall term frequencies across the entire corpus (Fig 2, right side), a set of latent topics composed of keywords, as well as various measures of 'intertopic' distance in a set of principal component axes (Fig 2, left side). The spread of the topics is not uniform across the distance map, which highlights that some of the topics may be more related to one another than not. This is not a problem and will be leveraged, as discussed in the next section. The Intertopic Distance Map shows that the first ten

- topics represent substantial portions of the corpus, while the eleventh topic (while quantitatively
- unique), contains text that is two orders of magnitude lower in frequency across the corpus.
- Thus, we ignored the eleventh topic, and are left with ten distinct topics.
- 355



358 Fig 2. Results of the latent Dirichlet allocation, with thematic dominance and clustering

visualized on the left, and the baseline frequency of keywords across the entire corpus

- depicted on the right. This was generated using the freely available pyLDAvis software in
- 361 the GENSIM Python package.

362

363 **3.3 LDA topic quadrants**

We labeled the axes of the principal component quadrants to define overarching context for the scenarios, to ensure that topics which are close to one another in the quadrant space are similar in some way, while those far apart are dissimilar. To be clear, this step is entirely user-defined, and relies on human interpretation of the text analysis. For the purposes of our scenarios, which aim to explore the *future* of the Arctic, we use two broad features that would serve as exogenous
 drivers for the entire region: climate change severity and regional levels of cooperation.

The x-axis describes the relative severity of climate change in the Arctic region, with the 370 371 right side representing anticipated climate changes, and the left side representing extreme climate changes. Given the overwhelming evidence to date of how the Arctic is disproportionately 372 373 sensitive to climate change (Dodds, 2010; Post et al., 2009; Steiner et al., 2019; Stroeve et al., 2012), the concentration of most of the scenarios in that domain is supported empirically. The 374 375 left side of the x-axis represents more extreme climate changes, which we acknowledge are possible in the range of climate projections, as well as being exceptionally consequential to the 376 region. 377

The y-axis describes whether the Arctic region is characterized by conflict or 378 cooperation. The top of this axis represents high cooperation, including economically, politically, 379 socially, and militarily. The bottom of this axis represents low cooperation. In this way, the bulk 380 of the thematic clusters are somewhat neutral, and this is broadly reflected in the patchy history 381 of Arctic cooperation (Osherenko & Young, 2005). There have been periods of peace and 382 international cooperation, exemplified, for example, by the effectiveness of the Arctic Council 383 (Young, 2010). Likewise, there have been profound periods of conflict (Keil, 2014; Rahbek-384 Clemmensen, 2017; Young, 2011), as well as targeted violence toward Indigenous peoples 385 386 (Crawford, 2014; Salusky et al., 2021).

To be clear — the position of the topic clusters in this quadrant space does not determine the content of the scenario but helps to frame the *context* of the scenario. Thus, when the scenarios produced in this analysis are compared with one another, those that were identified computationally as more tightly clustered exist in similar types of geopolitical and climatic contexts (i.e., topics 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), whereas those that were distributed throughout the intertopic space will be more idiosyncratic (i.e., topics 7, 8, 9, 10).

393 3.4 Distribution of topic clusters in the Intertopic Distance Map

We can clearly interpret the current dominance of each topic relative to the others, with topics 1-6 being quite dominant and topics 7-10 being less so. This information provides additional

- 396 context of how representative a given theme is for the entire corpus. Here we provide a summary
- 397 showing each topic with its corresponding keywords (Table 1).
- 398
- 399 Table 1. Summary of topic clusters with corresponding top 30 keywords in that cluster with terms
- 400 listed in descending order of relevance within the topic (i.e., the first term is the most salient to the
- 401 **topic**)

Topic #	Top 30 Keywords in each topic
	alaska, arctic, canada, russia, russian, inuit, nunavut, project, canadian,
0 "	community, program, government, company, development, school,
Overall corpus term frequency	power, change, climate, putin, study, vessel, student, ship, energy,
terminequency	people, university, coast, council, icebreaker, state people, alaska, community, state, future, would, years, public, project,
	local, think, issue, right, group, friend, working, member, really, support,
	first, going, continue, alaskan, family, provide, need, important, program,
1	place, opportunity
	arctic, change, climate, research, study, ocean, polar, water, years,
	could, bear, north, future, researcher, population, report, temperature,
2	summer, fishery, scientist, found, increase, university, marine, impact,
2	permafrost, warming, island, region, species arctic, council, region, norway, country, state, barents, international,
	norwegian, china, climate, meeting, finland, agreement, policy,
	greenland, chinese, include, minister, north, issue, change, russia,
3	observer, security, northern, development, cooperation, nation, unite
	arctic, first, north, building, guard, would, winter, include, plan, future,
	build, photo, service, yukon, northwest, three, search, system, coast,
4	base, northern, place, n.w.t., mission, could, rescue, design, technology, space, station
4	
	project, company, energy, million, development, industry, investment,
	infrastructure, production, government, arctic, percent, mining, shipping,
-	natural, billion, build, economic, increase, would, could future, resource,
5	region, construction, price, accord, route, pipeline, plan russia, russian, putin, state, moscow, country, military, headline,
	president, gazprom, power, political, vladimir, defense, rosneft, would,
	authorities, ukraine, report, foreign, sanction, minister, force, soviet,
6	ministry, ruble, china, kremlin, control, government
	canada, inuit, nunavut, canadian, government, community, iqaluit,
	indigenous, territory, federal, minister, protect, ottawa, trudeau, marine, northwest, arctic, national, tuktoyatuk, agreement, organization, report,
7	northern, sahar, conservation, quebec, baffin, inlet, nunavik, president
	vessel, ship, icebreaker, nuclear, power, cruise, expedition, murmansk,
	coast, route, fleet, voyage, waters, northern, svalbard, submarine, class,
	rosatom, passage, sailing, meter, shipyard, sail, plant, floating,
8	hurtigruten, josef, pevek, tanker, reactor
	alaska, caribou, lease, refuge, development, wildlife, national, coastal, administration, trump, plain, hilcorp, drilling, environmental, protect,
	statement, yereth, bureau, management, porcupine, slope, gwich'in,
	corps, murkowski, protection, comment, prudhoe, nation, decision,
9	sullivan

	student, school, program, college, education, youth, university, graduate, award, skill, collection, learning, career, secondary, science, degree,
	course, grade, offer, prize, study, mother, academic, dawson, contest,
10	class, robot, adult, training, mcconnell

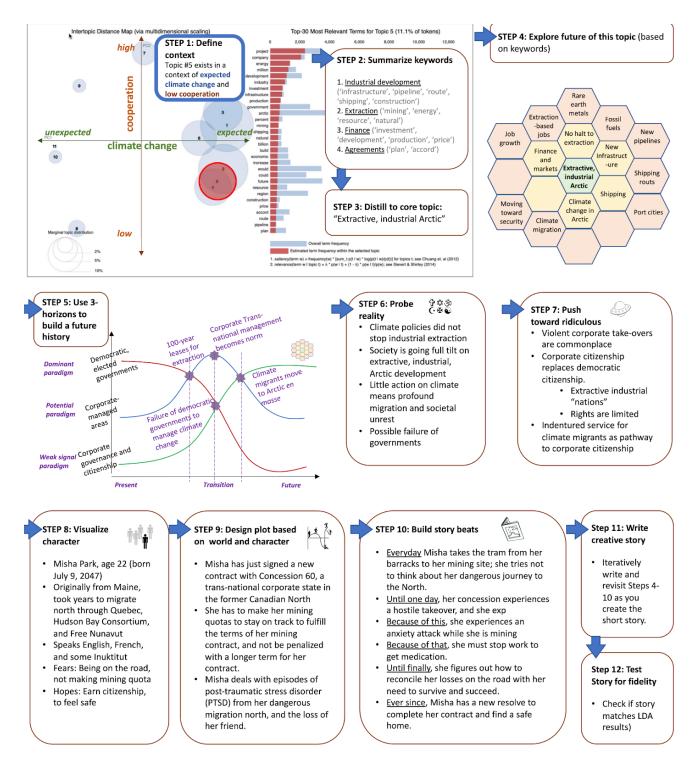
403 **3.5 Creating story scenarios from the LDA topics**

While the creation of each of the ten stories was inherently unique, we nonetheless detail the process 404 for one of the stories (Topic #5, "Concession 60") to illustrate what the structured futuring process 405 406 looks like in practice (Fig 3). The full creative processes for all the stories are documented in the 407 Supplement. While the LDA objectively revealed the keywords for this approach, every other step was a structured, imaginative endeavor. As such, a very large number of stories could conceivably 408 emerge from the starting point of the topic model. However, a key goal of this method is to maintain 409 410 fidelity in the eventual story concepts and ideas to the original LDA topic context and keywords (Steps 1 and 2). 411 While each step is described in the Methods section of this text, we examine here the step-by-412 413 step approach displayed in Fig 3, corresponding to the steps for constructing the story for Topic #5, entitled 'Concession 60': 414 1. For Topic #5, the two-quadrant context was *expected climate change* and *low cooperation*. 415 2. The keywords for Topic #5 were clustered around the concepts of 'industrial development', 416 'finance', 'extraction', and 'agreements'. 417

418 3. Based on these keywords, the core topic was labeled 'Extractive, industrial Arctic'.

- 4. Next, using Futures Wheels we brainstormed interconnections that might emerge in the
 future among these keywords in Topic #5, in the context of the labeled quadrants.
- 5. Then, we used the ideas from Step 4 in a Three Horizons exercise and explored the changing
 paradigms that would wax and wane over time, leading to a future characterized as an
 'Extractive, industrial Arctic.'
- 6. Next, we took our ideas and keywords from Steps 2-5, and reflected on the broader regional
 and global aspects of how the world in Topic #5 may interact with this idea of a future
 Arctic.
- In 'pushing toward ridiculousness' and given the topic of extraction and industrialization in
 the Arctic, we considered what aspects of society, economy, and technology could be
 dramatically different from the present. In this way, we explored ideas of labor, drone
 monitoring, and nano-mining that are, at present, not socially, economically, or
 technologically in existence.

- 432 8. Equipped with a mature setting in which a story might unfold, we develop a character named
 433 *Misha Park*, a climate migrant from the United States who had migrated north, to an
 434 undisclosed Arctic location.
- 9. Based on the extractive, industrial Arctic and the climate migrant, Misha, we developed a
 plot that explored how a climate migrant might be entrapped in exploitative labor practices to
 sate ongoing global demand for rare earth metals.
- Using the story beats method, we identified the major turning points of the narrative for the
 character, focusing on a day in the life of an indentured laborer in future rare earth mining
 operations, who also suffers from the trauma that she experienced as a climate migrant.
- 441 11. Using all this preparatory work, the story was drafted around each story beat, ensuring that
 442 Misha had a satisfying character arc, and that the story adequately explored the future world
 443 of an extractive, industrial Arctic.
- 444 12. Qualitative review was employed to check whether the eventual story could reflect back to
 445 the original keywords from the LDA, with prominent themes in the story related to
 446 'infrastructure', 'investment', 'mining', 'resource', and 'production'.



- 448 Fig 3. Summary of the story-based scenario creation procedure for Topic #5 'Concession 60'. Steps begin at
- the top left, and can be read left-to-right, and top-to-bottom.

453 **3.6 Description of stories from LDA themes**

- 454 We briefly share an overview of all ten stories in Table 2, and the full stories are included in the
- 455 Supplement. The important result presented in this manuscript is not the collection of scenarios per
- 456 se, but rather the method for feeding the LDA approach into a structured futuring process. Thus,
- 457 while the ten scenarios are valid in their own right, we emphasize that the purpose of these scenarios
- 458 is to illustrate the outcome of the blended LDA and structured futuring approach.
- 459

460 **Table 2. Overview of stories, including theme, title, and brief description of the world and story.**

Topic #: Title of Story	Synopsis of World and Story
1: Campus Utqiaġvik	<i>World</i> : Among Arctic communities, universities and colleges have merged with municipal governments. In this case, Ilisaġvik College has merged with the city of Utqiaġvik, and is a key government entity in North Slope, Alaska. <i>Story</i> : The outgoing civic leader in Campus Utqiaġvik is visiting the grocery store, and is experiencing nostalgia and a sense of time passing as she steps down from her civic responsibilities.
2: Nanook Station	World : Climate change has driven significant changes in polar bear ecology and salmon fisheries, and in which both are intensely studied and actively manipulated by academic scientists. Corporate espionage of genetic manipulation techniques takes place against a conflicted Canadian Arctic. Story : A corporate spy is secretly monitoring scientific advancements at a scientific outpost on Devon Island near Baffin Bay, in Nunavut, Canada.
3: Security Detail	 World: The Arctic region has seen dramatic and positive changes in socio-economic progress, largely driven by China's continuous investment in infrastructure via its ever expanding 'Belt and Road Initiative'. Story: Else Larsen, the security detail for the Norwegian delegates to an Arctic Council meeting, compares the public and private comments regarding China's potential joining of the international diplomatic body.
4: The Last Preserve	<i>World</i> : The world has sought to conserve a handful of ecosystems in the Arctic, as a forward-thinking act of preservation for the future. While these preserves are hypersecure, students are permitted to make annual visits to learn about the past. Story : A student group is on an ocean-going ship visiting a preserved island environment in the Yukon, Canada, where they learn about the decisions that led to this conservation effort.
5: Concession 60	World : A climate-changed world has seen Arctic governance collapse and subsumed by trans-national corporations, which each offer their own brand of corporate citizenship. Climate migrants are a source of indentured labor for dangerous, resource extraction work, e.g., mining of rare earth metals. Story : A person begins a work contract with a mining conglomerate, and experiences traumatic memories of her migration North.

6: Putin's Gambit	<i>World</i> : A world where the Russian government collapsed following a disastrous gamble on the prospect that fossil fuel extraction would continue during the 21st century, despite global progress reducing carbon emissions. <i>Story</i> : A future history in the style of a popular podcast, where a story unfolds of how Russian political leadership miscalculated in how to handle changing fossil fuel extraction.
7: Voice from the Past	World: First nations formerly in the Canadian North have separated from Canada, and unified in the Indigenous nation of Inuit Nunangat. This sovereign nation is a successful, trusted member of the global community Story: During a meeting among trade representatives from Inuit Nunangat and Canada, an off-hand prejudiced comment leads to a history lesson about Indigenous life before, during, and after Canadian control of Inuit Nunangat.
8: Icebreaker	 World: A world that has been dramatically changed from the present climate, with regular periods of ice-free oceans in the Russian Arctic. International Conflict in the Arctic is common. Story: Two individuals on a permanent Russian icebreaking station near the Kara Sea must decide how to deal with a potential geopolitical incident.
9: Assisted Migration	<i>World</i> : Despite global coordination to deal with climate change, and a broadly cooperative Arctic region, widespread ecological change has led to the need for ecological stewardship to actively support wildlife migrations. <i>Story</i> : A group of biologists, tasked with monitoring and guiding the Porcupine Caribou herd northward encounters a technological and ecological challenge.
10: School's Out Forever	 World: Following extreme climate change, and major disruption to global economic systems, including 20th century notions of education, communities are fragmented and focused internally on local, rather than global, lifestyles. Story: A family on a homestead in the Sakha region of the former Russian Federation shares stories about what the world used to be like and the way the world is now.

462 **4 Discussion**

463 **4.1 Scenarios connect back to the LDA analysis**

Following the structured futuring approach, and the creation of the story-based scenarios, we

465 examined whether the resultant stories bore a resemblance to the original LDA topics. Each of

the narratives was iteratively reviewed to ensure both that (a) the story content reflected the

467 corresponding topic clustering and the topic keywords, and (b) that each story did not too-closely

resemble the content of another set of topic keywords. This review process helped to ensure that

each scenario depicted relatively unique elements of the future. While outside the scope of the

470 present analysis, future work could endeavor to explicitly determine whether the keywords

present in a resultant scenario are quantitatively distinct from other scenarios. However, this
would be challenging due to the short word count of the story scenarios, which are each between
1,500 and 2,500 words.

474 **4.2** Comparison with narrative scenarios across the global Arctic

We find notable thematic overlap among various other narrative scenario efforts, sampled from
research conducted around the global Arctic. In Table 3, we highlight some of these other
scenarios, with corresponding descriptions of thematic overlap. The narrative scenarios
highlighted in Table 3 provide a sample of the existing literature on the topic of the future of the
Arctic region. While it is interesting that some of the scenarios that we have produced are
thematically well-represented in the Arctic scenario literature (e.g., "Concession 60", "Assisted
Migration"), there is one that notably has no apparent representation in the existing literature.

"Putin's Gambit" describes a world that has made tremendous global progress on climate 482 483 change action and emissions reductions, except for Russia, where its politics have fostered continued fossil fuel exploration. From a scenario perspective, this is in large part due to 484 Russia's continued and projected reliance on fossil fuels as a major part of its economy (Ilinova 485 et al., 2020; Keil, 2014). Thus, a contradiction emerges where despite global progress being 486 made on the topic of emissions reduction, there is a significant aberration in the Russian 487 economy. The brief thematic review in Table 3 suggests that this combination of themes may be 488 under-represented in the existing scenario literature. 489

490 Table 3. Comparison of a sample of existing Arctic scenario narratives with the ten scenarios

491 produced in this analysis

Topic #: Title of Story	Scenario literature featuring similar ideas	Thematic overlap
1: Campus Utqiaġvik	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #5"; Falardeau et al. (2019) "Havakatigiit"	Environmental progress; regional isolation with cooperation
2: Nanook Station	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #2"; Nilsson et al. (2017), "Inequality"	Changed arctic ecosystems; wide gaps in level of privilege
3: Security Detail	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #4"; Global Business Network (2008), "Arctic Saga"; Brigham (2007b), "Adaptive Frontier"; Falardeau et al. (2019) "Indigenuity Informs Science"	Cooperative Arctic; Global environmental progress; Indigenous communities ascendant
4: The Last Preserve	Global Business Network (2008), "Polar Preserve"	Stable governance; Emptying Arctic
5: Concession 60	Global Business Network (2008), "Arctic Race"; Brigham (2007b), "Globalized Frontier"; Nilsson et al. (2017), "Inequality"; Merrie et al. (2018), "FISH INC."	Unstable governance; High resource extraction; Environmental strain
6: Putin's Gambit		
7: Voice from the Past	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #7"; Falardeau et al. (2019) "Kablonak"	Global cooperation; Adaptation to climate change; Indigenous leadership
8: Icebreaker	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #1"; Global Business Network (2008), "Arctic Race"; Brigham (2007b), "Fortress Frontier"; Nilsson et al. (2017), "Regional rivalry"; Spijkers et al. (2021), "Scramble for the Atlantic"	Insecure Arctic; High resource demand; Militarized coastal areas; Intensive consumption
9: Assisted Migration	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #3"; Global Business Network (2008), "Arctic Saga"; Brigham (2007b), "Equitable Frontier"; Nilsson et al. (2017), "Sustainability"	Lowered emissions; Regional social harmony; Stewardship of ecosystems
10: School's Out Forever	Lovecraft (2019), "Scenario #6"; Global Business Network (2008), "Polar Lows"	Reduced emissions; Local isolation and reliance on subsistence

494 **4.3 Stories permit creative visions of the future**

An advantage of combining a distant time-horizon (e.g., the end of the 21st century) with a creative approach to scenario generation (e.g. science fiction prototyping), is the ability to play with themes that are outlandish or perhaps ridiculous, at least compared to the present day (Dator, 1993; Johnson, 2011). In the context of the Arctic, there are a significant number of factors that will lead to diverse and wide-ranging outcomes, in particular the roles of Indigenous identities in the future (e.g., Latulippe & Klenk, 2020), pronounced ecological change (Post et al., 2009), and radical technological advances (Akiwenzie-Damm et al., 2019; Asinnajaq, 2017).

502 The process of developing a story-based future inherently requires creativity, which is 503 neither easy to quantify nor easy to train. Moreover, narrative scenarios can prove to be tremendously engaging to readers of scenarios, by immersing a reader in a story rather than 504 505 providing only a description (Burnam-Fink, 2015). With this demonstration of blending computational text analysis with storytelling, a next step could be to engage Arctic participants 506 directly in both the curation of a novel corpus of literature on the future, and to participate in the 507 imagining of new visions of the future. Stepping back, this work can be seen as examining how 508 509 human creativity can productively collaborate with machine learning methods. Indeed, in an era where algorithms dominate discourse about what to expect from and of the future, there is an 510 urgency for demonstrations of the critical role of humanistic perspectives. 511

512 Artwork is an additional mode of contending with the complex content and questions embedded in scenarios, and can include visual art, spoken word, musical interpretation, or 513 514 theatrical production (Grimberg et al., 2019; Jacobs et al., 2017; Merrie et al., 2018). As such, art can be leveraged to meaningfully engage a much broader audience that otherwise would not have 515 516 a clear way to participate in the process of envisioning Arctic futures. Art can tap into deepseated human experience, and it can be leveraged to connect wide-ranging audiences with 517 518 important, worthwhile topics, with which they might not otherwise engage (Akiwenzie-Damm et al., 2019; Ramachandran & Hirstein, 1999). While full discussion is beyond the scope of this 519 520 article, visual concept art has been developed to accompany the ten visions of the Arctic

- 521 presented in this article. This artwork provides an engaging and immersive complement for the
- 522 stories themselves. An example is shown in Fig 4.



- 524 Figure 4. Examples of visual art for two of the story-based scenarios. The top panel is an image
- 525 inspired by 'Concession 60' (i.e., Topic #5), and the bottom panel is an image inspired by 'Assisted
- 526 Migration' (i.e., Topic #9). Artwork is used with permission by Patrick W. Keys and Fabio Comin.
- 527 All rights reserved by the creators.
- 528

529 **4.4 Positionality and interpretation**

The authors of this work emphasize that the analysis, particularly the subjective interpretation of 530 the LDA results and the development of stories, reflects individual positionality (i.e., Western, 531 532 non-Indigenous), perspective (i.e., external to the Arctic), and social privilege (i.e., scientists from a research university). Awareness of this is critical to appropriately situate and 533 contextualize the scenarios themselves, both as readers and writers. A story-based scenario 534 process is inevitably subjective, which is in fact part of the motivation, given that stories can be 535 536 an accessible format for engaging broad audiences on complex topics. Nonetheless, we clarify our own positionality above to provide additional context for those engaging with these stories. 537

538 4.5 Future work

This work is intended to be a starting point for those interested in expanding the scope of Arctic scenarios, by blending computational methods with imaginative, story-based approaches. While the present analysis is limited to two authors who are not currently located in the Arctic, we hope that this pilot demonstration can serve as a launchpad for engaging new partners. Specifically, we hope that communities that are local and Indigenous to the Arctic will find the scenarios engaging and explore the story-based methodology to develop future scenarios tailored to their own communities.

A next step of this work could be to identify communities in the Arctic that might 546 specifically be a good fit for this type of scenario process. Potential partners could include 547 548 colleges and universities, particularly those with a focus on educating local populations, for example Ilisagvik College located in Utqiagvik, Alaska. Such a partnership could include a 549 combination of scenario-based learning, as well as collaborative research, both among students 550 and faculty. Eventually, if such a scenario approach were successful in an Arctic academic 551 552 context, a broader effort could be made to work with communities beyond academia, including tribal organizations and local governments. Many other examples of structured futuring exist in 553 554 Arctic contexts including with Indigenous communities (e.g., Falardeau et al., 2019), though few explicitly link the methods we discuss in this article (specifically computational text analysis and 555 556 story-based futures). All efforts in the Arctic, however, are characterized by a need for deep

engagement with local communities, which require time, communication, and honestpartnership.

Some complexities exist for this work to be relevant for Arctic communities, not least the 559 560 technical barriers that exist for collecting relevant texts, developing multi-lingual analytical capacity, the provision of computing hardware, as well as technical training for personnel. At the 561 same time the entire method presented here does not need to be adopted in its entirety. It is 562 conceivable that a user of this work could take our LDA analysis, and use it as a jumping off 563 point, such that other scenarios could be created following our story-based approach yet based on 564 the same LDA output. This would sidestep the barriers to computational text analysis and would 565 permit new interpretation of the LDA results in a way that reflected the perspective of the new 566 567 users.

There are numerous possibilities for future expansion of the computational text analysis. 568 First, exploration of non-English corpuses is a frontier for this work, not least because of the 569 linguistic diversity present in the Arctic. While it is well beyond the scope of this analysis, 570 571 collaborative research teams, possibly leveraging circumpolar research networks, could leverage considerable local capacity. Groups such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council, International Arctic 572 Science Committee and others could serve as valuable partners for such an effort. In a similar 573 context, several types of corpuses could be collaboratively constructed, that explore differences 574 575 among distinct aspects of Arctic identity. This could include Indigenous and non-Indigenous identities, as well as other cultural, national, and ethnic groupings. To that end, methods such as 576 577 word or topic intrusion could be explicitly co-developed with stakeholders or partners to 578 strengthen topic model analyses, with local, on-the-ground perspectives and knowledge. Finally, additional approaches could be employed to connect any resultant scenarios further back to the 579 original corpus composition. First, information about the topic distribution across documents 580 581 could help test whether the scenarios reflect the document composition more directly. Second, bi- and tri-gram frequency across the corpus could be used to examine whether and how the 582 eventual scenarios relate to the raw, unanalyzed corpus. 583

As with the non-English analysis discussed above, such a comparative approach would require broad collaboration among diverse groups throughout the Arctic region. A central 586 concern of work that engages Indigenous and local people in the collection and interpretation of 587 perspectives on the future, is that of appropriately situating this knowledge. Likewise, it would 588 be necessary to carefully evaluate the biases of the research questions that are asked. Substantial

⁵⁸⁹ effort would be required to detail the context of perspectives on the future, and likewise to

understand the cultural dynamics from which these perspectives originate (D'ignazio and Klein,2020).

592 This hybrid method of blending computational text analysis with story-based approaches 593 is not intended to be stand-alone. Rather, it can serve as a complement to existing scenario 594 development practices, including conventional geophysical and Earth system science projections 595 of Arctic change. Moreover, this method provides a broad perspective on locally driven, place-596 based initiatives. In this way, the methods and results presented in this article can serve as a 597 platform for interweaving regional and circumpolar themes into local scenario efforts.

598 5 Conclusions

The future Arctic will be profoundly different from that observed in the present. We contribute a 599 new approach toward creating scenarios of the future Arctic, by blending computational text 600 analysis with structured futuring. The topic modeling yielded a set of distinct thematic clusters of 601 602 keywords, which were directly employed in the creation of story-based visions of the future Arctic. The stories that were created permit a visit to ten different, textured, and vital visions of 603 the future. While the stories are interesting, the major contribution of this work is to demonstrate 604 a method of how topic modeling can be used directly in an imaginative scenario process. In the 605 future, we anticipate that computational text analysis could be incorporated as a component of 606 general scenario methods, to simultaneously provide an unsupervised scan of existing literature, 607 as well as to provide orthogonal insight that might not be present in the existing worldview of the 608 scenario creators. Similarly, we anticipate that creative story-based methods will become 609

610 increasingly important for making sense of a world experiencing accelerating and surprising611 change.

612

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616 Metadata for the articles that were downloaded and used in the corpus is available in the

617 Supplementary Materials of this article, entitled Table S1: Visions of the Arctic Future _ Metadata

618 for Arctic news corpus (Keys and Meyer, 2021).

619

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Figure 1. Conceptual overview of how the topic modeling analysis feeds into the structured futuring process, including worldbuilding and story creation

827

Figure 2. Results of the latent Dirichlet allocation, with thematic dominance and clustering
visualized on the left, and the baseline frequency of keywords across the entire corpus depicted
on the right. This was generated using the freely available pyLDAvis software in the GENSIM
Python package.

832

Figure 3. Summary of the story-based scenario creation procedure for Topic #5 'Concession 60'.
Steps begin at the top left, and can be read left-to-right, and top-to-bottom.

835

Figure 4. Examples of visual art for two of the story-based scenarios. The top panel is an image
inspired by 'Concession 60' (i.e., Topic #5), and the bottom panel is an image inspired by
'Assisted Migration' (i.e., Topic #9). Artwork is used with permission by Patrick W. Keys and
Fabio Comin. All rights reserved.

840

841 **Table 1**. Summary of topic clusters with corresponding top 30 keywords in that cluster with 842 terms listed in descending order of relevance within the topic (i.e., the first term is the most 843 salient to the topic).

844

Table 2. Overview of stories, including theme, title, and brief description of the world and story.

Table 3. Comparison of a sample of existing Arctic scenario narratives with the ten scenarios
produced in this analysis

File Name	Author	Year Date Accessed Source	Hyperlink	
LERESCH_2020_05_14	Robert LeResch	14-May-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
KUNZE_2020_12_24_A KUNZE_2020_12_24_B	Jenna Kunze Jenna Kunze	24-Dec-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound 24-Dec-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2052arctic_report_card_granddads_arctic_isnt http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2052arctic_health_care_workers_amono_first_to	
CHENEY_2020_08_20	Stephen A. Chenev	20-Aug-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
DUNLEAVY 2020 12 24	Mike Dunleavy	24-Dec-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
RESTINO_2020_10_29	Carey Restino	29-Oct-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
EDWARDSON_2014_02_28	George Edwardson	28-Feb-14 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
WALKER 2020 12 17	Bill Walker	17-Dec-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
OLIVER_2018_10_06	Shady Grove Oliver	6-Oct-18 4-Mar-20 The Arctic Sound		
KUNZE_2020_10_08	Jenna Kunze	8-Oct-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
KUNZE 2020 08 13 A	Jenna Kunze		 http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2033wainwright earns 1 million grants to build 	
ULMER 2020 12 31	Fran Ulmer		http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2053senate_bipartisan_action_on_energy_brings	
KUNZE_2020_10_06	Jenna Kunze		http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2041nsb_board_of_education_candidate_explain	
KUNZE_2020_11_19	Jenna Kunze		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2047utgiagvik orders penalties for rule breakers	
KOOKESH_2020_10_17	Albert Kookesh		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2042alaska_natives_deserve_more_from_state	
KUNZE_2020_12_17	Jenna Kunze		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2051dmv_closures_in_arctic_leave_some_without_ids	
DUCLOS_2020_08_13	Danielle DuClos	13-Aug-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2033pacific walrus haulout is earliest on record	
EARLY_2019_10_07	Wesley Early	7-Oct-19 4-Mar-20 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1941troopers brother banished from kiana for	
OLIVER_2020_04_03	Shady Grove Oliver		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2014amidst criticism aidea moves 35 million to	
OLIVER_2016_10_28	Shady Grove Oliver	28-Oct-16 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1643southwest_arctic_represented_in_afn	
KUNZE_2020_08_13_B	Jenna Kunze	13-Aug-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
RESTINO_2020_12_31	Carey Restino	31-Dec-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/20532020_tests_limits_of_arctic_adaptation	
DEMARBAN_2020_12_03	Alex DeMarban	3-Dec-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2049trump_administration_denies_permit_for_pebble	
OLIVER_2020_06_12	Shady Grove Oliver	12-Jun-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
JAMES_2018_07_23	David A. James	23-Jul-18 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1830archaeologist links prehistoric china alaska	
HART_2020_09_11	Lee Hart	11-Sep-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
PASKVAN_2020_06_04	Joe Paskvan		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2023dont_blame_trans-alaska_oil_pipeline_decline	
SHIVELY_2020_09_03	John Shively		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2036alaska_can_have_pebble_and_fish_[]_not_one	
OLEMAUN_2014_09_05	Forrest Deano Olemaun		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1436north_slope_must_maintain_forward_momentum	
RESTINO_2020_12_24	Carey Restino		http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2052holiday_memories_conjure_magic_celebration	
KUNZE_2020_09_17	Jenna Kunze	17-Sep-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
STOOPS_2019_06_07	Nicole Stoops	7-Jun-19 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
ADN_2020_11_19	ADN Editorial Board Tom Marsik	19-Nov-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound 24-Dec-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
MARSIK_2020_12_24				
EVANS_2014_08_08 KUNZE 2020_11_02	Jason Evans		http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1432major_issues_face_alaska_voters http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2045kotzebue_utrajavik_residents_vie_for_house	
HEIMBUCH_2012_10_26	Hannah Heimbuch		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2045koi2ebue_utqlagvik_residents_vie_for_house r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1243project_chariot_shares_point_hopes_troubled	
ROETMAN_2012_12_07	Paul A. Roetman		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1249bave_you_thanked_a_juror_today	
OLIVER_2020_06_07	Shady Grove Oliver		r http://www.thearcicsounder.com/article/2023alaska_natives_call_for_justice_in_solidarity	
PAULIN_2019_05_10	Jim Paulin		r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1919church seeks 1 million from deadliest catch	
RESTINO_2020_07_23	Carev Restino		n http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2030american seafoods vessel outbreak shows what	
OLIVER_2019_08_30	Shady Grove Oliver		 http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/195art.community_take_center_stage_in_wainwright 	
KELLIE_2020_06_19	Cordelia Kellie	19-Jun-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound		
OLIVER 2019 05 17	Shady Grove Oliver	17-Mav-19 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1920uic announces new contract for utojagvik	
BREHMER_2020_08_28	Elwood Brehmer	28-Aug-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2035ravn_alaska_hopes_to_resume_hub_service_in_1	
RIHA_2019_05_10	Danielle Riha	10-May-19 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1919time to invest in culturally responsive	
WELCH_2020_07_03	Laine Welch	3-Jul-20 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/2027bristol_bay_braces_for_pebble_mine_decision	
MAGDANZ_2019_11_02	Jim Magdanz	2-Nov-19 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1944the_ambler_mining_district_is_not_red_dog	
OLIVER_2018_04_13	Shady Grove Oliver	13-Apr-18 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1815kotzebue has more connectivity with new 4g	
RESTINO_2018_04_13	Carey Restino	13-Apr-18 8-Jan-21 The Arctic Sound	r http://www.thearcticsounder.com/article/1815fifty_years_after_alaska_placed_its_first_911	
SEVUNTS_2020_08_12	Levon Sevunts	12-Aug-20 8-Jan-21 The Barent Observ	https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2020/08/arctic-summer-sea-ice-could-be-gone-2035-new-study-forecasts	
STAALESEN_2017_06_16	Atle Staalesen		https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2017/06/putin-our-future-lies-arctic	
STAALESEN_2020_09_25	Atle Staalesen	25-Sep-20 8-Jan-21 The Barent Obser	https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/climate-crisis/2020/09/climate-change-making-arctic-more-hospital-says-russian-nuclear-icebreaker	
SEVUNTS_2018_10_03	Levon Sevunts		https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2018/10/nine-countries-and-eu-set-sign-historic-agreement-protect-central-arctic-ocean	
QUINN_2020_10_13	Eilis Quinn		https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/2020/10/year-long-international-arctic-science-expedition-comes-end	
SEVUNTS_2020_04_23	Levon Sevunts		/ref https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/ecology/2020/04/ice-free-arctic-summers-likely-2050-even-climate-action-study	
REIGSTAD_2020_02_27	Marit Reigstad	27-Feb-20 2-Mar-20 The Barent Obser	er https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/node/6493	
NILSEN_2020_01_14	Thomas Nilsen	14-Jan-20 8-Jan-21 The Barent Observer	https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2020/01/avoiding-arctic-sea-routes-might-be-good-intention-isnt-solving-problem	
NILSEN_2019_09_22	Thomas Nilsen	22-Sep-19 2-Mar-20 The Barent Obser	ver https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/node/5425	
STAALESEN_2020_09_29	Atle Staalesen	29-Sep-20 8-Jan-21 The Barent Obser	ver https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2020/09/chinas-new-icebreaker-completes-first-arctic-mission	
LEU_2020_10_02	Eva Leu		https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/node/7426	
QUINN_2019_09_19	Eilís Quinn		ver https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2019/09/arctic-railway	
STAALESEN_2020_07_16	Atle Staalesen	16-Jul-20 8-Jan-21 The Barent Observer	https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2020/07/new-chinese-icebreaker-sets-course-arctic	
NILSEN_2020_12_22	Thomas Nilsen	22-Dec-20 8-Jan-21 The Barent Obser	rer https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/climate-crisis/2020/12/supreme-court-rejects-climate-activists-appeal-over-norways-arctic-oil	
LEISER_2020_01_15	Mathiew Leiser	15-Jan-20 2-Mar-20 The Barent Obser	ver https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/ecology/2020/01/methane-emissions-arctic-ocean-have-long-been-overestimated-study-claims	
ROSEN_2016_05_25	Yereth Rosen	25-May-16 2-Mar-20 The Barent Obser	ver https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2016/05/why-us-doesnt-need-wait-arctic-port-boost-maritime-safety	
NILSEN_2018_05_22	Thomas Nilsen		/er https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/travel/2018/05/arctic-cruise-ship-boom	
STAALESEN_2017_09_04	Atle Staalesen		er https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/security/2017/09/you-are-future-elite-russian-navy	
SEVUNTS_2020_DEC_25	Levon Sevunts		er https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/nuclear-safety/2020/12/rosatom-build-small-scale-land-based-arctic-nuclear-plant-2028	
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ADN_2016_05_26	Alaska Dispatch News	26-May-16	14-Jan-21 The Barents Observ https://thebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic/2016/05/us-congress-takes-big-step-toward-new-1-billion-arctic-icebreaker			
SEVUNTS_2016_06_11	Levon Sevunts	11-Jun-16	14-Jan-21 The Barents Observi https://hebarentsobserver.com/en/security/2016/06/arctic-nations-deepen-coast-guard-cooperation			
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RCI_2016_06_09	Radio Canada International	9-Jun-16	14-Jan-21 The Barents Observinttps://hebarentsobserver.com/en/arctic-ecology/2016/06/shells-release-offshore-leases-permits-huge-arctic-marine-park			
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DESJARDINS_2016_06_01 MONTGOMERY_2019_12_10	Lynn Desjardins Marc Montgomery	1-Jun-16 10-Dec-19	20-Jan-2021 Kabio Canada Interf https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116/06/01/https://www.ronet.caeno/2116
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HAIG 2019_09_25_A	Terry Haig	5-Jul-19	20-Jan-2021 Motio Cannot intern titles//www.cinet.ca/en/2019/07/5/unesco-set-set-adminet/s
MONTGOMERY_2015_09_21	Marc Montgomery	21-Sep-15	20-Jan-2021 Madio Canada Inter Ittos://www.cinet.ca/en/2015/09/21/mar/ne-lifein-crisis-world-ocean-disaster-looning/
MONTGOMERY 2019 11 14	Marc Montgomery	14-Nov-19	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Intern https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2019/11/14/chinese-facial-recognition-coming-to-a-few-canadian-stores/
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MONTGOMERY 2014 02 06	Marc Montgomery	6-Feb-14	20 Jan-2021 Radio Canada Intern https://www.rcipet.ca/en/2014/02/05/https://doi.org/10.1007/05/https://doi.org
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GWIAZDA_2013_06_13	Wojtek Gwiazda	13-Jun-13	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Intern https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2013/06/13/inside-the-battle-for-cyberspace-with-ronald-delbert/
DESJARDINS_2020_12_02	Lynn Desjardins	2-Dec-20	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Inter
HAIG_2019_09_26	Terry Haig	26-Sep-19	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Anternational Control C
MONTGOMERY_2019_07_19	Marc Montgomery	19-Jul-19	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Intern https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2019/07/19/c1-million-purchase-of-sneaker-collection/
MONTGOMERY_2020_06_15	Marc Montgomery	15-Jun-20	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Inter
KILKENNY_2017_03_24	Carmel Kilkenny	24-Mar-17	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Inter
HAIG_2020_05_13	Terry Haig	13-May-20	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Inter
MONTGOMERY_2020_05_05	Marc Montgomery	5-May-20	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Intern https://www.roinet.ca/en/2020/05/05/covid-19-the-2020-summer-of-fun-events-that-werent/
DESJARDINS_2018_07_03	Lynn Desjardins	3-Jul-18	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Anternational An
DESJARDINS_2017_05_10	Lynn Desjardins	10-May-17	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Anternational Control C
GWIAZDA_2014_01_29	Wojtek Gwiazda	29-Jan-14	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Inter
DESJARDINS_2020_10_20	Lynn Desjardins	20-Oct-20	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada International Inter
MONTGOMERY_2015_05_13_B	Marc Montgomery	13-May-15	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Intern https://www.roinet.ca/en/2015/05/13/research-Into-climate-and-human-effects-on-hudson-bay/
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HAIG_2018_08_14	Terry Haig	14-Aug-18	20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Intern https://www.rojnet.ca/en/2018/08/14/rope-skipping-trice-to-make-the-leap-from-its-playful-past-to-the-olympics/
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LEISER_2019_05_06	Mathiew Leiser	6-May-19 20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Interri https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2019/05/06/pupile.song-inspires-guebec-premier-to-rebuild-flooded-school/	
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MONTGOMERY_2017_03_28	Marc Montgomery	28-Mar-17 20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Interri https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2017/03/28/international-world-skills-championship-coming-up/	
MONTGOMERY_2019_06_01	Marc Montgomery	1-Jun-19 20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Interrintes//www.rcinet.ca/en/2019/06/01/canadian-famers-income-drops-almost-by-haff/	
MONTGOMERY_2016_09_28	Marc Montgomery	28-Sep-16 20-Jan-2021 Radio Canada Interri https://www.rcinet.ca/en/2016/09/28/canada-and-the-worlds-water-crisis-pt-3/	
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SEVUNTS_2017_05_13	Levon Sevunts	13-May-12 1-Jan-21 Radio Canada Interri https://www.cinet.ca/en/2017/05/13/anadian-ab-tolographer-sounds-alam-on-crisis-in-south-sudar/	
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STRONG 2019 04 08	Walter Strong	er or le 2-Apr-20 CEC North New https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/sites/apre/ereport.1.5082/44	
STRONG_2019_11_25	Walter Strong	5-Nov 12 - Apr 20 CBC North New https://www.cbc.ca/news/sanada/north/ice-free-arctic-this-century-1.5370504	
KYLE_2019_12_18	Kate Kyle	18-Dec-19 2-Apr-20 CBC North News https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/beaufort-sea-moratorium-deposits-nwt-1.5399157	
ASSOCIATED_2020_03_03	The Associated Press	3-Mar-20 2-Apr-20 CBC North News https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/wells-fargo-arctic-oil-1.5483641	
BROCKMAN 2019 04 12	Alex Brockman	12-Apr-19 22-Jan-21 CBC North News https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-warmest-in-1000-years-1.5094392	
TUCKER_2020_07_31	Amy Tucker	11.Jul 2 22.Jan 21 CBC North News https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arc/ic-ocean-seabed-map-out/lished-1.5669378	
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OAKES_2020_08_30	Bradlyn Oakes	30-Aug-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-climate-change-expedition-pole-1.5704190		
LAST_2020_02_15	John Last	15-Feb-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/russian-arctic-oil-and-gas-explained-1.5462754		
ASSOCIATED_2020_11_25	The Associated Press	25-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/anwr-alaska-drilling-rights-interest-1.5815957		
OAKES_2020_06_27	Bradlyn Oakes	27-Jun-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/bradlyns-blog-record-arctic-heat-1.5629867		
MCKAY_2018_12_21	Jackie McKay	21-Dec-18	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/porcupine-caribou-anwr-1.4956779		
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WEBER_2016_05_02	Bob Weber	2-May-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-comics-north-inuit-1.3562336		
ASSOCIATED_2020_11_24	The Associated Press	24-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/u-s-government-makes-proposal-that-could-limit-bank-pullback-of-arctic-oil-gas-funds-1.5814039		
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BROCKMAN_2019_09_11	Alex Brockman	11-Sep-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-policy-framework-short-on-details-1.5278433		
MURRAY_2019_06_12	Nick Murray	12-Jun-19	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-minister-berates-southern-bureaucrats-1.5172375		
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ZINGEL_2019_03_22	Avery Zingel	22-Mar-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/anwr-alaska-wildlife-refuge-indigenous-1.5067812		
ASSOCIATED_2020_04_23	The Associated Press	23-Apr-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/citigroup-bank-end-arctic-oil-investment-1.5542535		
OAKES_2020_09_28	Bradlyn Oakes	28-Sep-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mosaic-dress-code-sexism-arctic-research-1.5739547		
ASSOCIATED_2020_08_17	The Associated Press	17-Aug-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/oil-gas-alaska-wildlife-refuge-beaufort-sea-1.5689398		
SKURA_2016_09_30	Elyse Skura	30-Sep-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-council-20-anniversary-lloyd-axworthy-1.3784144		
THOMSON_2018_01_27	Jimmy Thomson	27-Jan-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/what-does-china-s-new-arctic-policy-mean-for-canada-1.4506754		
TOTH_2019_07_10	Katie Toth	10-Jul-19	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/russia-floating-nuclear-plant-1.5206448		
ZEREHI_2016_04_19	Sima Sahar Zerehi	18-Apr-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/report-impact-climate-change-arctic-coastline-1.3540707		
ZEREHI_2015_11_25	Sima Sahar Zerehi	25-Nov-15	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/beluga-whale-arctic-drone-1.3335730		
CANADIAN_2019_05_27	The Canadian Press	27-May-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/north-pole-canada-russia-denmark-1.5151432		
CANADIAN_2013_02_16	The Canadian Press	16-Feb-13	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/sea-ice-loss-in-arctic-causing-ecosystem-changes-study-1.1332695		
KYLE_2019_07_30	Kate Kyle	30-Jul-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-wildfires-1.5228945		
CBC_2015_03_24	CBC News	24-Mar-15	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/china-seeks-to-establish-northern-canadian-research-outpost-1.3006806		
WINDEYER_2020_11_10	Chris Windeyer	10-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-govt-opposes-oil-exploration-anwr-1.5797701		
QUINN_2019_05_08	Eilis Quinn	8-May-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-arctic-council-1.5127627		
ASSOCIATED_2017_10_19	The Associated Press	19-Oct-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/oik-company-arctic-drilling-artificial-island-1.4361918		
ZEREHI_2015_08_25	Sima Sahar Zerehi	25-Aug-15	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-tapiriit-kanatami-candidates-on-future-of-the-national-inuit-organization-1.3202973		
CBC_2019_05_02	CBC News	2-May-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/anwr-protection-bill-congress-washington-1.5119358		
ZEREHI_2016_07_16	Sima Sahar Zerehi	16-Jul-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/book-inuit-elders-on-climate-change-arctic-1.3681168		
THURTON_2020_02_05	David Thurton	5-Feb-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-inspiration-prize-2020-1.5453157		
CBC_2017_12_04	CBC News	4-Dec-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/traditional-inuit-knowledge-and-arctic-fishing-ban-1.4429897		
ZEREHI_2016_08_24	Sima Sahar Zerehi	24-Aug-16	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-adaptations-nunavut-at-15-in-iqaluit-1.3732834		
STRONG_2020_02_12	Walter Strong	12-Feb-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/sea-ice-fissure-near-cambridge-bay-nunavut-1.5460259		
AVERY_2019_04_11	Heather Avery	11-Apr-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/old-crow-climate-emergency-1.5093166		
CBC_2011_08_30	CBC News	30-Nov-11	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-sleds-being-built-for-arctic-sovereignty-patrols-1.1073495		
DESMARAIS_2020_01_23	Anna Desmarais	23-Jan-20	EE duit ET	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/awg-archery-trials-nwt-1.5437084		
REUTERS_2020_12_22	Thomson Reuters	22-Dec-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/norway-arctic-drilling-supreme-court-verdict-1.5851636		
CBC_2014_08_28	CBC News	28-Aug-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-were-not-the-first-people-to-settle-in-the-arctic-1.2749691		
REUTERS_2020_01_23	Thomson Reuters	23-Jan-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/greenpeace-loses-oil-appeal-norway-1.5437657		
JEFFERD_2018_06_11	Kaila Jefferd-Moore	11-Jun-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/canadian-submarines-not-part-of-international-arctic-under-ice-exercise-1.4699208		
AKEEAGOK_2019_10_17	P.J. Akeegok	17-Oct-19	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/qia-inuit-federal-election-1.5321980		
THOMSON_2017_07_12	Jimmy Thomson	12-Jul-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-warming-events-more-and-longer-1.4200544		
REUTERS_2019_11_05	Thomson Reuters	5-Nov-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-drilling-appeal-norway-1.5349086		
STRONG_2020_12_22	Walter Strong	22-Dec-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/canada-china-tmac-1.5851305		
THOMSON_2016_06_11 ASSOCIATED 2020 09 08	Jimmy Thomson The Associated Press	11-Jun-16 8-Sep-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/lancaster-sound-shell-leases-relinquish-1.3629950 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/loink-salmon-arctic-warmino-research-1.5716557		
	The Associated Press		22-Jan-21 CBC North News			
CANADIAN_2013_08_18 BIRD_2020_11_26	The Canadian Press Hilary Bird	18-Aug-13 26-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/ottawa-testing-620K-stealth-snowmobile-for-arctic-1.1377270 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/urgent-action-needed-on-arctic-ice-shelf-thaw-1.5817183		
BIRD_2020_11_26 CANADIAN 2017 11 23	Hilary Bird The Canadian Press	26-Nov-20 23-Nov-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/urgent-action-needed-on-arctic-ice-shelf-thaw-1.5817183 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/unauvt-greenland-ice-bridge-1.4417042		
DUSEN 2016 12 22	John Van Dusen	23-NOV-17 22-Dec-16	2-Apr-20 CBC North News 2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunauvt-greenland-ice-bridge-1.4417042 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-premier-slams-arctic-drilling-moratorium-1.3908037		
TUKKER_2019_11_14	Paul Tukker	14-Nov-19	2-Apr-20 CBC North News 2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-premier-siams-arctite-drilling-moratorium-1.3908037 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/alask-dog-mushers-awg-2020-1.5358750		
ZEREHI 2016 07 09	Sima Sabar Zerebi	14-NOV-19 9-Jul-16	2-Apr-20 CBC North News			
	Sima Sahar Zerehi CBC News	9-Jul-16 12-Mar-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/canada-pushing-for-finding-agreement-on-arctic-fishing-1.3671168 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-winter-games-theme-song-1.4570334		
CBC_2018_03_12 DENTREMONT 2020 11 13	CBC News Danielle d'Entremont	12-Mar-18 13-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-winter-games-theme-song-1.4570334 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/biden-presidency-arctic-wildlife-refuge-1.5799230		
DENTREMONT_2020_11_13 CBC_2020_08_10	CBC News	13-Nov-20 10-Aug-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/biden-presidency-arctic-wildlife-refuge-1.5799230 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yellowknife-city-arctic-energy-alliance-circulation-pump-1.5678853		
HINCHEY_2015_04_26	Garrett Hinchev	26-Apr-15	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nortn/veliowknite-city-arctic-energy-alliance-circulation-pump-1.56/8853 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/7-future-n-w-t-candidates-for-canada-s-sports-hall-of-fame-1.3048153		
ROSEN_2017_12_22	Kavla Rosen	20-Apr-15 22-Dec-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nvt-climate-chanoe-report-1.4461774		
THOMSON_2017_07_28	Jimmy Thomson	22-Dec-17 28-Jul-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mate-cnange-report-1.4461774 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mate-nunavut-devon-island-1.4225311		
THOMSON_2017_07_28 MCKAY_2020_08_12	Jimmy Thomson Jackie McKay	28-Jul-17 12-Aug-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mars-nunavut-devon-Island-1.4225311 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mars-nunavut-devon-Island-1.4225311		
MCKAY_2020_08_12 BIRD_2016_05_26	Jackie McKay Hilary Bird	12-Aug-20 26-Mav-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-college-ntep-bilingual-education-1.5682701 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/grizzly-polar-bear-hybrids-impact-1.3600391		
BIRD_2016_05_26 BELTRANDI_2018_03_05	Gabriela Panza-Beltrandi	26-May-16 5-Mar-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-winter-games-2018-missed-tryouts-1.4561698		
CBC_2019_11_21	Gabriela Panza-Beitrandi CBC News	21-Nov-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-wnter-games-2018-missed-tryouts-1.4561698 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-inspiration-prize-2020-1.5368059		
	CBC News Hilary Bird	21-Nov-19 13-Nov-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News			
BIRD_2017_11_13 CROFT_2020_08_19	Hilary Bird Dave Croft	13-Nov-17 19-Aug-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/noth/inuvik-tuktoyaktuk-nwt-road-worth-it-1.4395052		
CROFT_2020_08_19 BYERS_2019_04_15	Dave Crott Alexandra Byers	19-Aug-20 15-Apr-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-nwt-gwich-in-yuntut-gwitchin-anwr-porcupine-caribou-oil-drilling-1.5692221 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-cimate-change-warming-permatrosi-1.5097458		
BTERS_2019_04_15	Alexandra Byers	15-Apr-19	22-Jan-21 CBC NOTH NEWS	nups.//www.coc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-climate-change-warming-permatrost-1.509/458		

MINOGUE_2016_06_03	Sara Minogue	3-Jun-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/russian-rocket-debris-arctic-reaction-1.3613852	
SILVA_2020_09_29	Steve Silva	29-Sep-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/vukon-ultra-2021-cancelled-pandemic-travel-1.57431344	
CBC_2011_12_15	CBC News	15-Dec-11	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/astronomers-set-to-observe-stars-from-arctic-1.1039054	
WEBER 2016 09 18	Bob Weber	18-Sep-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/new-rules-for-arctic-cruises-1.3767846	
OUDSHOORN_2015_07_06	Kieran Oudshoorn	6-Jul-15	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/ottawa-researchers-in-cape-dorset-to-document-arctic-plant-life-1.3139753	
CROFT_2016_05_16	Dave Croft	16-May-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-inspiration-prize-witzig-yukon-ambassadors-1.3584762	
CBC_2014_07_29	CBC News	29-Jul-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nasa-testing-vehicles-in-high-arctic-to-use-on-mars-1.2721161	
CANADIAN_2019_01_13	The Canadian Press	13-Jan-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/canada-first-nations-concern-us-arctic-drilling-1.4976686	
CBC 2020 03 15	CBC News	15-Mar-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/awo-2022-wood-buffalo-whitehorse-1.5497350	
SILVA_2020_11_12	Steve Silva	12-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-gov-awg-2-6-million-spending-1.5795357	
JOLING_2016_02_17	Dan Joling	17-Feb-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/beluga-alaska-dive-deoth-1.3452075	
ASSOCIATED 2014 07 03	The Associated Press	3-Jul-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/live-camera-shows-arctic-snowy-owl-chicks-in-nest-1.2695115	
			22-Jan-21 CBC North News		
CBC_2014_09_04	CBC News Priscilla Hwang	4-Sep-14		https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-research-ship-martin-bergmann-runs-aground-1.2756048 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/alaska-north-sione-lambensaur-fossil-1.5081491	
HWANG_2019_04_03	CBC News	3-Apr-19 7-Sep-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News 22-Jan-21 CBC North News		
CBC_2017_09_07				https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/kluane-research-station-field-school-1.4278169	
MORIN_2018_03_27	Philippe Morin	27-Mar-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/dog-mushing-dropped-awg-review-1.4593417	
ASSOCIATED_2017_10_04	The Associated Press	4-Oct-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/pacific-wairus-not-threatened-species-1.4326953	
CBC_2012_08_29	CBC News	29-Aug-12	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/circumpolar-conference-looks-at-arctic-cities-1.1179841	
BIRD_2016_12_20	Hilary Bird	20-Dec-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-sunwest-crash-passengers-sue-1.3904499	
REUTERS_2015_11_19	Reuters	19-Nov-15	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/polar-bear-numbers-to-fall-as-arctic-ice-shrinks-study-1.3326579	
ASSOCIATED_2017_04_28	The Associated Press	28-Apr-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/trump-expands-drilling-arctic-atlantic-ocean-1.4090163	
TOTH_2018_08_28	Katie Toth	28-Aug-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/investgiators-kugaaruk-nunavut-ship-run-aground-1.4801273	
SCOTT_2020_05_11	Mackenzie Scott	11-May-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/southern-rearchers-cant-go-north-summer-covid-19-1.5563748	
SCOTT_2018_10_04	Mackenzie Scott	4-Oct-18	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuvik-economic-development-symposium-1.4850497	
ZEREHI_2016_11_12	Sima Sahar Zerehi	12-Nov-16	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/trump-victory-bad-news-inuit-leader-arctic-1.3846220	
CBC_2017_08_27	CBC News	27-Aug-2017	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/eva-holland-arctic-airship-book-1.4262951	
CBC_2019_12_15	CBC News	15-Dec-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/cold-awg-biathlon-trials-1.5396931	
BROWN_2020_08_11	Beth Brown	11-Aug-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/space-agency-teaches-gjoa-haven-growing-food-in-harsh-climates-1.5681294	
MCKAY_2020_01_08	Jackie McKay	8-Jan-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/victoria-s-arctic-fashion-new-york-1.5419254	
ZELNIKER 2016 12 07	Rachel Zelniker	7-Dec-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/polar-bear-global-study-decline-1.3885974	
MURRAY 2017 11 06	Nick Murray	6-Nov-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/rocket-launch-follow-1.4387448	
CBC_2014_08_04	CBC News	4-Aug-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/porcupine-caribou-herd-winter-habitat-could-shrink-in-100-years-study-1.2727073	
CANADIAN_2019_12_06	The Canadian Press	6-Dec-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-species-belugas-science-1.5386238	
CBC 2016 04 03	CBC News	3-Apr-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/cnuise-ships-safety-northwest-passage-1 3518712	
CBC_2020_11_17	CBC News	17-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/vuntut-gwitchin-gov-t-and-gwich-in-tribal-council-denounce-u-s-steps-lease-sale-arctic-refuge-1.5805041	
CBC 2014 12 11	CBC News	11-Dec-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yellowknife-s-foxy-takes-1m-arctic-inspiration-prize-1.2869394	
HINCHEY 2018 03 18 A	Garrett Hinchey	18-Mar-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/team-nunavut-profile-2018-awg-1.4580674	
DENTREMONT_2020_02_28	Danielle d'Entremont	28-Feb-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-winter-games-julienne-chipesia-snowshoe-athlete-1.5475815	
MCKAY 2018 05 25	Jackie McKay	25-May-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/vukon-arctic-ultra-changes-1.4677313	
THOMSON_2016_09_14	Jimmy Thomson	14-Sep-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/polar-bears-sea-ice-huntino-1.3760554	
ZEREHI_2016_04_05	Sima Sahar Zerehi	5-Apr-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/greenland-ice-sheet-exceptional-melts-1.3520547	
TAYLOR 2020 11 07	Juanita Taylor	5-Apr-16 7-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/tyan-revnolds-canada-ocose-donate-oarkas-arctic-bav-nunavut-1.5793649	
	Susan Ormiston		22-Jan-21 CBC North News		
ORMISTON_2019_06_19		19-Jun-19		https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/the-national-permafrost-thaw-inuvik-tuktoyaktuk-1.5179842	
ASSOCIATED_2019_09_12	The Associated Press	12-Sep-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/us-house-vote-anwr-drilling-1.5281163	
CBC_2018_02_16	CBC News	16-Feb-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/health-camp-nunavut-gikigtani-hospital-1.4537896	
CBC_2018_05_24	CBC News	24-May-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/aurora-college-coastal-research-funding-1.4676436	
CANADIAN_2019_01_17	The Canadian Press	17-Jan-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/climate-change-infrastructure-study-1.4982063	
STRONG_2017_11_14	Walter Strong	14-Nov-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-highway-challenges-1.4398726	
CBC_2013_01_15	CBC News	15-Jan-13	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-fishery-alliance-says-too-many-small-turbot-caught-1.1379217	
BELTRANDI_2017_12_28	Gabriela Panza-Beltrandi	28-Dec-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-winter-games-awg-volunteers-1.4466235	
TUCKER_2020_09_09	Amy Tucker	9-Sep-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/rise-in-sea-level-caused-by-melting-ice-sheets-study-leeds-1.5716021	
CBC_2012_04_08	CBC News	8-Apr-12	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/national-geographic-adventurer-recalls-walrus-attack-1.1142804	
HINCHEY_2018_03_18_B	Garrett Hinchey	18-Mar-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-winter-games-2018-begin-1.4581371	
CBC_2014_05_30	CBC News	30-May-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-scientific-collaboration-a-success-in-gjoa-haven-nunavut-1.2659946	
CBC_2011_01_20	CBC News	20-Jan-11	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/avian-cholera-may-spread-in-arctic-scientists-1.1118928	
ZEREHI_2016_01_05	Sima Sahar Zerehi	5-Jan-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/protecting-nunavuts-oceans-1.3389248	
LAST_2020_07_02	John Last	2-Jul-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/sami-truth-commissions-1.5633569	
CBC_2017_11_03	CBC News	3-Nov-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-premier-silver-nwt-mcleod-red-alert-1.4386472	
CANADIAN_2020_03_09	The Canadian Press	9-Mar-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-organization-covid19-coronavirus-concern-north-1.5490979	
ZEREHI_2016_07_10	Sima Sahar Zerehi	10-Jul-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/50-year-old-inuit-drawings-offer-snapshot-of-life-in-arctic-1.3671360	
CBC_2013_06_26	CBC News	26-Jun-13	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/tourists-hunters-near-arctic-bay-get-chopper-rescue-1.1385228	
CBC_2020_10_05	CBC News	5-Oct-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/newfoundlander-wedding-arctic-ocean-1.5749185	
CBC_2014_07_21	CBC News	21-Jul-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-circumpolar-council-meets-this-week-in-inuvik-n-w-t-1.2711488	
TOTH_2019_02_11	Katie Toth	11-Feb-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/search-and-rescue-roundtables-not-happening-1.5012704	
CBC_2020_09_12	CBC News	12-Sep-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-arctic-ultra-2021-pandemic-1.5719879	
ZELNIKER 2016 08 25	Rachel Zelniker	25-Aug-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/crystal-serenity-nunavul-impact-review-board-1.3734680	
PIGOTT_2017_01_17	Catherine Pigott	17-Jan-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-arctic-college-inuit-studies-education-1.3940215	
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CBC_2018_10_01	CBC News	1-Oct-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/executive-summary-arctic-games-1.4845765	
LEDERMAN_2015_09_02	Josh Lederman	2-Sep-15	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/obama-heads-north-of-arctic-circle-as-alaska-climate-tour-continues-1.3212488	
TOTH_2020_01_05	Katie Toth	5-Jan-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/beef-up-sar-to-keep-the-north-secure-experts-argue-1.5415253	
SARKADI_2019_05_03	Laurie Sarkadi	3-May-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mackenzie-river-low-water-1.5121043	
WEBER_2017_07_12	Bob Weber	12-Jul-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/polar-bear-attack-study-1.4202280	
ASSOCIATED_2014_12_03	The Associated Press	3-Dec-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/alaskan-agency-proposes-critical-habitat-for-ringed-seals-1.2858797	
MURRAY_2017_09_23	Nick Murray	23-Sep-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/polar-research-lab-eureka-funding-shortfall-1.4303979	
CANADIAN_2020_01_31	The Canadian Press	31-Jan-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/norad-needs-ugrades-1.5447902	
CBC_2012_03_14	CBC News	14-Mar-12	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/the-new-north-arctic-multiculturalism-1.1179725	
CBC_2014_10_28	CBC News	28-Oct-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/mike-shouldice-retires-from-nunavut-arctic-college-1.2815077	
TOTH_2020_07_10	Katie Toth	10-Jul-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/north-eyes-conservatives-1.5644564	
CBC_2014_07_24	CBC News	24-Jul-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-brace-for-full-bore-arctic-development-at-international-summit-1.2716598	
BROWN_2020_12_22	Beth Brown	22-Dec-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/homemade-tree-brings-nunavut-mother-and-sons-together-after-heartbreak-1.5846195	
SCOTT_2020_09_14	Mackenzie Scott	14-Sep-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/fort-mcpherson-backpack-giveaway-1.5722001	
CBC_2020_02_01	CBC News	1-Feb-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/worl-family-knuckle-hop-competition-1.5448296	
HINCHEY_2016_03_02	Garrett Hinchey	2-Mar-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/awg-team-yukon-preview-1.3473206	
BELL_2018_12_14	Susan Bell	14-Dec-18	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/chisasibi-potatoes-farm-project-1.4945336	
WRIGHT_2011_11_18	Laura Wright	18-Nov-11	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/thawing-permafrost-sinks-buildings-hikes-costs-in-north-1.1108686	
KYLE_2019_06_06	Kate Kyle	6-Jun-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-climate-change-strategy-1.5165827	
CBC_2014_07_03	CBC News	3-Jul-14	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/greenpeace-takes-on-lego-over-shell-partnership-1.2695167	
CBC_2017_10_23	CBC News	23-Oct-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/franklin-expedition-ships-canada-owner-1.4367419	
MURRAY_2016_06_08	Nick Murray	8-Jun-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/shell-lancaster-sound-permits-1.3620681	
TOTH_2019_11_18	Katie Toth	18-Nov-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/environmentalists-hope-self-imposed-ban-on-heavy-fuel-oil-will-get-regulators-talking-1.5362827	
CBC_2019_12_08	CBC News	8-Dec-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/norman-wells-biathlon-club-formation-1.5387194	
DENTREMONT_2020_03_09	Danielle d'Entremont	9-Mar-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/archery-nwt-arctic-winter-games-cancelled-1.5490668	
KYLE_2019_09_20	Kate Kyle	20-Sep-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/amundsen-arctic-hybrid-cruise-1.5290158	
FRIZZELL_2018_12_07	Sara Frizzell	7-Dec-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/polar-bear-contaminants-study-1.4935613	
ZEREHI_2016_03_07	Sima Sahar Zerehi	7-Mar-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-search-and-rescue-needs-1.3477252	
SCOTT_2020_01_28	Mackenzie Scott	28-Jan-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/fort-simpson-kunckle-hop-record-1.5441684	
CBC_2016_04_10	CBC News	10-Apr-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuit-circumpolar-council-president-karetak-lindell-1.3529220	
ZEREHI_2016_09_28	Sima Sahar Zerehi	28-Sep-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/maud-rises-norwegian-ship-cambridge-bay-1.3782510	
CBC_2013_08_28	CBC News	29-Aug-13	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/after-9-years-cleanup-complete-on-baffin-island-1.1394987	
DUSEN_2016_04_20	John Van Dusen	20-Apr-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/cambridge-bay-power-plant-chars-1.3544805	
CBC_2017_12_19_A	CBC News	19-Dec-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/anwr-protestors-fort-mcpherson-1.4456833	
LATIMER_2018_01_22	Kendall Latimer	22-Jan-18	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/warming-temperatures-freezing-rain-harmful-muskox-1.4493506	
ZINGEL_2019_04_12	Avery Zingel	12-Apr-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/coastal-erosion-tuktoyaktuk-needs-more-money-1.5095115	
BLAKE_2019_08_20	Emily Blake	20-Aug-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/sea-ice-loss-cold-winters-1.5247381	
CBC_2019_02_12	CBC News	12-Feb-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-inspiration-prize-2019-1.5016899	
AVERY_2019_05_21	Heather Avery	21-May-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/old-crow-climate-change-emergency-1.5144010	
CBC_2010_07_29	CBC News	29-Jul-10	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-ship-graves-a-rewarding-find-1.880117	
FRIZZELL_2017_07_10	Sara Frizzell	10-Jul-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nanisivik-arctic-bay-naval-refueling-2018-1.4195662	
STRONG_2019_04_02	Walter Strong	2-Apr-19	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/devon-island-nunavut-mars-training-1.5080464	
CBC_2020_11_07	CBC News	7-Nov-20	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/climate-change-inuit-communities-national-geographic-documentary-1.5788148	
CBC_2015_04_13	CBC News	13-Apr-15	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/permafrost-thaw-threatens-arctic-archeological-sites-says-professor-1.3030303	
DUSEN_2016_08_16	John Van Dusen	16-Aug-16	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-flag-olympics-rio-de-janerio-1.3723003	
STEWART_2017_10_23	Briar Stewart	23-Oct-17	22-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/new-arctic-coast-highway-opens-up-remote-tuktoyaktuk-1.4363029	
TAYLOR_2015_10_27	Susan Taylor CBC News	27-Oct-15 12-Mar-14	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/canada-s-once-booming-arctic-diamond-sector-loses-lustre-1.3290437	
CBC_2014_03_12			23-Jan-21 CBC North News 2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/igaluit-figure-skaters-add-style-to-team-nunavut-1.2568542	
BLAKE_2018_05_01 DUSEN 2016 10 04	Emily Blake John Van Dusen	1-May-18 4-Oct-16	2-Apr-20 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nwt-economic-forecast-2018-1.4643792	
	John Van Dusen CBC News		23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/hms-terror-find-under-review-by-feds-1.3791664	
CBC_2018_11_30		30-Nov-18 7-Nov-16		https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/cape-dorset-sanikiluag-fisheries-1.4926449	
SKURA_2016_11_07	Elyse Skura Elyse Skura		23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-law-program-applications-open-1.3827428	
SKURA_2015_07_27	Elyse Skura The Canadian Press	27-Jul-15 14-Dec-12	23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/susan-aglukark-leads-arcticrosewarcry-suicide-prevention-campaign-1.3169119	
CANADIAN_2012_12_14	The Canadian Press CBC News		23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/scientists-figure-out-beluga-s-beaufort-sea-menu-1.1172877	
CBC_2018_12_05		5-Dec-18	23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/tallurutiup-imanga-lancaster-sound-aip-1.4933534	
ASSOCIATED_2010_11_24	The Associated Press	24-Nov-10		https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/u-s-creates-critical-habitat-for-polar-bear-1.888620?ref=rss	
BOHRER_2016_11_29 CBC_2010_04_15	Becky Bohrer CBC News	29-Nov-16 15-Apr-10	23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/alaska-caribou-central-arctic-herd-decline-1.3872786	
CROFT_2016_12_01	Dave Croft	15-Apr-10 1-Dec-16	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/protect-us-not-polar-bears-inuit-officials-1.957617	
CROFT_2016_12_01 MINOGUE 2019 05 05	Dave Crott Sara Minogue	1-Dec-16 5-May-19	23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/porcupine-caribou-herd-yukon-patagonia-anwr-1.3875295 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/sara-minooue-inuit-doo-slauphter-1.5116972	
MINOGUE_2019_05_05 HINCHEY 2018 03 17	Sara Minogue Garrett Hinchev	5-May-19 17-Mar-18	23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/sara-minogue-inuit-dog-slaughter-1.5116972 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/hav-river-pine-point-1978-awo-look-back-1.4580398	
THURTON_2015_12_19	David Thurton	19-Dec-15	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/alaska-artificial-island-drilling-1.3372578	
MORIN_2017_03_06	Philippe Morin Laura Busch	6-Mar-17	23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/yukon-geothermal-energy-1.4009917	
BUSCH_2019_12_01		1-Dec-19	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/arctic-indigenous-wellness-foundation-new-director-1.5379525	
CBC_2012_06_13	CBC News Mackenzie Scott	13-Jun-12	23-Jan-21 CBC North News 23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/igaluit-coast-guard-centre-open-for-season-1.1235313	
SCOTT_2019_12_21		21-Dec-19 3-Dec-17	23-Jan-21 CBC North News 2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/cop25-luk-tv-teens-doc-1.5403742	
CBC_2017_12_03	CBC News	3-Dec-1/	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/kuujuuaq-solar-panel-pilot-project-1.4428287	

BLAKE_2019_01_28	Emily Blake	28-Jan-19	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuvik-infrastrucrture-study-1.4995948
WEBER_2015_11_12	Bob Weber	12-Nov-15	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/noth/canada-denmark-should-turm-hans-island-into-a-condominium-academics-1.3315640
CBC_2018_07_21	CBC News	21-Jul-18	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/project-bright-guebec-nunavik-1.4727585
CBC_2014_11_19	CBC News	19-Nov-14	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/as-glacier-melts-grase-fiord-residents-fear-for-water-supply-1.2840562
CBC_2018_07_06	CBC News	6-Jul-18	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/first-air-canadian-north-1.4737478
CANADIAN_2016_09_09	The Canadian Press	9-Sep-16	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/imperial-oil-selling-norman-wells-oil-assets-1.3755968
CBC_2020_09_20	CBC News	20-Sep-20	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nwt-youth-expedition-1.5730734
GLEESON_2020_09_09	Richard Gleeson	9-Sep-20	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/energy-leaders-say-better-options-than-billion-dollar-taitson-expansion-1.5716653
CBC_2015_06_03	CBC News	3-Jun-15	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/polar-knowledge-canada-merges-polar-commission-with-chars-1.3097030
HWANG_2019_09_18	Priscilla Hwang	18-Sep-19	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/shark-rare-calch-kugluktuk-nunavul-1.5287264
THIESSEN_2016_03_03	Mark Thiessen	3-Mar-16	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/first-oil-flows-from-alaska-reserve-set-aside-in-23-1.3474750
KYLE_2017_11_27	Kate Kyle	27-Nov-17	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/cambridge-bay-treatment-women-arctic-1.4414740
BUSCH_2019_09_01	Laura Busch	1-Sep-19	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nofh/porcupine-caribou-native-user-agreement-celebrated-1.5266654
REUTERS_2019_12_19	Thomson Reuters	19-Dec-19	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/greenland-ericsson-huawei-5g-1.5402788
ASSOCIATED_2018_11_26	The Associated Press	26-Nov-18	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nasa-beaufort-sea-drilling-1.4920735
MORIN_2016_06_24	Philippe Morin	24-Jun-16	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/junior-rangers-whitehorse-1.3650336
ASSOCIATED_2018_10_14	The Associated Press	14-Oct-18	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/alaska-inupial-hunters-dead-whale-1,4802501
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SCOTT_2017_03_17	Mackenzie Scott	17-Mar-17	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inuvik-arctic-esso-gas-northwind-industries-1.4030135
MURRAY_2020_06_09	Nick Murray	9-Jun-20	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/inorthern-hotels-financial-help-covid-19-1.5603371
HINCHEY_2019_02_23	Garrett Hinchey	23-Feb-19	2-Apr-20 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/table-tennis-canada-winter-games-1.5031216
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JONES_2019_07_02	Ryan Patrick Jones	2-Jul-19		https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/onth/init_guardian-fsderal-funding-1.5194999
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FRIZZELL_2018_02_24	Sara Frizzell	24-Feb-18	23-Jan-21 CBC North News	https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ionthiamo-the-terror-nive-nielsen-1.4501950
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MOSCOW_STAFF_2019_12_23_A		23-Dec-19	Sole-20 The Moscow Times thtps://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/12/23/local-authorities-defend-penis-shaped-loc-rink-shena-a68716
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MOROZOV_2019_12_25	Alexander Morozov	25-Dec-19	4-Dec-20 The Moscow Times https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/12/25/if-putin-were-to-leave-us-tomorrow-a68742
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STRUZIK_2018_01_10	Edward Struzik	10-Jan-18	9-Mar-20 Arctic Today	https://www.arctictoday.com/a-red-alert-for-the-future-arctic/				
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HUMPERT_2020_01_31	Malte Humpert	31-Jan-20	9-Mar-20 Arctic Today	https://www.arctictoday.com/lng-may-not-be-a-solution-to-cleaning-up-international-shipping-emissions-after-all-a-new-study-finds/				
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MCGWIN_2020_01_22	Kevin McGwin	22-Jan-20	9-Mar-20 Arctic Today	https://www.arctictoday.com/as-greenland-seeks-to-diversify-its-economy-water-is-shaping-up-as-a-key-element/		-		
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KOIVUROVA_2020_01_17	Timo Koivurova	17-Jan-20	9-Mar-20 Arctic Today	https://www.arctictoday.com/how-us-policy-threatens-existing-arctic-governance/				
ROSEN_2020_01_14	Yereth Rosen	14-Jan-20	9-Mar-20 Arctic Today	https://www.arctictoday.com/the-effort-to-oust-alaskas-governor-gets-court-approval/				
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DEGEORGE_2019_12_31	Krestia DeGeorge	31-Dec-19	9-Mar-20 Arctic Today	https://www.arctictoday.com/climate-change-greenland-and-shifting-geopolitics-here-are-the-top-arctic-stories-of-2019/				
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Earth's Future

Supporting Information for

Visions of the Arctic Future: Blending Computational Text Analysis and Structured Futuring to Create Story-based Scenarios

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Contents of this file

- Ten story-based scenarios (Supplement pages 3 41)
- Figures S1- S10 documenting the story-based structured futuring methods for each scenario. (Supplement pages 42 53)
- Additional information for corpus distribution by year of publication date (page 54)
- Additional information for Coherence score analysis (page 55)

Additional Supporting Information (Files uploaded separately)

• "Table S1: Visions of the Arctic Future: Metadata for Arctic news corpus" containing the metadata for the corpus of text (uploaded as a PDF)

Ten Story-based scenarios.

The ten stories are attached in full below:

- 1. Campus Utqiaġvik (Page 3 to 5)
- 2. Nanook Station (Page 6 to 7)
- 3. Security Detail (Page 8 to 12)
- 4. The Last Preserve (Page 13 to 17)
- 5. Concession 60 (Page 18 to 21)
- 6. Putin's Gambit (Page 22 to 25)
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1. Campus Utqiaģvik

"And to wrap up — I thank the entire Campus Utqiaġvik for supporting me the past 20 years. The Circumpolar Campus Alliance is our path forward. Together, with our partners, we can lead the world toward a more hopeful, peaceful, and just future."

Edna paused outside the grocery store, as she smiled at the recording taken a few hours earlier, and then mouthed along silently with her own words, "The project of democracy and education are the same project." She smiled. This was a *good* speech. She focused back to the present, and swiftly stepped aside as a group of laughing kids ran past, followed closely by a nanny drone.

The doors to the grocery slid open and Edna felt relief as the humidity disappeared in a cool blast.

She stepped into the store, and then out of the way, to continue watching the last moments of her departure speech "I am confident that your new Chancellor, Dr. Evelyn Wilhelm, will lead Campus Utqiaġvik deftly into the 22nd century." Edna rolled her eyes, at her own politicking. "Moreover, I am grateful to be leaving my post under such a steady hand." Grudgingly, Edna admitted that Evelyn was a fantastic choice, and that Campus Utqiaġvik could not do much better. But still.

As the applause lifted in the recording, she tapped out of her feed, and noticed a man's trolley was getting away from him, and was about to tip to the side. She quickly lifted up the sagging corner, and smacked the top with her palm. The repulsors coughed in monotone static as they kicked back in, and the hover trolley righted itself. "Thank you!" said the man who was coaxing a sleeping infant back to sleep. "Oh! Chancellor!" said the man, surprised.

"Former Chancellor." Edna smiled. "Just 'Edna' these days." The man chuckled nervously.

"Unless you're one of my students!" She squinted an eye, and pointed at the man. "Then it's Dr. Edna" she laughed. This time, the man laughed too.

"Have a goodnight, Chanc— Edna." The man passed outside into the late afternoon heat. Edna tapped a new trolly, and it hummed slowly up, alongside her.

Walking down the produce aisle, Edna saw that peaches were finally in season, and went to reach for one.

"Chancellor?" Edna turned around to see Press Secretary Earl Fechhelm. "It's good to see you," said Earl.

"Secretary Fechhelm, it's great to see you too. And remember — just Edna now" she smiled warmly. "I'm surprised you're here, I thought you'd still be at the gala?"

"No, my mother is ill," said Earl, "so I'm bringing her some soup on my way home. Well it was —"

They both started as their Feed's chime with an emergency alert, nobody else appeared to notice, but Edna and Earl both glazed as they accessed their feeds. The Secretary of Labor had sent a briefing on the ongoing worker strike at the protein synthesis plant. The negotiation between the union and the government had reached a critical point, and the government administration was being notified in case there were any disruptions.

Earl is surprised to see that Edna was included in the update. Edna noticed — and thinks to herself "Damn right you still need this woman."

The briefing continued "...Finally, given the transition in Chancellor leadership, we have included both the incoming and outgoing administrations. We will keep you updated. Roberts out." Edna blinked, and looked at Earl.

"You might be a bit busier tonight than you expected," said Edna. Earl let out a long sigh.

"That's interesting", thinks Edna. "I wonder whether he has what it takes to do this job day in and day out." Her mind wanders to thinking of how tumultuous the past 50 years have been for Campus Utqiaġvik. The failure of the Federal government, then the collapse of state authority... In Alaska, at least, only the Native Corporations had the infrastructure — both human and physical — to persist. Then, the rise of the polar university city-states, and ... ah. Edna realized she had mentally wandered off a bit.

Edna waved as Earl said a goodbye, and quickly began speaking to his new Team. Edna moved on to get those newly delivered peaches. Edna heard a buzz in her Feed, and saw an alert that the Secretary of Food Security had sent a new message to the list... She realized that she might need to remind the powers-that-be that she should be kept *out* of the loop now. Strange that. Had Edna sought a third term, it would have been possible, but.... No. While she was distracted, apparently on reflex, Edna had already punched in a brief message about the ongoing negotiations to her counterparts in Inuit Nunangat, in case there were unforeseen challenges in food distribution in the coming weeks. She caught herself, and laughed. As she deleted the message, she saw Earl walking back toward her.

"Hi Chancel— sorry, Edna — While you're here, do you have any comments that you would like to add to the press release?" Edna smiled, and considered how quickly the correct words swirled into her mind. "We must protect the community we have built, and the entire Alaskan family. This includes protecting workers rights and fair wages, across Campus Utqiaġvik. Indeed the nature of our unique civic and educational project is people, not profit." Blah blah blah. She smiled, and the words in her mind disappeared. "Thanks Earl, you can say "The Former Chancellor is fully confident in the new administration." Edna smiled wide, and Earl looked pleased. He thanked Edna as he carefully carried a large bulb of chicken soup to the exit.

That, Edna thought, was actually the truth. She looked down at her empty cart and realized that all she really wanted anyway was a frozen pizza, a large bulb of wine, and to watch a good movie tonight. So she kept the two peaches she already grabbed, and walked to the frozen food aisle. She fished out her favorite brand of inexpensive frozen veggie pizza, and a bulb of her favorite, though very expensive, Athabascan wine. When she reached the exit, she heard a chirp in her Feed and the flash of her receipt.

As the sun disappeared, the humidity had dissipated and the outside air was cool on her face. The rotating sigil of Campus Utqiaġvik appeared in her Feed. Apparently the press release had been sent out already. Her instinct was to read it, but instead, she archived it, looked out at the city around her, and sighed contentedly. The markers of the past half century were clear. The husks of the abandoned oil refineries and processing plants had been turned into public art exhibitions — and even a kids playpark — though she'll never understand how people can actually *play* on those repulsor fields. The strange floodable buildings with adaptive foundations, the permafrost melt canals, and the too-warm air. The future of Campus Utqiaġvik was in good hands, and thankfully they weren't hers' any longer.

Edna smiled as she walked home.

2. Nanook Station

Dispatch #42.

The Nanook Station scientists might suspect something. I will be as detailed as I can in this briefing, since I may have to be quiet for some time.

As of July 1, the new station lead from Aarhus University, referred to as KL, has shaken up the researchers' rotations, changed the monitoring protocols for the polar bear neural lace program, and brought an external Assessor, to, as they told the crew, determine why the station budget has gone up so much in the last two years. However, the real purpose of the Assessor's visit will be made clear below.

A brief background. The position of the station on the western side of Devon Island is such that it provides maximum opportunity for the polar bears to access thickening sea ice throughout the Queen Elizabeth Islands, while staying close to the engineered salmon fishery and the nearby monitoring stations. The salmon fishery is a subject of continual discussion at the station, as wild spawning has only been successful for the past 5 years. Several of the scientists are skeptical that it will actually become permanent given the ongoing, highly variable fluctuations of the seasonal climate. Yet, KL is behaving as though it is guaranteed. The combined genetic manipulation and neural manipulation of the polar bears also appears successful. The modification of the polar bear genome to mimic certain brown bear traits, as well as the manipulation of neurotransmitter activities via the neural lace program, have been confirmed by polar bears hunting in rivers unlike any behavior observed in the past. I have also independently confirmed this via drone clouds. <<Personal comment: seeing polar bears hunting in rivers is among the more disturbing and uncanny things I have seen. >>

Since the station itself is a research partnership between the two public organizations, International Polar Bear Alliance and the Arctic Institute of North America, it lacks robust security and has no deterrence capabilities. The surface portion of the base is heavily camouflaged to appear as part of the landscape, and the underwater portion is designed for thermal and physical resilience to the enormous physical changes that occur seasonally. KL is notably trying to improve some of these aspects of security, but I can confidently say this will go nowhere given the scientist's reticence to add any complication to their routines. Entry and exit is possible above and below the water surface, and the updated access codes are appended to this message.

The purpose of my mission is to monitor the ongoing success of the scientists' efforts to insert a neural lace into a large mammal. The progress of the last two years continues, despite no mention of this work to any public agency or scientific organization. Last week, I observed a message sent from lead engineer TD, to KL. This message contained standard updates about uplink efficiencies, and neurotransmitter manipulations.

However, it also contained an update for the Assessor about the open channels to unknown off-station recipients.

This is where I learned that the Assessor is not actually an accountant from the University of Calgary. The Assessor, is a forensic computer scientist tracing access and flow of data around the polar bear neural lace program. Apparently, KL was put on this project to identify the source of the leak of the polar bear neural lace information. While we have accessed the neural lace program via different methods, I am concerned that the station leadership will become more aggressive in their search methods. I am certain that no one has found my backdoors to the neural lace program. Yet, if they search hard enough, they will.

I will not remove the access points that I have established, despite the risk it poses. If I am discovered, I will burn my trail and depart, one way or another.

However, given that you may not hear from me again for sometime, I recommend three things to consider as your next course of action.

First, the acceleration of our own research is at a critical point. Given that there is no public knowledge of the Nanook Station neural lace program, we can still be the first mover on this.

Second, KL does not know who the recipient of the station leak is. I have begun my own investigation and increased the number of network monitors in position, but I must tread lightly. Especially now that the Assessor is here. I recommend that we use the bulk download of communications traffic data (attached) to triangulate the destination of the neural lace data, and shut them down. We can not afford for another company to gain an advantage in R&D for their own neural lace programs.

Third, Nanook Station may come under aggressive oversight, if not full takeover, sooner rather than later — and not from our hidden competitors. The refugee crisis that is overwhelming some parts of Nunavut continues to expand northward into the Arctic Archipelago, and may soon consume Devon Island as well. The existence, and success, of a salmon fishery is soon to bring many unwanted fishermen. This will either be preceded or followed by Royal Canadian Naval forces. Until now, Canada has given Nanook Station special treatment, but if the salmon become a flashpoint for conflict, then armed forces will either be stationed onsite or take over operations for the safety of the scientific mission. If this happens, enhanced security review may find me out, and steps may have to be taken.

3. Security Detail

"Good morning and welcome back for day number six of the 2078 Arctic Council Committee Members Meeting." A Danish man looked around the large auditorium with a sparkle of excitement in his eyes as he addressed the crowd. "May the record please state that the local time here in Nuuk, Greenland is 8:03 in the morning on July 27th, 2078. Arctic countries and observers, today's date may very well be remembered in history." The room lightly applauded at the introduction.

"Please," Kjell, a Norwegian Arctic Council representative, barely whispered to Britt, his associate. "I thought that's what they were saying about the last five days."

Else Larsen suppressed a laugh from where she stood at attention behind the Norwegian politicians. As their security agent, she had gotten to know Kjell and Britt quite well in the last week or so and enjoyed Kjell's sense of sarcasm. He'd crack jokes just loud enough for her to hear; however, she had taken an oath before getting assigned her position, swearing to remain professional, and most important, silent, when the Council was in session.

The Danish spokesman continued. "Thank you all for joining us again for another day as we work towards the monumental decision concerning the non-Arctic observer country of China and their request to join the Arctic Council as a Member State. This decision ultimately lies with the eight current Member states. This morning, we will once again invite each Arctic country to please summarize their supportive and opposing arguments, as well as their decision."

The past three days had all started the exact same: Member States expressed their opinion and got the opportunity to state whether they support, oppose, or are currently undecided about China becoming a Member State.

Not a single country had chosen a side yet.

However, Arctic Council meetings had historically lasted between one to two days, depending on the year. Now that they were starting Day 6, there was an air of impatience creeping into the room as everyone waited for the current Member states to finally take a stance on China's status.

Else didn't mind though. Her bosses had informed her of the importance of this decision and that, at the worst, she should prepare to be on assignment for weeks. She was hoping that her diligence and dedication to the security of Kjell and the other Norwegian representatives would not go unnoticed.

"I would like to remind you that the Arctic Council makes decisions through a consensus between all Member States. This does not mean that all eight of your countries need to end at the same vote, but a decision will ultimately need to be made that can be agreed upon by all of you.

"May a representative from the United States please start us off." The spokesman stepped away from the microphone and sat down at a table in the front row of the auditorium.

She had never been to the U.S., but Else thought it might be a nice place to visit eventually, with all of their historic, creaky skyscrapers and such. When she was studying in college, she would watch movies with the President's Secret Service staff to keep her inspiration high, dreaming that one day she could serve and protect people as prestigious as a national president.

The American representative addressed the crowd in what Else assumed to be English. Else couldn't help but stare as his mouth formed shapes and words in a language that was completely unfamiliar to her. Nobody else in the room seemed phased. As she continued to watch, though, a clear, automated voice began in her ear, translating the representative in real time in proper Norwegian. The words "Active Automatic Interpretation" flicked on in red both above the American's head and on the bottom corner of her glasses, indicating that her earpiece was also working. *Look at the technology invested in this event*, she thought to herself.

After talking of world superpowers and Chinese prosperity, he came to the end of his speech. "On behalf of the United States of America, Member of the Arctic Council through the ownership of Arctic land in Alaska, and with the support of Indigenous Alaskans, we give our support to China as a Member State of the Arctic Council."

The room hummed with the sounds of muffled whispers and shuffling papers. Else became very alert, scanning the room for any potential threats.

"Finally!" sighed the Finnish representative seated a table over, physically reclining in his chair. "The stalemate is over."

Else continued to look around. Seeing that other representatives also seemed relieved told her that there wasn't any threat of danger, yet the room was full of hurried, frantic body mannerisms that said otherwise. Her lack of political experience felt obvious. She looked to her Norwegian representatives for guidance.

"Sir, why would the United States support China?", asked the newest and youngest Norwegian representatives to Kjell. "I thought the Americans were afraid of China gaining more power. They've already lost the title of World Superpower to China — so, why would the Americans want to support them now?" "Anders, will you pass me the envelope with the declaration in it, please?" Britt whispered, leaning around Kjell to ask the aid on the other side of him without interrupting. Anders bent down from his chair to shuffle through some unorganized papers in his briefcase for a moment before pulling out the envelope. Without looking back up, he passed the envelope to Britt - passing right through Kjell's midsection. When Britt didn't grab the envelope, Anders sat up to find Kjell glaring at him.

"Oh my goodness, sir, I am so sorry!" He pulled his hand back. "I didn't realize where my hand was, I mean no disrespect sir. Please forgive me?" A look of horror was evident on Britt's face as she reached around Kjell's projection to grab the envelope, avoiding eye contact with the aid.

Kjell rolled his eyes in annoyance at the aid's faux paux. "Sanctions," he replied to the young representative's earlier question. "Even at an event like this, there is always the fear of sanctions. The U.S. is already in hot water with China. They do not want to be rocking the boat any more than they have to."

"Doesn't that break some sort of Arctic Council code, though? Holding another country's vote against them like that?"

"I don't know that they'd actually do it. But the fear was probably enough for the Americans. Honestly? I'm just thankful that someone had the nerve to finally voice an opinion on this thing."

Following the lead of the United States, Russian representatives declared their support of China as a Member State, pointing to China as the reason for their massive economic boom with deep appreciation.

"Thanks to the fully Chinese-funded Arctic spaceports back in the '40s, we have seen the largest financial and technological acceleration in Russian history. This historical work from more than three decades ago allowed the Arctic to help the lunar colony to establish itself completely and begin trade with Earth. China brought ports and trade to the Russian Arctic, even employing our local people to build them. We feel that, because of the prosperity they've brought to our land, it is only right that they get to help make Arctic decisions as well."

Neither Else nor the new Norwegian representative needed that decision explained. As the Russian representative took their seat, an Icelandic representative stood. Else recognized the man. A few days back, there had been a midday break in the meeting and Else found herself with twenty minutes and no responsibilities. She went outside to get some air when a group of representatives had walked past her on the sidewalk. "I mean just look at that! Your parents ever tell ya about how they used to have to use big claw machines to move materials around when constructing a building?" Else overheard one of them say as they approached.

"You mean the ones where there had to be a person driving the machine too?", laughed the second.

"Yeah exactly. I mean, I get it, we can't really know what China would do as a Council Member. But look at all the shiny new stuff we've gotten from them before they're even a Member! Imagine what we'll get...." The group passed Else and were soon out of earshot.

"The Arctic state of Iceland is still weighing the implications of China becoming a member state. If the majority can reach an agreement, then Iceland will vote with the majority." When the representative from Iceland stated that his country was still undecided, Else was shocked. She had *heard him* talking as if China's member status was already declared. She couldn't understand why they wouldn't just state their support now, like everyone else.

The representatives from both Canada and Denmark, on behalf of Greenland, expressed deep concern about China being the only Member State without any land at risk.

"Decisions about the Arctic are inherently important to Arctic states because they have land in the game. What stakes does China have if their land *and* their population aren't at risk with every vote cast?"

The indigenous Inuit representative from Greenland also spoke, questioning China's concern for the environmental degradation that had already occurred when they'd expanded their trading capacity into the Arctic. Remote, pristine coastlines had been destroyed for shipping ports; pollutants from the ports seeped into local ecosystems, causing mutations in the native wildlife; and when the sea ice in the lower parts of the Arctic Circle completely stopped freezing over in wintertime, China used it as an opportunity to move more ships rather than ring any climate alarms. She questioned if China would be willing to consider past, present, and future environmental harm that they are directly causing in the Arctic if they are to become a Member State.

Even with all of these concerns, all countries had made it clear over the past few days that they couldn't just ignore the incredible opportunities that China had brought them. Shipping ports had been built in all Arctic states, connecting them to global trade networks like never before. This brought goods, jobs, a booming economy, and lifted many workers from poverty around the world. With countries becoming so interconnected and dependent on one another, they began to hold the other to higher standards. Nicer products meant careful labor, bringing both a pay increase and better work conditions to laborers around the world. No one could really complain about that.

Britt stood up, turning and glancing at Else. It was time. Else followed Britt up the stairs, and as they neared the podium, Else took position a few feet behind her. Kjell was instantly projected in front of the podium standing next to Britt.

"My Arctic colleagues," Kjell started into the microphone. "As the past days have shown us, there are far more questions than answers at this point in time. Just a few representatives are expected to make a decision that may ultimately change the course of the Arctic, and the world, forever. Many of us are probably wondering: what happens if we make the wrong decision?... *Is* there a wrong decision?" Kjell looked around the room at each representative.

"With a 'yes' vote, this would make the world's largest superpower the first non-Arctic country to join the Arctic Council. What *else* will we allow them to be the first to do? These may be good firsts or bad firsts, but either way, the weight of this decision is immense." Britt flipped to the next sheet of paper on the podium for him.

"On behalf of Norway, in collaboration with the other Scandonavian states and with the support of the entire Nordic region, we have decided to take the leap and support China in whatever their next 'first' will be." The room erupted into noise once again; Else at least knew enough to expect it this time. When the Finnish and Swedish representatives took the stage and backed Kjell's statement, the room broke into applause.

The Danish spokesman took the stage again. "For those of you not keeping track, that means five out of eight member states have announced a positive supporting vote! We will take a break to process all that has happened today, and then I will leave it up to Iceland, Canada, and Denmark to make their closing statements. Remember: we do not need all eight countries to vote 'yes', but we do need an outcome to be discussed and agreed upon by all members. We will see you all back in here at 30 minutes past noon." As the room slowly emptied, Else began to make her way out.

"With Iceland, that's six votes."

Else looked around, unsure where the words came from; she couldn't help but notice the Chinese representatives hunched together and whispering. There was no "Active Automatic Interpretation" light on their table. *I shouldn't be able to understand them*, Else thought to herself, dismissing the idea. However, the dialogue continued.

"And you know that Denmark will vote with the rest of the Nordic countries now. That just leaves Canada," to which many voices laughed in time with the shaking shoulders of the Chinese representatives. It was then that Else noticed the red interpretation light was still on in the corner of her glasses.

"...so what's our next step?" One asked in Mandarin, though Else heard perfectly-timed Norwegian in her ear.

"We've already been over this," another representative began. "We know we have full Arctic support at this point. Why agree to a binding membership? We know that protecting the environment is their main concern, now that we've secured all of them economically. So as long as we set environmental regulations but keep up the good work, they'll want to collaborate with us into the future. It's really a win-win."

As Else walked out of the room, she couldn't help but think about what this could mean. *Others should definitely know about this,* she thought to herself. If she were an Arctic Council representative, she would want full information before making a big decision like this.

4. The Last Preserve

It was *cold*. That's how they knew they were getting close. It wasn't the same cold of a long, arctic winter night, but rather that chill you get when you walk into an underground cellar. It was an empty, almost eerie type of cold. The low-hanging, dreary clouds weren't helping.

School kids of all ages were in the process of bundling themselves in thick puffy down jumpsuits with the words "Canadian Archipelago Tours" embroidered across the chest. Everyone had been handed a suit as they loaded onto the high speed glider ship. Elementary teachers helped pull zippers and fasten boot laces for the youngest of the children, their eyes glowing in anticipation.

"Maybe this year I'll get to see a real whale! Not just a picture, but like a real, big whale!"

"Yeah, right!" One child scoffed. "My mom told me she only ever saw a whale once, and it wasn't even a whole whale. It was just the top part spraying water all over the place."

An automated female voice cut through everyone's thoughts. "It is time to finish the last of your preparations, we are almost at our destination. Please take your assigned seats along the deck of the ship." The youngest children mindlessly scratched at their ears. The speaker implants were governmentally approved to be inserted before the first day of primary school. It took some students longer than others to adjust to the permanent earphone.

The ship was cutting so fast through the water that it felt as if everyone was still standing on the Yukon coastline. As it began to slow, the oldest students, that of middle and high school age, found their seats while teachers herded the youngest to their chairs. The force of the waves swayed the ship side to side as they decelerated. All of the chairs began facing the bow of the ship.

Like a permanent fence arising out of the cold arctic water, reinforced steel beams with flashing orbs on top stretched out horizontally in front of them. The captain steered the ship through an opening in the fence. The nearest fence post to the gate had a steel platform with a small metal shelter sitting above the waves. Guards were permanently stationed here. One stood at a window in full military gear and nodded as the boat passed by. Onboard, the captain cut the ship's engine.

"Hello and welcome!", the voice began again in everyone's ear implant. "We are excited to have you onboard with us this morning. We ask that you listen to our directions very carefully to ensure a pleasant and memorable experience of the Arctic Archipelago Bubble Experiment, or the AABE." In a more serious tone, the voice said, "please remain in your seats the entire duration of the tour. Once we are back outside of the gates, you may move about the ship as you please. The ship may rock suddenly, so keep your lap belt on as well." Some of the children laughed, knowing that the waves hitting the ship was one of the best parts of the entire trip.

The ship drifted forward through the water. Through the spraying mist of the ocean waves, a glow was visible in the distance. In a lighter tone, the voice continued, "feel free to ask any questions that come to mind. Whether this is your first trip or your thirteenth, there is always something new to learn about the AABE! Sit back, relax, and let the sights amaze you." The high school students had been on the AABE field trip so many times, they could practically recite the opening announcements themselves.

Schools were the only groups that received annual governmental funding to go see the Arctic Archipelago Bubble Experiment. Everyone else either had to have an enormous amount of money to pay for the private cruise, or just couldn't go after they graduated from high school. The Canadian government claimed something about always having the money for children to see the power of humanity.

As the glow up ahead grew closer, it became clear that the source was high in the sky and reflecting down. The voice started in everyone's ear again. "First, we'll begin today with a brief history lesson. The year was 2026. Global carbon emissions were high, places around the world were beginning to experience greater temperature changes and massive storms, but people still disagreed about the reality of climate change. Scientists had been ringing the warning bell for years, but it did not matter: people were too comfortable to change. If only they knew what was to come."

The voice paused, letting that sink in.

"At the time, a group of excited, young scientists had an idea: if people needed the motivation to change, maybe they needed to be shown the potential consequences of their actions."

"We needed to do something, anything," a recording of an interview with an elderly man began in their ears. "As scientists, we knew we needed a relic, something to show people around the world that climate change was worth fighting for. Numbers and graphs just weren't doing it."

"It started embarrassingly small. We used glass containers and filled them with plants, soil, microbes, and water. We'd seal the jar, put it in a sunny window, and then the jar would be able to survive all on its own with no outside inputs. We manipulated jars with increased temperatures to represent the real world as it was in the 2020's and you'd see the plants eventually die due to heat exposure. This was huge!"

But the old man laughed. "Of course, people didn't care! It's just a jar with some plants. It didn't matter that the plants, which convert the sun's energy to sugar, were the things we were relying on to fix climate change. It didn't matter that they were dying because it

was too hot for them to handle. The research didn't even make it to mainstream news. No one cared."

An elderly woman began to speak. "We knew we had to make things real. Our research had to be personal and actually matter to people. So we took our jar idea to a whole new scale.

"What if we put a *place* in a jar', one of our colleagues had asked us. We laughed at the ridiculousness of the idea at the time, but it was kind of our only hope. So we pondered the idea and, almost jokingly, began listing places to trap in a jar."

"Well I love my hometown, we could preserve that," one voice said.

"New York City, in a bubble!" said another.

"The Bahamas, so we could vacation whenever we wanted."

The old woman began again. "The jokes turned more serious though, as we began to think about a place like the tropics. Sea level rise and rising temperatures would surely affect these places, likely in our lifetime. Maybe trying to preserve a place like that wouldn't be so bad. Maybe a rescue mission was what we needed."

A clear wall appeared in front of the ship. It was nearly invisible, except for the waves crashing hard from the outside, and subtle, smooth lapping waves moving on the inside. The wall looked to be made of glass, though it was much stronger than that. Analogous to chain link fencing, nano-mesh was an extremely thin reinforced sheet of steel with microscopic threads, making it invisible to the human eye. This, blended into military-strength plastic, acted as the shell of the bubble and kept the outside world completely separate from the AABE.

The ship turned hard to the left and moved along the transparent wall. All chairs on the ship automatically turned to face the wall. Inside, the bright orb up above was shining right up to the wall, but it's light didn't pass to the outside, creating a sharp contrast with the dreary weather that the boat passengers were experiencing.

Past the waves, a rugged coastline could be seen. Almost immediately beyond the coast, white-topped mountains stood tall and jagged. Every year, the school students took in the sight of the archipelagos, having never seen anything like it before. Their hometown in the Canadian Yukon, a remote and quiet place in previous generations, was now bustling with people and cityscapes. These boat trips were the most wild places that any of the students knew of.

The female scientist continued. "We decided that we wanted to rescue a place that was one of a kind and at severe risk of global climate change. But logistics kept popping up for every place we'd think of."

The voice of an interviewer asked, "how about a tropical island like the Bahamas?"

"Too many people, both locals and vacationers," the scientist responded.

"Okay, how about Antarctica. There are no people there."

"We'd interrupt too many scientific experiments that had been going on for decades. Who were we to say that our experiment was more important than all of those?"

"Well what about the Amazon Rainforest? Northern Alaska?"

"There's too much politics in the Amazon. We'd 'prevent too much economic growth'. Alaska was similar, although that idea did get us thinking."

The voice of the elderly male scientist started speaking again. "So here we were, with a brilliant idea and nowhere to put it, when one of our colleagues went on a Northern Canadian cruise. He called us up immediately. 'There's no one living on the north-westernmost islands above Canada, there's really little going on up there at all. Some of the Queen Elizabeth Islands, like King Christian, Borden, and Brock, are totally uninhabited! Just mountains, fragile arctic ecosystems, ice, and at-risk species. This could be it.' Man, when we heard that, we jumped on it."

"It took a lot of work and far more logistics than I care to go into. But construction started four years later, thanks to support from First Nations communities. Without them and their passion for these lands, we probably wouldn't have gotten anywhere."

"We had a plan: build in 360 degrees around the archipelago, and make sure that it is self-sustaining. This means everything needed to be inside the bubble, from the seafloor to a renewable source of sunlight. We couldn't risk anything. Opposition was high, but we had a point to prove."

As the boat toured along the outside of the clear wall, sea birds could be seen flying inside high in the sky. One soared across the ocean surface, swooping to grab a giant cod.

The original female narrator's voice spoke up. "And prove a point they did. Now, after nearly 50 years of confinement, the Arctic Archipelago Bubble Experiment remains the most diverse and ecologically-intact place on this Earth. What were once ecosystems at risk of sea level rise and ice melt continue to flourish today, the glaciers have been preserved, and the one-of-a-kind landscape has been protected from the human hand." One child turned to their friend. "So I guess I still just don't quite get it... If someone figured out how to save this area, why didn't they know how to save the rest of the world?"

The sights of the Canadian Archipelago moved past the ship. The stark contrast between the empty, quiet of this place and the bustle of their home city were startling. A mass migration northward had occurred a decade or two after the AABE was built. As the threat of rising sea levels and warming temperatures began to sink in, people moved away from the tropics and towards cooler climates. They expected the once harsh, cold conditions to eventually turn temperate. And they were right. Many of the students' grandparents had moved from the United States up into Canada, toughing out the cold winters in order to experience more mild summers.

Meanwhile, tropical storms, high temperatures, and high humidity near the equator were creating a sort of cycling pattern. They were causing mass destruction and the worst storms ever recorded in human history, one after another.

Those fortunate enough to be able to ignore it all lived business-as-usual, so as temperatures rose and harsh storms increased around the world, they just kept moving north. Cities began popping up across much of northern Canada. Though winters in the Yukon were not extremely pleasant, they were much more comfortable than they had been throughout much of the earlier parts of the century.

"Will we ever get to go inside?", a younger student asked.

A ship assistant wearing the same puffy jumpsuit as the students spoke up. "The Bubble Experiment is completely sealed off. It reaches high enough in the sky to mimic a multilayered atmosphere, as well as low enough into the Earth to permit natural geological processes below. The Bubble is like the jars from the original experiment: completely sealed with nothing coming in or out. No person, animal, or molecule will ever pass through the walls."

The boat turned away from the glass and headed south towards the gate to exit the massive fence and head back to the Yukon coast. All of the chairs rotated around to face the bow of the ship again. The female narrator spoke again. "Canadian Archipelago Tours would like to thank you for joining us today on this journey to the past. May this site of both scientific and historic significance be a reminder of what we once had, what we still have, and what is left to fight for."

As the ship exited the fence, it gained speed and the rocking of the waves was no longer noticeable. "The Arctic Archipelago Bubble Experiment may be the greatest legacy that humans have ever left. May we never forget it," the older students mumbled along with the female narrator as she wrapped up.

5. Concession 60

"I think we're almost there." said Esther "Maybe just another day or two." Misha smiled. This was their daily game. Walk 15 miles through the wilderness of northern Canada, and speculate about their unknown destination.

"Dangerous area to walk through" said a man's voice behind Misha, and a twig cracked underneath her foot as she turned.

NOW ARRIVING, CONCESSION 60, BLOCK 4.

Misha snapped awake. Carefully watching her pockets, as she exited the packed Loop, and followed the crowd of gray clad workers down the platform. Nobody rushing to get to work, the slow, measured steps shuffling the same, well-trod path toward the Pits. A few drones floated together overhead, almost as though they were on a smoke break, seeking idle conversation.

A push from her side shook Misha to her senses, as she realized she had stopped to look at the drones. Almost all at once a flash of light shone from the badges of the uniforms, and the red and white of C60 flashed to the blue and yellow of Concession 31.

"Another hostile takeover..." muttered someone from behind her, a tall black woman. "None of these Kleptos can hold onto anything..."

Misha panicked a little. What would this mean for her contact? — now that C31 was in charge of this Pit... She had heard about these takeovers, when one mining or oil company seized the assets of another, but she'd never actually seen it happen.

"Sorry — what does this mean?" Misha, concern noticeable in her voice, asked the woman behind her.

The woman gave Misha a long look, then sighed. "A whole heap of nothing." the woman said. "You must be new?" the woman gave an appraising look.

"Yes. Signed my Contract two weeks ago," said Misha.

"Well", continued the woman. "This happens often enough. Things flash to a different Klepto, and nothing happens. We were C42 for a whole week once, I liked the silver and gold that time." the woman smiles, but then "We were back to C60 before anything actually changed. Don't let it bother you." The woman patted her shoulder once, and brushed past Misha to catch up with someone else.

The crowd neared the entrance to the Pits, and groups started branching toward different arched corridors. Misha headed toward Pit 32, with the four other members of today's crew, and they each looked up at the entry arch. The arch scanned their eyes, keeping track of every single entry to the Pit. It chirped a digital "Have A Safe Day!" to everyone who walked underneath the arch.

Misha reached her arms into the next available set of sleeves, kept unbelievably clean given the permanent grime covering everything else. The sleeves purred mechanically, then the interlocking sections pressed comfortably around her arms, and the holo projector in her eye registered the connection to her medial nerve. She realized today was the first time she didn't notice the sleeves going slave.

A voice shouted from the up ahead, "Hey OREO! Let's go". Misha hustled to join the elevator with the rest of her crew, descending to her mine.

Nobody really spoke in the lift. Just like there was no rush to get to the arches, everyone was clearing their minds for the day's work ahead. Misha, closed her eyes, breathed slowly and cleared her head, just like she was instructed to do.

With a blast of stale, cool air, the elevator opened. Misha looked into the irregular cavern ahead, and saw the five seats, improbably small in the dim cavern. Yesterday was so claustrophobic, she nearly had a panic attack. She wasn't looking forward to the leg cramps though. After walking all day, every day, for nearly 2 years, her legs preferred to move.

They each took a seat, facing away from one another, and carefully placed their arms in the armrests. Misha began the activation sequence, and she could feel a part of her mind go elsewhere. She closed her own eyes, and heard the gentle, metallic snik as the swarms enclosed in her sleeves woke up and began seeking promising signatures in the rock. She remembered the explanation from her trainer that the swarm intelligence wasn't actually inside her head, it was just leveraging the raw power of the human brain to perform complex computations. But it still felt like the swarm was in her mind.

As she lay back, and let the swarm do its work, her mind wandered. OREO. What a funny name. She used to love oreos growing up. Concession 60 specialized in rare earth elements, as did most mining companies in The North. Searching deep in the crust for exploitable ores, she sat here, an operator looking for rare earth ore. OREO.

Screw those trainers — she just felt the swarm in her mind, something like excitement.. Sure enough, two seconds later her disp showed a seam of lithium ahead. She relaxed as the swarm went to work, and her mind wandered elsewhere.

Another twig cracked, then thwack... she felt the pain in the back of her head as she hit the ground. Then the sting of the slap to her face. Before she could do anything, before

the guy could do anything there was a blast. The guy crumpled forward, and Misha heard two more shots as Esther took care of the other one.

"You good?" Esther asked. "Misha, are you good?".

Misha shook her head - mechanically agreeing but then she started shaking.

"What the hell is wrong with her?" A voice to Misha's side woke her up. She was in her chair, a mile below the surface. "Med alert. We may have another scramble."

"I'm fine." Misha said. "Just a nightmare"

"Nice try." said the woman who had called the med alert, apparently the crew leader. "But your swarm responds to your mind. Stress for you - stress for them. Come back when you're unscrambled and you've been cleared."

Misha started to protest, but she knew they were right. She called back her swarm, and walked toward the lift. The smudged 'up' button didn't respond until she looked at the arch, which chirped and the door slid open.

As she ascended, she closed her eyes, and her mind wandered back to her dream.

"I want to go back!" yelled Misha as Esther held her. "I can't do this anymore." Misha sobbed into her palms. Esther took Misha's head in her hands, and looked into her eyes. "You can go on. You will. " said Esther softly. "We do what we have to do to survive."

Misha came back to herself, as the lift doors opened.

Up top, she left the sleeves to be cycled, and her disp connected to the net and directed her to a nearby private booth. As she sat there, the C31 colors flashed proudly, and were replaced by a concerned, female face. "Good morning, Misha Park. You appear to have experienced an elevated heart rate during your most recent session. What happened, may I ask?"

Misha knew the drill. Lying wouldn't work with these sensors. "Fell asleep, had memories of the road. Bad ones."

"I understand. I'm sorry to hear that." The female voice *sounded* concerned. "As a Contracted Migrant Laborer of C31, we care about your health. But we need you operating at peak capacity. You are lucky - not everyone's mind is suited to the mental load of navigating a mining swarm." the therapist's voice switched to a more commanding tone. "Please find your prescribed medication in the tray below." Misha saw a packet of pills drop down. "As a courtesy, we added the cost directly to your account.

Please medicate promptly, as your team has missed your contribution." The head winked out, and Misha stared down at her palm.

Misha dry swallowed the pills, and went back to her arch. She resleeved, took the lift down, and was back in her chair. The whole thing took less than 60 minutes. Settling back down she let her mind go blank, and let the swarm go once more. This time, the medicine helped her stay clear headed. And - apparently many hours later - she found she had exceeded her quota when the shift chime signaled the end of the day.

"Nice work MP." One of the crew mates gave her a smile, apparently referencing the two letters on her lapel. Misha nodded back, but didn't smile. No time for friends. Not yet.

They made their way back up. This time, though, the people were relaxed, smiling, chatting a little - knowing that their brains could rest for the next few hours.

On the Loop back to their barracks, Misha looked up and saw a faded poster. "The Top Minds Guarantee Mining Superiority", then a line of Migrant contract workers standing in a row, sleeves on. But no one navigated standing up. Dumb.

Misha saw another poster, of a shining city by the water. "Complete your contract and join us in Sea City!" A happy crowd ate at a restaurant, in the free, clean air. Somewhere sunny. But, more than anything, the image looked to Misha like something she hadn't felt in years. Safe.

She closed her eyes.

Misha felt the cool earth beneath her. Esther's voice spoke to Misha, but again, Misha couldn't reply. "Don't look back. Get to the coast. Sign a contract. Start over. You have to keep going. For both of us."

NEXT STOP. BARRACKS #6.

Misha looked around. She wasn't the only one that had dozed off. As she stood to exit, her tags flashed, and changed back to C60.

6. Putin's Gambit

The name Yermak Timofeyevich means little to Western ears, but he is a legendary Russian figure, found in countless poems, novels, movies, and plays. Yermak, a Cossack, was a brigand and river pirate for much of his life, robbing and murdering Russian citizens up and down the Volga river for decades. However, none of his villainous past mattered when, in 1582, he wrote his name onto the fabric of Russia.

Thirty-five years after Ivan the Terrible founded the Tsardom of Russia, Yermak was hired by an affluent merchant family to invade Asia on behalf of the tsar. After less than a year at the front of a preposterously small army of 840 men, he succeeded in defeating Kuchum, the fearsome Khan of Sibir, in battle and took the capital city of Qashliq. Although it eventually cost him his life, Yermak is credited in folklore with winning the "conquest of Siberia," and as such, is beloved by the Russian people. Why? Because this pragmatic strongman, by acting boldly, violently, and with a political savvy not dissimilar to the *realpolitik* of the modern era, grew the lands of the Rus by more than a third. He gambled and won, and for it, Yermak was all but canonized in the Russian mythos.

This story, however, is not about a Russian hero of old. It is not about a great Russian victory known to every schoolchild in Russia. This story takes place over 450 years later. Long after those same Siberian lands conquered by Yermak were found to contain the most bountiful oilfieds in all of Russia. This story is about the fate of that oil.

This is History Hiccups with Vas Melnyck!

So, how did the world's largest exporter of natural gas and the second largest exporter of oil collapse, almost overnight? This is the story of The January Collapse. Today you will learn about the secret dealings that conspired to bring about the collapse of the last vestiges of Soviet-era Russia.

We all remember from KhanU history class that the end of fossil fuels in the 2030s, shook things up around the world. Right? We all know this. We also all know that some of the biggest losers from this change were the fossil fuel bigwigs, Saudi Arabia, Australia, and even the United States. But of course, one of the biggest, Russia, had in some ways the farthest to fall.

But why? Here we unpack how a handful of very consequential decisions by Russia's president during the first half of the 21st century, Vladimir Putin, failed to anticipate where the rest of the world was headed.

First, you probably remember the Russian attacks on Ukraine in the 2010s and 2020s. Now, even though a bunch of countries around the world said Russia should stop, and even deployed economic sanctions, Russia didn't stop. Right? Why would it? It wanted Crimea, so it took Crimea. It wanted access to the land that would allow it to transport natural gas through Ukraine without any problems, so it took the land. This is no surprise. Nor is it disputed.

And most of these decisions can be traced to the Kremlin in Moscow, and specifically to Vladimir Putin's inner circle.

What this inner circle did not anticipate was how in a matter of a decade starting in 2021, the entire fossil fuel based economy would begin its inevitable death spiral. Now of course hindsight is 20/10, but the signing into law of the Glasgow Global Climate Treaty among the biggest economies in the world at the time, that is the United States and China, sent metaphorical earthquakes and aftershocks throughout the global economy. Namely, it signaled to fossil fuels that their time was over and that the plug was about to be pulled on the highly profitable subsidies and legal allowances the industry had received pretty much forever.

Despite this, Putin and his crew were looking the other way, perhaps backwards, hoping that this was just a blip, and the world would come crawling back to fossil fuels.

History doesn't always have a specific definitive event that separates the past very cleanly from the future. In this case however history is amenable, and the Prirazlomnoye Incident is this punctuation mark that ends one era. What was the Prirazlomnoye Incident? Find out after this message from our sponsors...

TRYING TO FINISH THAT REMOTE CONSTRUCTION JOB, AND YOU NEED ONE MORE WEEK TO WRAP IT UP? STUDYING FOR YOUR NEXT BIG KHANU EXAM, AND NEED A FEW DAYS OF FOCUSED ATTENTION? SOUNDS LIKE YOU NEED SNOWSTIMS. THE TRUSTED NAME WHEN YOU NEED TO GET THINGS DONE.

Welcome back. So, Prirazlomnoye. A name that ought to live in infamy, but really doesn't, right? How many of you actually know this name? Like that ancient shot heard around the world, Prirazlomnoye ought to inspire a sense of dread in all those who seek to cling to false hopes. In July, 2051, long after the Glasgow treaty was well into effect in America and China, let alone the rest of the world, Russia was still clinging to fossil fuel extraction. Decades of economic losses, abetted by corruption throughout the government, came to a figurative and literal head in the Arctic oil field, Prirazlomnoye. Originally hailed as Russia's first Arctic oil platform, but not the last, this field was remarkably productive during its lifetime. But, most of the fuel that it extracted languished in extensive remote storage sites throughout Siberia. This was only revealed, after decades of false sales and manipulation of trade information that had buoyed Russia's economy while all the other oil exporters collapsed.

Surprisingly, much of the military establishment had been tricked into thinking that Russia's economy persisted despite all other signals globally that oil was dead. As such, in July of 2051, as China's attempts to purchase the Arctic oil and gas fields from Russia — for its own accelerated space program — the Russian military amassed one of the largest concentrations of destructive capacity at that time. And where was it amassed? None other than Prirazlomnoye.

Why, in the world, would Russia cling to something when China was willing to pay for it? Again, this is a surprising subject of vociferous historical debate. In retrospect, it seems clear that people who had been in power for an entire generation, were simply incredibly deluded. These were people, who liked being in power, who had extended their lives with their wealth, and who were not used to being told that their worldview, indeed their entire way of life, was dead in the water.

Here at History Hiccups we look for the weak signals in history, the evidence of nuance and surprise. And this is why we call this episode Putin's Gambit. We, here at History Hiccups, think that Putin really *did* know what was happening, and had to put on a show. Why? Well everyone around him depended on Russia, that is to say the fossil fuel world, the old world, the world of the 20th century, to make a game-winning play in the last 5 seconds. So even Putin, maybe, was hopeful that the game was still in play.

You know, and I know that the game had ended two decades prior.

So, we have warships and missiles armed and ready to go to defend Russia's interest in the Prirazlomnoye field. Who were they aiming this enormous concentration of military might at? That is the billion yuan question. Now, I am not an expert. I'm not a professor at KhanU, and I have never written a history book. But my guess is that Putin and his group of Kremlin cronies realized that a show of military force could rally his nation around this idea of oil, gas, and the whole fossil fuel world. That a show of might and aggression would somehow produce a reaction in the rest of the world like it used to. This was Putin's Grand Stand.

So what happened? Why *doesn't* Prirazlomnoye ring out in everyone's mind as a turning point in our global future?

Stay tuned after a message from our sponsors...

TIRED OF NOT BEING IN CHARGE OF YOUR OWN LOVE LIFE? DO YOU WANT TO MAKE DECISIONS NOW? NUSEX PROVIDES THE FLUIDITY YOU WANT FOR YOUR LOVE LIFE ON A TIME FRAME THAT IS YOUR'S. GET YOUR IMPLANT AT YOUR NEAREST PARTICIPATING AUTODOC.

So. Here we are at a dramatic climax of this story - or is it actually an anti-climax? As global news outlets reported on the amassing of Russian firepower around the Prirazlomnoye Field, three significant things happened.

First, two anonymous leaks, one each from Gazprom at Rossneft, showed the companies were both not only bankrupt, but had been hemorrhaging their wealth for more than a decade. Only in a country governed by denial would an economic phenomenon like this be possible. Regardless, the global perception of these two anomalous companies somehow clinging to wealth, immediately evaporated.

Second, after these two anonymous leaks, the military establishment in charge of operations, not the oligarchic leadership far away in Moscow, realized they were helming a collection of worthless paper tigers. Immediately, the will to fight evaporated. Apparently there was a limit for too many lies, and Putin's Gambit flew past it.

Third, the subsidiary companies in charge of the Arctic fossil fuel extraction platforms, made a snap decision to sell to the Chinese government buyers. Given the geopolitical, economic, and social clout the Chinese already enjoyed in the 2050s, there was no way the Russian government could backtrack or overrule the final sales.

Thus, three strikes to the core of the Russian state. Economic, military, and reputational.

It is interesting in retrospect, that no one still knows what happened to Putin. That is, an entirely different story, that we sadly do not have time for.

As an aside, here at History Hiccups, it is always shocking how fleeting our memory is of the past. This event, a short 25 years ago, has led to an utter reshaping of the Arctic. Chinese hegemony of the Arctic space economy. A fractured former Russian Federation, with the wildly successful new Eastern states including the Sakha Republic. All stemming from the collapse that occurred during the Prirazlomnoye Incident.

That's it for this week, join us next week for Part 6 of our series, Rise of the Zeks! In this installment we will detail the 2061 student strikes in Murmansk and Saint Petersburg! What happened? Join us to find out!

7. Voice from the Past

"Thank you ministers and representatives for your time this morning," said Minister Kusugak. "I think we are making some progress toward understanding the perspectives of all present."

Perspectives, ha, thought Oolanie to herself. As she looked around the room she saw the familiar equanimous faces of her colleagues in the Inuit Nunangat government. She also saw the faces from the Native Alaskan delegation, and she knew, privately, they were onboard with everything that she had already said that day. And then, Oolanie looked over to the delegation from the Canadian government. Most of them seemed appropriately amenable, though she did note that one younger looking Canadian seemed visibly frustrated. Someone to keep an eye on.

She continued, "We have reached a critical juncture in the negotiation of the Iqaluit Transit Agreement."

As she said this, she noticed that the young Canadian was speaking to his colleague, not loudly enough for her to hear, but certainly loudly enough to be noticeably disruptive. She chose to ignore it.

"Come on, let's have some fun." her Memory whispered. Oolanie smiled, but continued.

"As minister for land water and ice here in Inuit Nunangat, I represent the interests of the indigenous community that has stewarded these lands,... Am I boring you?" Minister Oolanie Kusugak interrupted the young Canadian who had chosen to speak even more loudly this time.

"Well, I wouldn't say boring me" said the self-satisfied young Canadian, "but what I don't understand is how the Inuit Nunangat government can make such expansive claims about these lands. Only recently has your government taken things over from Canada. Now, I think —"

"You think..." interrupted Oolanie, now coldly.

"Yes I think," said the young Canadian, now with more fervor, "That your government needs to be whipped into shape a little."

The senior Canadian delegates suddenly realized who was talking and what was happening. One visibly swore, and the others grimaced knowing what would come next.

Oolanie closed her folder. "I see. Who do you think you are, who knows how this land ought to be managed?"

The young Canadian began to speak, but Oolanie cut them off.

"*That*, as you should have known, was rhetorical. I am not interested in your answer. I'm not sure who is supposed to be holding your leash, but I'm holding it now." Oolanie said. "And I'm going to educate you."

The young Canadian went to speak, but a more Senior Delegate gripped the shoulder of the young Canadian, and told them to be quiet.

"That," Oolanie inclined her head to the Senior Delegate, "Was a piece of wisdom. Let me start with your first comment, that our government has only recently taken over from the Canadians. This of course is embarrassingly short sighted. The Inuit Nunangat government has indeed recently taken control of these lands. Yet this is a return to the historical order." She paused.

"Come on..." said her Memory. Not Yet, thought Oolanie.

"You see a history where Canada has claimed this land for a few hundred years." said Oolanie, "Set that against the thousands of years that my people have inhabited and stewarded this land. Perhaps you choose to go a bit further back to the "discovery" of Rupert's land? Maybe the century or so of extraction from the Hudson's Bay Company? Fine, you explorers and colonizers get a few more decades. But all of that is over now."

The Canadian goes to say something. He is cut off.

"Do not speak." Oolanie's voice has changed, become deeper... sounding older. She feels a sense of letting go, and someone else taking over.

"Whipped into shape, you say? I was *born* on the ice, I can tell you of a life more closely tied to this place, than you can dream of. Whipped into shape? Let me tell you my experience, first hand, of being separated from my parents before I was age 10, where I spent close to a decade in a residential school actually being whipped and beaten for speaking the language of my people." Oolanie paused, the Memory now pouring out of her. "Don't sit there and tell me about how we need to be whipped into shape. Something tells me you have very little idea of what those words mean."

Recognition dawned on the young Canadians' face.

"Yes, you see now." The words tumbled out of Oolanie more quickly. "You see an Inuit woman, and you judge, you preconceive. You can plainly see that I am those things. I am also the Minister of Land, Water, and Ice." She paused, then let go, permitting the Memory Well to pour her ancestor's words out of her mouth. Jeannie Kusugak, Oolanie's great, great grandmother, now spoke through Oolanie, to the assembled audience. Oolanie/Jeannie continued to look at the young Canadian. It may be a trick of the meeting room, or a trick of the ears listening — but two voices seemed to speak in unison. "You are looking into a well of memory. I can remember what this world looked like before climate change. I can remember this place when your rules were violence, dispossession of culture, with no consequences for your theft, rape, and murder. You should be pleased that we the Inuit government are only seeking to steward our domain with justice and equity — rather than seeking vengeance for the past."

The assembly was silent. Perched on the edge of their seats.

"I remember the fights in government, the protests for recognition of our rights, and the slow progress of redress and returning of the lands to our people. Recognition of

Nunavut in 1999. Nunavik in 2055. Inuvialuit in 2061. This is not an aberration, or some new order. This is a return to the way this land was governed long before you ever set foot here."

Oolanie/Jeannie took a deep breath. Inviting an interruption. None came.

"You may claim that you had nothing to do with this. That it was not you, but people who came before you, that perpetrated this literal and figurative violence. But you sit there, on the spoils of history from which you continue to thoughtlessly benefit. I am not interested in any sort of apology, and I don't care for your excuses. It is irrelevant at this point."

Silence. Oolanie paused. Took a breath, and smiled, no longer with bared teeth, but with cold resolve. Although no change was visible, Oolanie closed her Memory Well, for now.

"This is not the end by the way, but the beginning. Our stewardship of these lands will continue and expand, with knowledge and cultural practice connecting into the past, and throughout the world, well beyond the Arctic. Our research and our development produced the technology of the Memory Well. This has allowed our communities to connect to centuries past — accessing first hand, lived-knowledge of how the land was, and how it might be again. We have shared this technology with other indigenous communities, who are similarly connecting their elders to their future leaders."

The visiting delegations from Alaska and Greenland, nod at one another.

Oolanie continued, "And we, as stewards of the pan-Arctic indigenous movement, are advancing Indigenous recognition and land claims throughout the polar regions. We support the Sámi communities, who won independence in 2075, Native Alaskan communities will join us as they separate officially in 2100. And we hope that our Kalaallit Nunaatwill family will join soon."

"So." Oolanie cleared her throat, as though to return to herself.. "The Iqaluit Transit Agreement."

She stared at the group of delegates, focusing her attention on the Canadian senior staff and representatives. She finished with a long look at the young Canadian.

"We have come to this table because *you* requested it. We have offered terms in good faith, terms that are fair, and that respect our view of stewardship of the land, water, and ice."

Oolanie looked to her colleagues momentarily, then they all nodded together.

"We had planned hours of negotiation today, perhaps even going into tomorrow," said Oolanie. "Now — we have decided that we are no longer doing that. The offer that we have made, stands. You may take it or you may leave it."

The Canadian ministers conferred briefly, the young Canadian noticeably excluded, and appearing suitably chastened from the dressing down.

Standing up, the senior Canadian delegate said, "Thank you for sharing your thoughts and your wisdom, Minister Kusugak. The Canadian government officially accepts these terms and we look forward to cooperating with the Inuit Nunangat government."

In Oolanie's mind, Jeannie chuckles, then sighs contentedly.

8. Icebreaker

The wind whipped past Shukhov as he reached over the railing, willing his fingers to connect with Artie's outstretched hand. He could see Artie's grip on the ladder rung slipping. The freshly shaken crushed ice field beneath them showed the black Arctic ocean between tank-sized chunks of ice.

Twenty minutes earlier.

"Absolutely not! That's impossible!" shouted Shukhov.

"What's impossible? The fact that you lost, or that you don't know the rules of the game?" said Artie wryly. "Because I assure you that both are — in point of fact — very possible." Artie smiled, putting his hands behind his head and leaning back on his chair.

Shukhov muttered under his breath.

The digital voice of the Shaker began its countdown. "Resonant Frequency Pulse countdown in 10, 9, 8,...."

"Ah come on, we'll play another game," Artie began to set the board up again.

"...2, 1... Pulse". The room gave a massive shudder, skittering the pieces across the board and onto the floor. "Ah! I didn't even hear that shake coming." exclaimed Artie.

"Me neither —" said Shukhov, "they just blend into the next."

They both fished the last few pieces off the deck, and put them back in the designated box, bolted to the table. Shukhov stretched, and yawned massively. Artie puttered around the room, righting a few things that had been shaken loose, that weren't attached to the tabletops. There was little, however, to pick-up. The routine of keeping things tucked away was beyond habit now. A breakfast pod had tipped on its side, though, spilling its contents on the mess table. Shuhov grabbed a spare rag, and wiped up the mess. He noticed the news was still unfurling across the holo tray "... Officials at the Murmansk Shipyards noted the indiscriminate use of force by Norway, and how the entire fleet docked in Kola Bay was functionally destroyed. Citizens have called for a response, and the President was heard saying Russian flags will soon fly from Spitsbergen..." Shukhov shut it off, and let out a sigh.

"Same old, same old?." said Artie, who had seen Shukhov's gaze on the news.

"Yes. Today it was Norway. Apparently..." Shukhov shook his head, and sat down.

"ALL HANDS. PRIORITY ALERT." Artie and Shukhov gave a confused look, then Artie swiped the nearest panel, and the Alert blossomed toward the holo tray. "Priority Alert from Barents Sea Ice Station Hub." The face of the Barents Sea Hub Commander appeared in the midst of the klaxons.

"Temporary Kara Sea Ice Station #32. At five hundred hours, a possible unknown submarine vessel may have been detected exiting the Barents Sea zone. Military command has confirmed it is not Russian. You are commanded to deliver an unscheduled resonant frequency pulse at seven hundred hours to assist in the acoustic confirmation of this unidentified vessel." Artie had already opened his eyes wide, staring directly at Shukhov, with a silent, questioning 'oh'.

The recorded alert went on. "Attached to this message is the required override code. Your Artificial Station Attendant will transfer the code. Thank you for your service to Rosatom, and to Russia." The Commander disappeared.

"Wow", said Artie. "There's an Artificial Station Attendant here?!" Shukhov threw the rag he'd been using to clean up the breakfast box. "And to think." continued Artie. "I'd just been calling these things Shakes. Who knew they were Resonant Frequency Pulses."

"Ah — so we're Temporary. Good to know." Shukhov said.

"Indeed " Artie kept the old joke going. "We must not grow too attached to this posting. Thirty years is, after all, an ephemeral blip on the cosmic radar."

"A fleeting third of a century," Shukhov said, hand over his heart, "Only a passing glance of three decades of service—"

Another alert sounded, letting them know they were nearing the shake window.

They both chuckled. Somehow the joke never grew old. Shukhov checked the diagnostics of the Station, and looked at the clock. Only 10 minutes till the unscheduled shake was due. "Let's get moving."

Artie and Shukhov both stood at the ready stations, and began tapping instructions into the holo screens. "Ready?" asked Shukhov. "Born ready." said Artie, through gritted teeth. Shukhov rolled his eyes.

"Testing countdown", said Shukhov. "Testing resonant frequency pulse in 3, 2, 1."

Nothing. Only the constant hum of the tokamak and the faint sound of wind, whistling on the station surface. Artie went to make a joke, thought better of it, and began swiping screens and checking diagnostics. After a moment of confusion, Shukhov began to do the same thing. If there's a nearby vessel, sometimes that can prohibit a shake from happening. The Coastal Siberian Seaway is, after all, worth nearly 100 trillion rubles. And Rosatom would do close to anything to avoid sanctions for interrupting these shipping lanes.

Hmm. Tokamak status? Active. Fusion diagnostics? Good. Resonant frequency distributors? Nominal. Hmm.

Artie chimed in, "I think I found the glitch. It looks like the station AI failed to update to the latest software patch from Hub. Probably ice crusting the receiver dish on deck..."

"We really need to get a permanent heater up there to keep this from happening..." muttered Shukhov.

"Let's go." said Artie.

They wound their way up the spiral staircase to the deck hatch. Closer to the surface they could hear the wind whistling across the station deck. Shukhov tossed a hat up to Artie and put one on himself. They both put on the winter parkas stored near the exit. "It actually sounds kind of dicey up there." Artie said "Let's try and do this quickly." Shukhov nodded.

Artie tapped in the hatch release code, and the whisper of wind instantly became a roar. Bowing their heads to the cold they exited the hatch. As Shukhov emerged, Artie immediately clipped a safety tether to his belt, then patted his shoulder. "CAN'T BE TOO CAREFUL" yelled Artie. Shukhov could barely make out the words. They both peered up into the whipping wind, and saw icicles, formed horizontally on the receiver dish. Artie extended a two meter melt rod, and held it steady as Shukhov brushed the icicles and rime away. The dish was soon cleared, and Shukhov checked the clock, 5 minutes to go.

"LET'S GET MOVING", yelled Shukhov. He tapped his watch, and Artie nodded in recognition. As Artie telescoped the melt rod back, the wind whipped the other direction pulling Artie off balance, snapping his tether, and folding him over the railing.

"ARTIE!" called Shukhov, and Shukhov dove after him. Nearly falling down the ten meters to the water below, Artie had grabbed the topmost ladder rung, already slick from the ice and saltwater.

The wind whipped past Shukhov as he reached over the railing, willing his fingers to connect with Artie's outstretched hand. He could see Artie's grip on the ladder rung slipping. The freshly shaken crushed ice field beneath them showed the black Arctic ocean between tank-sized chunks of ice.

His coverall ripped at the shoulder seam, and the outer lining of his arm tore away revealing the dull plastisteel beneath. Finally, their fingers met, and Shukhov was able to

pull Artie up and over the railing. It looked like something was wrong with Artie's shoulder. Shukhov turned, opened the hatch and helped Artie down into the station.

Catching their breath in the mess room, Shukhov said "I'll get that update, then it's time to shake."

"Shake and bake" trying to joke, but only managing a wince, Artie held his shoulder gingerly. Shukhov turned to the panel, tapped in the update sequence. The software quickly updated, and they were ready for the shake sequence.

"Ready?" asked Shukhov. Artie gave a quick nod.

"Shaking in three, two, one. Shake." The entire station gave a lurch, and then was quiet again. "Well." said Shukhov, "I hope all of that was worth an unscheduled resonant frequency pulse." Artie snorted, then grimaced at the pain in his shoulder. Shukhov brought the medkit over to look at Artie's injury, and whistled. "It looks like you won't be able to play chess for a few days." said Shukhov. "Too bad." Shukhov set the autostitcher on Artie's shoulder to fix the torn ligaments, and repair any bruising.

"You wish!" said Artie, though noticeably in pain. "But seriously, thank you. I owe you one." The autostitcher chirped its completion, and Shukhov placed it back in the medkit.

"Good. Then *you owe me* a few days peace before you subject me to more chess." Shukhov smiled. Then he turned to the mess table, rolled up his sleeve, carefully sliced off the torn nanoskin, and inspected the damage to his arm. The plastisteel arm appeared unscathed, and the diagnostics were good. The nanoskin would need replacing, but mechanically everything looked fine. Shukhov dismissed the diagnostic window, discarded the shredded nanoskin, and rolled his sleeve back down.

"Do you think we'll find out what that was?" Shukhov asked Artie.

"As two dauntless employees of Rosatom," Artie responded with mock seriousness, "I can confidently say - No." Shukhov smirked, then patted his friend's *good* shoulder, and set about preparing the next scheduled break of the ice, 20 minutes to go and counting.

9. Assisted Migration

"As the caribou cluster together, we can see the determination in their eyes. These next few days will be the herd's greatest test." Gillian intoned, eyes heavy with meaning, as she looked into the camera.

"And, cut! I think we got it that time!" Hank said.

Rachel and Niillas looked at each other, and mimicked Gillian's tone, "... their greatest test..." then they laughed, stood up, and stretched.

"I know I'm laying it on thick, but the viewers are going to want drama, right?" said Gillian. "And if we don't add our own drama, this will be .. pretty boring."

Gillian was, of course, right. As the Porcupine herd was leaving the Gwich'in Environmental Management Area, and headed into the Prudhoe Coastal Refuge, things were - mostly - very safe. The permafrost bogs could be dangerous given how soft and unpredictable the tundra was. But the caribou were adaptable.

"Think we can make Prudhoe Bay by Sunday?" asked Hank, hopeful at the thought of a warm bed.

"Maybe" said Niillas. ,"The drone monitors show good forage all the way to the coast." He showed the drone display to the crew, and a 3D map with red veins crisscrossed through a miniature map of the region, with large areas of green.

Rachel pointed to a section of red line split in half, "What happened there? Is that drill road out?" The old oil roads, now serving as refugia for some plants and animals from the surging seas, were also strange, elevated corridors through the swamp. When big chunks of subsurface permafrost melted, the roads would sometimes collapse too, in big gaping sections.

"Not sure," said Niillas. "We could try steering the herd around the gap, are you concerned?" asked Niillas

"Maybe, I just don't think we want an ambush." said Rachel.

"We can't re-route," said Gillian. "Our funding depends on documenting the full migration. Driving them away from the gap means we could fall behind in the jostle, and we can't lose them now."

"Agreed. It's just a short bit." said Rachel.

The Porcupine migration crew was in their fourth season together. Niillas, still on an Arctic conservation exchange, was wrapping up his PhD at the University of Helsinki. Gillian and Hank were both ecologists from the Athabascan Research Institute, and Rachel was the government biologist - mandated under the Murkowski Assisted Migration Act.

The MAMA crew was responsible for monitoring the migration of the Porcupine herd, as part of the Global Conservation Pact. This was, probably, their last year together, as Niillas would be returning to Finland, and Rachel would likely rotate to a different crew.

The crew prepared to make their way down the hilltop they were perched on since the herd was giving indications they would start moving soon. Despite the swampy tundra, the caribou could still move fast, so each MAMA crew member had their own Strider. A lightweight, maneuverable, land walker. Each rider, perched on a small chair, sat strapped in their strider. It took getting used to, but Striders could easily keep up with the caribou, and in a pinch could even sprint away from a predator. What they gained in speed, though, they gave up in protection. A nickname for the Striders was also fast food.

"My left leg is a little sticky, so probably no sprinting for me today," said Gillian. "Just a heads-up." No joking at this. The crew knew that everyone's suit needed to be as functional as possible to keep moving.

"We'll get it checked when we get to town," assured Hank. The crew finished checking each others' Striders, and just in time, since the herd had begun their daily trot.

The Porcupine caribou herd still completed the largest land migration of any animal, anywhere on Earth, but now, it was an assisted migration. Contrary to global expectations early in the 21st century, the world was well on its way toward tackling the myriad collective action problems required to address climate change. By 2050, the world had mostly reached net-zero carbon emissions, and technologies were being rolled out to go negative within the decade. But centuries worth of carbon had already been emitted to fuel industrial growth, and there it would remain till it could be sucked out of the atmosphere. A consequence of all of this was that global ecosystems around the world, particularly those with migratory ecologies, were in dire straits. Entire ecosystems needed assistance to keep pace with changing conditions of temperature, rainfall, and seasonal cycles. The Global Conservation Pact, a descendent of earlier agreements like the Convention on Biological Diversity, was a binding agreement by all signatory countries to assist in the migration of entire ecosystems, along the best available pathways through continents.

"Race you to the front of the herd!" yelled Rachel, and Niillas was hot on her Strider's heels. They didn't actually race, since that would terrify the herd into a dangerous stampede, but they did move swiftly along the sides. Not all species had adapted to the

Striders well. In Sweden and Finland, the Sámi used different tech to keep up with the big herds, mostly solarmobiles. But here, the Porcupine herd tolerated the Striders which were cheaper, lighter — and more fun.

"Radio comms up, confirm." said Gillian

"Confirmed," said Hank.

"Confirmed" huffed Niillas, still striding to the front of the herd.

Silence.

"Rachel — please confirm." said Gillian.

Static sound, then "-esss".

"Niillas, what's going on, can't you see Rachel?" asked Hank, concern in his voice.

"Drones show her as standing next to that open patch of the drill road. Her Strider is motionless, but it's functional, and her comms are on."

Static, then... "lvess..."

Gillian got it first, and swore. "Wolf sighting. Niillas, confirm sighting."

The silent drone swarm above the herd, changed direction like an uncanny flock of birds, and sure enough, a pack of 10 Arctic wolves were crouched in the gap. Rachel was motionless in her Strider, only 50 feet away from the gap, but safe, around a corner from the wolves.

"Joo. Kymmenen susia... ah, sorry. Yes. 10 wolves." said Niillas, then "Ghost baby?"

Hank laughed, "Not again!"

"Yes. Do it," said Gillian.

Niillas sent five of the drones well over the gap in the road, and fanned them out 200 yards behind the wolves. Then they started all crying, in synchrony, like a human baby. It was creepy, but effective. Almost all at once the wolves spun around toward the new sound behind them, the three closest to the drones began snarling. Continuing their baby cry, the drones began clumping together as they coaxed the wolves closer, then the drones would back off further away, drawing the attention of the wolves further from the herd.

"Thank God for ghost baby." whispered Rachel.

A few of the wolves lingered looking at the herd, and then spun following the pack, running away, as the drones drew them further from the gap.

"OK everyone. Double time to the northeast corner of the herd. Then, Niillas, bring the ghost baby back to the herd. We don't want the pack to go hungry today, they need food as much as the bou."

The MAMA crew could hear Niillas muttering. Old habits die hard, and he had always begrudged the wolves on this migration.

"Niillas — please confirm." said Gillian.

"Confirmed. Good to go." said Niillas.

The crew began moving calmly, and quickly, to the corner of the herd, Gillian's Strider lagging a bit behind with the gummed up leg.

"Release the ghost baby" said Gillian.

No one laughed, despite the absurdity. Niillas sent the crying ghost baby back toward the gap in the road, and then turned off the sound. The wolves were back on the hunt, if only a bit confused.

The herd reacted predictably to the wolves, scattering a bit and running faster toward their goal. Niillas' drones caught footage from multiple perspectives showing the pack picking off a slower, older member of the herd. As the wolves began feeding, the herd stopped their panicked run, and slowed to a trot. The Striders kept pace a good distance away.

"Thanks," said Rachel, as she strode up next to Gillian. "You said you wanted drama today, right?"

Gillian laughed, "I'm just happy you're safe. Let's keep our distance a bit so we don't spook the herd again."

They all agreed, and their Striders kept up a steady, satisfying splosh as they made their way toward the flooded coast of Prudhoe Bay.

10. School's out forever

Reindeer looked up at the sound of laughter, and the friendly banter that floated out of the homestead. The sun was low on the horizon, and lights could be seen in the distance as the night shift was starting in Verkhoyansk.

"No way, grandfather!" exclaimed Svetlana.

"Yes way!" Laughed Anton.

Svetlana did not look convinced.

"Okay okay, I will start at the beginning again." said Anton. "First, you go to school for about 12 years, and you try and do very well. After you go to school for this time, you hope that your grades—"

"What are those again?" asked Svetlana.

"Hah... they are the evaluations that you received in the classes that you took, about how well you learned the content in that class."

"And how were they given to you? I mean, your peers gave these to you?"

Anton rocked with laughter. "If only. No, the instructor who was nominally an expert in the material would give you these grades. You hoped that you received good grades, so that you could continue going to school."

Svetlana was shaking her head.

"Now I know this seems very strange to you," said Anton, now more earnestly. "But you must understand that everything has truly changed, and the absence of any sort of system now is very strange to me. So — the next stage was called university or college. And this is where you would learn what you would be trying to do for your job, and you—"

"This is where the whole thing just falls apart. Your job? We have many jobs... don't we?" asked Svetlana.

"Indeed," said Anton. "The wisdom of the present time is very clear in this regard. And what is true now, was similarly true in the past, in that your job or jobs often did not reflect what you did at college or university."

"This doesn't make any sense!" said Svetlana, holding her face in her hands. "But please continue — so what did you do in all of this? Did you really go to college or university?" said Svetlana trying to keep her incredulity out of her voice.

"Oh yes." said Anton. "I studied extreme environment robotics in Vladivostok, among other things."

"Don't let him trick you!" shouted Yegor, from the other room. "He studied drinking and chasing girls!"

"What do you know, Yegor?" shouted a smiling Anton.

Yegor peaked his head around the corner. "Well, Papa, I can tell you that from the sound of it, your way was much more fun. But, what I know is very different" said Yegor, who turned toward his daughter, "In 2041, about when I was in 3rd grade, the Florida Flu emerged — and that pandemic lasted 5 years." Yegor looked into the distance.

"What does that mean?" asked Svetlana.

"It means" interjected Anton, "that for five years, governments around the world struggled to contain a deadly virus. Even though society had learned much from the COVID19 pandemic way back in 2020, they had apparently not learned enough."

"Indeed", said Yegor. "The start and stop of governments trying to kickstart the global economy, well, it eventually led to economic hardship—"

"That's a word for it..." said Anton. "I would call it collapse!"

"We are still here" chided Yegor, with eyebrows raised. "But yes, things broke down. One thing was the massive increase in machine intelligence and automation during this time, while governments, companies, everyone scrambled to try and make things work without infecting one another."

"Yes." said Anton. "This led to fewer and fewer jobs. People stopped going to expensive universities. Why would you? No jobs! Then.... In the midst of this, KhanU emerged as a way to learn specific things, for specific jobs, and they kept your credentials in a blockchain."

"Ah," said Svetlana, "I know the chain."

"Yes you do," said Yegor proudly. "But I interrupted your grandfather telling you his tale first. Papa, please continue" said Yegor with a bow to Anton.

"Pah." Anton smiled at Yegor as he waved him away with his hands. "Where was I... Ah, yes. Robotics in Vladivostok. This experience took me to North America, to a small town called Dawson in Canada. This was before the Florida Flu, before all of that. In fact — this is way back when we really thought that we could do something to stop the climate from changing. And so, enormous effort was being poured into almost any strategy that promised to help reduce the amount of carbon in the atmosphere." Anton paused, looked outside at the stunted, tundra forest.

"I was in Dawson," said Anton, "working for a company that was trying to harvest carbon from the atmosphere, and then sequester this carbon underground. The company needed roboticists to help transport the carbon solids into abandoned mines. Anyway... this is just history now, and it didn't work anyway."

"In the midst of this, I met your grandmother, Katya." Anton smiled. "Shortly thereafter, we met this thorn in my paw" Anton smiled, and patted Yegor's shoulder. "And as Yegor has already explained, many things changed so we came back to Siberia. To home."

"So — you came back here, and started herding reindeer" said Svetlana, "I can't believe a robotics expert would become a herder..."

"It is a good profession!" said Anton. "But you know I never stopped, Sveta." Anton winked. "The Shepherds do their work, and I maintain the Shepherds." Anton looked out the window proudly, at the hulking multi-legged robots, now resting on their plastic and metal haunches as the reindeer milled peacefully around them.

"And here we have lasted for many years. Me working odd jobs and tending the homestead." said Yegor.

"Papa — " said Svetlana, turning to Yegor. "When did Mama fit into this?"

"Ah, my sunshine." said Yegor, smiling, but sad. "Your mama was a wonderful, brilliant woman. And we were a happy family. But, you know, the Flu came back..." Yegor stopped, eyes suddenly moist.

"Yes," said Anton. "The second wave of the Florida Flu took too many. My Katya, Yegor's Galina." said Anton. "But —" he whispered, as he scooped up Yegor's and Svetlana's hands, "We are still here." Anton said, squeezing their hands gently.

Yegor smiled, with streaked cheeks, and Svetlana smiled, too.

"And you are here doing amazing things!" said Anton looking happily at Svetlana. "Can you believe it, that when I was in school only a small number of people could work as effortlessly with computers as you do?"

Svetlana frowned. "That doesn't make any sense, everyone needs to know how to code."

Yegor chuckled. "Of course you are right, now. But back then, when your grandfather was a boy, very few people knew how to code. In fact, it was a very highly valued skill. One of the best jobs that you could have would be to work for a company and to write their computer programs."

Svetlana bursts out laughing. "Now you are certainly trying to make fun of me." she said smiling.

"I know this is impossible to grasp," said Yegor, "but what you did this morning, checking the predictive solar array and diagnosing the errors in the protein synthesizer - are two skills that would each have required a University education!"

"Well, then," Svetlana said, "may I have two degrees, please?"

"You can have any degree that you want," said Anton, smiling back.

They all laughed, and the reindeer herd looked up again at the sounds, then returned to wandering in their pens among the dwarf oak and slumped shepherds, as the sunset turned to dusk.

Figures S1- S10

The methodological overview for tracing the topic model output to the story-based scenario are outlined for each of the ten scenarios.

The methods for the ten stories:

- 1. Campus Utqiagvik (Supplement Page 44)
- 2. Nanook Station (Supplement Page 45)
- 3. Security Detail (Supplement Page 46)
- 4. The Last Preserve (Supplement Page 47)
- 5. Concession 60 (Supplement Page 48)
- 6. Putin's Gambit (Supplement Page 49)
- 7. Voice from the Past (Supplement Page 50)
- 8. Icebreaker (Supplement Page 51)
- 9. Assisted Migration (Supplement Page 52)
- 10. School's Out Forever (Supplement Page 53)

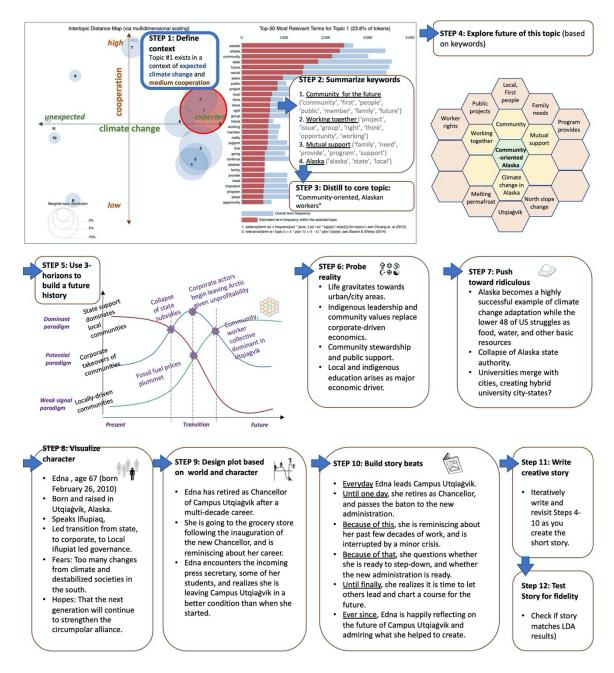


Figure S1. Methods for Topic #1 "Campus Utqiaġvik."

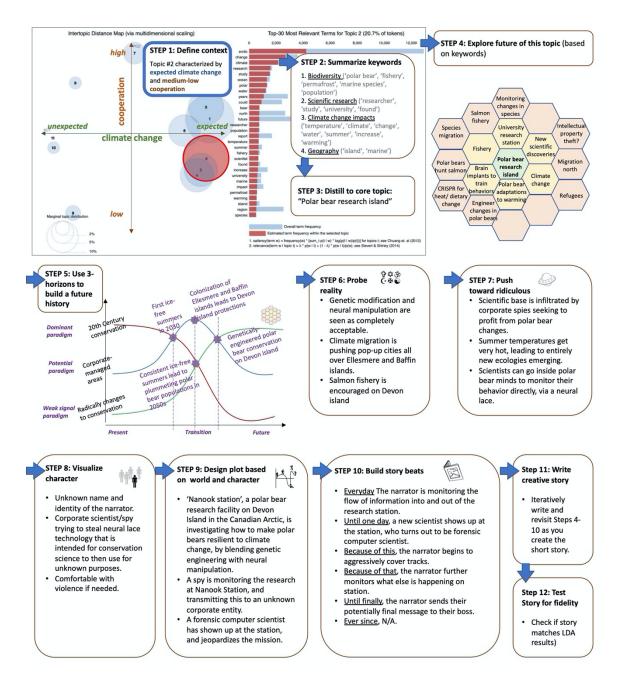


Figure S2. Methods for Topic #2 "Nanook station."

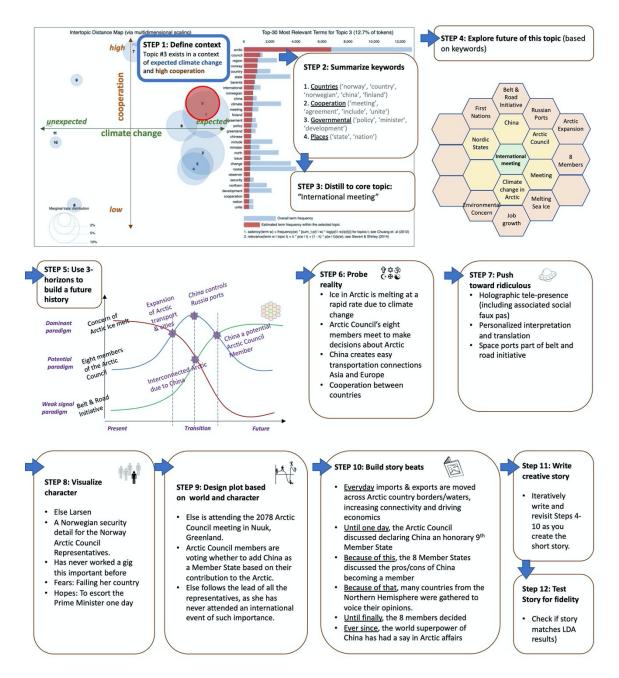


Figure S3. Methods for Topic #3 "Security Detail."

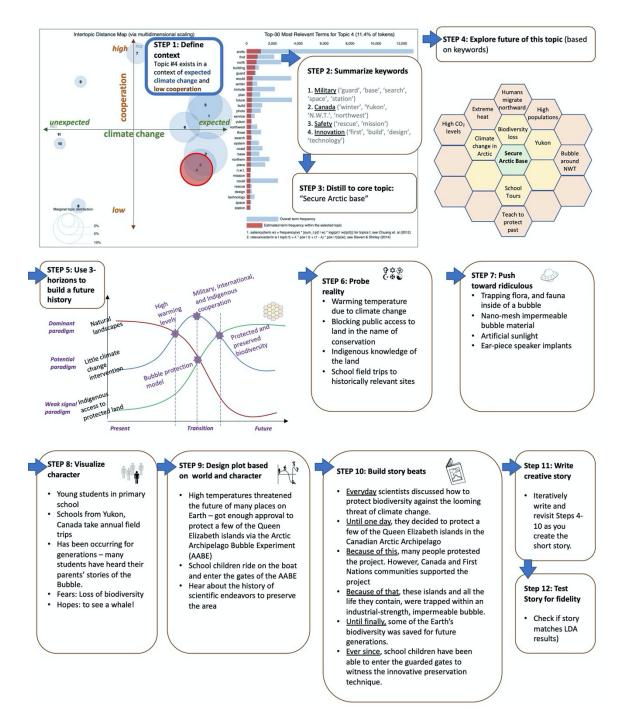


Figure S4. Methods for Topic #4 "The Last Preserve."

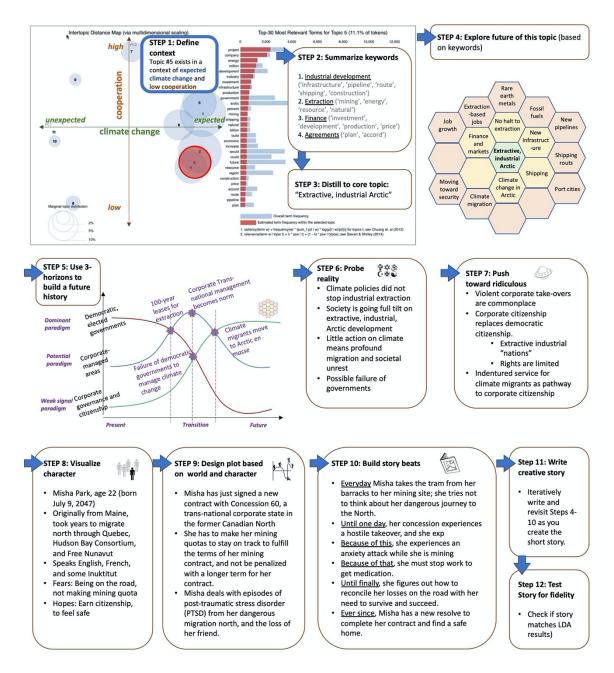


Figure S5. Methods for Topic #5 "Concession 60."

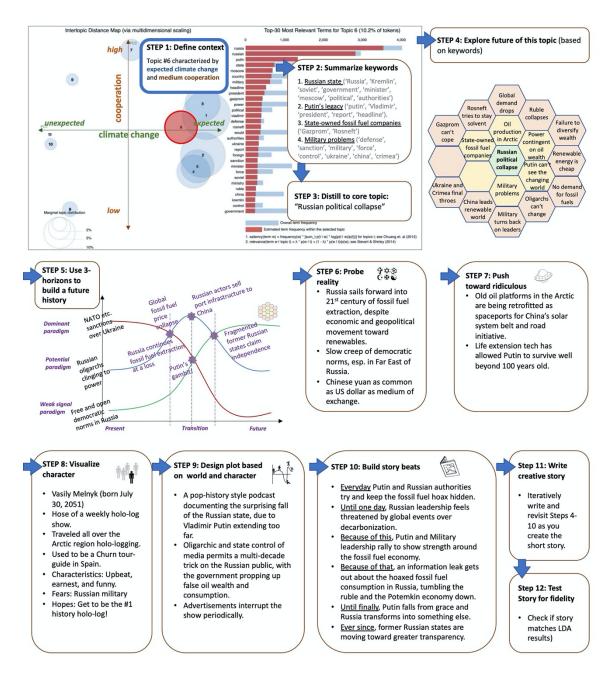


Figure S6. Methods for Topic #6 "Putin's Gambit."

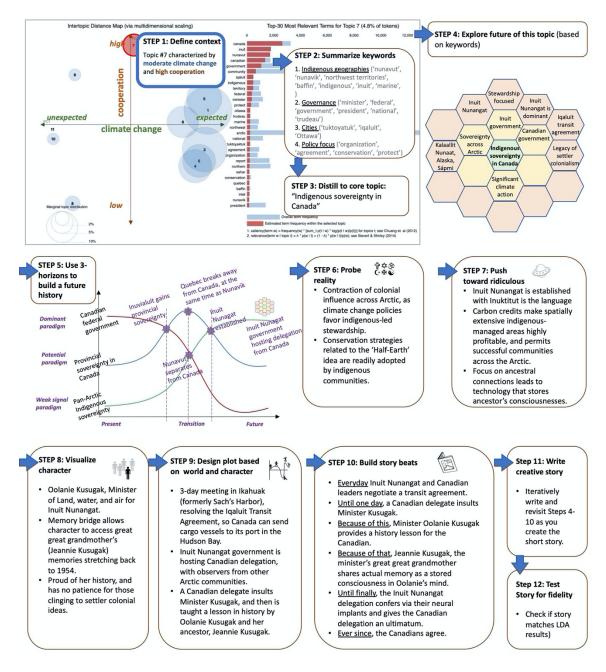


Figure S7. Methods for Topic #7 "Voice from the Past."

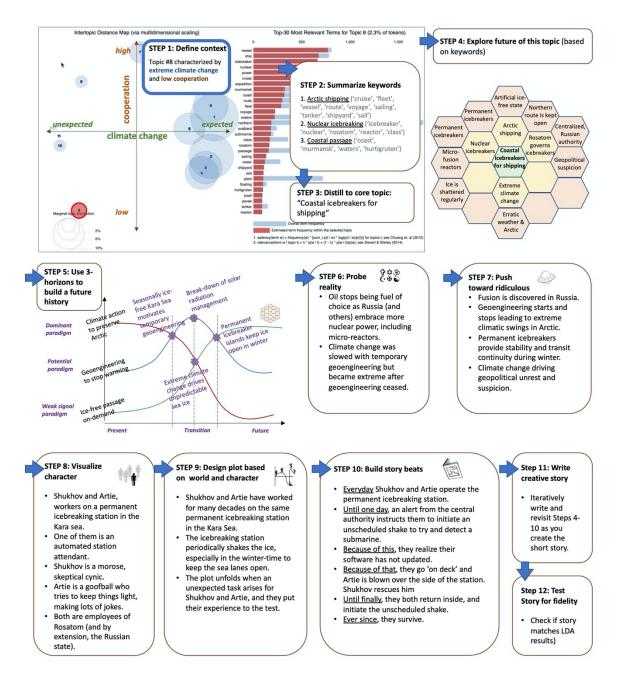


Figure S8. Methods for Topic #8 "Icebreaker."

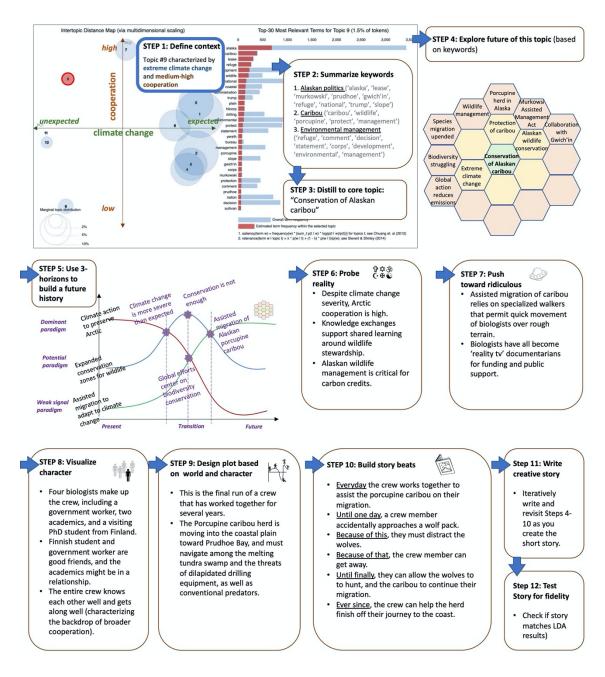


Figure S9. Methods for Topic #9 "Assisted Migration."

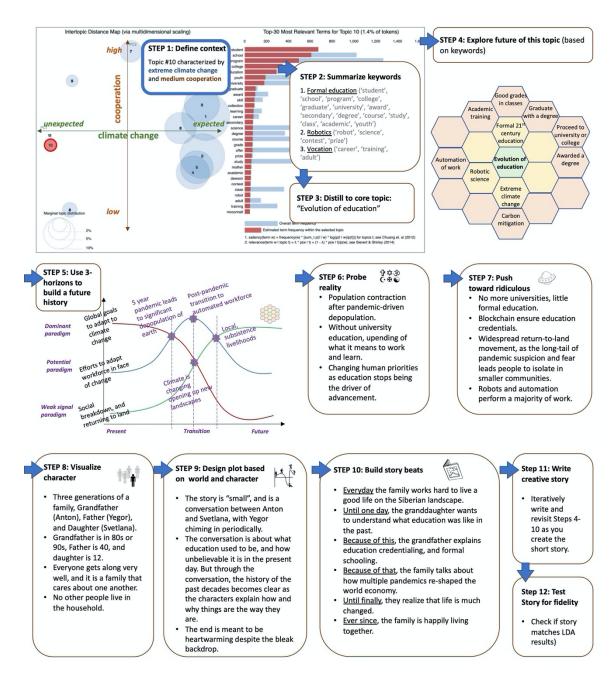
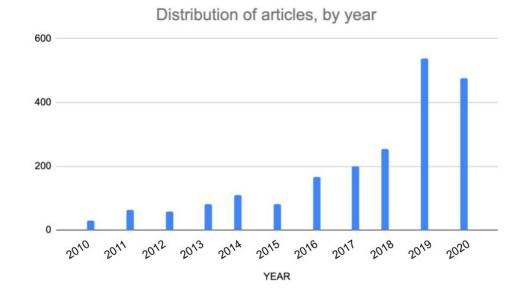


Figure S10. Methods for Topic #10 "School's Out Forever."



Additional information for corpus distribution by year of publication date.

Figure S11. Graph showing distribution of articles across the 2,058 text corpus, between the years 2010 and 2020.

Additional information for Coherence score analysis

An iterative analysis based on varying the number of topics was performed to identify the highest Coherence score.

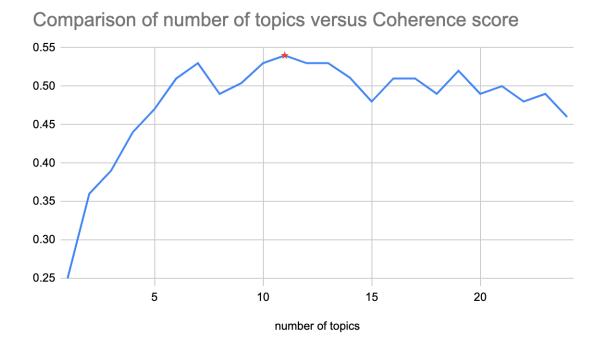


Figure S12. Graph showing the comparison of number of topics versus coherence score, using the metric C_v . The red star indicates the highest Coherence score of 0.54 corresponding to 11 topics. For more information on Coherence scores please see Röder et al., 2015.