



Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

International Governance in the Arctic

The Development of Cooperation, Challenges
and Division of Opinions

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Globalization

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Problem Description

The purpose of the thesis is to analyze the current status of international governance in the Arctic and its future challenges. In order to gain a more comprehensive view a questionnaire was sent out to the participants of the Arctic Biodiversity Congress held in Trondheim 2-4 December.

Main content:

- Introduction of the topic
- Outlining the theoretical framework and globalization processes in the region.
- Overview of the development of international governance and cooperation. The major organizations and territorial claims in the Arctic region will be discussed. The recent environmental changes in the Arctic have created new opportunities and challenges, which will be outlined, as well as the main challenges ahead in terms of governance in the Arctic.
- Results from the study will be presented statistically and evaluated. The study will show different opinions and attitudes towards international governance in the Arctic.
- Conclusion and recommendations for Arctic governance in the future.

Preface

This master thesis completes my studies at the interdisciplinary master program Globalization: Politics and Culture at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU). The thesis was written during one year period under the Department of Industrial Economics and Technology Management (IØT). The thesis was postponed for one semester due to the birth of my son in February 2014.

During the fall 2014 I undertook an internship at the Norwegian Environment Agency in Trondheim. I was assigned the task to help organizing the Arctic Biodiversity Congress held in Trondheim December 2-4. At the Congress the working group of the Arctic Council, Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF) presented the findings from the Arctic Biodiversity Assessment published the same year. Working at the Norwegian Environment Agency gave me the opportunity to conduct the study presented in the thesis. Working at the Congress and meeting the many stakeholders in the Arctic, the governance officials of the Arctic states, academics and indigenous peoples was very inspiring and increased further my interest in the subject. For that opportunity I am very thankful.

First I would like to thank my supervisor, associate professor John Eilif Hermansen at the IØT. He has been very helpful and supportive of my work. I would also like to thank the Norwegian Environment Agency for giving me an experience that will be valuable in the future. Especially I would like to thank Finn Katerås, my internship supervisor at the Norwegian Environment Agency, for many reviews and valuable insights when working at the Norwegian Environment Agency and when conducting the study for the master thesis. I would also like to thank CAFF employees. Special thanks to Tom Barry, CAFF executive secretary, for great help when conducting the study for the thesis.

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Abstract

In this thesis the development of governance and cooperation in the Arctic is discussed. The main goal is to provide an overview of the current and future challenges in terms of governance in the realm of International Relation theories and globalization. This is of great importance today as the Arctic is going through turbulent times in terms of governance and many have discussed the need to strengthen the regulatory frameworks. The thesis consists of two parts. In the latter part a study conducted in the spring 2015 is presented. A questionnaire was sent out to participants of the Arctic Biodiversity Congress 2014. The aim of the study was to outline the division of opinions and attitudes towards Arctic governance discussed in the former part. The results from the study confirm that opinions and attitudes towards international governance in the Arctic are very divided. Using multiple indicators to create a composite variable showed that attitude towards Arctic governance was slightly more negative than positive. The thesis concludes that the development has been towards cooperation and that conflict is unlikely in the Arctic. However there are many conflicting opinions, producing great challenges for the future of international governance in the Arctic.

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Abbreviations

AAC	Arctic Athabaskan Council
ACAP	Arctic Contaminants Action Program
AEPS	Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy
AIA	Aleut International Association
AMAP	Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme
CAFF	Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna
CAVM	Circumpolar Arctic Vegetation Map
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EPPR	Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response
EU	European Union
GCI	Gwich'in Council International
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IR	International Relations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PAME	Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment
RAIPON	Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North
SC	Saami Council
SDWG	Sustainable Development Working Group
UN	United Nations
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNFCCC	The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

1 Introduction

There are great divisions of opinions regarding Arctic governance today. The governance framework in the Arctic is developing rapidly and an overview can help better understand both the purpose and future of Arctic governance. The discussion about Arctic governance revolves around how it should be structured, where it should take place, when it should take place and so on. In this thesis the above issues will be discussed. The theoretical framework is derived from two international relation theories; realism and liberalism. The theories are very suitable for the situation in the Arctic, as they attempt to describe states behavior, the conditions of peace and the causes of war. Another concept suitable to describe the recent changes in the Arctic is globalization. Globalization has become a commonly used concept to describe the changes in the world for the last decades, involving increased interaction following technology progress (Dicken, 2011).

The thesis features two connected parts. The former part gives an overview of the current issues and debates regarding Arctic matters. The second part presents a study conducted in the spring 2015. A questionnaire was sent out to the participants of the Arctic Biodiversity Congress, 2014. The Congress was held on behalf of Arctic Council's working group, the Conservation of the Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF, 2014). The questionnaire asked about the current issues in terms of Arctic governance and cooperation. The objective of the study was to gain a comprehensive view of the issues discussed in the former part and to outline attitudes towards Arctic governance in general. That is whether participants were generally positive or negative towards international governance and cooperation in the Arctic. The questionnaire also offered participants to express their opinion on how Arctic governance could be strengthened.

1.1 Background

When thinking of the Arctic region polar bears, icebergs, indigenous peoples and wilderness comes in mind. The Arctic is home to diverse species and ecosystems, indigenous cultures and knowledge that have developed for thousands of years. The Arctic is also home to approximately 13,1 million people (Selin and Selin, 2008). The region is located at the most northern part of the Earth. It consists of the Arctic Ocean, parts of Alaska (United States), Canada, Finland, Greenland (Denmark), Iceland,

Norway, Russia and Sweden. There are a large variety of definitions used to define the Arctic. The Arctic Council uses a definition by the Circumpolar Arctic Vegetation Map (CAVM). CAVM was an international project to map the vegetation and associated characteristics of the circumpolar region (CAVM, 2003). It defines the Arctic by using scientific criteria for Arctic habitats derived from an ecological point of view. The name for the land north of the tree lines is used, which generally has the mean temperature below 10-12°C for the warmest month, July. With this definition the Arctic is approximately 7.1 million km², or about 4.8 percent of the land surface of Earth, while the Arctic Ocean covers about 10 million km² (CAFF, 2013).

During the last decades the concept of globalization has been increasingly popular. Globalization is often described as the process of international integration (Carina, Keskitalo and Nuttall, 2015). Although globalization is not a new concept and these processes have even been felt for hundreds of years, most agree that globalization forces today differ in scale and magnitude. One aspect of globalization is the increased awareness of the world we live in. This is especially notable in the case of global warming and climate change (Dicken, 2011). For the Arctic this is one of the most important issues. Because of global warming, the Arctic has become one of the most prominent topics in recent years. Temperatures are rising at an unprecedented speed in the region. It has caused the ice to melt, resulting in earlier spring break-ups and later fall freeze-ups. In the future, the Arctic will possibly be ice-free during the summer months (Zellen, 2009). The Arctic has also attracted attention because of the large reserves of oil, gas and raw materials likely to be possible for extraction. With the melting ice, the region becomes more open and accessible, allowing for easier transportation routes and extraction. Already in 2007 one tenth of the world's total oil production was derived from the Arctic, mostly the Russian Arctic (Hovelsrud et al., 2011).

These issues provide both opportunities as well as threats. To minimize the risk of climate change and allow for save extraction, there needs to be legally binding guidelines in the region. For the Arctic this is a complicated matter since most of the land and sea are under the jurisdiction of sovereign states. However, with the increased awareness of the risks of climate change, the Arctic states have enhanced their cooperation in recent decades. One aspect of globalization is the increasing importance of international institutions. International institutions have come to have great power in the international system in recent decades. The Arctic states

established the Arctic Council in 1996 as an intergovernmental forum for promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States, and indigenous peoples organizations. However, the Arctic Council lacks legitimacy to make legally binding obligations that many believe are needed in the Arctic now, as the effects of climate change become more evident (Koivurova, 2014). But legally binding agreements or treaties, are complicated as some states feel that they undermine their sovereignty. Thus, for states it can be complicated to strike the balance between sovereignty and involvement in international institutions.

1.2 Research Questions

The research question for Part I: Governance in the Arctic, are twofold. They are as follows:

- 1) How has governance and international cooperation of the Arctic states developed?
- 2) What are the current issues and challenges in terms of Arctic governance today?

For Part II: Attitude towards governance in the Arctic, there were also two research questions of interest. They are as follows:

- 1) What are the attitudes towards international governance and cooperation in the Arctic?
- 2) How can Arctic governance be strengthened in the future?

The research questions are interlinked as the questionnaire in Part II is built on the discussion in Part I. While Part I is more concerned with outlining the current issues in the Arctic, in Part II presents attitudes towards the same issues.

1.3 Structure

As stated earlier, the thesis is divided into two connected parts. The first part is a theoretical overview of the current structure of international governance and cooperation in the Arctic. First there will be a chapter that provides a theoretical framework for the thesis. Two international relations theories will be discussed; realism and liberalism. They are used to understand the power relations behind international relations. The theories are applied to the case of the Arctic, as international cooperation has been increasing in the region since the end of the Cold War. To comprehend fully the governance structure in the Arctic it is necessary to

understand the geopolitics in the region and what is at stake. Thus, there is a discussion about the transformation the Arctic is going through, as well as the globalization processes in the region today. International organizations and institutions are one of the result of globalization forces. Thus the formation of Governance and cooperation in the Arctic will be elaborated. The most prominent institution is the Arctic Council, which will be covered, its structure, strength and weaknesses, especially the lack of legally binding initiative. After that is a chapter about sovereignty, as the concept of sovereignty is to some extent changing in the region (and in the world) as international and regional institutions are of increasing significance. Subsequently, there is a chapter about the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), as well as the Arctic States' territorial rights where each country will be discussed in details. Finally, the main governance challenges today will be contemplated as well as the different opinions about governance.

In part II of the thesis a study built on the issues discussed in part I will be presented. A questionnaire was sent out to the participants in the Arctic Biodiversity Congress 2014 about international governance in the Arctic. The background of the study will be explained, as well as its purpose and methods. The data will be presented in the next chapter, along with the results from the study. This will be done both graphically and verbally, as the questionnaire contains both qualitative and quantitative elements. Finally, there is a chapter for findings, conclusion and discussion.

Since the thesis consists of two separate, yet connected, parts there will be discussion and conclusion chapter for each part separately. The introduction chapter represents both parts of the thesis, and in the end there is a conclusion and discussion chapter for the whole thesis.

Part I: Governance in the Arctic

2 Theoretical framework

Often there are variety of theoretical approaches for studying certain issues. In terms of international governance the perhaps most relevant study is the study of International Relations (IR). As theories are a useful tool for understanding certain issues and predict for future outcomes, it must be noted that in the social sciences the outcome can never be fully predicted. It can never be certain that one thing follows another, as people are intellectual beings that behave in unexpected ways. However it can be useful to look at behavior in historical context, as behavior is often highly affected by the social norms and values at given time (Dunne et al., 2013). Within the study of IR realism has been one of the most notable theory. Realism will be explained in the following chapter and how it can be understood in the relation to the Arctic. Next liberalism theory will be discussed. Liberalism has sometimes been described as the opposite to realism. But before discussing theories of realism and liberalism IR will be outlined, as it lays the groundwork for the theoretical framework.

2.1 International Relations

IR is a branch of political science that studies the relation between nations. It can be dated back to the early 20th century, as scholars began to wonder what caused states' behavior (Murray, 2014). IR study is closely related to history, as it looks at states' behavior in past historical events. But why care about history when trying to understand the present, or even the future? Over time scholars, from philosophers, to politicians and professional historians have taken past events and interpreted them. The objective is to understand all aspects of the historical events, to gain better understanding of contemporary historical events. However, the tendency to create generalizations about the past and present, and even to neglect or remove key contextual details, is dubious (Williams, Hadfield and Rofe, 2012).

International relations (IR) is a study that seeks to “explain and understand the causes and outcomes of conflict and how nation-states could avoid such conflictual behavior in the future” (Murray, 2014). In other words, IR looks at the causes of war

and the condition of peace. According to Dunne, Kurki and Smith (2013) one of the main questions IR scholars ask themselves today are:

- What role can international institutions play in changing the preferences of powerful international actors?
- How are global power relations to be identified and where, and with whom, does power lie in world politics?
- What are the limits and possibilities of progress in tackling important world political problems, such as climate change? (Dunne et al., 2013).

There are many reasons for using theory to understand these wide questions. The most important being that most people are not aware of why they act a certain way, or why they make the decisions they do. They may not be sure of why they hold their particular view and many international actors are unaware of the ways in which their thought and policy is shaped by particular ideological or moral commitments. The social world in which we live in has powerful economic, political and social structures. Actions are taken in accordance with social norms and it can be hard to explain why certain decisions are taken. Therefore we need to make assumptions about actors' behavior in the realm of theory (Dunne et al., 2013).

The first international relations scholars were established in the aftermath of the World War I in British universities. The nature of conflict during that time tended to focus on states as the primary actors in the international system (Murray, 2014). Since then IR studies have focused on international security and conflict in the two world wars, the Cold War, civil conflicts, gender and neocolonial issues, and recently, the effects of modern globalization processes (Murray, 2014).

2.2 Realism

The cornerstone of international relations study is the importance of realism. Realist theories favor a worldview that explains state behavior as tense, uncertain, distrustful and uncooperative. The actors are motivated by survival and make foreign policy decisions based on rational calculations about both other states and the constraints of the anarchic structure of the system. Realist theories focus on military power and its role in achieving beneficial outcomes when it is used to influence the actions of other

states. The most important aspect of the realist international system is the states rights of independence and non-intervention. The Peace of Westphalia conception in 1648 was the beginning of the modern state system, as it guarantees states the ability to “conduct themselves internally free from outside interference and from the prospect of their sovereignty being violated except in extreme cases” (Murray, 2014). Realism emphasizes the absence of international government, making international relations a field dominated by power and interest. Realists belief that human nature contains a core of egoistic passions that define the central problem of politics (Donnelly, 2000).

2.2.1 Classical Realism

In the classical realist manifesto, *Politics Among Nations*, published by Hans Morgenthau in 1948, international politics and prospects for future relations were described specifically. First he noted that states are the primary actors in the anarchic international system, second that self-interest motivate state actions, third that self-interest and power are historically universal and have always motivated human action, and fourth and last, that states only cooperate if it is in their interests to do so. Thus, the primary factor in classical realism is self-interests, as they motivate man’s actions and have done so through the human history (Murray, 2014).

2.2.2 Structural Realism

Structural realism is different from classical realism as its prefers a systemic theorizing, compared to the classical emphasis that philosophical traditions of human nature for power condition states. The foundation of structural realism is, as Waltz described in his 1979 *Theory of International Politics*, the rational choice and its emphasis on testable theoretical hypothesis. He claimed that domestic, economic or individual features proved no insight into why states act. But rather that the system is defined by economic and mathematical game theory rules that were based on anarchy. (Murray, 2014).

2.2.3 Neoclassical Realism

Neoclassical realism emerged at the end of the Cold War, as an new stream after the criticism and shortcoming of structural realism at the end of the Cold War. It attempts to find a universal theory of international politics. It backs away from the positivist methodology and its causal assumptions. “Instead of seeing self-help or power

maximization tendencies as eternal and unchanging, neoclassical realists prefer to see state pursuits of their interests (and thus explaining such strategy) as contingent on historical circumstance.” This school of thought is concerned with theory as useful foreign policy analysis, and that strategic outcomes and variables need to be looked at in a specific historical context. This has led some to believe that this is an approach to realism that resembles constructivist thought (Murray, 2014). That is, that understanding, application, and competence cannot be achieved without engaging the learner by challenging him to apply the knowledge (Flynn, 2004). In this case, the state is the learner and has to be engaged in the learning process so it will apply the knowledge. Or, as Murray (2014) points out, that international reality is socially constructed and understanding is objective. How the understanding is interpreted dramatically affects the outcome and action of states.

2.3 Liberalism

Liberalism has, like the realism, been one of the most prominent IR theories since the beginning. It is often presented as the opposite of realism. It is described as having progressive, cooperative, and modernist elements (Haar, 2009). While realists claim that each nation is an enemy to another, a threat to their security and existence, liberalists beg to differ. This perspective is associated with well-known analysts like John Locke and Immanuel Kant. Kant argued that a system of international law governed domestically by the rule of law would provide the basis for sustaining peace. The key liberal assumptions are that individuals possess rational qualities, the faith in progress in social life, and that despite self-interests of humans they are able to cooperate to construct a peaceful and harmonious society (Dunne et al., 2013).

2.3.1 Classical liberalism

Those who promote this theory believe that IR will gradually provide greater human freedom by establishing conditions of peace, prosperity and justice. They say that the key to freedom and peace is international cooperation between states and other international actors. The idea that international organizations provide order and peace has been dominant. Without cooperation it is not possible to have peace. The modernist factor involves the belief that several elements modernize the world and transform IR; liberal democracy, international interdependence, cognitive progress,

international institutions and international sociological integration. Thereby, liberals assign a great role for international organizations and law, diminishing the influence of war and diplomacy, by increasing the number of liberal societies (Haar, 2009).

2.3.2 Liberal Internationalism

Liberal internationalism arises from Kant and has transposed the beliefs discussed earlier about liberalism into international sphere. He emphasized that war and conflict can be overcome. Liberal internationalism focuses on the human aspect and assumes that people make logical decisions and are good in nature (Dunne et al., 2013). The theory argues that the world can be changed by establishing international organizations, international norms and rules. This involved free trade and political noninterventionism. The idea is that by creating international organizations, international anarchy can be overcome and economic redistribution and international justice accomplished. An example of outcomes of international liberalism is the Bretton Woods System and the United Nations (UN). One of the differences between classical liberalism and liberal institutionalism is that international liberalism criticizes diplomacy and denounces war and the balance of power. Power is seen as a major cause of international disorder, because of competition between states that can lead to war. Another difference is the belief that free trade has the ability to “break power of the elites over foreign policy” (Haar, 2009). Classical liberalism says that liberal internationalism overlooks the fact that there is no basic difference between the elite and other people when it comes to foreign affairs. Furthermore, the theory “does not rely enough on spontaneous ordering and underestimates the danger of international bureaucracies to individual liberty” (Haar, 2009).

2.3.4 Neo-liberal Institutionalism

Neoliberalism, or institutionalism, is a modern variant of liberal internationalism. The main distinction between liberal institutionalism and neo-liberalism is sometimes made on methodological grounds. The basics are alike, but neoliberals focus more on methodological positivism and rationalism. Neoliberals favor international organizations and regimes because they build a system of rules and conventions for cooperation, in which all participants gain from. They are less idealistic than liberal internationalists, as they accept states as the most important international actor. Thus,

states will cooperate to achieve absolute gains, but not to improve the world (Haar, 2009).

2.4 The Arctic in Theory

Until recently the Arctic did not received much attention by IR scholars. During the Cold war, most political studies of the Arctic had a realist background that reflected the superpower tension and strategic importance of the region (Østerud and Hønneland, 2014). In the last few decades the world has gone through substantial changes, cultural, political and social, often associated with globalization. As a background for the discussion about peace and war it is useful to know some statistics, as they show the changes in the world over the last century and especially over recent decades. After the second World War until today there has been a decline in battle deaths from violent conflicts. Especially since after the Cold War the trend has been lower in all types of war. This includes battle deaths from interstate wars, civil wars, internationalized interstate wars, and wars of colonial liberation. Alongside this decline there has both been an increase in economic openness, democracy, and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) (including both global and regional institutions). There are of course other possible reasons for the decline in battle deaths, but there is a strong belief that these trends are of importance for the decline. There are universal IGOs, like the UN and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as well as regional organizations. They have many purpose and goals and vary in effectiveness. They propose that the more trade and democracy between countries, the less they fight each others. But of course IR is not that simple and conflict can rise despite of involvement in IGOs. As states become more dependent on each other, and the economies more global, an economic shock (like global depression) could have the adverse affect. It would be harder for IGOs to defend free trade and democratic governments could fall – leading to conflict and war (Dunne et al., 2013).

Thus, there is no guarantee that no conflict will arise although institutionalization has become a common practice in the contemporary world. Realism for the Arctic can still be a useful explanatory model to understand state behavior, especially when it comes to security dynamics. That is very clear in the Arctic region, and it is essential to examine how the Arctic states define their security and self-interests. According to Murray (2014) the realist assumptions about the nature of international politics better explains the current foreign policy dynamics of

interstate assertions about the Arctic and prospects for future outcomes. He states that there are three commonalities among realist theories: statism, survival and self-help. By looking at the eight Arctic states and their approaches in Arctic matters, one can better understand the importance of these three commonalities from both offensive and defensive perspectives. A good example is Russia, which has been concerned with its decline as great power since the end of the Cold War. Russia has been seeking to regain its power. It sets the Arctic as a high priority in its defense and foreign policies as it depends on the region for its economic security. Some believe though that Russia is more interested in global integration than in national security. Russia's integration into the global economy is a likely consequence of its Arctic extension, but the perspective fails to account for the true nature of Russia's interests (Murray, 2014).

Although some feared conflict in the Arctic, especially after the Arctic states made claims to extend their nautical miles, as will be discussed later, and some claims overlapped. However the fact is that little or no conflict has been in the Arctic. On the contrary, the Arctic states have increased their cooperative efforts and most claims have been settled. As Østerud and Hønneland (2014) argue the realist leaning is gone in the Arctic, and now institutionalism is more prominent. Now there are more expectations of cooperation in the Arctic and the development has been peaceful. The question is rather what *kind* of cooperation can be expected when the Arctic opens up its floodgates (Østerud and Hønneland, 2014). With the possible extraction in the region, most agree that they want to avoid competition for control, or a 'race for resources' by all means, as it could have destructive and irreversible consequences. According to Østerud and Hønneland (2014) there were some suggestions that a 'scramble' for the Arctic was underway, given the possibilities for petroleum findings. But most of the finding will probably lie in areas where national jurisdiction is undisputed. The territories that have not been settled, will be soon as there is an ongoing process of settling the limits under the UN. There have been hardly any signs of political conflict in the Arctic, and therefore it can be assumed that cooperation will be the primary choice of the Arctic states.

3 Globalization of the Arctic

In the last decades globalization has become a well-known concept. In this chapter the globalization processes in the Arctic will be discussed, as they are linked to the current governance, social and cultural changes in the region.

3.1 The Concept of Globalization

The concept of globalizations goes back to at least the nineteenth century, but became increasingly popular in the last 30 years. The sudden interest in the concept of globalization reflects the feeling that something fundamental is happening in the world. The feeling of uncertainty is intensified by increased awareness that occurrences in one part of the world, are often deeply affected by events happening in other parts of the world. This is especially notable when crisis in the financial market spreads almost instantly to distant places (Dicken, 2011), and in the case of global warming and climate change. Both Dicken (2011) and Carina et al. (2015) state that the concept of globalization is a very misapplied one. It evokes a range of meanings, from negative to positive impacts and trend in the contemporary world. A common understanding is that globalization is a process of international integration. It involves that to understand contemporary social, cultural and economic changes it is not enough to look at the level of nations states. It has to be viewed in a wider context of transnational relations and movement. It makes it possible to explain social relations, social structure and cultural processes by looking beyond the boundaries of a single society or country (Carina et al., 2015). There are conflicting perspectives on globalizations. Dicken (2011) identifies two major positions within the globalization debate in his popular book, *Global Shift*; hyper-globalists and skeptical internationalists.

3.1.1 Hyper-Globalists

This is probably the largest body of opinion and spans the entire politico-ideological spectrum. Hyper globalists argue that the world in which we live in is borderless and the 'national' is no longer relevant. Globalization is the new economic, political and cultural order - it is the natural inevitable order. The nation-state is no longer a significant actor, as consumer tastes and cultures have been homogenized. However, this view is a myth and is unlikely to ever exist although it is influential. This world-

view is shared by many, both on the political left and right side, but they differ in their evaluation, and policy position (Dicken, 2011).

Within the group of hyper-globalists, there are the neo-liberals on the right. They see globalization as an ideological project that could bring the greatest benefits for the most. The free markets should be allowed to rule and everything will work out. The major problem, they say, is that there is not enough globalization yet. Globalization is the solution to the world's economic problems (Dicken, 2011).

Also within the group of hyper-globalists, are the hyper globalizers on the left. According to them, globalization is the problem, not the solution. They argue that the free market has a destructive force and creates inequalities. Eventually free markets will lead to reduction in well being for everybody, except a small elite. They will also create environmental problems if not regulated (Dicken, 2011).

3.1.2 Skeptical Internationalists

Although the intensification of globalization processes have become widely accepted, skeptical internationalists argue that the world was actually more open and integrated before the World War I. Empirical evidence suggest that trade, investment and migration flowed in large volumes between countries during the years prior to the war (Dicken, 2011). As Carina et al. (2015) note: "To think of globalization as something related to modernity in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is thus to ignore the histories of the processes that influence, mold or shape societies that have long been global and are often (...) detached from what we understand to be locally, or nationally specific."

3.2 The Globalized Arctic

In the literature of globalization of the Arctic, the focus is often on indigenous peoples. In general, the lives of Arctic indigenous people are closely linked to their natural environment through their dependence on a natural, resource-based economy and subsistence hunting and fishing. Over generations they have interacted with their environment through observations and adjustments in traditional food harvesting, activities and lifestyle. Arctic communities are increasingly affected by globalization, which has prompted many socio-economic, and other lifestyle changes in the region (Selin and Selin, 2008). Hunting and fishing has been important, not only for

nutrition, health and household and community economies, but also for its great cultural value. These hunting patterns and strategies used by indigenous people have been affected by the changes in the Arctic, compromising safety, food security and cultures. A reduction of land-fast ice combined with more open water make sea-ice conditions less predictable and result in unpredictable fog events, making coastal travel treacherous and forcing people to travel longer distances along unknown routes. It is estimated that four of ten Inuit households more than half of the meet consumed is harvested. Seal hunting is also essential for feeding sled dogs that are critical for hunting and fishing. To adapt to these new situations new technology is already utilized, for example with GPS and satellite phones, along with traditional knowledge. For transportation snowmobiles and boats have been used. There are also techniques used to reduce warming and thawing and for monitoring, especially in North America, Scandinavia and Russia (Hovelsrudd et al., 2011).

Another important livelihood activity for indigenous people, mostly the Sámi across Fennoscandia and in Arctic Russia, is reindeer husbandry. Their herding strategies are based on numerous factors, shaped by experiences. Season, snow type, temperature, landscape, weather condition and the physical condition of the animals are all factors taken into consideration when herding. Changes in freeze ups affect reindeer migrations and calving success and income from slaughter (Hovelsrudd et al., 2011).

Although human activities within the Arctic region result in few anthropogenic releases of chemicals and heavy metals, the concentrations of numerous hazardous substances in Arctic human populations and ecosystems are among the highest measured in the world. They are the result of long-range transport of many hazardous chemicals and heavy metals from diverse origins and sources through air and ocean currents and subsequent deposition in the Arctic. These substances can pose toxic risk to human beings and animals in the Arctic. They have even been found in the breast milk of mothers in the Arctic (Selin and Selin, 2008). The Arctic community has been well adaptable through history to changes and variability in climate but the magnitude of these changes today is unprecedented, which raises new challenges to adapt the residents of the Arctic. This adaptation is definitely a local concern, and institutions, sectors and nations operating in the Arctic are also required to adapt (Hovelsrud et al., 2011).

Hovelsrud et al. (2011) discussed the cultural changes in the Arctic with melting sea ice, thinning of sea- and freshwater ice, shortening of the winter ice season, reduction in snow cover, changes in the distributions of wildlife and plant species, thawing permafrost and increased coastal erosion. The changes are first and foremost felt at the local level where the livelihoods of people are closely linked to the natural environment. It affects Arctic coasts, coastal marine ecosystems and infrastructure. The clouds are lower and there is more fog with the open water and increased wind action, which affects access to traditional food sources by Arctic residents (Hovelsrud et al., 2011).

For the Arctic indigenous peoples globalization has also had positive effects, especially when it comes to technology, improved housing condition, more stable supply of food, increased access to Western goods and a decrease in morbidity and mortality from infectious diseases. Nevertheless, there has also been increase in child abuse, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, domestic violence, suicide and unintentional injury that can also be associated with rapid cultural change, loss of cultural identity and lower self-esteem among them. Improvements in Arctic transportations have also made the Arctic communities more vulnerable to many infectious diseases (Parkinson, 2010).

3.3 A Critical Discussion About Globalization

Despite these evidence discussed above, globalizations in the Arctic is hard to assess. Empirical documentation of globalization trends and processes are severely lacking. Carina et al. (2015) studied globalization in the Arctic by looking at the image of resource use as local or traditional, and the image of northern population. Thus they did not focus on indigenous people, which has been dominant in the literature. They stated that these images were in fact never static. Since the Arctic is made up of diverse regions they have never been the "local" nor "indigenous" units of today. Rather, they have developed and taken new shape through interaction, migration, and the flow of ideas. To a large extent, the new conditions involve the breakdown of a system that says that each nation should have state and that each state should have one nation. This is reflected for example in the increasing power of corporations (Carina et al., 2015).

In the Arctic Council, which is itself a result of globalization developments, the focus was not only on states but also movements that aim to represent both state

and non-state actors. However, no representation is accorded to sub-regional governments or administrations. Furthermore, the Arctic Council's understanding of the Arctic has been criticized. The Arctic has often been seen as a pure environment, inhabited by indigenous people, rather than a diverse place with modern and globalizing developments. Some hold the view that the Arctic is an eight-state unified region that can follow the same traits, attempts to erect one singular identity for highly varying regions. But the fact is that for centuries Arctic nations, have taken part in trade with foreign countries. These encounters formed new society, hybridity, mobility and migration. Today, people and institutions still move in and around the circumpolar North and contribute to the continuous shaping of this lively high latitude human world (Carina et al., 2015). For example Arctic indigenous peoples have become increasingly active in international environmental, scientific and political processes in recent decades. In 1973 at the first Arctic People's Conference in Copenhagen it was argued that there was a need for expanded, institutionalized collaboration among different indigenous groups to promote policies that would protect their traditional ways of life and increase their influence over Arctic State environment and development policies. In 1975 The World Council of Indigenous Peoples was founded in Canada to promote indigenous interests worldwide. Subsequently, the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (today Inuit Circumpolar Council) was formed in 1977 to establish institutional connection between different Arctic indigenous groups. Today the major indigenous peoples organizations have a high role at the Arctic Council (Selin and Selin, 2008).

Carina et al. (2015) demonstrate globalization processes in the Arctic with two examples. On the one hand how globalization forces have affected the marine resource sector, and on the other hand there is the multi-cultural society as a result of globalization.

First, there is the globalization of the marine sector resource sector. Arctic fisheries are a good example of the effects of globalization and how they are felt in all aspects of social, economic, and cultural life. Fisheries is one of the major economic sectors and export earners of the Arctic. Communities that are dependent on fisheries have been going through significant changes in the last decades. The social and economic situations in Arctic coastal communities is in part because of global restructuring of fisheries as well as the redistribution of wealth from traditional actors, such as local fishers and processors, to global players in the form of transnational

corporations that now own and control large fishing fleets. Thus fish has been going through a process of transformations, from a common resource to a private property (Carina et al., 2015).

The second example is the globalization and the multi-cultural society. It has been argued that globalization processes lead to greater cultural diversity and the modern societies are multicultural. The concept of globalization assumes that cultures are becoming the same, following the Western model. However, some have pointed out that rather people's identities today are shaped by more than single culture and thus societies encompass multitude of varying ways of life and lifestyles (Sotshangane, 2002). As Carina et al. (2015) argue, globalization does not necessarily lead to cultural disorientation, tension and conflict in Arctic local societies. People are not passive victims of social change, modernity and global processes. The changes offer opportunities to understand and reflect on the relationship between global complexities and everyday life in local settings. As stated earlier, global economic and cultural processes have affected societies for centuries and people have to manage for themselves identities that take account of these global complexities in everyday life. The discussion about globalization in the Arctic often revolves around indigenous communities, that are vital in Arctic politics today. It is understandable that people want to maintain their identity in the landscape as counterpoint to the flux of modernity, but identities are often not as clear-cut as often implied. It is sometimes forgotten that the Arctic offers great diversities, from the Thai population in Greenland, to the Muslim population in northern Canada. Multiculturalism is one of the characteristic of modern societies, and most identities are constructed over time. Nation-building processes often highlight specific group by making them distinct from other groups. For example the indigenous society has been counterposed to the modern civilization. But this distinction decreased with the increasing homogenization, global trade and communication. One can be indigenous and a traveler with middle-class values and norms. With the increasing movement of people and migration into new societies people often try to create one identity, a kind of imagined view of themselves and their culture. At the local level problems can arise due to these ethnopolitical attempts to define an area or a person in terms of only one nation. Carina et al. continue and note:

The focus on local resource use and the local environment in “Arctic” literature, and the focus on recognized indigenous peoples as the one northern group (and often ascribed traditional characteristics), are illusions). Complexity and multiculturalism are defining characteristics of the North – historically as well as today – and it diminishes our understanding of northern places and societies to describe them merely with labels such as national spaces, ethnopolitical regions, traditional cultures, and so on. Groups may be “characterized” only by their variety, by many kinds of movement and mobility (Carina et al., 2015).

When thinking of globalization in the Arctic, people have to refrain from seeing it as lacking cultural-diversity, as the fact is that the Arctic is made up of various nations, communities and places. The Arctic has been changing for centuries, and the idea of a ‘new Arctic’ needs to be discussed keeping that in mind. Although there are ongoing social and cultural changes for indigenous communities, these changes have negative and positive sites. Globalization processes do not homogenize the world, but increases cultural diversity. That can lead to people wanting to protect their identity, hold on to an imagined idea of themselves, their tradition and society. However, as stated earlier, people are not passive victims of global processes, but rather they can use these changes to better reflect on global complexities and everyday life in local settings (Carina et al., 2015).

4 Governance in the Arctic

Unlike Antarctica, where there are currently no sovereign states, all land, islands and much of the waters in the Arctic is the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Arctic states on the basis of international law. The fact is that the eight sovereign nation-states in the Arctic ultimately determinate how the region is governed, although international law and cooperation also plays a role (Koivurova, 2014). This makes governance in the Arctic especially complicated as countries need to commit to cooperate in Arctic matters. In the following chapters the formation of cooperation between the Arctic states, and the main governance challenges for the Arctic today.

4.1 The Formation of International Cooperation

In 1972, the first UN Conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm. There “the need for a common outlook and for common principles to inspire and guide the peoples of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment” (UNEP, 1972) were considered. This was one of the first steps towards international cooperation about environment concerns and sustainable development in the world. However, the first steps towards international cooperation in the Arctic were taken somewhat later. At the time, when the UN Conference was held in Stockholm, there was no room for multilateral cooperation in the Arctic other than for limited areas such as the 1973 Agreement on Conservation of Polar Bears (which was an agreement between the five states with polar bear populations) (Koivurova, 2014).

Between the years 1947 and 1991 was the Cold War, a political and military tension between the United States (and its NATO allies), and the Soviet Union (and its allies in the Warsaw Pact). During the Cold War the Arctic was one of the main strategic military confrontations. The circumpolar Arctic was a politically sensitive region and heavily militarized as it was an area of strategic confrontation during that time. The Kola Peninsula port was used by the Soviet Union to access the Atlantic Ocean. Under the Arctic ice cap, submarines formed the Soviet Union's second-strike capability which was later fortified with a build-up of naval power from the 1960s and onwards. For the U.S. and her allies the Arctic was also a strategic area and it was important to protect the sea routes between Europe and America (Østerud and Hønneland, 2014).

In the late eighties and early nineties, the Cold War came to an end and since then the Arctic has evolved from a potential conflict zone to an arena for international cooperation (Østerud and Hønneland, 2014). It is generally considered that the beginning of international cooperation was when Mikhail Gorbachev, the communist leader of the Soviet Union, held a speech in Murmansk in 1987. In his speech he proposed various possible areas for Arctic cooperation (Koivurova, 2014). He spoke about a wide array of security, economic and environmental issues in a unified package. The speech has been known as a major turning point in the Soviet-Arctic policies (Åtland, 2008). Gorbachev discussed the Arctic as a 'zone of peace' and this has often been considered the initiation of the Arctic debate. He proposed various possible areas for Arctic cooperation and subsequently, ideas for international cooperation were advanced (Young, 2012).

4.2 The Rovaniemi Process and the AEPS

Two years after Gorbachev's speech, common concerns about trans boundary environmental hazard triggered the Finnish initiative (Weiderman, 2014). The reason was that pollution of the northern parts of Finland by the mining-industry in the Soviet Kola-peninsula had come into focus in Finland (Elferink, 1992). After the Finnish proposal, the eight delegations of the Arctic nations met in Rovaniemi, Finland in September 1989, to discuss Arctic Environmental Protection. The number of ambassadors from each delegations varied, from one in Iceland, to eleven from Finland. For instance it was debated whether terms should be more consultative or regular and how much interests of indigenous peoples should be taken into account. The meeting in 1989 ended with a consent to continue the discussion year later, and that all nations should prepare environmental reports (Young, 1998).

The second meeting took place in Yellowknife in Canada. There the main emphasis were formed for environmental assessment and monitoring of certain pollutants. There had been an increase in observers on the second meeting, with members from the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), West-Germany and Britain (Young, 1998).

After the two negotiating rounds in 1989 and 1990 the Arctic states signed a declaration (the Rovaniemi Declaration) and adopted a strategy for Arctic environmental protection in 1991 (Koivurova, 2014). It was agreed to work towards a meeting of circumpolar Ministers responsible for Arctic environmental issues. There

were numerous technical and scientific reports prepared under the initiative, as well as the Arctic Environmental Protection Strategy (AEPS). The AEPS strategy represented the culmination of the cooperative efforts of the eight Arctic nations (AEPS, 1991). Six priority pollution problems in the region were identified. They were POPs, Oil Pollution, Heavy Metals, Noise, Radioactivity, and Acidification. Action plans to compact these problems were set up and four working groups were established in which each was dedicated a different environmental issue (Weiderman, 2014). With the AEPS in 1991 the Arctic became a distinct place for international policy and law. Before this cooperation it was hard to identify the Arctic as a political legal area, since there is no defined political unit called “the Arctic”. With the AEPS a platform for international cooperation in the region was created. This platform was later merged into the Arctic Council from 1996 to 1998 which operated in a similar manner (Koivurova, 2012).

Young (2010) argues that the processes discussed above, were part of the first socio-ecological state change in the Arctic. The Arctic was opened up to a variety of initiatives that were framed in circumpolar rather than global terms. The effect of this state change was that it delinked the Arctic from global concerns. It also brought down barriers that had started efforts to create co-operative arrangements encompassing the Arctic as a distinct region. The result was an opening of the floodgates to a wide range of co-operative initiatives (Young, 2010).

4.3 The Arctic Council

The Ottawa Declaration in September 1996 formally established the Arctic Council as a high level intergovernmental forum to provide a means for promoting cooperation, coordination and interaction among the Arctic States, with the involvement of the Arctic Indigenous communities and other Arctic inhabitants on common Arctic issues, in particular issues of sustainable development and environmental protection in the Arctic. The Arctic Council was established as a regional cooperation forum, with institutional structure that remains largely intact today (VanderZwaag, 2011). The Arctic Council broadened the mandate of the AEPS to include the issue of sustainable development (Weiderman, 2014). The most changes included the unprecedented status the region's indigenous peoples received in intergovernmental cooperation, changing their status from observers to permanent participant. It entailed that the Arctic states required consulting indigenous populations before making

decisions (Koivurova, 2012). The six international organizations that represent Arctic indigenous peoples and have permanent participant status in the Arctic Council are: Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC), Aleut International Association (AIA), Gwich'in Council International (GCI), Inuit Circumpolar Council, Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON) and the Saami Council (SC) (Arctic Council, 2015a).

In the Ottawa Declaration 1996 it was also noted that observer status was open to non-Arctic states, inter-governmental and inter-parliamentary organizations, global and regional, and non-governmental organizations. The number of permanent participants was to be less than the number of members (Arctic States, 1996). In 2015 there are currently twelve permanent observer countries in the Arctic Council along with the eight member states and the permanent participants,. The observers have no voting power in the Arctic Council. Until May 2013, six states had a permanent observer status in the Arctic Council: Britain, France, Netherlands, Germany, Poland and Spain. In May 2013 the Arctic Council granted permanent observer status to six more applicants, China, India, Japan, South Korea, Singapore and Italy. They have all sought economic opportunities in the region. It is possible that they view the participation as a means to influence the decisions of its permanent members. The European Union (EU) application was also accepted, although the EU will not become permanent observer until later on. The increasing observer states are said to reflect the growing interests in the region as well as the growing prominence of issues facing the Arctic region (New York Times, 2013).

4.3.1 Chairmanship

The chairmanship of the Arctic Council rotates every two years among the eight Arctic states. Recently, the second round cycle of chairmanships began when Canada assumed chairmanship for the second time. The United States assumed their second chairmanship on 24 April 2015 (Arctic Council, 2015b). The United States' theme for the chairmanship is "One Arctic: Shared Opportunities, Challenges, and Responsibilities". It aims at reflecting the U.S. commitment to a well managed Arctic with international cooperation. The US intends to use this opportunity to make significant progress in their Arctic policy objectives, but their *National Strategy for the Arctic Region* was released in May 2013 and an *Implementation Plan* in January 2014. The focus will be on three main areas: improving economic and living

conditions in Arctic communities; Arctic Ocean safety, security and stewardship; and addressing the impacts of climate change (U.S. Department of State, n.d.).

4.3.2 The Working Groups

The main environmental protection and sustainable development work of the Arctic Council is within its working groups. There are six working groups that conduct most of the work for the Arctic Council and cover a broad field of subjects. They are:

1. Arctic Contaminants Action Program (ACAP)
2. Arctic Monitoring and Assessment Programme (AMAP)
3. Conservation of Arctic Flora and Fauna (CAFF)
4. Emergency Prevention, Preparedness and Response (EPPR)
5. Protection of the Arctic Marine Environment (PAME)
6. Sustainable Development Working Group (SDWG)

Each working group has a specific mandate under which it operates. Each group also has a Chair and a Management Board or a steering Committee. Each group is supported by a Secretariat as well. The groups are usually comprised of representatives of national governmental agencies of the Arctic Council Member States, connected to the mandates of the Working Groups and representatives of the permanent participants (Arctic Council, 2011).

4.3.3 The Role of the Arctic Council

At first the Council did not receive much attention globally but much has changed over the last few years. Environmental changes and economic opportunities have made the region valuable and subsequently the Arctic Council draws attention as a prominent player in the region. These changes have led to the discussion about the role of the Arctic Council. Since the beginning its role has been to generate regional knowledge, frame the current issues, and setting scientific, socio-cultural and political economic agendas. The Council has been successful in this role and managed to attract attention of policymakers and member states. Nevertheless, some claim that it needs to be strengthened to address new challenges and opportunities. However, it lacks legitimacy, recognition and influence to be strengthened (Spencer, 2013). To make rules to encourage and protect, organizations need to be empowered. An

example of an empowered organization is the EU. The EU collects taxes from its member states, and enforces a wide range of common regulations to its member states. The benefits of free trade could not be achieved if labor and social policies varied radically between the member states (Dunne, 2013).

The Arctic Council differs from the EU in many ways, for example it does not collect taxes from its member states and it also lacks the capacity to enforce common regulations. Like the Rovaniemi, the Arctic Council was created through a declaration, not a treaty (Koivurova, 2014). A declaration involves a soft law structure, which can both be positive and negative. According to Koivurova (2012) the Arctic Council's strength is that it can stay flexible because of its soft-law structure. Soft-law is when actors try to create norms, without a legally binding international treaty. The soft-law international cooperation was popular with Arctic stakeholder at first, as it seemed to enable better participation by the region's actors. It is also flexible as it does not establish international legal obligations for states and no domestic structures are involved. But the flaw of the soft-law system is that in order for soft-laws to have impact, the soft-law rules and principles must be accepted in international treaties as international law and lawyers can dictate how the norm-making process is understood (Koivurova, 2014). Thus there has been a lot of discussion about the future role of the Arctic Council and how it can be strengthened. One idea is that an international legal binding treaty will resolve the issue.

4.4 Legally Binding Treaty in the Arctic?

Koivurova (2014) claims that the main objective of international treaties is to provide clear rules and guidance in the changing Arctic political landscape, with new possibilities and economic activities entering the region. Because of the increase in offshore oil and gas development and various types of shipping accessing the region, search and rescue and oil spill preparedness and response are needed in case of accidents is scarce. The Arctic Ocean is projected to be ice-free during summer months by 2030-2040 and therefore legal rules are needed to respond to shipping and fisheries. National governance is done via legal acts and mandates, making soft-law impossible, except in a discussion forum like the Arctic Council. Soft-law is only enough when the challenges are moderate, whereas international legal binding treaties are needed to respond to grave challenges. Hence, when the Arctic was an inaccessible frozen desert, the soft law structure was enough. But with the

transformation of the Arctic which entails increasing economic activities, treaties are needed.

Cooperation in the Arctic is displayed in States reliance on international law, multilateral cooperation and bilateral treaties, in addressing boundary delimitation. One idea is that bilateral treaties between the Arctic nations may fill the gaps in the legal framework and allow for resource exploration to advance. One example of a particular bilateral treaty is the 2010 Barents Sea Agreement between Norway and Russia. It concludes that environmental, political and economic factors are preventing development in the Barents Sea. The Barents Sea is important as Statoil announced a major offshore oil find there. However, improvements are needed in the international conventions governing the Arctic to protect the marine environment. The current legal regime is inadequate for resolving claims resulting from increased activity in the Arctic. Adoption of multilateral dispute resolution treaty to resolve boundary delimitation issues is perhaps one solution (Goins, Loftis and Tyler, 2012).

The full realization of global climate change impacts has transformed the way the Arctic regions was seen. The Arctic Climate Impact Assessment in 2004 established early warning signs of global warming, with serious impacts on the Arctic environment, its ecosystems and local and indigenous communities. This reality has affected the Arctic states view on how international policies should be advanced and a more treaty-based approach took over. In 2011 the Arctic States adopted the *Agreement on Cooperation on Aeronautical and Maritime Search and Rescue in the Arctic*. It has now entered into force. A second legally binding agreement, *the Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution, Preparedness and Response in the Arctic*, was adopted in May 2013. These two are the first legally binding agreements that have been negotiated by the Arctic states for their Arctic regions. (Koivurova, 2014). It has also been recommended that the Polar Code in 2009 should be made a legally binding document and in 2014 a mandatory Polar Code draft was made. Furthermore, there have been discussion between the five Arctic Coastal states to take proactive steps if the Central Arctic Ocean fishery becomes possible with the melting sea ice and warming waters. They agreed in their 2014 meeting that precautionary measures were needed to prevent future commercial fisheries. In addition, the Saami indigenous people who inhabit four Arctic states, have proposed a draft to accommodate the self-determination of Saami people within the territory of

three-nation-states and improve the cross-border contract and cooperation of Saami communities in these countries. (Koivurova, 2014)

Although more and more are calling for an overarching Arctic treaty to better coordinate and respond to climate change, the question is whether the Arctic states are ready that kind of commitment. The Arctic 5 have stated that UNCLOS is an overarching legal framework and that there was no need to develop an additional new legal regime to govern the Arctic Ocean (Koivurova, 2014). According to Koivurova (2014) the Arctic could still remain a soft-law body despite lacking the capacity to enforce regulations or treaties. The Council can still remain a forum for cooperation giving political direction and advice. The form of a legal treaty does not have to be a legal foundations that sponsors scientific assessments. As stated earlier, the Arctic Council has been successful in its role in providing assessments and identifying the main challenges in the region. However, individual challenges, like the possibility of oil spill with extraction, tourism and shipping, need a legally binding treaty.

4.5 Sovereignty

When discussing legally binding treaties and global or regional institutions, it is relevant to discuss the concept of sovereignty. For some states treaties and membership in institution infringes too much on their sovereignty. However, as the world becomes increasingly globalized global and regional institutions are becoming the norm. As liberalists argue, membership in organizations help to promote peace (Dunne et al., 2013). The modern international state system is very focused on sovereignty. Sovereignty is a concept that is perhaps the most complex in political science, as it has many definitions and some may even be contradictory. Benoist (n.d.) claims that it is defined in two ways. He notes that the “first definition applies to supreme public power, which has the right and, in theory, the capacity to impose its authority in the last instance. The second definition refers to the holder of legitimate power, who is recognized to have authority” (Benoist, n.d.). National sovereignty is applicable with the former definition, as it refers to independence and the freedom of a collective entity to act. The latter has more to do with power and legitimacy. Internationally, sovereignty means independence. That is the non-interference by external powers in the internal affairs of another state (Benoist, n.d.).

Sovereignty is of high importance for states and legally binding international treaties are therefore complicated. Sovereignty is the most dominant governing

arrangement, although today the authority of the territorial nation state are eroding. International institutions are able to limit the sovereign authority of the nation state. An example of this is the United Nations human rights standards, that have created standing courts to enforce international principles of justice. Multinational interventions have become common, when human rights are ignored, or when states fail to live up to their obligations and provide security for their citizens. This is very obvious in the “war on terror” and cross-border raids without approval (Carlson, 2013).

With the changing environment in the Arctic and its impacts on indigenous livelihoods and cultures as well as the discussion of territorial rights, climate change, vulnerable ecosystems and ice-free shipping routes, the concept of sovereignty is shifting. The complexities of interstate relations and bilateral or multilateral agreements of the Arctic states are increasing. International security might be at risk as states contest for territorial claims in the region and non-polar countries look to the North as a region that will provide global resources for the future (Murray, 2014). However with a strong government structure and clear law and rules, that might be avoided and pose less risk for the environment. If states cooperate and comply, a legally binding treaty could be one way to resolve these issues.

4.6 Territorial Claims in the Arctic

In this thesis it has both been contemplated that cooperation is increasing and that many fear conflict, especially in relation to territorial claims. Therefore a discussion about territorial claims is useful to outline the extent of disputes over territories in the Arctic.

It attracted great attention when Russia planted its flag on the North Pole sea bed in 2007. The icebreaker, *Rossiya*, broke its way through the ice and two submarines were put out. One of them went to the sea bed, down four thousand meters depth, and with a robotic arm the boat managed to plant the Russian flag on the bottom (Guðjónsson, 2013). This was a symbolical move to claim the billions of dollars worth of oil and gas in the Arctic Ocean (The Guardian, 2007). However, this kind of settlement maybe would have been acknowledged in the 15th century, but not today.

4.7 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

Today all members of the Arctic Council, except the United States, have validated the UNCLOS. The UNCLOS features a new layered sovereignty in regard to maritime borders, in which territorial sovereignty of nation states is broadened. From the seventeenth century, states with coastline have considered the three nautical miles their territorial waters. The Grotian principle of *mare liberum* stated that beyond this the water was free and belonged to no one. In the twentieth century, countries sought to extend their waters and UNCLOS is the modification for the three nautical mile standard (Carlson, 2013).

The UNCLOS was signed in 1982 and became effective in 1994. It creates a framework for environmental management, and obligations to protect and preserve the marine environment. But more notably, it changes the nature of territorial sovereignty, as it defines multiple spheres of overlapping rights, responsibilities, and political authority. What UNCLOS does is that it defines the maritime baseline from which additional areas are defined. Territorial waters were extended to 12 nautical miles (nm) seaward from the baseline. The coastal state can set laws, regulate use and exploit resources while foreign vessels are allowed 'innocent passage'. The 'contiguous zone' is additional 12 nm beyond the 12 nm territorial waters. There the coastal state has additional rights to enforce laws regarding pollution, taxation, customs and immigration. Extending 200 nm from the baseline, coastal states control an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Within that zone they maintain sole rights over all natural resources in the area. The 'continental shelf' is an opportunity for coastal states to lay claims beyond the 200 nm baseline limit and then have the exclusive rights to harvest mineral and non-living material in the subsoil, like for example oil (Carlson, 2013). For the Arctic this involves resources, such as petroleum and fisheries. Therefore much of the dispute over the Arctic has revolved around claims of continental shelves and what is the defined and recognized limit of the claimant (Carlson, 2013).

4.7.1 Russia

By signing the UNCLOS in 1997, Russia gained more Arctic marine area than any other country. It made it also possible for Russia to claim submission to extend its EEZ boundary further North. This has caused an increase in Arctic seabed research and subsequently, the country submitted claim to extend their EEZ in 2001 where it

was requested an additional 1.2 million square kilometers of marine economic control. To back up its claim, Russia has used its military and powers through activities like strategic bomber flights, and naval expeditions to protect their interests in the Arctic. However, other coastal states with potential claims in the Arctic will potentially overlap with Russian claims. Those include most notably Norway, which has an overlapping EEZ with Russia, as well as Canada and Greenland. (Carlson, 2013).

Norway and Russia made the Varangerfjord agreement in 1957 over the sea boundaries in the Varangerfjord. The borders in the Barents sea, in which Norway and Russia had overlapping EEZ, have been settled. It was called a “Grey Zone” which means that both countries enjoyed fishing access, but not mineral or hydrocarbon access (Carlson, 2013). In 2010 the dispute was settled and a delamination agreement made between the two countries. The contested area was divided closely down the middle. This symbolized cooperation between equal parties in the Arctic, but it is believed that Russia made the agreement to show the outside world that Russia is a ‘civilized’ state that follows the rules of the UNCLOS (Østerud and Hønneland, 2014).

Denmark and Canada also overlap with Russian claims. Both countries are researching the Lomonsov Ridge, which has the possibility to extend their EEZ zone beyond Russia’s claimed limit. (Carlson, 2013).

Regarding the flag that Russia planted on the sea bed of the North Pole in 2007, other countries with potential stake (Denmark, US, Canada and Norway) submitted written response to the Commission. Denmark and Canada did not give an opinion after Russia’s submission, while US, Norway and Japan offered a negative response to the claim. The United States responded with scientific data and argued that the Alpha-Mendeleev and the Lomonsov Ridges were not a part of any state’s continental shelf, but an independent feature consisting of magma or freestanding formations (Carlson, 2013).

If the claims submitted by Russia will be accepted, Russia will dominate the oil and gas market in the future. It could also gain revenue from shipping routes. But to clear the shipping routes Russia would have to use icebreakers which is very costly. (Carlson, 2013). As of 2015 Russia has 40 icebreakers in the Arctic Ocean with dozen more planned (CNN, 2015).

4.7.2 Canada

In Canada the first territorial claim in the Arctic sea is the Beaufort Sea, which conflicts with the United States claim. To support Canada's claim, Canadians have begun mapping the continental shelf and have spent large amount on the project. They argue that the Beaufort Sea is covered with large amounts of sediments, which flows out of the Mackenzie River. Under UNCLOS, this evidence would constitute as sufficient to extend the Canadian territory in the Beaufort sea (Carlson, 2013).

Another claim by Canada, is the extension of its continental shelf and pertains to the Lomonsov Ridge, which overlaps with Russia and Denmark claims. Canadians have presented scientific evidence for this claim as well, and say that geological links are between Ellesmere Islands and the Lomonsov Ridge. If this will be accepted, then Canada's territory would extend to the edge of the North Pole (Carlson, 2013).

The third claims is the conflict with Denmark over Hans Islands. This island lies between Canada's Ellesmere Island and Denmark's Greenland. The island is situated directly on the continental shelf boundary, which separates Greenland from Canada's Arctic islands (Carlson, 2013).

In the summer of 2005, Canadian military landed on Hans Island and substituted the Canadian flag for the Danish flag. Bill Graham, the Canadian Minister of National Defense, came to the island a week later and said his tour was a part of Canadian installations located in the Far North. This caused an uproar in Denmark, which has rejected Canada's claims over the island, but no changes have occurred and the countries still disagree with each other (Carlson, 2013).

4.7.3 Denmark

Denmark has sovereignty over Greenland and the Faroe Island in addition to the mainland Denmark. The continental shelf of Greenland and the Faroe Islands are most important, especially in Greenland's continental shelf where oil and gas reserves exist (Carlson, 2013). It wasn't until in June 2009 that Greenland declared full self determination right in procedural (legal) rights and natural resources. They were recognized as a nation by international law although the Danish state still manages foreign and defense policy (Guðjónsson, 2013).

There are five areas Denmark has the potential to claim. Three of these areas are off of Greenland and include Eirik's Ridge, the Lomonsov Ridge, and the East Greenland Ridge. The Lomonsov Ridge claim could conflict with Russia's claim.

The two potential claims around Faroe Islands lie to their northeast and southwest. These claims are based on basaltic rocks that reach far offshore on the continental shelf. However, Great Britain, Ireland and Iceland have also made claims for this area which means it will be harder to claim than the areas off of Greenland. Two potential conflicts are with Canada's claim over Hans Islands and with Russia (and perhaps) over the area extending to the North Pole (Carlson, 2013).

On December 15th 2014, Denmark submitted a claim to the limits of the continental shelf, arguing that the area around the North Pole is connected to the continental shelf of Greenland (UNCLOS, 2015).

4.7.4 Norway

Norway has sovereignty over mainland Norway, Jan Mayen island and Svalbard. Norway has also submitted claim to the Loop Hole, Banana Hole and the Western Nansen Basin in 2006 (Carlson, 2013).

Norway was granted sovereignty over Svalbard with the 1920 Svalbard Treaty. What has created controversy is a disagreement of the interpretation of an aspect of the treaty which grants treaty parties equal rights to Svalbard resource exploitation. Norway argues that as it only discusses equal exploitation in the territorial sea of Svalbard, it does not apply outside that area. A specific four-mile territorial sea for Svalbard has been established, and Norway's position is that it should possess exclusive right to resource exploitation in the EEZ and continental shelf of Svalbard (Carlson, 2013).

The claim for the Loop Hole in the Barents Sea overlaps with Russian claims. The reason being that there are different interpretations on how to draw territorial boundary lines. Finally, the claim for the Southern Banana Hole overlaps with Iceland claim to the continental shelf. The two countries have agreed to submit this dispute to the CLCS for a recommendation (Carlson, 2013).

4.7.5 The United States

The United States did not sign the UNCLOS, and therefore do not have access to the forum in which potential claims could be protected. The US believe that they have stake in the Arctic but conservationist dissent with the claim of the Convention stating that the seabed beyond territorial limits is the world's common heritage. However, the US could claim the Alaskan North Slope as their territorial limits and that could shift

the position of conservationists. But as other countries are extending their territory, less is being left as common heritage. For example in the Beaufort Sea there is an area that US and Canada's claims could overlap. The US argues that the boundary should run along the median line between the countries, but it risks losing the territorial dispute by not ratifying the convention. Still the convention has not gotten through the Congress because many believe it undermines the US sovereignty (Carlson, 2013).

4.7.6 Other Countries

As can be seen by this overview, the major territorial claims in the Arctic are settled, with the exceptions mentioned above. Over the past few years, the Arctic has become a subject of greater strategic interest. While the traditional way of life for indigenous Arctic people is under threat, some are welcoming the changes. This applies for big trading nations, like Singapore, Japan and Korea, since they want to take advantage of the emerging Arctic-shipping lanes. For example, Russia's Northern Sea Route has considerable potential and would save days of shipping times from Asia to Europe, depending on sea ice (Runnalls, 2014).

Other countries have as well showed interest in getting access to the new sea routes in the Arctic Ocean. For example China has released an Arctic strategy and reinforced its military maritime strategy, shifting it from regional to global in the context of UNCLOS. The area of focus for China is especially the eastern parts of the region, where it is expected to project power and interests (Cassotta et al., 2015).

Because all Arctic states comply with the UNCLOS (US has agreed to comply with it although they have not ratified it) political tension is not high. There has been military withdrawal for the last years, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) base on the Faroe Islands has been dismantled and the US have abandoned Keflavik in Iceland as well as most bases in Greenland. According to Østerud and Hønneland (2014) there is a new power game in the Arctic, with Western disagreement about questions of jurisdiction. This, and crossed interest over transport routes and resources, could potentially lead to rivalry between the Arctic states. It is well known that there are rich fishing grounds in Arctic waters, but there is uncertainty about the location as well as the amounts of oil, gas and minerals. Exploitation also leads to a discussion about security, patrolling and formal authority in many contested areas (Østerud and Hønneland, 2014).

In an attempt to limit national claims within an institutional framework, the coastal states crafted the Ilulissat Declaration. The Declaration declares that jurisdiction and territorial claims should be solved by negotiations within the existing international legal framework and there should be no free ‘race to the North Pole’ (The Ilulissat Declaration, 2008).

Despite what some had projected when the ice started to melt in the Arctic, there is little if any signs of political conflict in the Arctic. There is a good reason to believe that states see cooperation as their primary choice in the future. A discussion of an overarching Arctic treaty to supplement the UNCLOS has been evident in recent years. The European Parliament issued a resolution advocating such treaty in 2008. However, all relevant actors agreed that UNCLOS was sufficient to protect the Arctic environment in 2008 (Østerud and Hønneland, 2014), although that view might be shifting today.

4.8 Governance Challenges

To better explain the division of opinions regarding the main issues in the Arctic it is useful to look at Nord’s (2015) article about governance challenges in the Arctic. He explains how the discussion mainly revolves around six central questions: (1) *Who* is to govern? (2) *What* is to be governed? (3) *Where* is governance to take place? (4) *When* is governance to operate? (5) *How* is governance to function? and, (6) *Why* is governance necessary? Nord discusses each of these questions further, as well as looking at the Arctic Council’s position. In this chapter these questions will be discussed, as they provide a good overview of the different Arctic issues.

4.8.1 Who is to Govern?

It is a complicated matter to answer who should govern in the Arctic. While some favor a state-centric view of the Arctic, others see the region as representing a new opportunity for subnational and non-state actors to play a significant role for building its future. Therefore, the state sovereignty faces the demands for inclusion by new participants in global decision-making (Nord, 2015). That includes for example the indigenous peoples in the North, the people who have occupied the Arctic for centuries and are most affected by the changes it is undergoing.

Yet others outside the region have also claimed interest in the area. There a system that reflects northern interests, confronts claims that the Arctic is a global

concern and that Arctic governance should be broadly inclusive. In this context, the Arctic Council has a clear position; the eight Arctic states are the chief constituents of the region, and are its central players in all Arctic affairs. However, the Council has granted six indigenous organizations a permanent participants status and a seat at the negotiating table. They are consulted in most decision making and involved in research efforts. In recent years other countries have also been granted an observer status, as has been discussed above (Nord, 2015).

4.8.2 What is to be Governed?

The question about *what* should be governed in the Arctic is also controversial. Should international governance and cooperation only focus on matters beyond sovereign control of individual states? If so, than matters such as trans boundary Arctic pollution or the provision of safety and security measures for commerce or travel that transcend the region should be the centerpiece of such collective efforts (Nord, 2015).

A question often asked in this regard is: can the global community affect individual states decisions? If states make decision based on their own (economic interests) in the name of national sovereignty than the Arctic is vulnerable for all kinds of risks, like oil spills, which has a snowball affect on biodiversity, climate change, livelihoods of Arctic residents and so on. That is why others argue that there are so many broad and common concerns in the North, like global warming, economic development and protection and promotion of indigenous languages and cultures, that they need to be facilitated by any system of Arctic governance (Nord, 2015). Therefore the discussion of an overarching Arctic treaty has been more evident recently, as it would be more effective in protecting these common concerns.

For the Arctic Council, the discussions at first were about trans boundary pollution and environmental concerns. Now it also deals with issues of climate change, business development, support of indigenous languages and culture and facilitates emergency response. But when nations, especially big ones like Russia, US and Canada, want to claim their resources and control over security and economic development in the Arctic, it can be hard to cease to do so and to address these issues first unilaterally. Two issues are of growing important in the Arctic; social, economic and health needs of the Arctic population as well as new business opportunities and resource development. These are overlapping issues and how the Arctic Council will

find balance between them, says a lot about what is to be governed in the future (Nord, 2015).

4.8.3 Where is Governance to Take Place?

Where Arctic governance should take place is mainly a question as to whether it should be maritime or terrestrially based. Some believe that it should primarily be maritime based, which led to the Arctic 5 formation, where the countries whose coastline border on the Arctic Ocean made the Ilulissat Declaration in 2008 (Young, 2010). However the other three Arctic countries (Iceland, Sweden and Finland) were not content with this development, and neither were the indigenous peoples of the region (Nord, 2015). It even caused some tension on the ground. Young (2010) states that the strategy of the Arctic 5 to maintain control over the action in central Arctic will not be successful in the long run. If there are natural resources in the region, major players like China and the EU will not overlook the Arctic as well as by non-state actors. These developments could also be disruptive for the Arctic Council (Young, 2010). With the Arctic 5 largely ignoring indigenous peoples organization (along with the other three Arctic nations) when crafting the May 2008 Ilulissat Declaration, they took steps to assert their right to be consulted regarding Arctic issues (Young, 2010).

For the Arctic Council, the initial undertaking were directed toward the land. Scientific studies were conducted, supplemented by surveys of plant and animal population. However, the development in recent years has been more towards the peoples of the north. Health, education and employment needs of the Arctic habitants has been undertaken. This late lean towards these areas maybe reflects the difficulty of the Council to infringe upon sovereign rights of the Arctic governments. But these inquires are likely to expand with greater concern over human presence in the Arctic (Nord, 2015).

4.8.4 When is Governance to Operate?

When should a new system of Arctic governance operate? There are at least two points of view regarding this. Some say it should only take place as a supplement to individual state efforts because they are best qualified to address the concerns of the region on their own. Then collective efforts are only needed when problems transcend their sovereign control and cannot be dealt with effectively on a unilateral basis. A

different opinion argues that many Arctic matters transcend national borders and the abilities of individual states to address them since most Arctic issues are broad and include common concerns (Nord, 2015).

The Arctic Council supports the former opinion. Then all collective Arctic management should take place in a limited number of domains where particular problems may transcend state sovereignty or cannot be dealt with effectively on a unilateral basis. There is no general commitment though to take collective action. Arctic governance is not the first response to any identified problems, it is the responsibility of individual governments (Nord, 2015).

4.8.5 How is Governance to Function?

How should a system of Arctic governance be established? Some say it should rise from already operating international agreements and practices. They argue for example that the Law of the Sea agreement provides adequate guidance and direction for maritime actions in the region. On the other hand others argue that these global agreements are not adequate to address the specific needs and requirements in the Arctic. The Arctic has such a unique ecological and social systems that are administration from outside the Arctic region might pose a threat to the sensitive environmental conditions and the traditional livelihoods of the indigenous peoples in the North. This point of view calls for the establishment of a distinctive system of regional governance rather than importation of a global standards and frameworks (Nord, 2015).

There is little will to create a broad array of regional agreements and regulations within the Arctic Council, that might guide the conduct of the Arctic states and residents. Some question whether it is wise to address major questions on climate change and sustainable development only from a regional vantage point. It is rather an inter-governmental forum than an empowered international organizations and the Arctic Council lacks the capacity to promote such measures on its own. Instead it has chosen to promote awareness (Nord, 2015).

4.8.6 Why is a System of Governance in the Arctic Necessary?

There is a variety of motivations and agendas for propelling such assessments. Some say that it is to avoid an unregulated and potentially destructive "race for resources" between individual states and international businesses. Another point is that a well-

known structure of governance will assist the peoples and countries of the area to maximize their potential benefit derived from such resource exploitation. But the most important thing, many suggest, is to help protect both the sensitive ecological systems and the traditional life and culture of the residents of the Arctic region (Nord, 2015).

5 Conclusion for Part I: Governance in the Arctic

As can be seen by the discussion above, opinions towards Arctic governance are divided. Since after the Cold War, cooperation between the Arctic States has increased steadily, and especially in the last few years. The Arctic Council plays a large role and is seen as a venue for communication and research by the Arctic States. Thus Arctic governance has evolved towards cooperation where all stakeholders agree that the environment needs to be protected. Because of risks that follow extraction in the Arctic, the main discussion now revolves around how governance in the region can be strengthened. While some say that legally binding treaty is necessary, others fear that it would mean too much intrusion on the sovereignty of individual states. Sovereignty contradicts in some ways with international organizations where overarching treaties are often made, limiting the self-decision rights of sovereign states. However, as Koivurova (2014) argues, the soft-law structure of the Arctic Council was maybe enough when the changes in the Arctic were subtle. But as researchers have shown in recent years global warming effects have increased severely in the region and the changes are no longer subtle. That is why an international legally binding treaty would be more effective.

The concept of sovereignty might be changing, with the increasing importance of international organizations and legally binding treaties. There are many stakeholders in the Arctic, but perhaps those with most at stake are the indigenous peoples that are most affected by the changes. While many see the opening up of the Arctic as providing new economic opportunities, most recognize the need to protect the sensitive environment in the Arctic. The discussion about Arctic governance is driven by the will to protect the region, its people, nature and ecosystems. The warning signs are already blinking and thankfully, people and states are noticing and have choosing to cooperate. Because although there are divisions of opinions, the discussion mostly revolves around *how* cooperation and governance should be constructed and strengthened, but not *if*. Thus the main challenge for Arctic governance today is to find a governance structure that all, both states and non-state actors, agree upon and comply with. Otherwise conflict might occur which could increase the tension in the Arctic and weaken the cooperation efforts of the last decades.

Part II: Attitude Towards Governance in the Arctic

6 The Study

As can be seen in the discussion in Part I of the thesis, Arctic governance is going through turbulent times, both in terms of governance and environmental and social changes. The Arctic environment is characterized by remoteness, diverse natural ecosystems and indigenous communities. Recently many have discussed the need to strengthen the government structures in the region. In the context of climate change, sustainability and environment protection, some have stated that the Arctic needs to be viewed as a safety threat. Meaning that the highest standard of environmental protection and responsible development is required when building policies and institutional structures (Ebinger, Banks, and Schackmann, 2014).

To promote this development and influence policymakers around the Arctic, the Arctic Council's working groups regularly have meeting and conferences, introducing scientific findings and providing a forum for discussion. In December 2-4 the Arctic Biodiversity Congress was held in Trondheim, Norway. The purpose of the Congress was "to promote the conservation and sustainable use of Arctic biodiversity through dialogue among scientists, policy-makers, government officials, industry, civil society and indigenous peoples" (CAFF, 2014). One of the main goals was to present and discuss the scientific finding from the Arctic Biodiversity Assessment, a report made by the Arctic Council's working group CAFF. In the following chapter a study conducted on the participants of the Arctic Biodiversity Congress will be presented.

6.1 Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of the study was to gain deeper knowledge and a comprehensive view of attitudes and opinions towards international governance in the Arctic. Moreover, the purpose was to get different views on ways to strengthen Arctic governance. The study was somewhat exploratory, as similar study has not been conducted to the author's knowledge. The main research questions were as follows:

- 1) What are the attitudes towards international governance and cooperation in the Arctic?

2) How could Arctic governance be strengthened in the future?

An additional area of interest was to look at the relationship between sectors from which participants came from and their attitude towards governance in the Arctic.

The term “international governance” refers to the way global affairs are managed and how international cooperation is regulated. International governance in the Arctic involves both states and non-state actors, as well as regional and international organizations.

6.2 The Sample

The sample consisted of all the participants of the Arctic Biodiversity Congress 2014. The Norwegian Environment Agency helped organizing the Congress and therefore possessed a list with information about all the participants, including e-mail addresses. With the permission of the Norwegian Environment Agency this list was used to send out an e-mail survey. The participants consisted of scientists, policy-makers, government officials, industry officials and indigenous peoples. Therefore it was expected that they were able to provide a valuable feedback and input to the study.

In total there were 106 out of 403 people who participated in the survey, or 26.3 percent. Although it is preferable to get a higher response rate when conducting a study (generally about seventy percent) this is considered a good response rate for an e-mail survey targeted at external audience.

6.3 Methodology

A questionnaire was sent out to the participants in the Arctic Biodiversity Congress 2014. The research design chosen was mixed, as the questionnaire included both quantitative and qualitative questions. The majority of questions was based on quantitative methodology, to obtain data for the analysis. The reason was to get a good overview of the divisions of opinion regarding Arctic governance. The final two questions can be considered qualitative, as they were optional open text-box questions.

The online survey software Survey Gizmo, from the website www.surveygizmo.com, was used to design and send out the survey. The first e-mail was sent on April 17. In the e-mail was a short introduction about the topic and the

purpose of the research. It was also noted that the survey was strictly confidential. By clicking a link in the e-mail, participants were able to begin the survey, which was estimated to take approximately 5-10 minutes. In the beginning of the survey, the topic was introduced further. Especially, the term “international governance” was explained to prevent participants from interpreting it in different ways.

The survey was open for two weeks and participants were able to conduct the survey at any time during these two weeks. A second e-mail was sent out as a reminder after the survey had been open for one week.

6.4 Measurements

The first three questions were demographic and described the sample. They included questions about participants’ country of origin, gender and sector from which the participants came. The data from these questions will be presented graphically.

Question number five consisted of four statements about international cooperation, the role of non-state actors and non-arctic states. Likert scale responses were used. The Likert scale is a tool often used when conducting questionnaires, especially when measuring attitude, as it provides more accurate results (Ary et al., 2009). In this questionnaire the responses ranged from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Question six and seven were concerned with the role of indigenous peoples and organizations. Question eight and nine included a list of various Arctic issues and participants were asked to choose three greatest uncertainties and three issues of most importance. Number ten and eleven are both statements with Likert scale responses. Number twelve asked about the importance of specific Arctic issues. All these questions will be presented both graphically and verbally.

Questions number four and eleven will be presented together, as they consisted of seven different statements with Likert scale responses. The statements were intended to measure attitude towards international governance in the Arctic. They either indicated a positive or negative attitude towards Arctic governance. A new composite variable was made from the seven indicators using the statistical software SPSS. The new variable was named ‘positive’, as a high score indicated a more positive attitude toward Arctic governance. The method and results of the composite variable will be presented in more details below.

Finally the last two questions were optional open text box questions and will be presented in a qualitative manner.

7 Analysis

1. What is your country of origin?

In *Figure 1* participants' country of origin can be viewed. 41.5 percent came from either Norway or the United States. There were 14 people from Canada that participated and 10 or less people from the other Arctic states. These numbers are in accordance with the participants in the Arctic Biodiversity Congress. Most participants came from Norway, United States and Canada, although those from Norway were almost twice as many as those from the United States (Ægisdóttir, 2014). Participants in the survey were from various countries around the world. However it has to be noted that the survey asked for the country of origin, hence some might be working in a country they are not originally from.

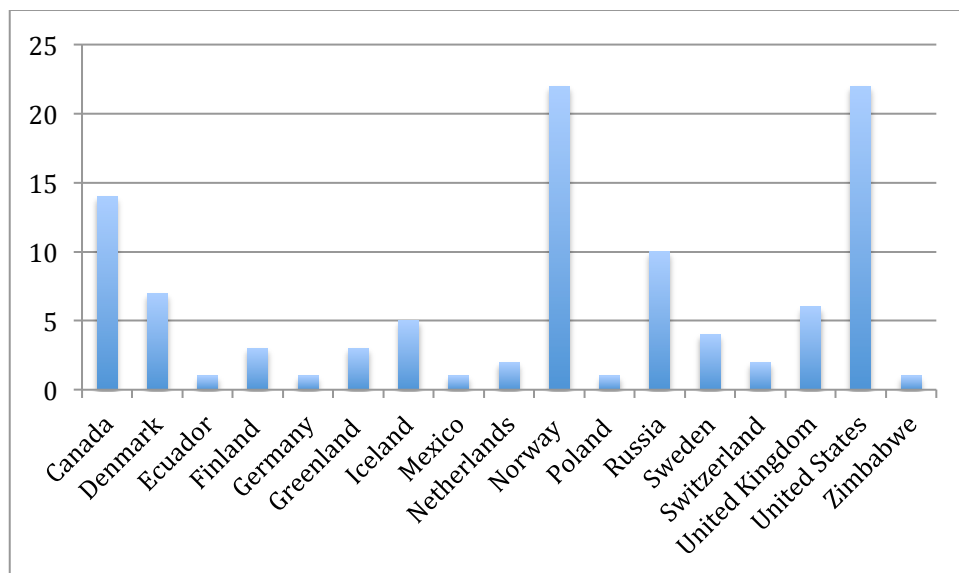


Figure 1 – Participants' country of origin

2. Gender?

Figure 2 shows the gender division of participants in the study. 64.1 percent of the participants in the survey were male and 35.9 percent were female. The gender division was thus similar to the gender division at the Arctic Biodiversity Congress, where male participants were the majority of participants (Ægisdóttir, 2014).

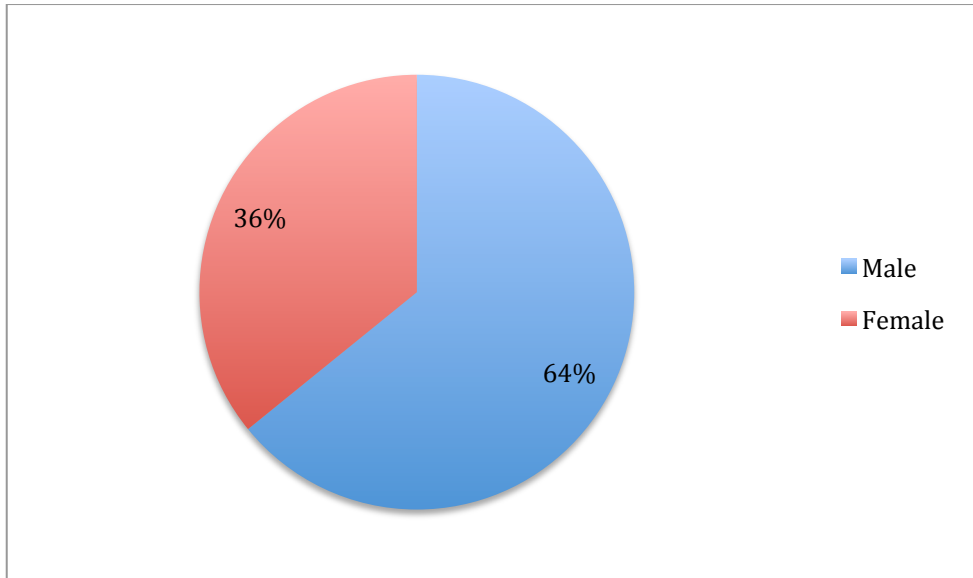


Figure 2 - Gender of participants

3. What sector do you work in?

The participant came from various sectors as *Figure 3* displays. Most of them came from Academia or National government, or 52.8 percent. This is not a surprising consideration the nature of the conference. Its main objective was to present the findings from the Arctic Biodiversity Assessment and to affect policy makers in their decisions (CAFF, 2014).

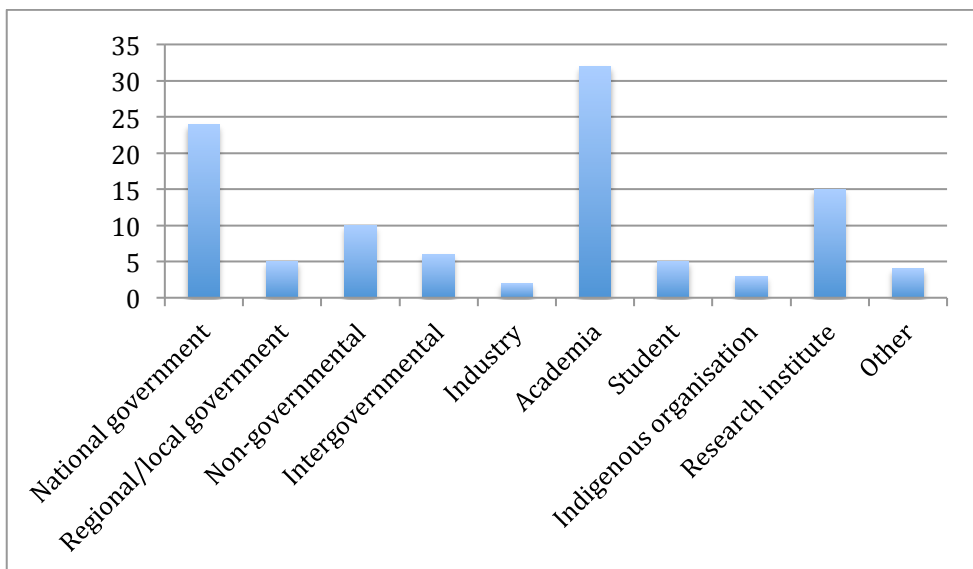


Figure 3 - Sector from which participants came from

5. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements about international governance in the Arctic.

Question number five consisted of four statements that participants answered to which extent they agreed or disagreed with. The results can be viewed in *Table 1*. There were 51.4 percent that either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the first statement, which involved economic opportunities like commercial shipping, oil and gas development, mining, fishing and tourism. Roughly 36 percent either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement and 12.4 percent were undecided. The response reflects the different priorities in Arctic matters. While some believe that the main focus should be on the economic opportunities, others do not see that as a priority but rather to protect the environment in the region.

Most agreed with the second statement regarding non-state actors, or 64 percent combined. Only 16.2 percent disagreed with the statement and hence believed that non-state actors should not be allowed participation in decision-making in the Arctic.

Table 1 – Statements regarding international governance in the Arctic

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
International cooperation should mainly focus on creating guidelines for the new economic opportunities arising in the Arctic	17 16.2%	37 35.2%	13 12.4%	28 26.7%	10 9.5%	105
Non-state actors (for example NGOs) should be allowed participation in international environmental decision-making and policy issues in the Arctic	4 3.8%	13 12.4%	20 19%	59 56.2%	9 8.6%	105
International cooperation should mainly focus on minimizing the risks of climate change	4 3.8%	28 26.7%	12 11.4%	42 40%	19 18.1%	105
Non-Arctic states should have a greater role in decision-making in the Arctic	10 9.5%	37 35.2%	34 32.4%	22 21%	2 1.9%	105

The third statement, about international cooperation in relation to climate change, is one of the main issues today, especially in the Arctic where temperatures are rising fast. However, 30.5 percent disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement and 11.4 percent were undecided. These results were surprising, although more than half agreed, since minimizing the risks of climate change is one of the largest issues in the world today. It is possible that those who disagree believe that it should not *mainly* focus on minimizing the risks of climate change.

32.4 percent were undecided about the fourth and last statement. The role of non-Arctic states has been on the agenda at the Arctic Council. Non-Arctic states have shown an increasing interest in the Arctic in recent years. The motivations could range from business opportunities for commercial shipping, oil and gas exploration, to fishing and tourism (Ary, Razavieh, and Sorensen, 2009). As can be seen in *Table 1* there are many that disagree that they should have a greater role in decision-making in the Arctic, or 44.7 percent.

6. Indigenous peoples interests do not gain sufficient attention at the Arctic Council.

Number six was as well a statement regarding the status of indigenous peoples at the Arctic Council. They have six organizations that participate in discussion at the Council. However, as can be viewed in *Figure 4* there are many that agree that they do not gain sufficient attention at the Arctic Council, despite their unprecedented status. 33 percent agree and 8.5 percent strongly agree. There are also many that are undecided about this statement.

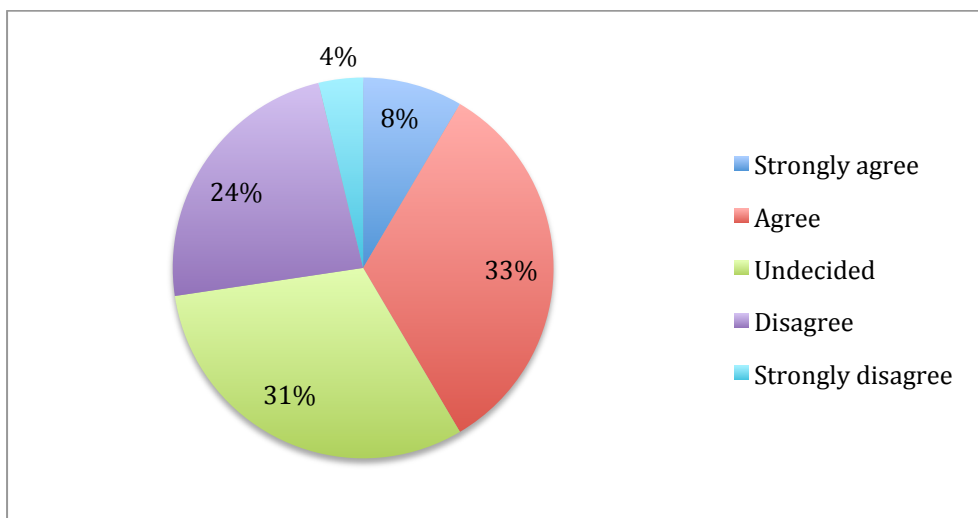


Figure 4 – Indigenous peoples interests do not gain sufficient attention at the Arctic Council

7. *Indigenous peoples organizations should have a greater role in decision making at the Arctic Council.*

The responses here were similar to the former questions, as it entails the same idea: that indigenous peoples status needs to be improved at the Arctic Council. There were about 47 percent that either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement and thus believed that indigenous peoples should have a greater role in decision making. About 18 percent of participants either strongly disagreed with the statement or disagreed and 35 percent were undecided.

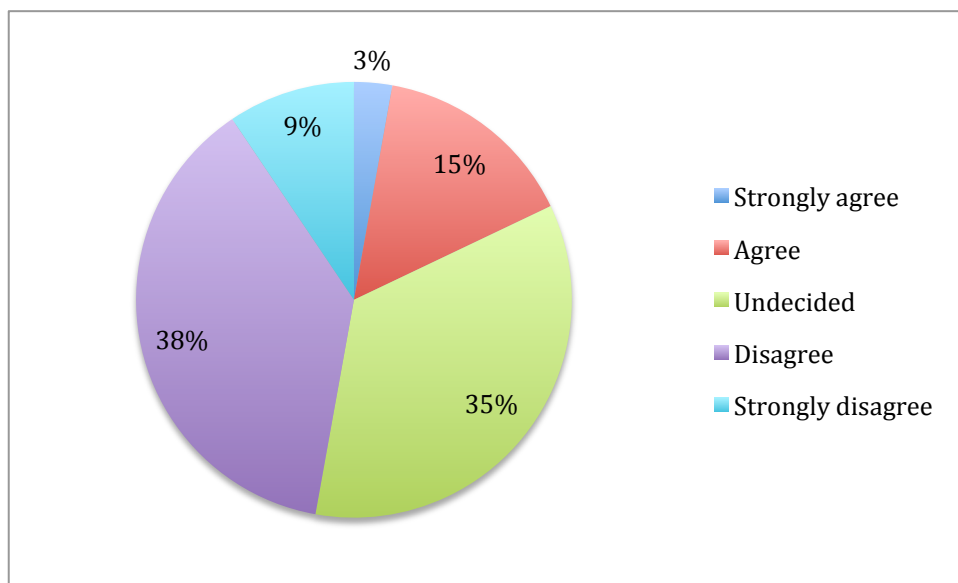


Figure 5 - Indigenous peoples organization should have a greater role in decision making at the Arctic Council

8. *What do you consider the most important issues regarding international governance in the Arctic?*

The response options were thirteen and ranged from economic factors, to social rights and sustainability. It was possible to choose up to three. There were three factors that were chosen the most often. 38 percent believed that *increase in gas and oil extraction* was an uncertain factor. Not surprisingly, *conservation of Arctic species and ecosystems* was chosen by 55 percent of participants. This was probably an important factor for the guests at the Arctic Biodiversity Congress and is one of the greatest uncertainties if the projection of the large reserves of oil and gas in the Arctic

proven to be true. And finally, *sustainable use of natural resources*, was chosen by 54 percent of the participants.

9. *What do you consider the most important issues regarding international governance in the Arctic?*

Question number nine had the same response options and it was also possible to chose up to three issues. As in the former questions, most chose *conservation of Arctic species and ecosystems* (70.8 percent) and *sustainable use of natural resources* (60.4 percent). However, *strengthening the regulatory frameworks*, was one of the main issues in this question and was chosen by 34 percent.

10. *Globalization in the Arctic is positive and provides new opportunities for the people in the region?*

This question was of great interest as there are very different opinions about whether globalization is beneficial for the people in the region or not. As discussed earlier, globalization can provide people with economic opportunities. The results can be viewed in *Figure 6*. In the survey those who disagreed and agreed with the statement were almost an equal number. This reflects the division in opinions about globalization. While some maybe focus on the positive effects, like improvement in technology, better housing condition, and a decrease in morbidity and mortality from infectious diseases, others are more concerned with the rapid cultural change and the loss of cultural identity (Parkinson, 2010).

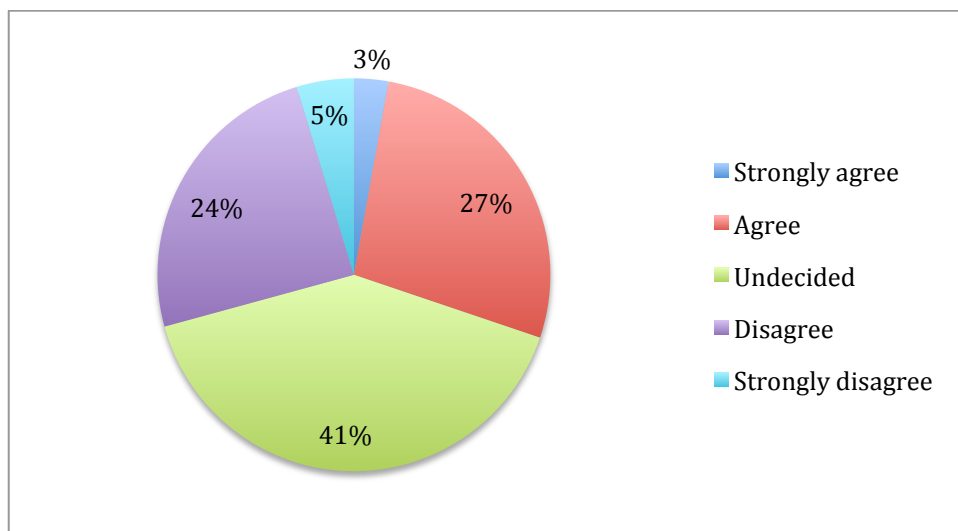


Figure 6 - Globalization in the Arctic is positive and provides new opportunities for the people in the region

11. *It is critical to strengthen international governance to meet future challenges in the region.*

Most of the participants agreed with this statement. Recently many have discussed the need to strengthen governance in the region with the transformation it is going through. Since the changes in climate are becoming more serious, many have expressed the growing need for an international binding treaty in the Arctic. Up until now many Arctic organizations have lacked that kind of legal capacity, like for example the Arctic Council. As can be seen in *Figure 7*, 87.5 percent of participants either agreed or strongly agreed. Thus, it can be estimated that the discussion and division of opinions rather revolve around the different ways to strengthen governance and what should be the main focus.

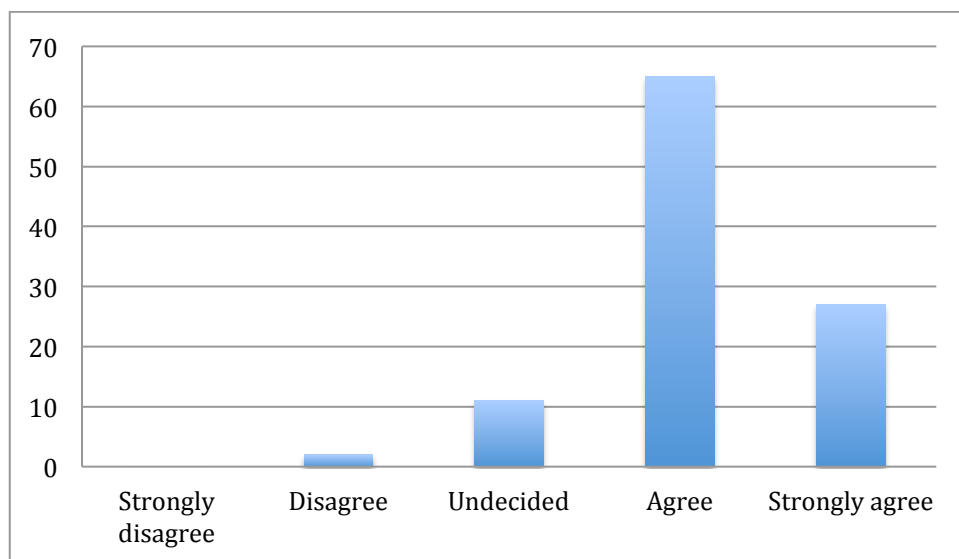


Figure 7 - It is critical to strengthen international governance to meet future challenges in the region

12. *In your opinion, how important or unimportant are the following issues related to international governance in the Arctic.*

Question number eleven had five issues with responses that ranged from very important to very unimportant. Overall, most participants considered the issues important. Managing climate change and protecting the vulnerable ecosystems in the Arctic, was considered very important by 76 percent of the participants. This indicates that most are concerned with the environmental issues in the Arctic as could be

excepted. The one issue that people viewed as not as important as the others, was “building trust and promoting stewardship”.

7.1 Attitude Towards International Governance in the Arctic

From item number four and eleven in the questionnaire, seven statements were intended to measure attitude towards international governance in the Arctic. These statements were as follows:

- 1) Generally, the interests of all stakeholders are considered in Arctic decision-making.
- 2) The current governance framework in the Arctic is appropriate for the future challenges in the region.
- 3) I am very satisfied with international governance in the Arctic today.
- 4) International governance in the Arctic is heading in the right direction.
- 5) The Arctic is lacking an effective governance model that is suitable for the changing conditions in the region.
- 6) I am not satisfied with how international governance is evolving.
- 7) Appropriate measures are currently not being taken to ensure effective governance in the future.

The response options were on a Likert scale and were coded as follows: Strongly disagree, disagree, undecided, agree, and strongly agree. The first four statements gave one score for ‘strongly disagree’ and five scores for ‘strongly agree’, which means that those with the highest score were very positive towards governance. However, the last three statements were reverse and gave five scores for ‘strongly disagree’ and one score for ‘strongly agree’, since those who did not agree with the statement were considered more positive and hence had a higher score.

Using SPSS a composite variable was created from these seven indicators. The possible scores ranged from 5 – 35. The highest score indicated the highest level of positive attitude towards governance in the Arctic and the lowest score indicated a negative attitude. The new composite variable got the name ‘Positive’.

7.2 Reliability

Internal consistency of the variable ‘Positive’ was measured using Cronbach’s Alpha, which proved satisfactory. The Alpha coefficient was 0.834, which indicates a high level of inner consistency. That means that all indicators were closely related as a group. There was no item, or indicator, that if deleted would give a higher Cronbach’s Alpha coefficient, which means they all were important and contributed to the variable.

7.3 Mean and Standard Deviation

In *Table 2* the mean, standard deviation and Cronbach’s Alpha for the variable ‘Positive’ can be viewed. The mean was 15,14 and the standard deviation was 3.82. Since the highest possible value was 35 and the lowest 5 we can see that participants generally had a rather negative attitude towards international governance in the Arctic.

Table 2 - Descriptive statistics

	Mean	Std. deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Cronbach’s Alpha
Positive	16.136	3.822	6.14	26.57	0.834*

7.3 Multiple Regression Analysis

It was also of interest to look at the relationship between attitude towards governance in the Arctic and the sectors participants came from. However, the sample was not large enough to conduct a multiple regression analysis that was of significance. Regardless, the analysis was made bearing that in mind. The participants were divided into three related groups to increase the number of participants in each sector. That way the analysis was slightly more significant. The groups were divided as follows:

- *Officials from the government:* In this group were those who came from a government related sector. They were from national government, local or regional government, and intergovernmental organization.

- *Academics*: In this group were people from academia, research institute and students.
- *Indigenous and non-governmental*: People who came from indigenous and non-governmental organizations

The multiple regression analysis showed that the highest significant difference in attitude towards Arctic governance was the sector ‘officials from government’. If participant came from the government sector they were more likely to be negative towards Arctic governance. However, as stated before, these results were not significant at the 0.05 level. The other sectors showed no difference in attitude depending on their sector.

7.4 Text-Box Questions

There were two optional text-box questions at the end of the survey. The former question was “Do you have any recommendations for improving international governance in the Arctic?” and the latter was “Do you have any other comments, questions or concerns?” This allowed participants to write if they had any other thoughts about international governance in the Arctic or about the survey itself.

There were 25 people who answered the former question. The answers varied in priorities and emphases, reflecting on the different opinions and attitudes towards international governance in the Arctic. Some stressed the importance to strengthen international governance. One replied that there was a need for “increased transparency” and to “focus on the need to maintain fragile Arctic ecosystems in the face of different challenges.” In order to improve transparency and promote science and decision-making, one wants to “establish a data sharing culture in the Arctic through common data information policy.” This has already begun to some extent, as the working groups of the Arctic Council have been diligent in providing data from their research which is open for the general public.

Another participant suggested a greater role for the United Nations in the Arctic. One participant did not believe that the Arctic Council is a forum for action and wrote: “Stop trying to solve everything at once in one forum, especially the Arctic Council. The Council is a good place for discussions, but not for action. Better to leave action to other places where specific issues are best addressed (e.g., the IMO for

shipping).” Another participant suggested that international governance could be improved by requiring governments “(...) to make a stronger commitment (financially and policy) to the Arctic Council.” Thus the Council would be empowered, similar to the EU. The same participant also wanted to give the Arctic Council greater influence, which would follow greater empowerment. However, to require governments to make greater commitment to the Arctic Council would be greater intrusion to sovereignty of states, as has been discussed above, and it is likely a difficult task to get the Arctic states to comply with that. Also the debate has been about whether the Council is the forum in which governance should be coordinated.

A person from indigenous peoples organization wrote “I believe there needs to be a stronger voice for the indigenous peoples, we are the greatest stakeholder. We have been here from the beginning, and will be here long after there isn't any more interest in the Arctic.” The voices of indigenous people are of great importance, since they will be (and are) probably most affected by any environmental changes in the region.

One pointed out the faults with international governance today and said that “there are many claims for ocean areas and resources and no agreements regarding international negotiations or similar mechanisms.” One participant had broad suggestions for improving international governance in the Arctic:

Education is needed so that there is common understanding of where Arctic issues fit in the global picture. Where do actions outside of the Arctic have an effect that is either not considered during decision making or where the impacts are disproportionate in the Arctic, to Arctic people and systems. A multi-national collaborative, non-military model needs to be pursued, such as the St. Lawrence Seaway in North America, where national interests are furthered because work is done jointly, and collaboratively. All people in the Arctic need to be recognized as the people who live in the Arctic and representation needs to be accepted by all sectors involved. There needs to be real, open, and collaborative relationships among the governing bodies, International, National, Regional, and Local; presently there is very little collaboration and most of the time the actions are taken behind fire-walls that keep all the parties from communicating and contributing. The issues we have in the Arctic need to be dealt with collaboratively, and holistically; we cannot find answers that will

endure and sustain the global population by continuing to look inside a given sector for answers, we need to cross sector lines and link issues and solutions.

As can be seen participants had many useful suggestions, ideas and good advices that also reflected the different interests and opinions about governance in the Arctic region.

8 Conclusion for Part II: Attitude towards Governance in the Arctic

In this chapter the findings from the study, limitations and further research will be discussed.

8.1 Findings

The sample mostly consisted of people from governments or academia. The results from the study reflect the division of opinions about Arctic issues. Many statements had divided opinions, where about half agreed while the other half disagreed. The responses show the different priorities in the Arctic. For example, some mainly want to focus on minimizing the risks of climate change and others mainly want to focus on creating guidelines for the economic opportunities in the region. Participants seemed to agree more with the participation of non-state actors than non-Arctic states in environmental decision making in the Arctic. In terms of indigenous peoples participation at the Arctic Council, the results were very even. Slightly more believed their interests did not gain sufficient attention, while many were undecided. The same accounted for whether indigenous peoples organizations should have a greater role at the Arctic Council. There were many different opinions, and the question is whether it creates tension on the ground between groups where their views conflict.

Regarding the greatest uncertainties and the most important issues, most agreed that environmental factors exceeded other factors. ‘Conservation of Arctic species and ecosystems’ and ‘sustainable use of natural resources’ was both considered the greatest uncertainties and the most important issues regarding governance. Thus these issues are clearly the ones that people are mostly thinking of when it comes to Arctic governance. ‘Increase in gas and oil extraction’ was also an uncertainty for 38.1 percent of participants.

Attitude towards globalization in the region was split in half – there are almost the same number that see it as positive as those who see it as negative. This is well-known as many see the effects for globalization as negative and others are more focused on the positive effects. It depends greatly on people’s priorities and worldviews. Those who support open markets and free trade are more likely to be positive towards globalizations (Dicken, 2011).

A large majority agreed that international governance in the Arctic needs to be strengthened to meet the future challenges in the region. This in accordance with the discussion in Part I of the thesis, as many have stated the need to strengthen governance in the Arctic because of the increasing environmental changes.

Attitude towards international governance in the Arctic seems to be slightly more negative than positive. It could also be interpreted that many are unsure of how things will work out, hence, they are not sure whether to be optimistic or pessimistic. There are many different opinions and the current situation is that there is a lot of discussion and debate. Maybe some feel that there lacks action, as one expressed in the last open questions.

In the final two questions there were many suggestions that reflected the various views and issues in the Arctic. Those who answered were of course those who had certain ideas on ways to strengthen Arctic governance. Many felt that action was lacking and that collaboration and communication could be improved. Also some suggested that the Arctic Council should be empowered while others wanted it to remain a forum for discussion. Again, the opinions are very divided and therefore the Arctic nations have large tasks and challenges ahead when it comes to governing the Arctic region.

8.2 Limitations and Further Research

International governance is a debatable concept. Some argue that it is impossible for governance in the Arctic to be 'international', because everything is local or national. The Arctic is made up of nation states, although there are international waters. Therefore nation states will follow international governance only to the extent that national decisions and participation allows for. However states need to recognize the need for cooperation when it comes to Arctic matters. In a world where so much is becoming global, in some cases international governance is something that simply needs to be recognized. Thus, international forums are becoming increasingly important with the most notable example being the United Nations. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was held in November 2015 where the aim was to achieve a legally binding and universal agreement on climate, with the aim of keeping global warming below 2°C (UNFCCC, 2015). A mutual agreement was reached, in which almost all states agreed to comply with (MBL, 2015).

The questions in the questionnaire were sometimes difficult to answer, at least for the general public, as they covered specific issues related to the Arctic one could only answer by having knowledge on the issue. However, it was expected that the participants in the study would have the knowledge to answer, since they were also participants of the Arctic Biodiversity Congress.

As stated before, the sample is targeted at a specific audience and does not show the views of the general public. It is limited to the participants of the Arctic Biodiversity Congress that mostly consisted of Academics and government officials. Their views could be affected by the sector or country from which they come. As the purpose of the thesis was to look at attitudes towards Arctic international governance of people from various sectors concerned with Arctic matters this was well-known. It could be interesting to look at the attitude of the general public, for example in the Arctic states, to gain a wider overview. However, a more simplified and approachable questionnaire would be in order. The questions in this questionnaire were challenging and required that people had knowledge of the issues and had formed an opinion on the subject. That could be the reason for the many 'undecided' responses.

Regarding the relation between sectors and attitudes, the sample was too small for analyzing whether there was any significant difference between sectors. There are some disadvantages with dividing the participants in the three groups as was done to increase significance. For example participants may overlap within sectors. People working in government related field may as well be academics or indigenous, and their attitude may be affected by more than the sector they work within, like for example their country of origin or country of work.

The study however gave good overview and showed the different opinions regarding many Arctic issues. In the future governments could try to decrease the tension in the Arctic by taken into consideration the various interests at stake for the people in the Arctic. However, it is never possible to satisfy all groups and some will disapprove no matter what actions will be taken in the future.

9 Conclusion

There is no doubt that the Arctic region is going through tremendous changes in all aspects of life. These changes involve globalization, with greater integration in the global community, new economic opportunities and more awareness of climate change effects. Since Gorbachev held his famous speech in 1987 in Murmansk about the Arctic as a 'zone of peace', cooperation in the Arctic has come a long way (Young, 2010). The Arctic states, together with the indigenous organizations, have developed a strong operating forum for discussion and research most notably in the Arctic Council. The cooperation of the Arctic states has especially increased in the last few years, as the consequences of climate change are becoming more serious. Most recognize that the need to act is now as temperatures are rising above the global average in the Arctic region, causing the ice to melt (Hovelsrud et al., 2011) The Arctic is the region most affected by climate change. If projections become true the Arctic will be ice-free in few decades, producing great challenges, but also great opportunities (Zellen, 2009). The economic opportunities involve the large reserves of oil, gas and raw minerals the region might hold. Other opportunities are for example new transportation routes, which shorten the way between Asia and Europe, as well as increased tourism and diversified jobs in the region. These opportunities come with great responsibilities, as most indicators suggest that climate change is to a large extent caused by human activity. Without the proper guidelines and regulations the local communities in the region may become increasingly vulnerable (Hovelsrud et al., 2011). Thus many have discussed how these guidelines and regulations should be constructed.

International governance in the Arctic is especially challenging because it is made up of national states, each with its own rules and laws. The Arctic is not, and has never been, one thing or a one region (Carina et al., 2015). The need for the Arctic states to work together is therefore all the more important.

The challenges regarding international governance in the Arctic today are multifaceted. One of the main issue is who should govern the region. If it should mainly be the Arctic states, or if indigenous peoples, non-Arctic states or non-state actors should take part in decision-making as well. One of the greatest challenges relates to the future role of the Arctic Council. Since the beginning the Arctic Council's role has mostly been to generate knowledge, frame the current issues and

setting various agendas (Spencer, 2013). In the Arctic Council indigenous organizations have been granted an unprecedented status as permanent observers. This makes the Council a strong forum for discussion. The Council's working groups have produced scientific assessments about the Arctic that have helped in attracting the attention of policymakers in the member states. Although the Arctic Council did not receive attention globally first, that has changed with the environmental changes and economic opportunities in the Arctic. However, the Arctic Council has a soft-law structure, which has been somewhat criticized in recent years and many have suggested that a legally binding treaty is needed. The basis of a soft-law structure is to create norms without a legally-binding treaty. However international law and lawyers can dictate how the norm-making process is understood (Koivurova, 2015).

One of the main issue in terms of Arctic governance today involves the role of the Arctic Council, and whether or not it should have the legitimacy to make legally binding obligations. An international legally binding treaty could provide clearer rules and guidelines because of the new economic activities and other opportunities entering the region. The risk is that the Arctic region could be exploited without the proper precautions by states intending to maximize their profits. In that case the Arctic Council lacks the capacity and the authority to take legal actions. Therefore international treaties are needed with the increasing activity in the region.

In the thesis the UNCLOS was discussed as an example of a treaty that is of high importance for the Arctic States. However, it is debated whether it is sufficient to protect the Arctic region. Some states, for example the United States, consider treaties infringe too much upon their sovereignty. . In the long run, states have to decide if a legally-binding treaty in the Arctic is worth it to protect the region. With globalizations becoming increasingly evident, many states are members in international organizations like the United Nations, as they recognize the benefits and consider them exceeding the flaws. In the thesis the UNCLOS was discussed as an example of a treaty that is of high importance for the Arctic States. However, it is debated whether it is sufficient to protect the Arctic region.

The study presented in the thesis revealed great division of opinions when it comes to the many governance issues in the Arctic. That is in accordance with the discussion in Part I of the thesis. Attitude towards international governance in the Arctic was very divided, and many were undecided about their view. The opinions varied greatly in what should be the main governance priorities in the Arctic.

However most agreed that the most important issues are the conservation of Arctic species and ecosystems and a sustainable use of natural resources. Most also agreed that Arctic governance needs to be strengthened, although participants did have various recommendations on how it could be strengthened. What was perhaps most surprising regarding the study was that many seem to held a rather negative attitude towards international governance in the Arctic. The reason could be uncertainty about many of the big governance issues in the Arctic along with the alarming changes happening in the region.

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Appendix A: Descriptive Statistics

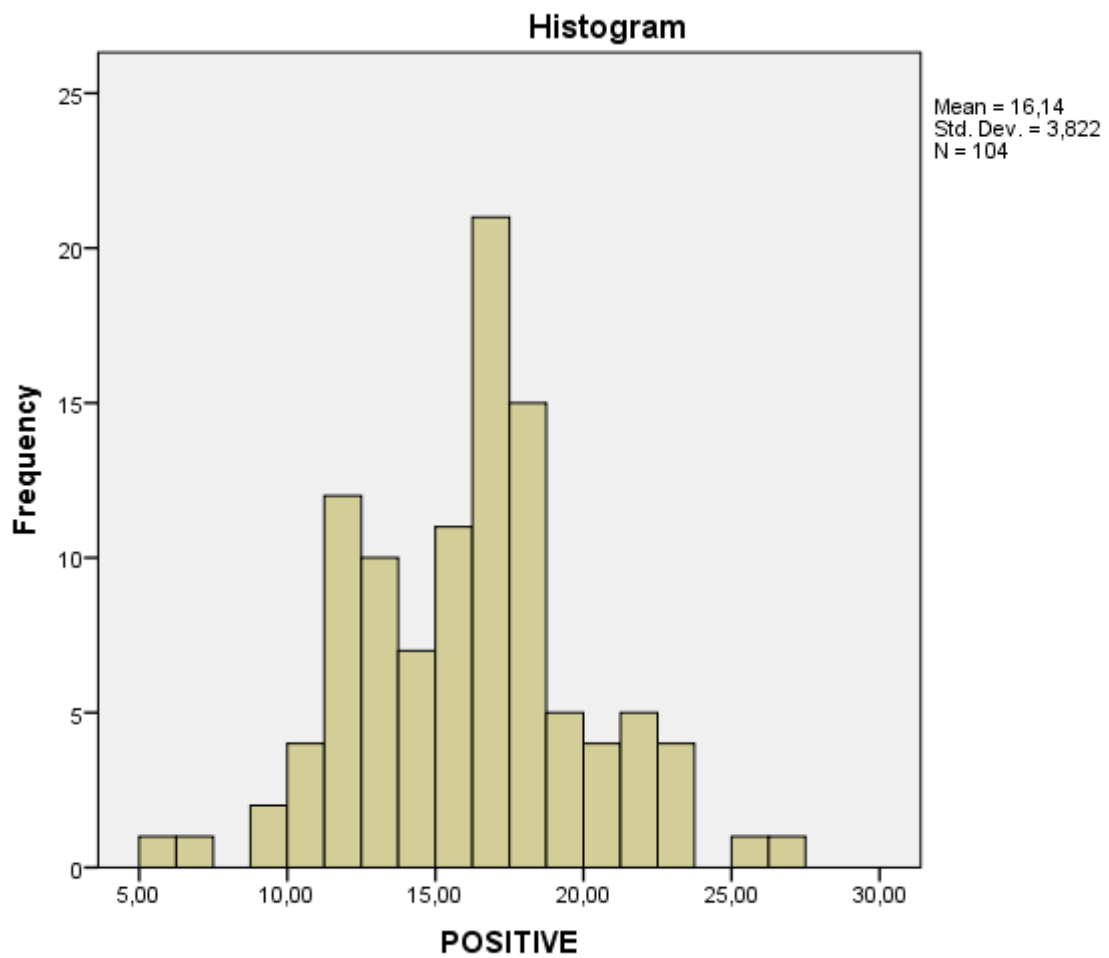
Variable POSITIVE

Values from 5-35 /7

Statistics

POSITIVE

N	Valid	104
	Missing	2
Mean		16,1360
Median		16,2857
Std. Deviation		3,82194
Minimum		6,14
Maximum		26,57



Cronbach's alpha for the variable POSITIVE

Appendix B: Reliability Statistics

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
,834	,836	7

Inter-Item Correlation Matrix

	Positive1	Positive2	Positive3	Positive4	Positive5	Positive6	Positive7
Positive1	1,000	,601	,526	,359	,428	,366	,285
Positive2	,601	1,000	,624	,460	,471	,317	,374
Positive3	,526	,624	1,000	,462	,368	,272	,396
Positive4	,359	,460	,462	1,000	,354	,440	,430
Positive5	,428	,471	,368	,354	1,000	,472	,447
Positive6	,366	,317	,272	,440	,472	1,000	,401
Positive7	,285	,374	,396	,430	,447	,401	1,000

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Positive1	15,55	12,270	,601	,436	,81
Positive2	15,85	12,248	,675	,537	,79
Positive3	15,80	13,658	,625	,471	,80
Positive4	15,10	13,466	,572	,369	,81
Positive5	16,03	13,135	,589	,386	,81
Positive6	15,58	13,645	,516	,343	,82
Positive7	15,78	14,193	,528	,326	,82

Scale Statistics

Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
18,28	17,523	4,186	7

Sector

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid ,00	6	5,7	5,7	5,7
National government	24	22,6	22,6	28,3
Regional government	4	3,8	3,8	32,1
Non-governmental organization	10	9,4	9,4	41,5
Intergovernmental organization	6	5,7	5,7	47,2
Industry	2	1,9	1,9	49,1
Academia	32	30,2	30,2	79,2
Student	4	3,8	3,8	83,0
Indigenous organization	3	2,8	2,8	85,8
Research institue	15	14,2	14,2	100,0
Total	106	100,0	100,0	

Appendix C: Multiple Regression Analyzes

Coefficients^a

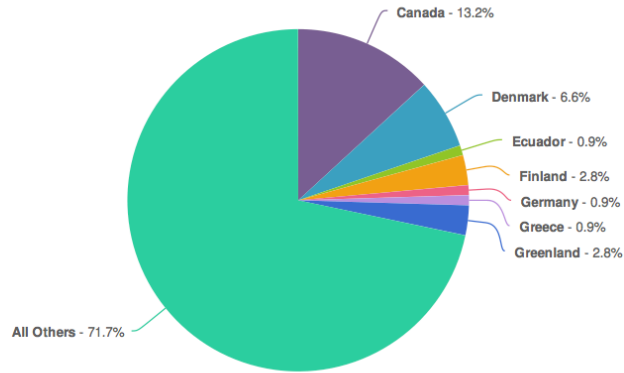
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	18,173	8,798		2,066	,042
	Officials from government	-1,501	1,795	-,191	-,836	,405
	academic and research sector	-,111	1,765	-,015	-,063	,950
	indigenous and non- governmental sector	,325	1,972	,029	,165	,869

a. Dependent Variable: POSITIVE

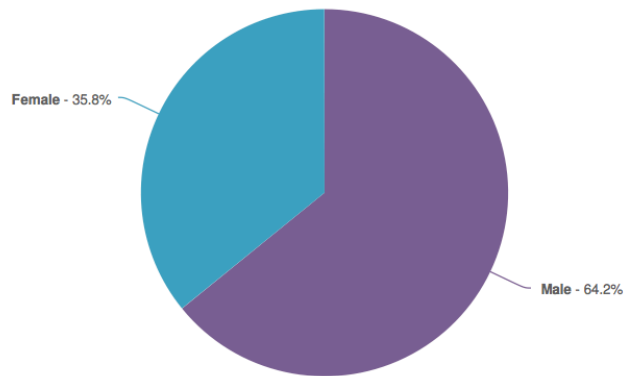
Appendix D: Questionnaire



New Summary Report - 21 May 2015

1. What is your country of origin?

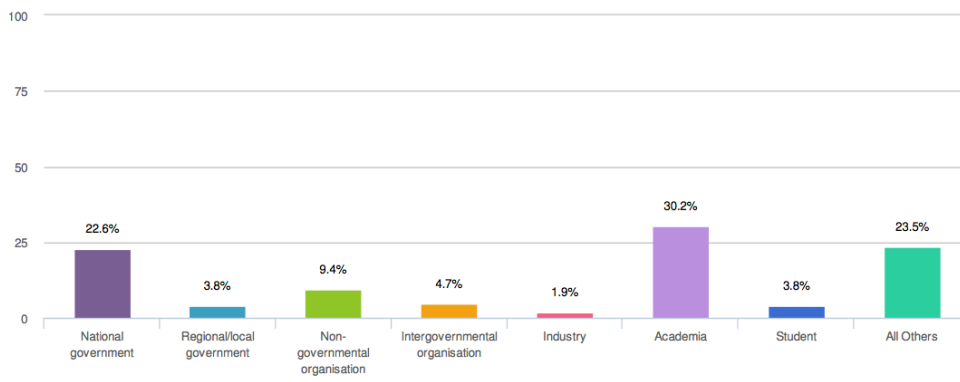


2. Gender?



Male	64.2%		68
Female	35.9%		38
Total			106

3. What sector do you work in?



4. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements about international governance in the Arctic

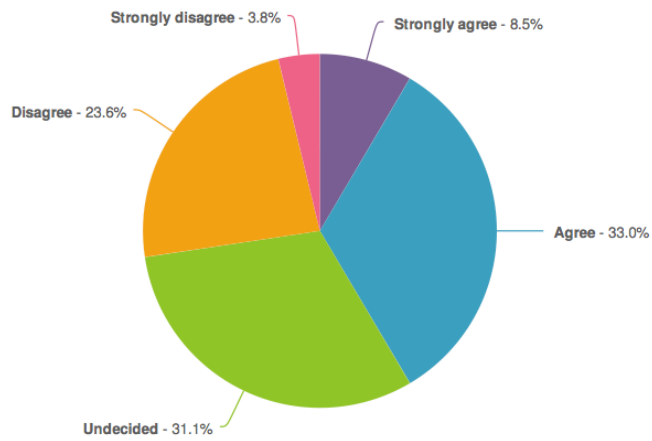
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Responses
Generally, the interests of all stakeholders are considered in Arctic decision-making	7 6.6%	49 46.2%	19 17.9%	29 27.4%	2 1.9%	106
The current governance framework in the Arctic is appropriate for the future challenges in the region	13 12.3%	53 50.0%	23 21.7%	16 15.1%	1 0.9%	106
I am very satisfied with international governance in the Arctic today	6 5.7%	52 49.1%	40 37.7%	8 7.5%	0 0.0%	106

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Responses
International governance in the Arctic is heading in the right direction	1 0.9%	23 21.7%	40 37.7%	41 38.7%	1 0.9%	106

5. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements about international governance in the Arctic

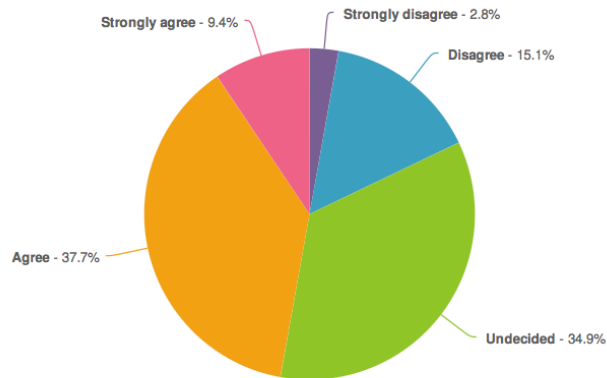
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Responses
International cooperation should mainly focus on creating guidelines for the new economic opportunities arising in the Arctic (involving commercial shipping, oil and gas development, mining, fishing and tourism)	17 16.2%	37 35.2%	13 12.4%	28 26.7%	10 9.5%	105
Non-State Actors (for example NGOs) should be allowed participation in international environmental decision-making and policy issues in the Arctic Region	4 3.8%	13 12.4%	20 19.0%	59 56.2%	9 8.6%	105
International cooperation should mainly focus on minimizing the risks of climate change	4 3.8%	28 26.7%	12 11.4%	42 40.0%	19 18.1%	105
Non-Arctic states should have a greater role in decision-making in the Arctic	10 9.5%	37 35.2%	34 32.4%	22 21.0%	2 1.9%	105

6. Indigenous peoples interests do not gain sufficient attention at the Arctic Council



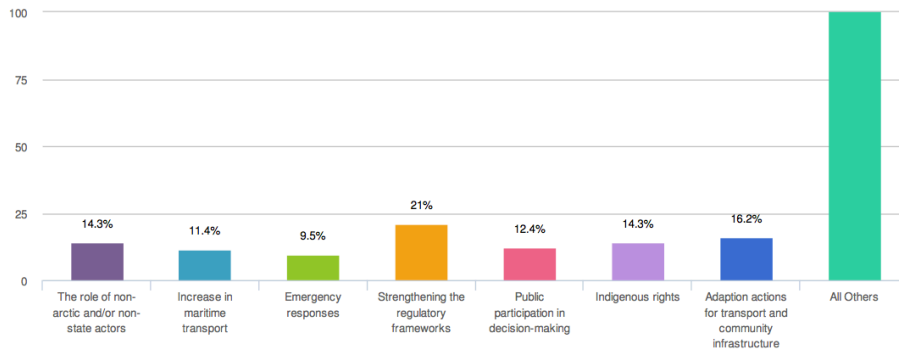
Strongly agree	8.5%		9
Agree	33.0%		35
Undecided	31.1%		33
Disagree	23.6%		25
Total			106

7. Indigenous peoples organizations should have a greater role in decision making at the Arctic Council

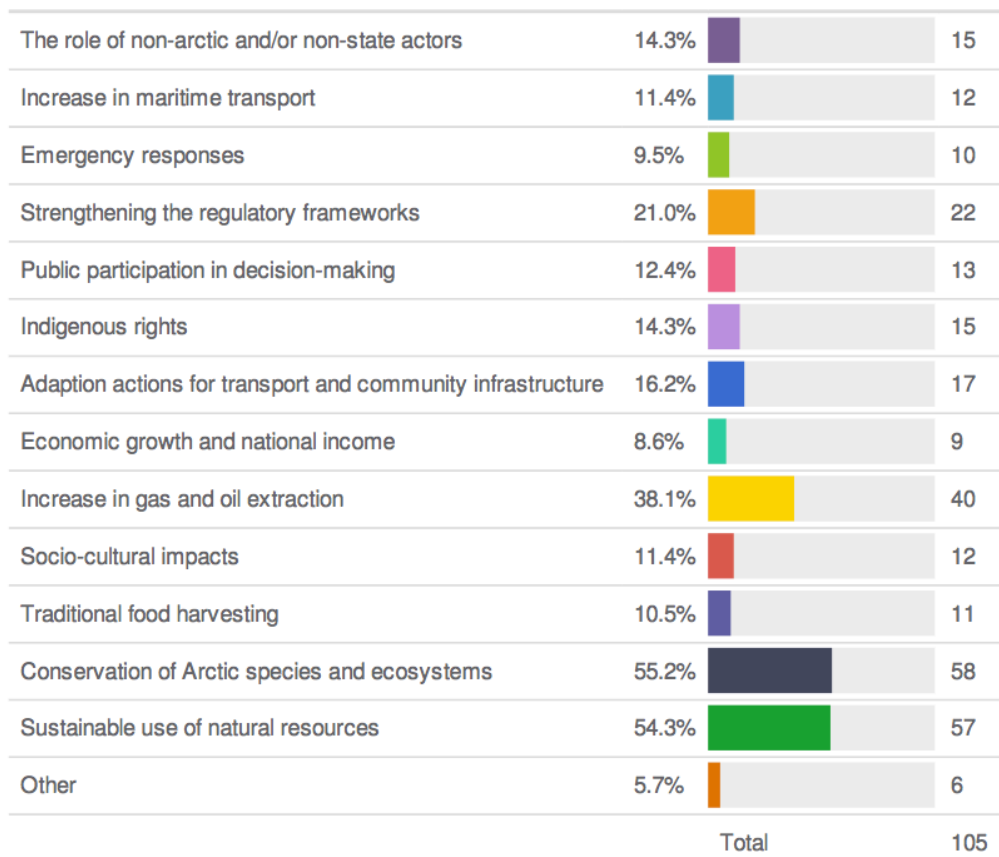


Strongly disagree	2.8%		3
Disagree	15.1%		16
Undecided	34.9%		37
Agree	37.7%		40
Strongly agree	9.4%		10
Total			106

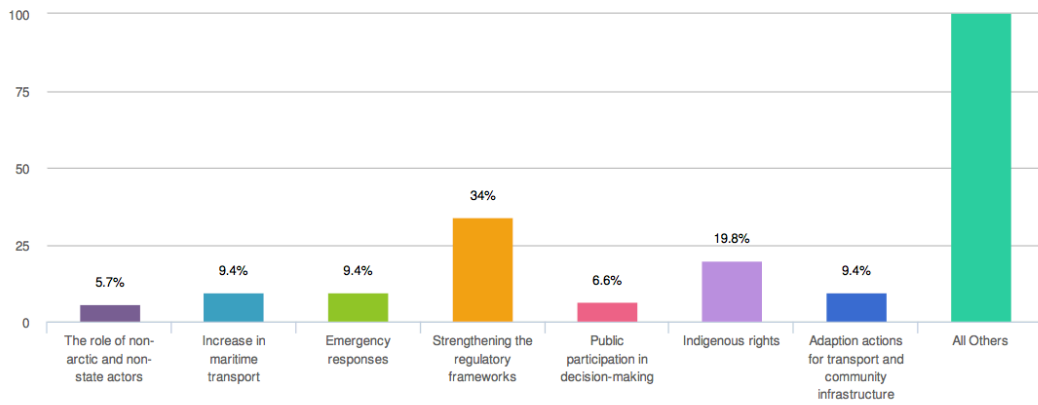
8. What do you consider the greatest uncertainties regarding international governance in the Arctic? Choose up to three.

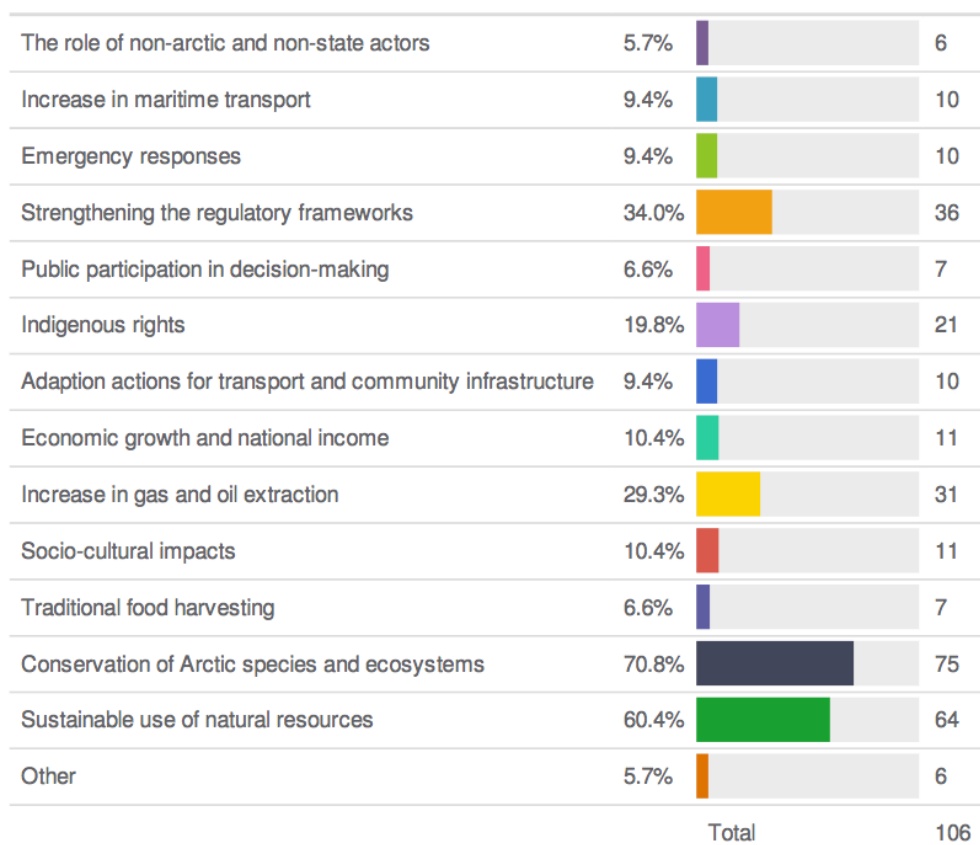


The role of non-arctic and/or non-state actors	14.3%	15
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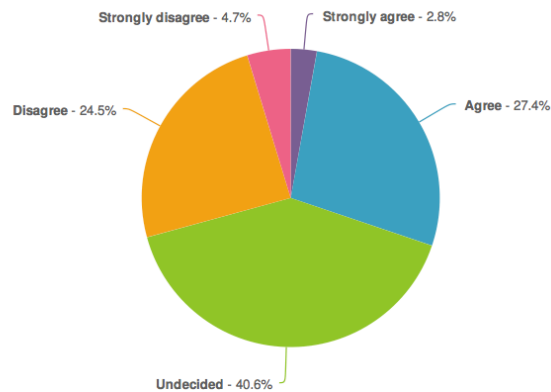


9. What do you consider the most important issues regarding international governance in the Arctic? Choose up to three.





10. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Globalisation in the Arctic is positive and provides new opportunities for the people in the region"



Strongly agree	2.8%		3
Agree	27.4%		29
Undecided	40.6%		43
Disagree	24.5%		26
Strongly disagree	4.7%		5
Total			106

11. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements about international governance in the Arctic

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Responses
It is critical to strengthen international governance to meet future challenges in the region	0 0.0%	2 1.9%	11 10.5%	65 61.9%	27 25.7%	105
The Arctic is lacking an effective governance model that is suitable for the changing conditions in the region	1 1.0%	10 9.5%	18 17.1%	61 58.1%	15 14.3%	105
I am not satisfied with how international governance is evolving	1 1.0%	16 15.2%	44 41.9%	38 36.2%	6 5.7%	105
Appropriate measures are currently not being taken to ensure effective governance in the future	0 0.0%	8 7.7%	41 39.4%	50 48.1%	5 4.8%	104

12. In your opinion, how important or unimportant are the following issues related to international governance in the Arctic:

	Very important	Important	Neither important or unimportant	Unimportant	Very unimportant	Responses
Managing climate change and protecting the vulnerable ecosystems in the Arctic	79 76.0%	19 18.3%	2 1.9%	0 0.0%	4 3.8%	104
Finding safe ways for potential extraction from the reserves of oil, gas and minerals possibly found in the Arctic	42 40.8%	37 35.9%	13 12.6%	5 4.9%	6 5.8%	103
Building trust and promoting stewardship in the Arctic by involving non-state actors	20 19.4%	47 45.6%	27 26.2%	8 7.8%	1 1.0%	103
Strengthening the Arctic governance system and regulatory frameworks	39 37.5%	54 51.9%	5 4.8%	3 2.9%	3 2.9%	104
Amplifying Arctic voices (of Arctic indigenous peoples and residents) in outside arenas where matters affecting the Arctic are addressed	24 23.1%	55 52.9%	18 17.3%	6 5.8%	1 1.0%	104