

Gov 2577: Arctic Politics
Spring 2019
Tuesday/Thursday 1:15-2:40 pm

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The history of Arctic discovery shows how the development of the human race has always been borne along by great illusions.

- Fridtjof Nansen, 1911

Course Description

The Arctic looms in our political imagination as the region most directly affected by a changing global climate that threatens the displacement of northern communities and cultures. It is also a site of fierce competition for state control and economic development. This course investigates the Arctic as a political space that encapsulates elements of comparative politics and international relations. It examines cross-national variation in policies toward Arctic regions in states such as the United States, Canada, Russia, Iceland, and Norway. It also explores dynamic international engagement around the Arctic by state officials, corporations, indigenous communities, and activists. The course will address governance issues such as indigenous rights, economic development and natural resource exploitation, environmental issues and climate change, the potential militarization of the region, international law, and the role of the Arctic Council.

Course Goals

The course meets several of the Government Department's learning goals in comparative politics and international relations. In comparative politics, students will examine the distribution of power and decision making at the national level in Arctic and near-Arctic states. This examination will allow for cross-national comparison in state Arctic policy and actions by non-state actors, including indigenous groups and corporations. In addition, students will examine transnational efforts to govern the Arctic – including both instances of state conflict and cooperation and the role of international organizations like the Arctic Council in shaping changing political and economic activity in the region.

Readings

All readings are available on the Canvas course website. No books are required for purchase.

Assignments and Grading

Participation (general/summits)	10 percent	Throughout semester
Comparative Arctic Politics paper	20 percent - AG	February 21
Midterm Exam (Take Home)	25 percent - LH	March 5 (Distributed Feb. 26)
Arctic Council Policy Paper	20 percent - LH	April 25
Final exam	25 percent - AG	May 16 at 1:15 pm

Attendance and participation

Students are expected to arrive to class having completed the assigned readings. Students are also expected to contribute regularly to class activities and discussion. The participation grade includes class attendance, preparation for class, willingness to engage actively in class discussions, and participation in the Arctic Council meetings and other class activities. More than two unexcused absences will result in significant reduction of the overall final grade.

International Perspective Requirement

The course examines patterns of power and decision-making within various nation-states, usually beyond the United States. Assignments will ask students to engage in cross-national comparison of political issues in Arctic states, which include countries in North America, Europe, and Asia, considering how different regime types, models of economic development, and cultural practices shape Arctic policy. The course also focuses on the Arctic Council as an international organization charged with mediating governance of the region. Students will simulate different roles within the Arctic Council, in order to better investigate the preferences of diverse actors.

Course Policies and Logistics

Class structure: This course meets twice a week for 85 minutes. Class time will consist of varying combinations of lecture, class discussion, group activities, and individual written reflections. Please note that class and reading material are not interchangeable, and that we do not “go over” readings in class. That being said, questions about the readings are *always welcome* during class time.

Readings and in-class material are not interchangeable. If you are struggling with the reading or other aspects of the material, we encourage you to visit office hours.

Lecture slides *will not* substitute for attendance, active listening, participation in discussion, and attentive note-taking. Slides will be posted to Canvas after each course.

Late assignments policy: We grant reasonable extensions in cases involving a documented excuse, but you must contact us in advance. Otherwise, late assignments will lose one third of a letter grade per 24 hours late.

Correspondence: We check email regularly Monday-Friday between 9:00 am and 5:00 pm. If we do not respond to you within 48 hours during those times, please assume that we did not receive your email and resend it. If you have questions about specific course material, please contact the instructor who presented that material or who led the class that day.

Classroom technology policy: Laptops, tablets, phones, and cameras must be silenced and put away during class unless otherwise indicated (such as use for research during group activities). [Studies](#) show that handwritten note taking improves knowledge retention. Please feel free to speak with us if you have an accommodation or other set of circumstances that necessitates note-taking on a laptop. You may not make audio or video recordings of any part of the class without permission.

Classroom environment and etiquette: Observing good classroom etiquette is an important component of creating an environment conducive to learning and is a consideration in your participation grade.

- ❖ Arrive on time to class. If you arrive more than 5 minutes late you will be marked absent.
- ❖ Be respectful to each other.
- ❖ Being a good citizen of this class and in general means that you should regularly read a reliable news outlet (e.g. The New York Times, The Guardian, Economist, BBC, NPR, etc).
- ❖ Please do not pack up your belongings until class is over at 2:40.

Attendance Policy: The instructors will make reasonable accommodations for excused absences, but *students are responsible* for all material covered, assignments distributed or collected, and announcements made during any classes missed. For an absence to be excused, you must notify the instructors *before* class. Documented illnesses, family emergencies, and college-sponsored activities count as excused absences; vacations, early departure from campus for breaks, and oversleeping are not excused absences.

Academic Honesty: Students are expected to be in compliance with college policies on academic honesty at all times. If you're not sure what constitutes academic dishonesty, plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, or facilitating dishonesty, please consult the Academic Handbook. More detailed information about plagiarism and how to avoid it is available: <https://www.bowdoin.edu/dean-of-students/judicial-board/academic-honesty-and-plagiarism/common-types-of-plagiarism.html> . Please contact one of us if the rules and standards of academic honesty are not clear. The Bowdoin library is a good resource for questions about citation: <https://library.bowdoin.edu/research/citation-guides.shtml> .

Disabilities Accommodation: If you have a documented disability that requires an accommodation, please notify one of us within the first two weeks of the semester so that we may make appropriate arrangements.

Schedule of Topics and Readings

Week 1

Tuesday, January 22

Introduction: Why is Arctic Politics a Hot Topic? (Grahame & Henry)

Oran R Young. 2012. "Arctic Tipping Points: Governance in Turbulent Times," *Ambio* 41, 1: 75-84.

Thursday, January 24

Introduction to Geopolitics: Competition and Cooperation in the Arctic (Grahame & Henry)

Charles Emmerson. 2010. "Scramble: Dividing the Arctic," *The Future History of the Arctic*, Public Affairs, Chapter 4, pp. 81-100.

Lassi Heininen. 2019. "Special Features of Arctic Geopolitics—A Potential Asset for World Politics," Chapter 13, pp. 215-234. In M. Finger and L. Heininen (eds.), *The Global Arctic Handbook*, Springer International Publishing.

Week 2

Tuesday, January 2

United States: An Arctic Hegemon? (Henry)

Annika Nilsson. 2018. "The United States and the making of an Arctic nation," *Polar Record*, 54, 2: 95-107.

SKIM: US National Arctic Strategy,
https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/docs/nat_arctic_strategy.pdf

Thursday, January 31

Canada: How Great is the "Great White North?" (Grahame)

Kessel, Alan (2016): "Canadian Arctic Sovereignty: Myths and Realities." In D.A. Berry et al. (eds.), *Governing the North American Arctic – Sovereignty, Security & Institutions*. Palgrave Macmillan: Oxford. 242-247.

Dodds, Klaus. "We are a northern country: Stephen Harper and the Canadian Arctic." *Polar Record* 47, no. 4 (2011): 371-374.

Lackenbauer, P. Whitney. "Arctic Defense and Security: Transitioning to the Trudeau Government." *Whole of Government Through an Arctic Lens*. Eds. P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Heather Nicol. Mulroney Government Institute. (2017): 308-330.

Week 3

Tuesday, February 5

Russia: An Arctic Behemoth? (Henry)

Paul Josephson, 2016, "Russia, State Capitalism and Arctic Degradation," *Global Environment* 9: 376–413.

Elana Wilson Rowe and Helge Blakkisrud. 2014. "A New Kind of Arctic Power? Russia's Policy Discourses and Diplomatic Practices in the Circumpolar North," *Geopolitics* 19, 1: 66–85.

SKIM: Russian national strategy toward the Arctic 2020,
<http://www.iecca.ru/en/legislation/strategies/item/99-the-development-strategy-of-the-arctic-zone-of-the-russian-federation>

Thursday, February 7

Nordic I: Iceland and Denmark: On the way or out of the way? (Grahame)

Rosamond, Annika Bergman. "The Kingdom of Denmark and the Arctic." in *The Handbook of the Politics of the Arctic*. Eds Christian Jensen and Geir Hönneland. Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar. 501-516.

Dodds, Klaus, and Valur Ingimundarson. "Territorial nationalism and Arctic geopolitics: Iceland as an Arctic coastal state." *The Polar Journal* 2, no. 1 (2012): 21-37.

Week 4

Tuesday, February 12

Nordic II: Norway, Sweden, Finland: Small states, big influence? (Grahame)

Alex Oude Elferink, 1992. "Environmental protection in the Arctic—The Rovaniemi process, Marine Pollution Bulletin," Volume 24, Issue 3, 1992, Pages 128-130

Government Offices of Sweden. 2011. "Summary" and "Sweden and the arctic." in Sweden's strategy for the arctic region. pages 4-6 and 12-17.

Charles Emmerson, "Balance: Norway and the Arctic Model," *The Future History of the Arctic*, Chapter 11.

Thursday, February 14

What is the Arctic Council? (Henry)

John English 2016. "Emergence of an Arctic Council," Chapter 10. In D.A. Berry et al. (eds.), *Governing the North American Arctic – Sovereignty, Security & Institutions*. Palgrave Macmillan: Oxford.

Jessica Shadian. 2010. "From states to polities: Reconceptualizing sovereignty through Inuit governance," *European Journal of International Relations* 16, 3: 485–510.

Week 5

Tuesday, February 19

Near Arctic States I: China goes North (Henry)

Marc Lanteigne. 2017. "Have you entered the storehouses of the snow?" China as a norm entrepreneur in the Arctic," *Polar Record* 53, 269: 117–130.

SKIM: Andrew Chater. 2016. "Explaining Non-Arctic States in the Arctic Council," *Strategic Analysis*, 40, 3: 173–184.

*****Comparative Arctic Politics paper due in class*****

Thursday, February 21

Near Arctic States II: The Sun Never Sets...is the UK an Arctic State? (Grahame)

Depledge D. (2018) "Britain: The Forgotten Arctic State?" and "Britain and the Arctic Today" In: *Britain and the Arctic*. Palgrave Macmillan.

British Parliament. 2015. "Chapter 6: the UK and the Arctic". In: *Select Committee on the Arctic - Report of Session 2014–15*.

Week 6

Tuesday, February 26

How does the Arctic Council Govern? (Henry)

Page Wilson. 2016. "Society, steward or security actor? Three visions of the Arctic Council," *Cooperation and Conflict* 51, 1: 55–74.

****Take home midterm exam distributed in class****

Thursday, February 28

Indigenous Sovereignty (Grahame & Henry)

Jessica Shadian. 2013. "Of whales and oil: Inuit resource governance and the Arctic Council," *Polar Record* 49, 251: 392–405.

Week 7

Tuesday, March 5

Visit Arctic Museum

Guided tour and discussion with Katie Donlan, Curatorial Intern, Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum

****Take home midterm exam collected by the start of class****

Thursday, March 7

Infrastructure, Development, and State Power (Grahame)

Grydehøj, Adam, Anne Grydehøj, and Maria Ackrén. "The Globalization of the Arctic: Negotiating Sovereignty and Building Communities in Svalbard, Norway." *Island Studies Journal* 7, no. 1 (2012).

Albert Buixadé Farré, Scott R. Stephenson, Linling Chen, et al. (2014) Commercial Arctic shipping through the Northeast Passage: routes, resources, governance, technology, and infrastructure, *Polar Geography*, 37:4, 298-324

Tuesday, March 12 to Thursday March 21

Spring Break!

Week 8

Tuesday, March 26

Extracting the Arctic I: Oil and Gas (Henry)

Kathrin Keil. 2014. "The Arctic: A new region of conflict? The case of oil and gas." *Cooperation and Conflict*. 49, 2: 162-190.

SKIM: Kenneth J. Bird et al. 2008 "Circum-Arctic Resource Appraisal: Estimates of Undiscovered Oil and Gas North of the Arctic Circle," US Department of the Interior, US Geological Survey. Available at <https://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2008/3049/fs2008-3049.pdf>

Thursday, March 28

Extracting the Arctic II: Greenlandic Uranium (Grahame)

Ruel, Geneviève King. 2011. "The (Arctic) show must go on: Natural resource craze and national identity in Arctic politics." *International Journal* 66, no. 4: 825-833.

Nuttall, Mark. 2013. "Zero-tolerance, uranium and Greenland's mining future." *The Polar Journal* 3, no. 2: 368-383.

Lill Rastad Bjørst. 2016. "Saving or destroying the local community? Conflicting spatial storylines in the Greenlandic debate on uranium" *The Extractive Industries and Society*. 3 (1): 34-40.

Week 9

Tuesday, April 2

The People's Oil: Norway's Sovereign Wealth Fund (Grahame)

Bayulgen, Oksan. 2010. "Norway: Icon of Stability" *Foreign Investment and Political Regimes: The Oil Sector in Azerbaijan, Russia, and Norway*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 183-215.

Clear, Paul. 2016. *Trillion Dollar Baby: How Norway Beat the Oil Giants and Won a Lasting Fortune*. Chapters 1, 9, 10. <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.bowdoin.edu/lib/bowdoin-ebooks/reader.action?docID=4603691&ppg=115>

Thursday, April 4

Environmental Challenges in the Arctic (Henry)

Philip E. Steinberg, Jeremy Tasch, and Hannes Gerhardt. 2015. "Nature Reserve," Chapter 7. In Steinberg et al., *Contesting the Arctic: Politics and Imaginaries in the Circumpolar North*, London: I.B. Tauris.

Kolson L. Schlosser. 2006. "U.S. National Security Discourse and the Political Construction of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge," *Society & Natural Resources* 19,1: 3-18.

SKIM: Doris Friedrich, "The problems won't go away: Persistent Organic Pollutants (POPs) in the Arctic," June 1, 2016. Available at: <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/persistent-organic-pollutants-pops-in-the-arctic/> and <https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/persistent-organic-pollutants-in-the-arctic-infographic/>

*****Julia Ioffe, "What Russia Wants, and What it Means for America"*****

A Public Lecture

Monday, April 8 at 7:30 pm

Week 10

Tuesday, April 9

Climate Change I: Role of the Arctic in Climate Policy (Henry)

Joan Nymand Larsen and Oleg A. Anisimov. 2014. "Polar Regions." In *Climate Change 2014: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability*, Working Group II to the Fifth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, pp. 1567-1612. **Read only Arctic sections.**

Robert Forbis Jr and Katharine Hayhoe, 2018, "Does Arctic governance hold the key to achieving climate policy targets?," *Environmental Research Letters*, 13: 1-4.

Thursday, April 11

Climate Change II: Communities and Migration (Henry)

Elizabeth Marino. 2012. "The long history of environmental migration: Assessing vulnerability construction and obstacles to successful relocation in Shishmaref, Alaska," *Global Environmental Change* 22, 374-381.

Christopher Mele and Daniel Victor. 2016. "Reeling From Effects of Climate Change, Alaskan Village Votes to Relocate, August 9. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/20/us/shishmaref-alaska-elocate-vote-climate-change.html>

Week 11

Tuesday, April 16

Scientists in policy making: Where does knowledge come from? (Grahame and Henry)

Doel, Ronald E., Robert Marc Friedman, Julia Lajus, Sverker Sörlin, and Urban Wråkberg. "Strategic Arctic science: national interests in building natural knowledge—interwar era through the Cold War." *Journal of Historical Geography* 44 (2014): 60-80.

Tremblay, M., Furgal, C., Larrivée, C., Annanack, T., Tookalook, P., Qiisik, M., Barrett, M. 2008. Climate Change in Northern Quebec: Adaptation Strategies from Community-Based Research. *Arctic* 61: 27–34.

Thursday, April 18

Icebreakers, Icebergs, and Auroras: The Politics of Arctic Tourism (Grahame)

Veijola, Soile, and Hannah Strauss-Mazzullo. "Tourism at the Crossroads of Contesting Paradigms of Arctic Development." In *The Global Arctic Handbook*, pp. 63-81. Springer, Cham, 2019.

Edward H. Huijbens & Dominic Alessio (2015) Arctic ‘concessions’ and icebreaker diplomacy? Chinese tourism development in Iceland, *Current Issues in Tourism*, 18:5, 433-449

Week 12

Tuesday, April 23

Current Challenges in Governing the Arctic (Grahame & Henry)

Michael Byers. 2017. "Crises and international cooperation: An Arctic case study," *International Relations* 31:1-28.

Dorothea Werthmann. 2016. "Shaping Changing Circumpolar Agendas: The Identification and Significance of "Emerging Issues" Addressed in the Arctic Council," *Arctic Yearbook*. Available at: <https://arcticyearbook.com/arctic-yearbook/2016>.

Thursday, April 25

Arctic Council Politics in Practice

Visit to class by Pavel Sulyandziga, former Arctic Council participant from the Russian Association of Indigenous Peoples of the North (RAIPON)

****Arctic Council Policy paper due in class****

Week 13

Tuesday, April 30 and Thursday, May 2

Arctic Council Simulation

The simulation will include presentations based on research papers, debate of issues, and voting. Working groups to be announced.

Tuesday, May 7

Concluding thoughts

Final Exam:

Thursday, May 16, 2019 at 1:15 pm.